



Affective dimensions of naked body protests

Mpho Mathebula

Department of Psychology, University of the Witwatersrand

0206978W

Supervisor: Professor Hugo Canham

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis titled AFFECTIVE DIMENSIONS OF NAKED BODY PROTESTS is my own, unaided work. It is submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading 'Mpho Mathebula', is written over a horizontal line.

Mpho M. Mathebula

14 February 2022

Two papers based on data from this research have been accepted with revisions for publication by the following journals:

Body & Society: The paper is entitled Nakedness as Decolonial Praxis.

Feminism & Psychology. The paper is entitled The Afterlife of Naked Body Protests.

Dedication

To my boys Ripfumelo Mathebula, Rhulani Mathebula and my husband Wisani Mathebula.
Thank You for bearing with me through this journey!

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Abstract

The naked body has been a means of protest among African women dating back over a century. Once a working-class women's form of protest, naked protests have seen an upsurge in the past two decades, and have become increasingly common in middle-class university spaces and national events such as the Presidential Summit against gender-based violence and femicide held in South Africa in November 2018. This study sought to understand naked body protests through the lens of affect and feminist theory with a view to contributing to the psychology of naked body protests. The study is organised around four foci: an exploration of how women might use naked body protests as a form of decolonial praxis; the psychosocial role played by naked body protests; the possible meanings of gendered protests in order to understand the preponderance of women's participation in naked body protests; and the afterlife of naked body protests. The exploration is conducted through a critical discourse analysis of four data sources: sixteen interviews conducted with women naked body protesters; two radio podcast interviews of women student protestors who staged naked body protests during #FeesMustFall and #RURReferenceList in 2016; a video recording of a protest staged by working class women against the destruction of their homes in Dobsonville, Soweto on July 12, 1990; and YouTube commentary on videos of the women's protests. Four significant findings emerged. The affects generated by naked body protests can inform decolonial praxis and can play a psychosocial role in advancing strivings for freedom. Through naked body protests, women are able to resist oppression and fight for new realities and social rights. Psychosocially, the expression of transgressive affects such as rage, anger and self-love during naked body protests enables women protesters to work towards collective decolonisation. However, the findings suggest that not all protest is necessarily targeted at particular outcomes. This means that naked protest might also be about simple refusal and not burdened with political intent. Naked protest is contextual and occurs in response to socially and historically specific conditions. The study found that affect can be a generative lens through which the body speaks. The exposure of different parts of the body (e.g., breasts, buttocks etc.) convey specific messages during naked body protests. Finally, naked body protests can have long-lasting effects, years after the incidents. Among other after-effects, the participants suffered mental health issues, body shaming, and adverse material consequences, cathartic affects, confronting oppression, conscientisation and raising

political awareness. The central theoretical contribution is the contention that African women theorise their refusal through embodied disruptions of orders of violence.

Keywords: *affect, naked body, protest, African feminism, decoloniality, psychosocial*

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Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This study explores the phenomenon of naked body protests by black women. Specifically, it examines the role of naked bodies in protest action, the motivation behind this type of protest as well as the performative potentialities which may result. The study draws on Wetherell's approach to affect to explain women's naked body protest. For Wetherell (2012, 2013), affect refers to embodied meaning making or what is commonly understood as human emotion.

Unlike scholars that understand affect as preconscious and non-representational, Wetherell (2012, 2013) contends that one is unable to turn a blind eye to the historical-contextual analyses that inform the amalgamation of bodies and events. The study explores these encounters.

This study follows Foucault's (1980, 1991) contention that power is diffuse, not concentrated and available to everyone. It is this very same power that women protesters utilise during their protests. Through a sprawling body of work, African feminist scholars have ably demonstrated this contention (see for example Sylvia Tamale's *Decolonization and Afro-Feminism*, 2020), special journal issues of *Agenda* edited Desiree Lewis in 2001 and Pumla Dineo Gqola in 2005, and *Feminist Africa* edited by Amina Mama in 2017). This study follows in this tradition by centering those imagined as powerless and demonstrates how despite constructions of nakedness as vulnerability, African women deploy their bodies to assert their power. To further decode this phenomenon of naked body protest, Judith Butler's gender performativity theory is utilised. Butler (2015) argues that when institutions like universities and government organisations of housing for instance, become structured in

such a way that certain populations become disposable, deprived of a future, of education, of stable and rewarding work, of even knowing what space to call home, then the assemblies or protests fulfil a function of the expression of rage as well as the assertion of equality in the midst of precarity. Naked women protesters' bodies on the streets are precarious. They are exposed to police violence, public recrimination and victim blaming. At the same time, the women's bodies are obstinate, persistent and insistent in performatively assembling and protesting in public to refuse being interpellated as disposable (Butler, 2015). The disobedient performance of protesting women aligns with Foucault's (1991) conception of power in that as much as the women's naked bodies are precarious, they are also vested with power.

In addition to affect, performativity and power, intersectionality is drawn upon to assist in further understanding the phenomenon of naked body protests. Women, particularly black women in South Africa, occupy the world as gendered beings and experience discrimination based on their gender, race, class and sexuality. Although the study focused on black women, it recognises them as simultaneously occupying roles of such as mothers, partners, sisters, lovers, students, working/middle class. Intersectionality understands these identities as co-constitutive and gives attention to all these identities simultaneously so that black women's bodies can be understood as refracted through these identities (Crenshaw, 1991). Crenshaw (1991) argues that viewing women's experiences from a single standpoint misrepresents their encounters.

While the study is grounded in South Africa, the literature is largely informed by a body of work in the Global South that traces naked protests in different locales; focusing on anti-colonial and anti-patriarchal protests. In this regard, although not the subject of analysis, the 1929 women's war in Nigeria known as the Aba Women's Riot, the 1959 Beer Hall boycott

in KwaZulu Natal, South Africa, the protest by Dr Nyanzi at Makerere University in Uganda in 2016 are drawn upon to locate naked body protests in the wider African context.

This study addresses the lacuna in research on naked body protests in South Africa by exploring the different performative potentialities that are enabled and that result from such protests. There are few studies done on naked body protests particularly focusing on performativity and affect in the South African context. This is chiefly important in the context of increasing protests of this nature both on the continent and elsewhere. Tamale (2016) observes that it is rather surprising that even though naked body protests have occurred at different times and places in African history, there is very little psychological, historical, anthropological or sociological analysis of the phenomenon. She explains that as scholars, we have left observation to the journalists, the political experts and talk-show hosts on the radio.

More recently, Diabate's (2020) continental study has filled this void. Diabate (2020) uses a three-way approach that is interpretive, theoretical and descriptive to explore protest throughout a range of African countries. She also uses multiple media such as narrative film, literary fiction, social media material and documentaries. She explores a number of questions such as: "What kinds of socio-political climates and arrangements call for the deployment of self-disrobing in anger? How is the women's agency to be understood and conceptualized in light of the reactions of their targets and of other stakeholders? What is being lost by focusing on precolonial and colonial explanatory frameworks?" (Diabate, 2020, p. 4). She problematises the triumphant portrayal of women's naked body protests that is often depicted in most scholars' accounts of the act. She argues that analyses of these events should also focus on the agency and reaction of the protesting women's targets, the bystanders, witnesses

as well as other stakeholders. She argues that “such attempts by scholars, which I call the “romanticization framework,” seek to uphold ideologically certain images of African women as powerful and their modes of contestation as uniquely celebratory” (Diabate, 2020, p. 15). Diabate (2020) further argues that this romanticisation framework does not take into consideration the women’s vulnerabilities, fears, backlash, physical harm, desperation and internal dissent, which is problematic. For Diabate, the concept of naked agency considers the women’s agency on the one hand, as well as the vulnerability and precariousness brought about by naked body protests. The interviews conducted in the current study enable one to get a glimpse into the women’s internal thoughts, their fears, their hopes and their intentions with regards to their different naked body protests. It takes up Diabate’s challenge to engage the complexity of naked protests beyond the romantic frame.

As the place where most protests of this nature have occurred in recent years, more focused local scholarship on this phenomenon is necessary. In some ways then, the practice of naked protests and public opinion are ahead of local scholarship and theorisation on the subject. As a black woman who has observed other black women engaged in naked body protests on university campuses and in the media, I have both a personal and a scholarly interest in the phenomenon. In keeping with the decolonial interest that resurfaced during the 2015 and 2016 student protests, I believe that it is appropriate that a black woman engages in this study with the aim of theorising the practice. This subverts the dominant idea that black women in Africa are data and that people in the global north are producers of knowledge (Mignolo, 2009) or indeed that black women do not theorise (Gqola, 2001). In this vein, the study takes up Lewis’ (2001) challenge that practice is essential for theorisation and the role of feminist researchers is to make the connections between these domains. The study also follows Patricia Collins’s Standpoint theory, where she asserts that black feminist thought consists of

ideas produced by black women that clarify a standpoint of and for black women. She adds that black women have a unique standpoint of their experiences. Black women may also have shared or common experiences among themselves as a group. At the same time, while black women might share similar experiences due to race, they might also have different experiences because of class, age, religion or sexual orientation. As such, the role of black women intellectuals is to produce facts and theories about black women's experiences that will clarify a black woman's standpoint for black women (Collins, 1986). Since naked protest is praxis, this study contributes by explicating the mutually constituting nature of naked protest and theory.

In the following sections, I discuss the rationale, research aims and research questions that guide the study. I then review the literature that provides a background and context for the study. I set the scene by discussing some of the naked body protests recorded locally, in other parts of Africa, as well as in countries in the global South. In the section that follows, I discuss the history of protests in South Africa. In this section, I assert that recent naked protests are part of a lineage of naked body protests on the continent. Previous studies that are relevant to this study are unpacked. The role of gender in naked body protests is also discussed. I next discuss African feminism followed by a theorisation of the body. This is followed by an engagement with decolonial praxis where naked body protests are understood as catalysts to freedom. An affective energy that pushes towards change is used as a generative lens through which the body and its actions can be seen. This is followed by a discussion on the act of talking back boldly by unclothing the body of its colonial costume. Next, the theoretical framework is outlined. This is followed by the methodology chapter, findings and discussion and conclusion chapters. In summary then, this thesis consists of five chapters.

1.2 Research Aims

In the South African context, one of the few studies on naked protests is based on a naked body protest that occurred in Dobsonville where women protested against being removed from their homes by police. This study, however, used a historical lens to understand the women's protest against police destroying their homes (Meintjes, 2007). In addition to the Dobsonville naked protest, anecdotal evidence from the Mpondoland region of the Eastern Cape suggests that women have used their naked bodies to intervene between fighting factions of men in rural areas. This also reportedly occurred in the Bushbuckridge region, in Mpumalanga province where elderly women, mostly in their 70s engaged in naked protests to express their grievances on issues of governance in the village or to petition the gods for rain.

In recent years, between 2015 and 2020, there has been an increase in naked body protests. These include protests such as the #FeesMustFall (04 October 2016), #RURenewal (17 April 2016) and #IAMOneInThree (26 April 2016). Consequently, research interest in black women's naked protest has been reactivated by young women's use of their bodies and nakedness in resistance. Coming from the field of political science, Gouws (2017) conducted a study on the student protests taking an intersectional lens. She explained that the students described their identities as radical, intersectional African feminists. She briefly described intersectionality as intertwining relations of domination of multiple social, political, cultural and economic dynamics of power. These interlocking dynamics of power are simultaneously determined by different identity categories such as gender, race, class, sexuality and disability to name a few (Gouws, 2017). Mazibuko (2018) adopted a sociological lens to understand protest action against sexual violence on a South African university campus and online.

Amongst other things, her study demonstrated how the extension of offline protest action to online worlds like Twitter could create a global pool of activism to confront the plight of women through textual analysis of tweets and hashtags. Mazibuko's study also analysed the uses of rage in the modern feminist movement through the emergence of the anti-rape campaign under the hashtag #RURReferenceList from Rhodes University. In addition, Mazibuko (2018) examined laughter as a response to women's protest action in the context of the University of the Witwatersrand and considered the implications that laughter at women's activism had on current processes of building a feminist movement.

Through an African feminism lens, Jimlongo (2018) analysed nakedness as resistance. Amongst the protests she examined were the #RURReferenceList naked body protesters. She argued that through the Western frame, the naked woman's body has been sexualised. She contended that the body is not a symbol of sexuality in the African context. Secondly, through what she calls unruly politics, she argued that the naked woman's body has historically been used as a tool for political resistance and emancipation in Africa. Literary scholar Young (2020), considered the implications of public nakedness for an understanding of precarity not only as a condition but also as a resource for the politics of resistance. She examined the testimonies of activists involved in the Fallist protests on university campuses in 2016, as well as the history of this form of protest, such as the women who participated in the Dobsonville protests of 1990 as seen in the documentary, *Ukuhamba 'Ze – To Walk Naked* (Mainguard, Meintjes & Thompson, 1995).

In light of the foregoing foci, this study sought to explore the phenomenon of naked body protests by examining the affective dimensions and psycho-social work performed by this act.

Secondly, the study explored the gendered nature of naked protests to ascertain the meanings assigned to women's protesting bodies. Theoretically, the study sought to contribute towards understanding the affective dimensions of the protesting African body. This is important for elevating discourse from gendered forms of body shaming and victim blaming as well constructions of black women as primitive (Lugones, 2010; Oyèwùmí, 2002) or framing African motherhood as the highpoint of their femininity (e.g. Obianuju Acholonu, 1995).

1.3 Research Questions

The research questions that guide the study are articulated as follows:

Why do protesters engage in naked body protest?

What are the affective dimensions of the naked body and what psycho-social work is performed by naked body protests?

What are the meanings assigned to women's protesting bodies?

1.4 Background

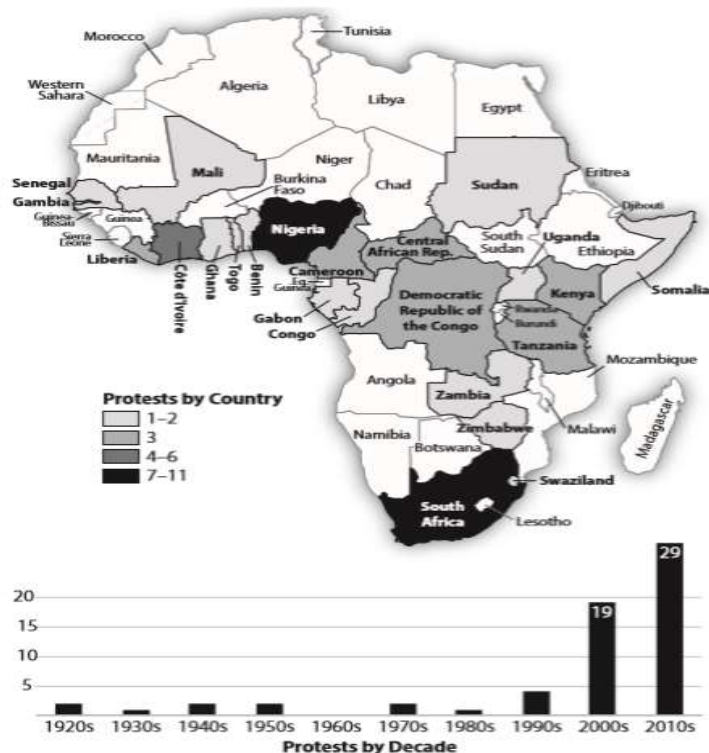
On the 4th of October 2016, while watching a news bulletin, I observed three women students at the Wits #FeesMustFall protest taking off their shirts. With their breasts in full view of everyone, including the media, they pleaded with the police on campus to cease fire and desist from shooting at student protestors. This triggered a number of questions for me and I became curious to find out more about this type of protest. I was curious to understand the conditions which gave rise to this form of protest. After much reading, I learnt that naked body protests are not new to society. Indeed, naked body protests are on the rise globally (Veneracion – Rallanza, 2014). In 2003, about 50 000 people were believed to have staged 91

naked body protests around the world (Kalish, 2003). Since the late 1990s, Diabate (2020) has documented almost 500 collective instances of naked body protests around the world in response to many issues. The range of these issues includes globalisation, capitalism, patriarchy, HIV/AIDS, war, power abuses, Black Lives Matter, animal rights, land disputes, lactivism, and environmentalism.

While growing up, I sometimes visited a village in Mpumalanga province where I would hear stories of old women who would walk around the streets naked. This was said to be a form of protest against social ills, bad judgments by the chief, any abomination in the village, and gross misconduct from the chief or the headman. Old women in the village would also stage naked protests as a way of asking for rain from God and the ancestors during long dry seasons of drought. The old women would stage naked protests to nature and the gods of the land to give them rain. It was as if they were giving the gods of nature an ultimatum to bless the village with rain.

The earliest naked body protest tale that I have been able to source was the legend of Lady Godiva, countess of Mercia in the 13th century. She is reported to have ridden a horse while naked in the streets, covered in nothing but her long hair. She was protesting against the arduous taxation placed by her husband on his tenants (Donoghue, 2008). In the next two sections, I discuss some of the naked body protests that have taken place in Africa and globally. The protests are included in the study for the different challenges ranging from anti-apartheid to anti colonial resistances.

1.5 African Naked Body Protests



Map 1: Map of the occurrence of naked body protests in Africa (1922 – 2017)

Source: Diabate, 2020, p. 5

The preceding map is an illustration of naked body protests that have taken place in more than twenty African countries south of the Sahara between 1922 and 2017 (Diabate, 2020). Nigeria and South Africa have the highest number of naked body protests. The darker shaded countries in the map indicate a higher density of naked body protests. The map also illustrates that the number of naked body protests has increased significantly from the 2000s to the second decade of the current century. Perhaps this could be ascribed to increased lack of services, government neglect, violence, dissatisfaction with the quality of services provided by governments, and increased conscientisation of the power of resistance (Stein, 2015). However, not all naked protests are discussed in this study. A table detailing protests, when and where they were held, and what the reasons were is given in the findings and analysis

chapter. In what follows, I give an inexhaustive account of the various naked women's protests. I engage these protests descriptively in order to curate a lineage of African women's protests and to signal that South African women's recent protests do not exist in a historical vacuum. The examples of protests were chosen because of the range of power relations that they challenge, varying from colonialism, institutional exclusion and patriarchy. Resistance is always contextual, which means it has a local history and politics in relation to what it seeks to do. The protests in this study were fighting different things. The #FeesMustFall were fighting for free and decolonised education for instance, while the Dobsonville women were fighting a patriarchal system that did not allow women to inherit property towards the end of apartheid. This issue of property inheritance is different today. These naked protests represent different historical and political moments.

Aba Women's Protest: Anti-Colonial Naked Protest

The 1929 Aba Women's riot is one of the most widely known and earliest recorded naked women protest on the African continent. The Aba women of Nigeria protested against social, political and economic oppression during the colonial era (Akin-Aina, 2011; Zukas, 2009). They protested against imposed market tolls on commonly owned land, taxes and forced labour. In turn, colonial authorities promised that roads, schools and court buildings would be improved. In 1929, it was realised that tax collection would continue with no material improvements in the lives of the people of Eastern Nigeria. It became apparent that the women and their personal belongings would be counted and taxed as well. On the 23rd of November 1929, the women mobilised against the dehumanising and humiliating actions of colonial representatives. Women leaders held talks with local administrators. When the talks were not successful, women embarked on protracted protests. By the 13th of December 1929, groups of women ranging in number from 400 to 4000 were participating in the protests

wearing nothing but palm leaves. The British colonial authorities reacted mercilessly by shooting and killing large numbers of women (Zukas, 2009). Tamale (2016) reports on the same protests and posits that in the end, the women succeeded in resisting the oppressive colonial policies and even acquired some seats in the native court (Tamale, 2016). This anticolonial protest therefore appears to have had positive material outcomes for the people of Eastern Nigeria.

Cato Manor Beerhall Protest: Anti-Apartheid Naked Protest

During the apartheid era in South Africa, men were mostly migrant workers who had to travel elsewhere to work. The division of labour at the time was such that men had to work and be the breadwinners. The men were not paid well and as a result were unable to financially support their families. The women were therefore forced to fend for the families. Brewing traditional beer was one of the few ways they could financially support their families as there were no jobs available for black women. However, according to the Native Beer Act of 1908, it was illegal for women to brew and sell traditional beer. Instead, the state advocated for the use of beerhalls where black people could consume alcohol (la Hausse, 1984; Reed, 2015; Rogerson, 1992). This undercut black women's businesses by redirecting profits to the state. The first beer hall resistance by women in Natal, South Africa, took place in 1929. However, this protest is not reported to have utilised nakedness as was the case with the one in 1959 (Sadler, 2002).

On the 16th of June 1959, women from Cato Manor, Durban, participated in a series of boycotts against beerhalls (Reed, 2015). Rogerson suggests that beer drinkers may recall this day as a small landmark in the making of urban apartheid. Police stormed homes and

destroyed homemade alcohol so that men would be forced to use municipal beerhalls and buy the beer sold there. The women responded by storming the beerhalls as well as destroying equipment and buildings. Some went to the beer halls half dressed (in traditional dress) with their breasts exposed. However, in many local cultures traditional dress that exposes breasts is not viewed as nakedness. In colonial terms, the unclothed African woman's body aligns with the unclean and unwell African body in need of intervention and legitimising the colonisation of African bodies (Coly, 2015). Traditional dress therefore operates on a double register where the exposed body is read as nakedness through colonial lenses while seen as unremarkable by those who dress this way. however, in a deliberately wilful move of intentional nakedness, in response to the advancing police, the Zulu women turned and pulled their skirts up in order to expose their posteriors. The police averted their gaze and the women passed by and entered the beerhall in protest. Given the economic and social impact of the beerhalls, the women retaliated the way they did because their families suffered enormously (Reed, 2015).

Dobsonville Housing Protest: Anti-Apartheid Naked Protest

On 12 July 1990, the Soweto municipal police arrived with the South African Police (SAP) to demolish about 60 allegedly illegal shacks erected in no-man's land between Dobsonville extensions 1 and 2. The police were armed with teargas, dogs, a Casspir and a bulldozer (Meintjes, 2007). As the police dismantled the shacks, the younger women took off their clothes, ululated, mocked the police, and shouted in pain and anger. The women took off their clothes in an effort to fend off police in the hope of stopping them from demolishing their homes. They danced, sang, held up printed posters demanding homes and surety of tenancy (Meintjes, 2007). According to Meintjes (2007), that that evening, international and national television networks featured this action in news headlines. Newspapers also covered

the protest. Figure 1 illustrates the Dobsonville naked body protest on the 12th of July 1990. Ultimately, the women were given the land, although this did not happen immediately. The combination of the action by the women and the coverage of the event by the media potentially contributed to countering the brutal might of the apartheid police.



Figure 1: Dobsonville Women Protesting for Housing on 12 July 1990

Source: The Star, 1990

Kenyan Women's Naked Body Protest: Naked Protest Against Government Oppression

On 3 March 1992, elderly Kenyan women aged between 60 and 70, led by Wangari Maathai, held a peaceful protest for the release of their sons who had been confined as political prisoners by the government of Daniel arap Moi. The police barricaded Uhuru Park and ordered the women to leave. They hit the women with batons and tear gassed them. Maathai was beaten until she fell unconscious. She was rushed to hospital but the rest of the mothers remained defiant. The police persisted in beating the women up. Outraged at the police action

of beating up mothers, the women staged a naked body protest (Musila, 2020; Mwangi, 2013).

Wambui Mwangi observes that:

A group of women stripping naked in public is one of our most potent political practices... In many African communities, there is no stronger curse or taboo upon men than seeing “the mothers naked.” There is no stronger way for women acting together to register political dissent. Deployed in this way, women’s bodies have the power to make (something) public, to create a public around this action, and thus to produce both public-ness and publicity from the ground of their own corporeal materiality (Mwangi, 2013, np).

Musila (2020) points out that although Maathai stops short of acknowledging this, in the extract above, Mwangi connects the women’s naked body protest to the political protest that happened back in 1922, where Mary Muthoni Nyanjiru stripped naked. Mary Muthoni Nyanjiru had led a group of women in a protest that attacked a police station in Nairobi, Kenya. The women were demanding the release of the nationalist leader Harry Thuku who had been arrested and detained by the colonial government (Musila, 2020; Mwangi, 2013). Maathai makes a connection to the power of the curse that she attributes to elderly naked women. She observes that the curse can be placed by naked elderly women on men young enough to be their sons.

One of the most powerful of African traditions concerns the relationship between a woman and the man who could be her son. Every woman old enough to be your mother is considered like your own mother and expects to be treated with

considerable respect. As they bared their breasts, what the mothers were saying to the policemen in their anger and frustration as they were being beaten was “By showing you my nakedness, I curse you as I would my son for the way you are abusing me”. (Maathai, 2006, p. 190)

Stella Nyanzi Makerere Protest: Naked Protest Against University Exclusion

In her professorial inaugural lecture at Makerere University, Tamale (2016) engages the naked body protest staged by Dr Stella Nyanzi at the same university on the 18th of April 2016. Nyanzi’s solo protest was directed at her manager, Professor Mahmood Mamdani. Nyanzi brought the university to a standstill and set social media aflame when she stripped naked after a dispute that led to her being locked out of her office. Tamale (2016) explains that what most caught her attention was the look in Dr Nyanzi’s eyes as she raised her fists in the air with anger. “They were ignited by some kind of wild emotion, bulging out of their sockets” (Tamale, 2016, p. 1). The public stripping act is even more powerful if the women are mothers and/married. Cultural beliefs about disrobing mothers of twins suggest double trouble, and Dr Nyanzi, who is a mother of twins (*Nnalongo*), capitalised on this issue during her protest (Tamale, 2016). As a member of the academic staff, at the Makerere Institute for Social Research, Mamdani, the director of the institute, asserted that Nyanzi was supposed to teach 50% of the time and to do research for the remaining 50% of the time. Mamdani complained that Nyanzi had not taught at all since joining the university. He argued that she had instead been conducting her own research and consultancy work. As a result, he locked her out of her office claiming that she did not deserve to have an office at the institute.

Nyanzi on the other hand asserted that she had been appointed as a researcher and was protesting Mamdani's oppression and heavy handedness (Mungai, 2016). When denied access to her office, Nyanzi resorted to disrobing. This appears to have had some effect because the keys were handed back to her. However, she was later arrested on charges of public indecency. She has since been back at the university but was re-arrested on the 7th of April 2017 for alleged cyber-harassment and invasive communication as well as using her Facebook postings to "disturb President Museveni's privacy". She was accused of insulting President Museveni's wife for refusing to buy sanitary pads for schoolgirls. Ms Museveni, the first lady also serves as the Minister of Education and Chancellor of Makerere University. Nyanzi appeared in court on the 26th of April 2017 and the case was adjourned to the 10th of May 2017 while she was still in Luzira Prison in Uganda (The Judiciary, 2017). After serving several months in prison, she was released in February 2020 (The Guardian, 2020). She subsequently challenged her dismissal from the university and won damages in financial compensation. In the recent 2021 elections, Nyanzi ran for Kampala women's member of parliament. After the elections, fearing for her life, she went into exile in Nairobi, Kenya.

Femicide and #FeesMustFall Protests: Naked Protest Against University Exclusion and Gender Based Violence

Rhodes university students resorted to disrobing in protest against the increased number of rapes on campus in April 2016 (Robertson, 2016). The police responded by assaulting them with pepper spray and arresting some of them (Msimang, 2016). Another naked body protest took place at Wits University in April 2016. The students were protesting in solidarity with their peers at Rhodes University as part of the #IamOneInThree protest. In October 2016, three women students went topless at the University of the Witwatersrand during the

#FeesMustFall protests when police were shooting at the students. They pleaded with the police to cease fire and the police obliged (Vallabhjee, 2016).

In November 2018, a woman staged a naked body protest at the gender-based violence and femicide summit in Irene, South Africa. She had been kidnapped and kept in a house in Tembisa and brutally raped by eight men for several days a few years earlier. She recounted her horror to the president and everyone who was at the summit. Her protest was captured by media that was covering the event. The woman had undergone several operations due to the brutal rape and had sought to show the president her scars. Her appeal to the president was that the sentences of sex offenders should be a minimum of 50 years. She told of the pain of seeing her perpetrators walking the streets of Tembisa after serving only four years of the 20 years to which they had been sentenced (Matshili, 2018).

On the 13th of March 2019, a woman stood outside the Union Buildings, wearing only a pair of panties with another pair of panties over her chest with a cloth placard. She was protesting the sexual abuse she suffered at the hands of a senior colleague while working at one of the local universities. She was hoping to be able to address President Cyril Ramaphosa about her abuse because she said her complaints at the university had been ignored (Matangira, 2019).

On the 18th of June 2020, on the 84th day of COVID-19 lockdown, a woman protested naked against gender-based violence outside Museum Africa in Johannesburg and posted her naked protest on twitter. She captioned her naked body protest [#GBVmustfall](#) [#day84oflockdown](#) [#COVID19](#) [#ProtectBlackWomen](#)

1.6 Global South Naked Body Protests

There is a global history of naked protest that generally focuses on international causes such as war and the environment. I recount some of these here. Anti-war protestors in South Africa, Australia the US and Chile protested naked and jointly had their bodies spell “peace” and “no war.” They were protesting against the war that was being driven by US President George Bush. The US president had support from the British Prime Minister Tony Blair against Iraq (Shannon, 2003).

In 2004, a group of women from Manipur, Imphal Valley, protested naked against the brutality of the Assam Rifles army, shouting “Indian Army rape us” (Hariharan, 2017). Figure 2 illustrates the protest. The protest was sparked by the ruthless rape and murder of 34-year-old Thangjam Manorama by a group of Assam Rifles men in 2004. The group suspected her of being an affiliate of the banned rebellious group, the People’s Liberation Army (Misri, 2011). The Assam Rifles were forced to vacate their head office and the controversial Armed Forces Special Powers Act that made them immune to any punishment or judgement was lifted from Imphal Valley, but it continued in the rest of Manipur (Misri, 2011). There are numerous protests of a similar nature throughout the world. The examples detailed here are illustrative.



Figure 2: Manipur, Imphal Valley Women Protesters in 2004

Source: Hariharan, 2017

At the 2003 World Social Forum she attended in Alegre, Brazil, Sutton (2007) saw a group of men running and repeatedly shouting repeatedly shouting “naked to the camp, naked to the camp.” The men were completely naked. They were protesting in solidarity with a woman who was staying at the International Youth Camp. The police had harassed this woman for taking a bath naked outdoors. It is unclear whether women could not shower outside but men could. In solidarity, some of the men were jumping up and down completely naked under their outdoor showers, burning clothing in a fire, and marching to other areas in the forum. The police chased the protesters away and a number were arrested (Sutton, 2007). In the middle of the chaos that followed, Sutton (2007) witnessed a different kind of naked body protest. She saw a young full-figured woman addressing the crowd. She was completely naked except for the mask she covered her face with. In the middle of her address, she put on a t-shirt with red stains mimicking blood. She then announced that everyone is bleeding and

that the earth is bleeding. She finally took off the mask and concluded that everyone does not need a mask anymore (Sutton, 2007).

It is in this climate of local and global naked or disrobing protests that study is situated.

1.7 Chapter Organisation of the Thesis

Chapter One offers an introduction to the research and an overview for the study. It provides the scope, the context and background of naked body protests in South Africa and in the rest of Africa. The rationale, research aims and research questions are also outlined in this chapter.

Chapter Two makes up the literature review and conceptual framework of the study. The chapter first focuses on African Feminism since the study is grounded in African Feminism, with particular focus on the work of Oyèrónké Oyèwùmí and Bibi Bakare-Yusuf. This is followed by a theorisation of the body, drawing from the works of Maria Lugones and Oyèrónké Oyèwùmí's as well as that of Elizabeth Grosz. Next, follows a discussion on decolonial praxis, where naked body protests are understood as a form of striving towards freedom and social justice. Key scholars in this section still include feminist scholars Oyèrónké Oyèwùmí, Bibi Bakare-Yusuf, Sylvia Tamale because they are decolonial scholars in their own right. The study also draws from Ndlovu-Gatsheni, Achille Mbembe, Ramón Grosfoguel and Nelson Maldonado-Torres. Affect is discussed as a productive lens through which the body and its actions can be theorised. This is mainly done through the work of Margaret Wetherell and Sara Ahmed. This is followed by a discussion of naked body protests

as a way of the body talking back boldly against authorities and practicing parrhesia (Foucault, 2001). This discussion draws from Michel Foucault and Rosi Braidotti. The next section is on unclothing the body of its colonial costume through naked body protests. The section draws from the works of Zethu Matebeni, Zanele Muholi, Ayo Coly and Sylvia Tamale. The last section is on the theoretical framework and it discusses the theories that inform the study. These include affect, habitus, gender performativity and intersectionality. Collectively, these theories point to the fluidity of identity and the potentialities of embodiment for creating new possibilities.

Chapter Three discusses the methodology used in this study. The chapter first gives a brief overview of qualitative research. This is followed by the sampling techniques used in the research. The unit of analysis, which refers to who or what is being studied by the research (Lewis-Beck, Bryman & Liao, 2004) is also outlined in this chapter. This is followed by an overview of the research process, data collection procedures including data sequencing and characteristics of videos and podcasts analysed in the study as well as the ethical considerations of the study. The chapter is grounded in critical discourse analysis (CDA) with particular focus on the works of Thomas Huckin (1997) and Teun Van Dijk (1993). A brief outline of other types of CDA is also given. An important concern in critical discourse analysis is understanding the nature of social power, ideology and dominance (Van Dijk, 1993). CDA is used in the study to illustrate how the women rebuff and push back at oppressive societal ideologies. In the last section, I reflect on my own position as a researcher and how this potentially influenced my execution of the study, the lenses I have chosen to use and the conclusions I have drawn.

Chapter Four simultaneously presents the findings and discussion of the data. It is divided into four parts that outline the different dimensions of affect in this study. The first part illustrates that affect has a decolonial dimension. The second engages the psycho-social role of affect in naked body protests. The third part is an exposition of the affective language of the protesting naked body through a close reading of the meanings of exposed body parts. The last part illustrates the afterlife dimension of affect and of naked body protests.

Chapter Five is the concluding chapter and it provides a summary of the research findings. The chapter outlines the strengths and limitations of the research. I close the chapter by presenting the recommendations and key takeaways emerging from the study.

Chapter Two: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

2.1 Gender, Embodiment and Protest

In South Africa, protest politics has a long history and has been differentially deployed in different historical periods (Nleya, Thompson, Tapscott, Piper & Esau, 2011; Stein, 2015). Nleya et al. (2011) explain that protests were mostly used as a tool to fight apartheid. They note that protest action in the post-apartheid era has been largely attributed to lack of service delivery in fulfilment of the promise of a better life in the post-apartheid era. SALGA or the South African Local Government Association investigations conducted in 2010 indicate that South Africa has historical experience of protest action directed at the state for varied reasons (Stein, 2015). SALGA (2010), found that while the political context of protests has changed, the social context has not. Below is a graph of the total number of protests recorded by police per year from 2006 to 2015, illustrated in Figure 3. This indicates that while protests are largely peaceful, those considered as unrest have been steadily increasing.

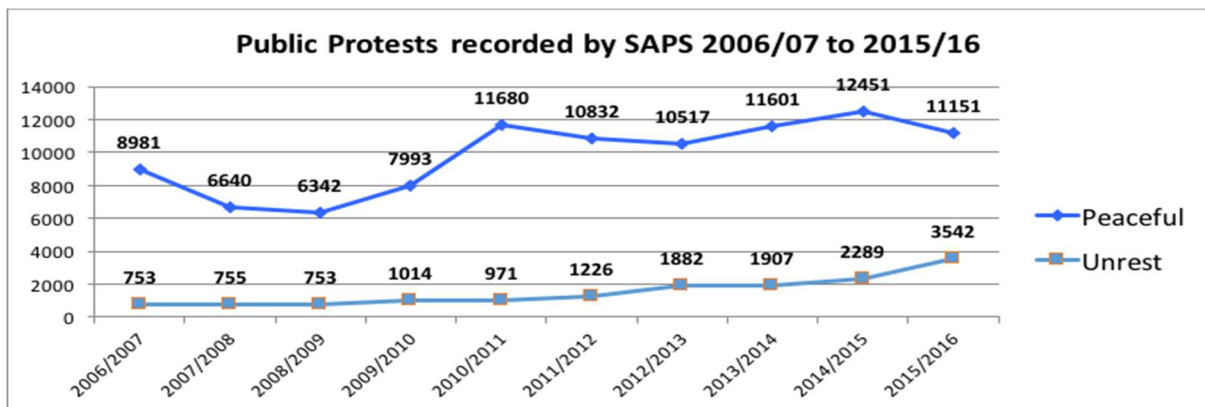


Figure 3: Public Protests Recorded by SAPS

Source: South African Police Service, 2015/2016

Von Holdt, Langa, Molapo, Mogapi, Ngubeni, Dlamini, and Kirsten (2011) explain that local community protests have spread across South Africa since 2004, with a great upsurge in 2009

and 2010. This is illustrated in the graph in Figure 4 below. Von Holdt et al. (2011) further explain that protests have become increasingly violent. They are characterised by the destruction of public as well as private property and confrontations with armed police. During these confrontations, protestors generally throw stones at police. Police sometimes resort to extreme violence as was the case in Marikana as well as the murder of Andries Tatane (Canham, 2017a). Andries Tatane was a 33 year old man who was shot and killed by police during a services delivery protest. Von Holdt et al. (2011) further argue that the protests during the apartheid era have entrenched elements of violent practices during protests. This might partially explain the violent nature of protests today. While protest is an entrenched practice in South African history, the mass democratic movement of the 1980s and the violent clashes in mass protests between the African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party in the late 1980s and early period of the 1990s saw an evolving character to these protests towards greater militance.

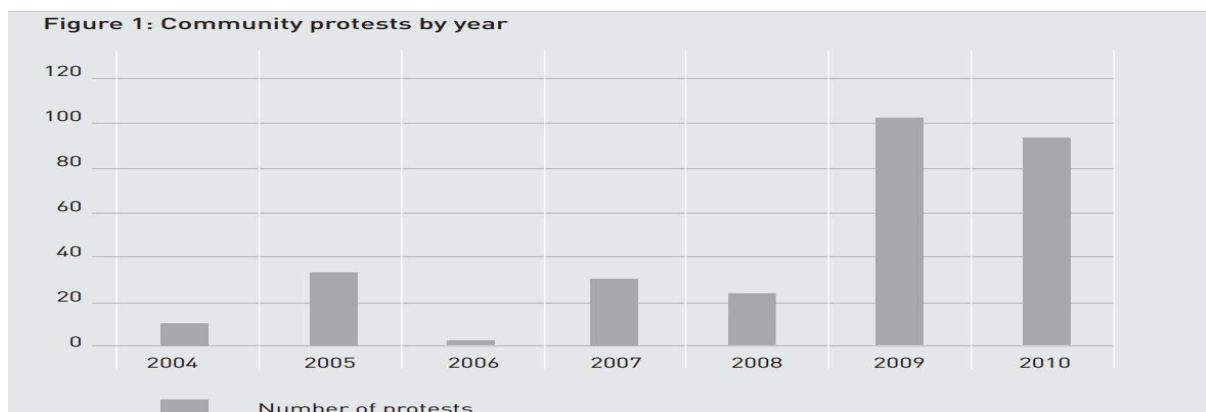


Figure 4: Community Protests by Year

Source: Von Holdt et al. (2011)

2.2 Women, Gender and Protest

Gender can be defined as a practice or something that people do (Mooney & Kiguwa, 2009). Gender is said to be informed by the sociocultural and psychological expectations placed on people assigned male or female at birth. This is to say that gender is socially constructed and not genetically determined. This is different to the biological sex markers of male, female and intersex. According to Mooney and Kiguwa (2009), the ways that individuals order and organise their worlds and behaviour are determined by pre-existing societal circumstances and relations, which in turn restrict how they may understand themselves and relate to others. People's choices of gender roles are influenced by wider social contexts. Gender can also be defined as "an unstable identity of locus agency from which various acts proceed" (Butler, 1988, p. 509). This suggests that gender identity is not an inborn, unchanging core which pre-dates the individual's actions and behaviour. Instead, Butler (1988) argues that gender is fluid and unstable as a result of one's interaction with society, different cultures and discourses. It is an individuality that is tenuously formed over time. She suggests that gender is established through the body conforming to a particular style of doing things such as gestures and movements (Butler, 1988).

Furthermore, Butler (1988) posits that gender reality is performative. This means that it is real only to the extent that it is performed. Given Butler's argument, it appears that naked body protests have performative possibilities that both reify and challenge gender. She argues that performing gender creates the space for gendered beings to resist any prior characterisation of their gender (Butler, 1988). Bordo (2013) briefly discusses an example of a man presenting with a performativity that would somehow be expected from a woman, illustrating the point that gender is performative. Sutton (2007) argues that male bodies

uncovered or covered with few clothes have generally been represented in ways that convey strength, sexual agency and virility, which is not the case with women. Sutton further explains that the representation of men's naked bodies with exposed genitals in modern day Western culture generates more uncertainty and anxiety than women's nakedness does.

Bordo (2013) recalls an incident where she was flipping through the *New York Times* magazine in the spring of 1995, when she first saw a commercial picture of a naked man wearing nothing but Calvin Klein underwear. She describes the experience as both exciting and unsettling (Bordo, 2013). She explains that the male model's body projected strength and solidity. She further explains that for many men, both gay and straight, to be so passive in accepting to be gazed at is incompatible with being a real man (Bordo, 2013). Perhaps this could be one of the reasons why it is not common to find many men participating in naked body protests. In addition, since the male body is typically read non-sexually and agentially, nakedness may not solicit the disruptive possibilities borne by women's bodies (Tamale, 2016). Ndlovu (2017) observes that generally, protests are violent, disruptive and male-dominated. From this, it can be argued that men do participate in protests, just not so much in naked body protests. The state, masculinity and heteronormativity position people as recognisable resisters. These resisters must be militant and masculine in order to be able to fight back against state power. When resistance comes in the form of women who are simultaneously vulnerable and armed in their nakedness, the dominant and normative script does not apply. In this instance, there is a momentary confusion and hesitation. This can be seen as a destabilisation of the norm. The unplanned or surprising nature of naked body protests is unsettling for state power and patriarchy.

Bordo (2013) asserts that women and men deal with the shame of being gazed at differently. Women have somehow learnt to anticipate and sometimes capitulate and perform for the consumptive glare of the male gaze, whereas men are not supposed to enjoy being gazed at.

In oppositional gaze; black woman scholar, bell hooks (2003) explains how as a child, she was always punished by her parents for gazing directly at them. hooks (2003) asserts that the gaze has always been political. She further explains that white slave owners used power and dominion over black enslaved people and punished them for gazing. The politics of racialized power relations and slavery denied the enslaved their right to gaze, yet they were gazed at by white people. On television and film, black people and were are continue to be represented negatively. Women were also represented in a negative light, i.e. for male consumption (hooks, 2003). The gaze is both a form of violence involving representation and one involving the material exploitation or domination of certain bodies by others. According to Sutton (2007), nakedness carries gendered meanings that are entrenched in the history and cultural baggage of different societies. These meanings are entangled with the ideologies of homophobia, classism, sexism, colonialism, racism and other systems of oppression. Tamale (2016) points out that the bodies of women and men are represented differently; the cultural script written on women's bodies is different from the cultural script on men's bodies. She argues that a woman's body is considered a sexual body, which is not generally the case with male bodies.

In most studies, *nakedness*, *nudity* and *unclothed* are often used interchangeably. In modern usage, *nakedness* and *nudity* are often used interchangeably to label the unclothed human body, although they are laden with cultural variations and historical determinants (Diabate,

2020). For Diabate (2020), the word *naked* originates from Germanic *nackot* and refers to “having no clothing on the body, stripped to the skin; unclothed.” According to Berger (1972) a *naked* body is different from a *nude* one. He asserts that nudity assumes display and beckons sexual connotations. Nakedness on the other hand, declares control in the disrobing of one’s clothes. I use Berger’s definition of nakedness and nudity in the study, as well as Diabate’s definition of unclothed which means having no clothes on the body. Coly (2010) similarly provides a useful definition from which I draw to consider the unclothed body. It is also crucial to note that the study’s focus is on women’s naked body protests.

2.3 Colonialism and Black Gendered Bodies

Bakare-Yusuf (2011) explains that the bare body, which was formerly read in a non-sexual manner in many Nigerian societies and cultures, is now assigned sexual connotations and is mainly associated with sexual intercourse. This associating the body with sexual intercourse and shame, has been inherited from two colonising religions, namely Christianity and Islam. These religions view the woman’s body as a source of distraction from devout thoughts as well as a site of moral corruption and sin (Entwistle, 2000; Hansen, 2004). Similar to the old testament heterosexual couple of Adam and Eve, shame of nudity indicates a fall from grace. It also indicates an invitation to illicit desire and yearning which should inspire shame and disgust in the fallen, who is always a woman (Tseelon, 1997, in Bakare-Yusuf, 2011, p. 122). Colonialists used various methods such as the education system, religion as well as criminalising “immorality” to make Africans believe that nakedness is abnormal. Colonialists sought to make Africans believe that it is modern and civilised to cover their bodies fully. As a result, the naked body gradually came to be viewed as abnormal despite the fact that nakedness had always been normal in Africa (Goodson, 1991; Tamale, 2016).

Led by John Calvin and Martin Luther, the 16th century European Protestant Reformation Movement, created puritan doctrines that regarded sex and sexuality as shameful. This movement associated women's bodies with witchcraft, sin and the devil more than it did with men's bodies (Goodson, 1991; Reis, 1997). In the 7th century, the Islamic religion also required women to cover their whole body except the face and the hands. Catholicism came to Africa much later through colonialism, further reinforcing the notion of the covered body, especially a woman's body (Dickens, 1968). Tamale (2016) contends that the patriarchal teachings of religion led Africans to believe that exposure of the body in public is wrong, when historically, Africans used to cover their bodies with simple material that exposed some parts of the body. The act of women protesting naked could therefore be viewed as a protest against the patriarchal and the colonial gazes. Naked protests topple the centuries old policing of the black woman's body into subservience and as only available to the male gaze under very particular terms. Black women's engagement in naked body protests makes them undutiful colonial subjects.

2.4 Studies on Naked Body Protests

This section reviews certain strands of women's naked body protests in the literature. Sutton (2007) explores the contradictions, tensions, and opportunities arising from the use of nakedness as a political tool. Her analysis shows that in as much as the naked body can be a form of resistance against authorities, it can also be used as a form of punishment. She specifically notes that while naked bodies can be commodified, particularly sexually in Western culture, naked bodies of resistance can result in social outrage and violent punishment. Punishment is usually exerted upon the protesters by police, as was the case in

most cases referenced in the preceding examples. This echoes Ndlovu's (2017) contention that the bodies of naked protesting women elicit harsh judgement.

Alaimo (2010) examines how the naked body functions within the naked body protests that take place around the world. She explores naked protests that extend human corporeality into actual places, enacting nakedness as an ethical performance of vulnerability – the allied, mutual vulnerabilities of human/animal/environment. She introduces the term “trans-corporeality”, which emphasises the overlapping of human bodies not only with each other, but with non-human creatures and physical landscapes. Alaimo (2010) uses examples of Bare Witness activists who spell out words with their naked bodies and argues that they perform vulnerability as a trans-corporeal condition in which the material interchanges between human corporeality, geographical places, and massive power networks, provoke political and ethical actions. Alaimo (2010) explains that for her, the term trans-corporeality suggests that human beings are not only inter-connected with each other but with material flows of substance and space. She differs with other social theorists who suggest the term intercorporeality, which restricts human interaction to other humans only. Alaimo (2010) borrows Moira Gatens's interpretation of Spinoza's theorisation of the body. Spinoza argues that “the body's identity can never be viewed as a final or finished product as in the case of the Cartesian automaton, since it is a body that is in constant interchange with its environment. The human body is radically open to its surroundings and can be composed, recomposed, and decomposed by other bodies” (Gatens, 1996, p. 110). Critiquing Cartesian thinking, Gqola (2001) contends that women's engagement with experience (embodiment) and theory demonstrates a reciprocity that co-constitutively animates these domains. Lewis (2001, p. 7) contends that the experience/theory interface “draws attention to African women's cultural expression as a vibrant yet often neglected or misrepresented form of

theoretical and intellectual intervention”. Naked body protests emphasise the lack of boundaries between flesh and space. Baring their bodies to the elements, such as cold weather, water and heat, the naked body protesters reveal their own vulnerability as an ethical and political stance (Alaimo, 2010). Intervening with the body is therefore to theorise the world by pointing to its oppressive systems and resisting these by pointing to potentially different possibilities of being.

Misri (2011) conducted a study in which she explores what it means for Indian women to deploy nakedness as a tool of embodied resistance against the patriarchal violence of the Indian state. She explores issues like the cultural imaginary from which the radical protests by these women materialises. She also looks at the extent to which such protests succeed in interrogating the gendered violence of the state as well as the patriarchal scripts underlying gendered violence (Misri, 2011). Amongst other findings, Misri (2011) found that across the literary, dramatic and political representations of naked body protest in her study, nakedness served as a powerful tool to spotlight and destabilise the nexus of caste patriarchy within the Indian state.

Tamale (2016) addresses the subject of African women’s bodies. She engages questions of whether African bodies have always been viewed as a source of sin and as shameful, and what power the women’s bodies held historically, if they ever held any power. She observes that women’s naked bodies had been used as a protest tool in the past. She explores the part played by law in the negative construction of women’s bodies and in maintaining their subordinate status. She further looks at what is signified by women’s fertility and maternal power in patriarchal and capitalist societies. Amongst other things, she discovered that the

historical account has shown that the women's naked body protests doubtlessly subverted patriarchal-capitalist power dynamics. Women's naked protests signify a resistance as well as a subversion of the dominant scripts engraved on women's bodies—scripts of subordination, passivity, sexuality, subservience and vulnerability. Tamale asserts that through the process of naked body protests, women engage in a re-scripting and realignment of their bodies. She found that African women have employed this strategy of naked protests against oppressive power over many generations (Tamale, 2016).

2.5 African Feminism

Mama (2011) writes that feminism analyses and critiques the epistemological foundations of patriarchy and contributes to the emancipation of women as subjects. She further explains that feminism is an ongoing fight to free women from years of subjugation, marginalisation and exploitation in the vast majority of societies. It is a call and action to end patriarchy. It is an intervention to expose, deconstruct and eradicate all the numerous personal, social, economic and political practices, habits and assumptions that sustain gender inequality and injustice all over the world (Mama, 2011). African feminism can be described as a movement in which members openly place value on challenging gender hierarchy and fighting for women's social rights, regardless of whether they adopt or reject the feminist label. The African feminist movement is characterised by an ongoing process of self-definition and re-definition (Lewis, 2001). It is also made up of a broad-based membership, resistance to the misrepresentations and distortions by Western feminism and the emancipation of African women (Akin-Aina, 2011). With regards to the representation of African women by the West, Nnaemaka (2003) reports that African women are either portrayed as a universal, singular entity, or erased out of history completely. These false representations construct African

women as homogeneous and without diverse experiences, objectives and knowledge. In addition, the distorted representation of African women further reproduces inequality, where Western feminists' writing objectifies and defines African women. Nnaemeka (2003) further argues that the pigeon-holing of African women by Western feminists creates a neo-colonial discourse, where knowledgeable and enlightened Western feminists step in to save poor African women from savage African men.

Nnaemeka (1998) and Akin-Aina (2011) proclaim that in order to fully articulate feminism in Africa, one needs to expound on its plurality because there exist many perspectives of African feminisms. This is because Africa is culturally diverse and has its own distinctiveness. These feminisms include motherism (Acholonu, 1995), African womanism (Kolawole, 1997; Ogunyemi, 1996), nego-feminism (Nnaemeka, 2003), Stiwanism (Ogundipe-Leslie, 1994), and Utu feminism (Kinyanjui, 2018). I briefly engage each of these feminisms here. Acholonu (1995) suggests that an African alternative to feminism is motherism. She asserts that motherism embraces and celebrates motherhood, nurture, and nature. However, in celebrating the nurturing nature of women, this type of feminism ultimately reinforces gender stereotypes (Lewis, 2001). For instance, childfree women and women who are not nurturing may be feminists. African womanism positions itself as a type of feminism where black women confront forms of domination and oppression forced on them in Africa and all over the world (Aniagolu, 1998; Collins, 1996; Hudson-Weems, 2019; Kolawole, 1997; Ogunyemi, 1996). In South Africa, scholars such as Abrahams (2001) and Gqola (2001) have grappled with what womanism means for black women in this context. By nego-feminism, Nnaemeka (2003) refers to the feminism of negotiation, challenging patriarchy on the continent and dealing with this in a context-specific way for African women depending on their location on the continent. Since this feminism has no ego and pride, its

proponents are willing to negotiate and compromise where possible without any ego. For example, in contexts where lesbian women are criminalised, the struggles may vary to those in most Southern African countries where sexual orientation has been decriminalised.

Unlike womanism, which focuses on the experiences of black women in Africa and in the diaspora, stiwanism is a type of feminism rooted in an African context. Stiwa is an abbreviation for Social Transformation Including Women in Africa. It also varies from nego feminism as negotiation is not central to its practice. It is strictly interested in the experiences of black women in the African continent (Ogundipe-Leslie, 1994). Stiwanism focuses on the structures that oppress women and the ways they react to these institutionalised structures. Like Oyèwùmí (2002), Ogundipe-Leslie (1994) asserts that the oppression women experience is a result of the colonial and neo-colonial structure that places men at the top of social stratification. Stiwaism seems to be the one that is more critical of patriarchy and in support of African women's emancipation. It is more concerned with the transformation of the continent structurally within states and within families and this should happen with the collaboration of both women and men (Lewis & Ogundipe, 2002).

Kinyanjui (2018) introduces another type of feminism called Feminism Utu (humanness), found amongst the Agikuyu women of Kenya. Utu means humanness in Kikuyu, one of the languages in Kenya. According to Kinyanjui (2018), Utu feminism depicts women as taking action, creating their space and opportunity as well as utilising collective action. Utu adopts the values of interdependence and interconnectedness of our humanity. It contends that one cannot be self-sufficient or flourish on their own, hence the need for community. It is based on the Agikuyu gender logic that one is human because of other human beings, whether men

or women. Utu feminism is a critique of the interaction between Agikuyu gender logic norms and Western feminism values (Kinyanjui, 2018). Utu feminism is not based on binary of male and female in hierarchical order. Amongst other qualities, it is about bringing women logic, values, norms and methods into the boardroom, corporations and governments in order to kitchenise these spaces. It is flexible and changes with age. It is also negotiated and shared in reciprocity (Kinyanjui, 2018).

Despite the fact that there are variations within the strands of feminism in African feminisms, there are common shared beliefs and features. A shared pledge of these approaches is to cohere around an African epistemological framework by and for African women in response to patriarchy and the overgeneralisation of African women's lived and day-to-day experiences by Western feminism (Pindi, 2019). As such, some scholars have argued for the strategic use of the singular term African feminism as more convenient, as opposed to African feminisms. This is in recognition of the shared objective of advocating for an African feminist framework specifically for Africans by various African scholars and activists (Arndt, 2002; Nnaemeka, 1998; Sophia, 2010).

Tamale (2020) asserts that the different African feminisms have been criticised for their heteronormativity, exclusions and ambivalences. Matebeni (2011) has pointed out that lesbians feel marginalised by feminism and by extension, strands of African feminism, because of their association with heteronormativity. Following Cock and Bernstein (2002), Matebeni (2011) argues out that African feminism can be seen to take essentialist positions in relation to feminism. It also tends to assume that identities are fixed or rely on socio-economic, cultural and/or biological heritage. Salo and Mama (2001) and Lewis (2001) have

advanced similar criticisms of strands that advocated for ‘Motherism’ for example. Critiquing Gwendolyn Mikell’s definition of African feminism as concerned with the politics of survival and as pro-natal and distinctly heterosexual, Mama (2011) notes that this conception is deeply conservative. Notwithstanding these limitations, Tamale (2020) asserts that the single straightforward message is that African women can successfully challenge their subordination and oppression by carefully and rigorously developing home-grown conceptualisations that are specific to their day-to-day experiences. This is important because theories and paradigms formulated in the West do not necessarily always apply in Africa. It also highlights the need to develop alternative schools of thought and counter-hegemonic narratives that expose the subtle and complex power relationships embedded in mainstream theories (Tamale, 2020). Importantly, feminisms grounded in everyday experiences of African women are crafted for their context and needs. Therefore, given the vast intra-African differences in our contexts, a single African feminism is not possible.

Much of the early writing on African feminism is by West African scholars. For this reason, this study draws from the works of thinkers like Oyèwùmí (2002) and Bakare- Yusuf (2003, 2006, 2011). Lewis (2001) asserts that African feminism welcomes the work of thinkers located in the United States and Africa but is committed to the gender analysis of African contexts conducted by researchers such as If Amadiume (2000) and Marjorie Mbliyni (1992), American feminists who lived in Tanzania. Tamale (2020) argues that African feminism has always been between the hard rock of Western influence and control and African relativism and criticism. As such, it is essential to transcend to the next stage of Afro-feminist activism by stripping off debris of Western feminism that were adopted without scrutiny. It is time to reconceptualise the African feminist movement as a socially relevant and efficient tool against the marginalisation of women. The oppressions faced by African

feminists are different from those faced by Western ones, though there is an intersection of overarching feminist concerns across the world (Tamale, 2020). For the purposes of this thesis, in addition to African feminisms, I also lean on the work of American feminist theorists like Judith Butler and Rosi Braidotti as their work has some features in common with African feminism. These include resisting oppression and domination, as well as disrupting that which oppresses them. Judith Butler's gender performativity theory is relevant in this study because it illustrates the fluidity of one's gender in that gender is real to the extent of its performance. For her, gender is a performance that the individual enacts (Butler, 1988). The women protesters in the study use naked body protests to disrupt gender identities and go against the prescribed ones. Braidotti encourages women to dare to be different as difference is generative and driven by an affective energy that opens opportunities for change and a better life (Braidotti, 2008).

Variations of African feminisms like that advocated by Oyèwùmí (2002) and Nnaemeka (2003) resist the importation of certain European feminist paradigms into African society. Both Oyèwùmí and Nnaemeka challenge the lies, distortions and silences that occur in history. Instead, they theorise and teach about African women, in the West and in the African continent. In theorising gender, Oyèwùmí (2002) challenges gender distinctions in the African context. She explains that Euro-American scholars privilege the visual. She explains that this facilitates an emphasis on appearance and visible markers of difference, namely male versus female, white versus black, heterosexual versus homosexual. Oyèwùmí (2002) rejects the biological sex difference structure that is used in Euro-American cultures and argues that it cannot be applied in the African context. For Oyèwùmí, African contexts manifest little evidence of the dichotomy of males and females because women's roles and activities encourage them to inhabit both private and public spheres simultaneously; for example, long-

distance trading, hunting and livestock rearing. Invoking Amadiume (1985), Davids and Matebeni (2017) posit that before colonialism, households were led by women and that children were not gendered. Their birth was celebrated without centering their gender. These ways of viewing women and children changed with the imposition of colonisation (Davids & Matebeni, 2017). Oyèwùmí offers a post-colonial critique of Euro-American scholars and explains that before colonialism, Yorùbá societies were not ordered according to gender roles. Instead of the biological sex difference, Oyèwùmí (2002) argues for seniority. She argues for chronological age difference and asserts that in the Yorùbá language, gender distinctions are not coded. Bakare-Yusuf (2003) asserts that for Oyèwùmí, the absence of gender in the Yorùbá language means that the word woman, as theorised in many Western feminist thought in terms of subordination and limitation has no equivalent in Yorùbá culture. As a result, Oyèwùmí contends that historically, biology and social practice did not influence access to power, social relations or participation in institutions. She cautions that a greater sense of conceptual sensitivity is needed in order to understand African social structures.

In contrast to Western conceptions of women, it could be argued that Yorùbá women are not perceived as powerless, disadvantaged, controlled or defined by men (Oyèwùmí, 2002). For Oyèwùmí (2002) the categories of man and woman are modern or European constructs that were imposed on Yorùbá society as a first step in the creation of colonial society. She illustrates how colonial inferiorisation of woman in the Yorùbá society was key to the transformation of politics, trade, religion and the social spheres. According to Oyèwùmí (2002), for us to fully understand the colonial inferiorisation of women, it is important to understand gender dimensions of Yorùbá society. If one uses the Yorùbá example to think of precolonial Africa, it can be argued that it is important to understand gender from an African perspective that does not construct women as inferior beings. The seniority that Oyèwùmí

refers to is about one's positioning within the kinship structure. An insider (for example, an extended blood relative) will always be senior to an outsider who is marrying into the family. For the insider, seniority is based on the order of birth with the first-born child being senior to the rest of the children. Seniority is always relative and context dependent. No one is permanently in a senior or junior position; it all depends on who is present in any given time (Oyèwùmí, 1997).

Bakare-Yusuf is critical of Oyèwùmí's reading of power and she observes that "as an ordering power in the Yoruba context, seniority operates in terms of a patrilineal system, a fact which, remains problematically under-theorised in Oyèwùmí's account" (Bakare-Yusuf, 2003, p. 1). Although Bakare-Yusuf agrees with Oyèwùmí's questioning of the universalisation of gender categories as a fundamental organising principle in all societies, she does not support her understanding of power in relation to seniority. Oyèwùmí's account of power dynamics in Yorùbá culture is based on context (being an insider or outsider in different contexts) and relativism (being senior or junior to certain members in the lineage). Bakare-Yusuf (2003) asserts that this account remains simplistic. Bakare-Yusuf argues that Oyèwùmí is wrong to conclude that seniority is the only form of power relationship and that it operates outside of or in relation to other forms of hierarchy. Other forms of power are always at play. For Bakare-Yusuf, Oyèwùmí only looks at power as enabling and not as also constraining. Bakare-Yusuf (2003) gives an example of a teacher-student relationship where the student will endure the abuse of power from the teacher based on the seniority of the teacher in the hierarchy of relations in the school context.

Given our colonial legacies, Africans have come to internalise the patriarchal dictates inculcated through missionary sensibilities. While recognising the precolonial gender order, it is not productive to ignore the misogyny that has come to define African masculinity (Gqola, 2015). McFadden (2005) warns that gender hierarchies have long existed in African societies and that the subsequent power inequities were exacerbated by colonialism. African women have however always resisted patriarchy and control over their bodies (Mama, 2011; Salo & Mama, 2001). Tamale (2020) also argues that in Africa, women's struggles against oppression predate colonialism. Therefore, women have always found creative ways of resisting patriarchal and political domination. Several legendary women helped transform their societies even before colonialism. These include Queen Eyleuka (Dalukah) of Ethiopia, Queen Lobamba of Kuba (Congo), Princess Nang'oma of Bululi (Uganda), Queen Rangita of Madagascar, Queen Nzinga of Angola and Queen Nyabingi (northern Tanzania & western Uganda) (Tamale, 2020). Echoing Tamale's (2020) contention that women have always found creative ways of resisting oppression and domination, Lewis and Baderoon (2021) introduce the concept of surfacing. They assert that one of the immediate meanings of surfacing is that those who have not spoken publicly in the past, now do. Lewis and Baderoon point out that black South African feminists have always spoken out through words, creativity and action. The issue is that prominent women's contributions have been neglected in the archiving of South African cultural and political traditions (Lewis & Baderoon, 2021). Following Omotoso (2021), Lewis and Baderoon (2021) explain that surfacing can also refer to the use of one's creativity and imagination. It refers to using the act of making to unmake the ways of thinking and meaning making that are often the root of so much that does not work in our societies and our lives. They therefore contend that surfacing overturns the sedimented and set ways of doing things (Lewis & Baderoon, 2021).

Postcolonial feminist thought has also been gaining impetus. More feminist scholars from different parts of the global South and indigenous territories have been demonstrating that the gender binarism of man and woman is not native to their cultures and that it was imposed on their societies by Western colonialists (Coetzee, 2017). Lugones (2010) names some of the feminist scholars that enable her to affirm that gender is a colonial imposition. These include Pamela Calla and Nina Laurie (2006), Carolyn Dean (2001), Paula Gunn-Allen (1992), Felipe Guaman-Poma-de Ayala (2009), Oyèrónké Oyèwùmí (1997), Sylvia Marcos (2006), Maria Esther Pozo (Pozo & Ledezma, 2006), Leslie Marmon Silko (2006) and Irene Silverblatt (1990; 1998). All native American societies recognised three to five genders (Jacobs, Thomas & Lang, 1997). Other pre-colonial Asian societies had a gender pluralist system that was not based on the dual division of man and woman (Wieringa, 2017). Not sidestepping McFadden, Tamale and Gqola's warning that misogyny has existed before colonialism, the idea that gender is an imposed phenomenon is not so far-fetched. Protesting women join a long lineage of women who have resisted forms of gendering that oppress them. They are thus claiming their agency through their bodies and resurgently asserting their equality.

Writing about Jamaican women's dancehall culture, Bakare-Yusuf (2006) explains that many Jamaicans adopted Africanised textiles, kaftans and long flowing brightly coloured majestic robes, head-wraps and jewellery made from natural materials such as seashells as practices of resisting European aesthetics.

Starting from the long revolution fermented in the hold of the slave ship, when the enslaved cut their hair into elaborate designs and reaching its apogee in the Black Power movement of the 1970s, bodily practices were as important as political

manifestos in the struggle for freedom, agency and assertion of cultural identity.
(Bakare-Yusuf, 2006, p. 463).

Bakare-Yusuf (2011) critiques the Bill titled “A Bill for an Act to prohibit and punish public nudity, sexual intimidation and other related offences in Nigeria.” The bill was proposed by woman senator Eme Ufot Ekaete in 2007. In short, the Bill’s aim was to reduce the apparent sexual violation and rape of women that resulted from what she called indecent women’s dressing. In other words, the women were being violated by men because of their indecent dress sense. The Bill defined public nudity as a state of indecent dressing which exposed the breast, belly, waist and lap of a female older than 14 years of age, as well as any part of the body from two inches below the shoulders down to the knee (Bakare-Yusuf, 2011). The senator was suggesting a causal relationship between the women’s sartorial choices and the sexual violation of women by men. She made the assumption that “women’s sartorial agency is assumed to always be directed at men and is held to be an invitation to erotic encounter which may often lead to unwanted consequences” (Bakare-Yusuf, 2011, p. 2). Remarking on the Indecent Dressing Bill, Coly (2015) points to the colonality of post-colonial African states that police women’s bodies in the name of modernity. This practice of colonality belies a colonial anxiety with the purportedly uncivilised native who exposes her flesh. Remarking on the similarities between colonial and post-colonial discourses that centre on the “clothing and unclothing” of the bodies of African women, Coly observes that “the seemingly antithetical gestures share common genealogies in the colonial statement of the African female body and extend both the colonial rhetorical use of the African female body as well as the colonial metonymic construction of Africa and the female body” (2015, p. 14-17). The colonality of post-colonial discursive angst hovers on the state of women’s bodies to measure progress towards the modernity. Here, the women’s body is both a corporeal

reality and a signifier that stands in for Africa. Coly (2015) cautions against reading the Bill through an overdetermined gender lens as this may obscure other frames of thinking about the African postcolonial states obsessive preoccupation with women's bodies. For example, religion which marched in step with colonialism was a core motivation for the Bill. Bakare-Yusuf (2011) argues that by suggesting a causal relationship between women's dress sense, sexuality and the potential for sexual violation, the Bill treats women's bodies as sex objects to be made available for the male gaze under patriarchal surveillance. Read in this light, the nakedness or the stripping of women could be sending an unintended message which invites violation and discipline. Beyond Nigeria, Coly (2015) points to the 1958-1966 campaigns against nudity in Ghana (see also Allman, 2004). These rhetorical strategies deny women agency over their own bodies by instead reducing them to metaphors, objects of the male gaze, and postcolonial nation making.

2.6 Disruptive and Unruly Bodies

The women participating in the naked body protests demonstrated what Judith Butler regards as the power of assembly (Butler, 2015). Butler argues that concerted bodily actions, whether gathering, gesturing, or standing still, are all forms of assembly and they can signify protesters' claim to their rights, freedom and equality (Butler, 2015). Rosi Braidotti explains this defiance by introducing the concept of the undutiful daughter. She explains that "one of the defining features of undutiful daughters' mindset is a productive form of conceptual disobedience" (Braidotti, 2010a, p. xii). The undutiful daughter is the woman that does not conform to societal expectations and conventions that limit her freedoms. She can be likened to Sara Ahmed's feminist killjoy, where the feminist is seen as one who disrupts and goes

against the norm. She disrupts patriarchal joy. Ahmed (2010) describes the feminist killjoy by giving the scenario of a table:

We begin with a table. Around this table, the family gathers, having polite conversations, where only certain things can be brought up. Someone says something you consider problematic. You are becoming tense; it is becoming tense. How hard to tell the difference between what is you and what is it! You respond, carefully, perhaps. You say why you think what they have said is problematic. You might be speaking quietly, but you are beginning to feel “wound up,” recognising with frustration that you are being wound up by someone who is winding you up. In speaking up or speaking out, you upset the situation. That you have described what was said by another as a problem means you have created a problem. You become the problem you create (Ahmed, 2010, p. 1).

Mupotsa (2017) reads the undutiful daughter in relation to the rebelliousness demonstrated by the women students who protested at #FeesMustFall at the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits). Following Braidotti, Mupotsa asserts that the undutiful daughter can be seen as a figure of defamiliarization. This is the process of becoming an undutiful daughter, one dares to be different and calls out the patriarchal system (Mupotsa, 2017). The naked body protests on the Wits campus are not so much about confrontation and rebellion by the women protesters, but should be viewed as the transformative work of defamiliarisation and ultimately, freedom (Mupotsa, 2017; Young 2020). Her intention is not to encourage pedagogy to act mimetically to the student protesters and simply “rebel.” She beckons us to think about the scene of protest and Wits University as “an institution through the relation between the undutiful daughter and the feminist killjoy” (Mupotsa, 2017, p. 38). The killjoy

can therefore be defined as someone whose presence makes others uncomfortable, sometimes without even opening their mouth. They get in the way of other people's happiness. The black body, especially the female black body, is seen as the cause of tension and discomfort and disruption (Ahmed, 2010). Ndlovu (2017) illustrates this notion of the feminist killjoy; the one who disrupts, when she relates that during the naked body protest in which she participated, their bodies were objectified. Some even questioned their morality. Ndlovu explains:

...resorting to a nude protest in such spaces is obviously an uneasy decision, given some of the many fights that we had with both men and women in the movement who believed that feminism was divisive, therefore issues of intersectionality or our struggles should not be raised in such spaces (Ndlovu, 2017, p. 74).

Ahmed's concept of feminist killjoy helps us understand these expressions of disapproval from the public. It can be used as a way to analyse how racialised or black bodies are made to feel strange and unwanted in public spaces. The fact that the women remove their tops in public, makes the public feel uncomfortable. The glares and horrible comments from some members of the public when the women bare their breasts indicate that these women fail in their duty to maintain public comfort because they are refusing to conduct themselves 'properly' by covering their bodies in public (Ahmed, 2010). They are undutiful 'daughters' and they kill the joy and order of patriarchal expectations. In a patriarchal society women's breasts are sexualised and the only appropriate time for them to be displayed freely is for the fulfilment of male sexual desire (Creswell, 1996). Canham and Williams (2017) illustrate how black women are made to see themselves as angry and crazy. They explain that the

before we label women as crazy, we need to understand the context which creates it and that failure to do so forces the black woman to take accountability for generating unhappy feelings.

This craziness which women are labelled with could also be traced back to Luce Irigaray's writings on the nature of women. Irigaray, as a "radical feminist" in the Western tradition, seeks to uncover universalised ways in which women's sexuality is pathologised and seen as threatening to the patriarchal symbolic order. Her explanation is not attuned to the specific hypersexualisation of black women's bodies. Irigaray (1977) explains that because a woman is not one but a multiplicity, she is considered hysterical, unstable and incomprehensible. Because women are autoerotic and their genitalia is complex, the androcentric fear of this, leads to women being classified as hysterical. Women are fragmented by phallogentric, patriarchal societies, leading to a debilitation of their psyches or their identities. Irigaray (1977) argues that women's empowerment comes from them tapping into their duality and multiplicity. They can achieve this by a rejection of the androcentric and phallogentric view of the world. Ey (2021) tackles the concept of multiplicity and asserts that rather than relying on singular categories of social difference (such as gender) to explain women's resistance, we should move away from explaining why women resist. Instead, we should explore the multiple diverse ways they resist. We could explore the varied more than-gendered and more-than-human ways in which women resist.

The concept of the "more-than-human" was coined by an American ecologist and philosopher David Abram (1996) to refer to earthly nature. According to Abram (1996), the term refers to a world that includes and exceeds human societies, thereby associating them

with the complex webs of interdependencies between the innumerable beings that share earthly residence. The aim of this approach is to overcome the dominant dichotomy between nature and culture (de Souza, 2021). In addition, de Souza (2021) explains that although it started in eco-phenomenology, the concept of more-than-human has been adopted by several theoretical standpoints, particularly post-phenomenology (Ash & Simpson, 2018), non-representational theory (Thrift, 2008), eco-feminisms (Bellacasa, 2017; Tsing, 2015), and post-humanisms (Haraway, 2008, 2016).

To be an unruly body and to be undutiful daughters can also enable women to speak truth to power and engage in parrhesia (Foucault, 2001). Parrhesia is a Greek concept which simply means “free speech,” when translated to English. However, in Foucauldian analysis, it involves speaking truth boldly to authoritative power and authoritative bodies (Foucault, 2001). The characteristics of parrhesia include frankness, truth, danger, criticism and duty. The one who uses parrhesia, (the parrhesiastes) says everything they have on their mind, without hiding anything. They say what they have to say as frankly as possible. Secondly, the parrhesiastes tells the truth because he or she knows that it is the truth, not what they think is the truth. Thirdly, someone is said to be using parrhesia if there is danger or risk of them telling that truth. Parrhesia is said to be a game between the one who speaks the frank truth and the interlocutor. Lastly, the one who speaks the frank truth to authorities feels that it is their duty to tell the frank truth (Foucault, 2001). I conceive of women who engage in naked body protests as speaking their truth against intolerable conditions. They engage in parrhesia against different forms of patriarchy and structural inequality. Parrhesia coheres well with the concept of the undutiful daughter (Braidotti, 2010a). Rosi Braidotti contends that one of the defining features of the undutiful daughters’ mindset is a productive form of conceptual disobedience and striving for difference (Braidotti, 2010a). Influenced by Deleuze and

Guatarri (1977), Irigaray (1977) and Braidotti (2010a) advocate for difference. Deleuze is a philosopher of new possibilities and difference, of how things change over time. He asserts that as humans we are free to change the world, in ways that do not always seem possible. These possibilities and experiences are engaged in the analysis section of this thesis.

2.7 Theorising the Naked Body

Elizabeth Grosz observes that in the history of Western knowledge, the mind has always been advantaged or privileged over the body. Greek philosopher Plato described the body as “a betrayal of and a prisoner for the soul, reason or mind” (Grosz, 1994, p. 5). For Plato, reason had to rule over the body. In comments ridiculing naked women’s protests, women are often implored to be reasonable and to find less embodied forms of protest. They are asked to discipline their unruly bodies. In continuing Plato’s work, Descartes distinguished between the thinking substance (the mind) and the extended substance (the body), something known as dualism today. Grosz (1994) indicates that the mind or reason has mostly been coupled with maleness while the body has been coupled with femaleness. She explains that French philosopher René Descartes conceived of the body as always interfering with and as a danger to reason (Grosz, 1994). Perhaps this theorisation of the body could also shed light on the reactions of the public against the stripping women protesters. The naked body is seen as irrational, uncontainable and outside of normative constructions of reason.

The Western framing of bodies has been hegemonic and dictated how bodies are read, consumed and disciplined. In Modernity, the world is organised in terms of homogeneous, atomic, separable categories (Lugones, 2010; Oyèwùmí, 2002). Lugones (2010) explains that with the colonisation of native Americans and the Caribbean, a hierarchical, dichotomous

distinction between human and non-human was imposed on those who were colonised in service of Western man. Wynter (1994) theorised this dichotomy as *Man* and the non-human. In her formulation, Man represents the white, enlightened, heterosexual and Western male while the non-human consists of all who do not measure up to this conception — with Africans being the exemplar of the not-yet-human. Other dichotomous distinctions included those between men and women, which excluded indigenous people and Africans. This distinction became a mark of civilisation, where only the civilised were men and women. The enslaved and the indigenous people from the Americas and Africans were classified as non-human. They were classified as uncontrollably sexual, as animals, wild and in need of civilisation (Jackson, 2020). The European bourgeois colonial modern man became a subject/agent, fit for rule, for public life, a being of civilisation, heterosexual, Christian, a being of mind and reason. The European bourgeois woman was not understood as his equal, but as someone who reproduced race and capital through her sexual purity, passivity, and being home-bound in the service of the white, European, bourgeois man (Lugones, 2010). This meant that the black woman was excluded at the juncture of gender and race because only the white woman counted as a human being (Coetzee & Du Toit, 2018; Crenshaw, 1991). It is within this context that Coly (2015) sees the obsession of postcolonial states to clothe the African women's body and thus prove African worthiness to join modernity.

Religious indoctrination which advocated a dichotomy of good and evil and equated colonised women with evil and Satan, was successfully used to achieve a colonisation of bodies and memory. Lugones (2010) contends that this imposition became interwoven into day-to-day relations, including intimate relations, and argues for decolonial feminism in order to overcome this coloniality of gender. Referring to women's contestation of citizenship in Zimbabwe and the African context more broadly, McFadden (2005) explains that the leading

notion of citizenship is one derived mainly from the colonial practice that attached the status of citizenship to whiteness, maleness as well as to the ownership of property. She observes that black men themselves also participated in making sure that black women were confined to rural areas and made sure that they knew their place and remained excluded from everything, including citizenship. Nonetheless, women left for urban spaces, expressing their resistance to patriarchal surveillance through flight. They resisted racist and patriarchal representations that labelled them as mothers of great men, prostitutes, sex slaves and glorified breeders (McFadden, 2005).

Foucault (1977, 1978) asserts that our bodies have different markings engraved upon them. He observes that the way we regard reality and interpret the world is based on discourses that are socially, culturally and historically constructed. It is through the discursive or constructed sense of reality that we know anything about our bodies. Karpin and Mykitjuk (2011) suggest that we can imagine the naked body as a blank slate at the time of birth but that culture then proceeds to inscribe gendered, racialised, sexualised, and classist hierarchies that give character to that body. Building on these ideas, Tamale (2016) contends that the body carries the signs of hierarchies based on sexuality, class, gender, race, ethnicity, age and (dis)ability. This suggests that there are societal hierarchies that position, for example, men higher than women, heterosexual individuals higher than homosexual individuals, and white people higher than black people. Brown and Gershon (2017) argue that the body is placed in hierarchised contrasts, for example, able-bodied/disabled; fat/skinny; heterosexual/homosexual; masculine/feminine; mind/body; and young/old (Brown & Gershon, 2017). Women's bodies are usually associated with the negative side of these hierarchies and dichotomies. Descartes's dualistic theorisation is usually associated with other two-fold pairs; public and private, other and self, culture and nature as well as object

and subject. The mind is linked to culture, reason, subject and self; while the body is associated with the passions, nature, object and other. The positive side of the opposition like culture/mind is associated with masculinity or with men, and their contraries, with femininity or with women (Grosz, 1987).

A *naked* body is different from a *nude* one. Nudity presumes display and summons sexual connotations. Nakedness on the other hand, declares control in the stripping of one's clothes. Tamale (2016) notes that naked women's protesting bodies are unlike seductive nude bodies as the former represent defiance and agency while the latter represent sexual objectification. Berger (1972) asserts that a naked body has to be seen as an object for it to become nude. The naked body can therefore be read as subject and agential. With reference to the documentary of the Dobsonville women's naked body protest of 1990 (Mainguard, Meintjes & Thompson, 1995), Diabate (2020) states that unlike in racist colonial and neo-colonial voyeuristic images, what is not in this documentary is submissive nakedness. The women's self-disrobing is lively resistance against humiliation and dispossession. When women engage in naked body protests, they are challenging and subverting dominant gender norms to draw attention to their plight and grievances (Tamale, 2016). These women harnessed a power that Foucault asserts is vested in the body. Bakare-Yusuf's (2006) work on Jamaican women's dancehall culture and style of dress observes that by subverting fashion and asserting their sexuality, dancehall women have the agency to cut themselves loose from the societal boundaries that constrain them so that they can navigate and survive in the Jamaican ghetto and day-to-day hardships of life. The eroticised exposure of plentiful, black women's flesh in revealing clothes disrupts the patriarchal split between the sexualised woman's body and the maternal body (Bakare-Yusuf, 2006; Newell, 2009). Since coloniality portrays black women's bodies as grotesque, uncivilised and crudely sexual, even when they are formerly

dressed (Lewis, 2011), naked protest turns these crude stereotypes into a mockery and subverts the lens. The observer is forced to confront their own complicity in colonial constructions of the body.

According to Tamale (2016), the understanding of naked protests entails a conceptualisation of the body as an instrument of control as well as a source of disruption. At the least, naked bodies compel us to reconsider our association of nakedness with shame and humiliation. At the extreme, naked bodies make strong political statements that contest structures of control or exclusion. Naked bodies are able to disrupt patriarchal structures and turn naked vulnerable bodies into powerful ones (Tamale, 2016). When twenty-year-old Aliaa Al Mahdy posted her naked pictures on social media in 2011 in protest against patriarchy and for freedom of expression, her pictures went viral and disrupted the country of Egypt (Hafez, 2014). People asked ‘why now? why this?’, and she responded with these words: “When the woman is taking off her clothes, it is a way of revolution. When she took off her clothes, it was not for men, it was to protest oppression” (Hafez, 2014, p.175). Her intervention enabled her to communicate her message and to disrupt patriarchy. The act of also posting her naked pictures is a reversal of the male patriarchal gaze. The act of women staging naked body protests is also a way of reversing the male patriarchal gaze and reclaiming their power and owning their bodies (Jimlongo, 2018; Tamale, 2016).

During the colonial era, black women’s bodies were the subject of voyeurism. In the slave trade, black women’s naked bodies were put on display for the purposes of humiliation and ridicule (Mazibuko, 2018). However, even though the colonial gaze disarmed women, they have in turn used their nakedness to disarming effect in order to claim or reclaim a power that

is threatened or lost (Diabate, 2020). Amanda Gouws asserts that during the #RURReferenceList protest, “the naked black/queer/trans body was used to claim back bodily autonomy and invert the colonial gaze of the silent ‘hypersexual’ African woman or the ‘unAfrican’ queer body (Gouws, 2017, p. 24). This supports Tamale’s (2016) claim that women’s bodies have the power to disrupt patriarchal and by extension colonial structures. Sasson-Levy and Rapoport (2003) assert that social constructionist theories do not view the body as a biological given but as constituted in the intersection of discourse, social institutions, and the corporeality of the body. According to Elizabeth Grosz, patriarchal oppression justifies itself through the belief that women, more than men, are tied to their fixed corporeality. This suggests that patriarchal oppression considers women to be more natural and biologically governed, and less cultural, to be more object, and less subject than men (Grosz, 1987). She further explains that women's existence is viewed in biological terms and is thus rendered fixed. Butler (1993) challenges the notion that biological sex is prior to the social and is unchangeable. For Butler, sex is not something that one has nor is it a static description of who one is. She contends that sex is not a bodily given on which the construct of gender is artificially imposed, but a cultural norm which governs the materiality of the body (Butler, 1993). Relying on essentialism, naturalism and biologism, misogynistic thought restricts and limits women by tying them to a biologically and logically necessary dependence on men, ensuring its own continuity through the ascription of a biologically determined female nature. Grosz (1987) argues that the body need no longer be an object of theoretical aversion and ideological suspicion. Feminists need not commit themselves to essentialism or biologism. She avers that instead, feminists should engage in conceptions of the body that are compatible with transformations in social relations, non-biologistic, non-reductionist and anti-essentialist notions of the body. This is to ensure that women's specific experiences can be articulated.

Sasson-Levy and Rapoport (2003) assert that because social constructionist theories do not view the body as a biological given but as constituted in the intersection of discourse, social institutions, and the corporeality of the body, body practices reflect the basic values and themes of the society. Seen this way, an analysis of the body can expose the intersubjective meaning common to society. At the same time, discourse and social institutions are produced and reproduced only through bodies and their techniques (Frank, 1991). Consequently, social analysis has expanded from studying the body as an object of social control and discipline in order to legitimate different regimes of domination (Bordo, 1993; Foucault, 1975, 1978, 1980) to perceiving it as a subject that creates meaning and performs social action (Butler, 1990; Wetherell, 2012). The body is understood as a means for self-expression, an important feature in a person's identity project (Giddens, 1991), and a site for social dissidence and self-empowerment (Davis, 1995).

Feminist scholarship on gender and the body teaches us that women's bodies are appropriated more often and completely than those of men because women's bodies are constituted within discourse, rules, norms, and institutions formulated and dominated by men (Frank, 1991; Sasson-Levy & Rapoport, 2003). As signifying objects, postcolonial states appropriate women's bodies to stand in for the nation (Coly, 2015). The body is policed to fulfil the portrayal of the decent, beautiful, modern nation which is counterposed to the unruly and backward nation. At the same time, women's bodies (like those of men) have an intrinsic potential to resist control and power relations. This supports Foucault's (1978) assertion that where there is power there is resistance. Since the body is vested with power (Foucault, 1991), it is this power that the stripping protesters use to bring attention to the issues they are protesting about. Foucault (1991) further explains that power can be from the bottom up; it

does not always have to be from top to bottom. The assertion that where there is power, there is resistance suggests that even in extreme forms of oppression, the marginalised are able to resist oppression in different ways. Foucault (1978) postulates that there are multiple loci of resistance. There are forms of resistance that are possible, necessary, and improbable. Others are spontaneous, riotous, solitary, concerted, rampant or violent. For instance, Spivak (1988) argues that even in her silence, the subaltern speaks. In a similar manner, women protesters are speaking and resisting forms of oppression through naked body protests.

Previous scholarship has studied the body as a site of resistance through everyday life practices such as hairstyle (Kuumba & Ajanaku, 1998), body modification (Pitts, 2000), body weight (Bordo, 1993) and cosmetic surgery (Davis, 1995). Sasson-Levy and Rapoport (2003, p. 382) argue that bodily sites are treated as protesting against normative codes of femininity, as a means of self-empowerment, and as constructing counterhegemonic identity. This study advances this scholarship. Naked body protests by women represent a resistance and insurrection against the dominant scripts engraved on women's bodies. These include scripts of subordination, passivity, sexual availability, subservience and vulnerability. Through naked body protests, women re-script and reorganise their bodies (Gouws, 2017; Jimlono, 2018; Mazibuko, 2018; Misri, 2011; Tamale, 2016). This re-scripting entails assuming a position of agency and subverting the vulnerability of nakedness into armour. It is, however, important to note that resistance need not always result in success or failure. Writing about black explosion and utopia, Tan (2018) argues that we should understand black explosivity not as a strategy or tactic harnessed to provoke change or to mobilise, but as an intuitive resistance to things as they are and as they have been constructed. In the same manner, naked body protests should not only be understood as a strategy to provoke change, but also resistance to how things are. Therefore, we cannot see naked protests as necessarily successes

or failures. As acts in the world, naked protests may be read as actions of explosion but there is no guarantee as to the directions in which observers may be moved. If we understand naked protests as acts of defiant despair and therefore as already negative affects, we should not burden them with the expectation of only positive outcomes. Glover (2021) persuasively argues that women who refuse should not necessarily be burdened with providing solutions and doing the work to birth a new order. On the other hand, we might also read defiance as underpinned by a hopeful rage. This aligns with Canham's (2018) contention that rage is fuelled by hope since the status quo is unbearable. Similarly, Mupotsa (2008) asserts that rage is fuelled by hope. She explains that although deeply flawed and patriarchal, she had viewed the university as the site best suited for the articulation of her freedom. She further explains that she had regarded the university as the site where she could best express her rage and the place through which she would make her largest contribution towards a better world.

Therefore, while the protesting naked body is always one of revolt, the possibilities are uncontainable and cannot be foreseen. One of the possibilities that can be reached through naked body protests is decolonial praxis. This is discussed below.

2.8 Decolonial Praxis

Since many women who protest naked are invested in changing social conditions, the act of staging naked body protests can be viewed as striving for decolonial praxis. The protesting women advocate for social justice against forms of oppression such as patriarchal domination and state violence. However, naked body protests do not always have to be purposeful. They can be viewed as performances of defiant unhappiness and therefore as undesirable affects (Glover, 2021). In this section, I focus on more purposeful protests. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013)

asserts that Africans must be vigilant against the trap of normalising coloniality as a natural state of the world. It must be exposed, resisted and destroyed because it produced a world order that can only be sustained through a combination of violence, deceit, insincerity and lies (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013). Following Fanon (1963), Canham (2018) adds that a central feature of decolonisation is complete disorder so as to disrupt colonialism. I note that colonialism is not simply about political and economic arrangements, but also about a world view that orders knowledge and bodies in terms of binaries. Invoking Mignolo (2011), Tamale (2020) asserts that decoloniality is a specific form of decolonisation which advocates for the disturbance of legacies of gender, geopolitical and racial inequalities and control or power.

Decoloniality is a way to re-learn the knowledge of one's forebears that has been pushed aside, forgotten, buried or discredited by the forces of modernity. Following Grosfoguel (2007), decoloniality as conceptualised in this study, aims to epistemologically transcend and decolonise Western principles and epistemologies. It is exploration of how colonisation, capitalism, modernity and neoliberalism have displaced a range of modes of living, thinking and being. Decoloniality uncovers the dark side of modernity and shows how it is built on the backs of others. The others that it erases, racialises and/or objectifies are generally black women. Decoloniality is about restoration and reparation (Mignolo, 2011). Decoloniality is not only a long-standing political and nonconformist movement aimed at liberation of colonised people from global coloniality but also a way of thinking, knowing, and doing (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013).

Maldonado-Torres (2007) suggests that after the removal of the invading and violent power of colonialism, the power structures that were put in place by the colonisers still have an influence on the invaded subjects. In other words, coloniality outlives colonialism.

Grosfoguel (2007), echoes Maldonado-Torres's sentiments and explains that coloniality refers to the continuance of forms of control after the end of colonialism, produced by colonial structures and cultures in the modern, capitalist and patriarchal systems. Black women bear the brunt of coloniality and they resist it through protest. For Mbembe (2015), coloniality is a form of violence. He follows Aimé Césaire (1955) in his assertion that the coloniser turned the colony into a place of terror where the colonised are surrounded by a world of prohibitions and inhibitions, where evil spirits deal with anyone who dares step out of line (Mbembe, 2015). He further explains that there are two types of violence. These include "the violence that the Other inflicts, the violence of being reduced to nothingness," and "the violence that one inflicts on Oneself: self-exhaustion, self-crucifixion" (Mbembe, 2015, p. 182). The colony is a place where the customs and rights of indigenous people are overridden and eradicated by the coloniser (Mbembe, 2015). According to Césaire (1955, p. 42), "between coloniser and colonised there is room only for forced labour, intimidation, pressure, the police, taxation, theft, rape, compulsory crops, contempt, mistrust, arrogance, self-complacency, swinishness, brainless elites, degraded masses." It is against this pervasive force that decolonisation seeks to reimagine and to create a world free of degradation.

Tamale (2020) asserts that coloniality is an indirect part of colonisation but definitely not less effective than the first. Following Quijano (2013), she explains that Eurocentred colonialism was replaced with Eurocentred coloniality. She argues that as Africans, we have been made to believe that certain truths such as the existence of the third sex are unnatural. The process of coloniality has successfully erased, demonised and suppressed many indigenous, non-

western knowledges, especially the knowledges of women (Tamale, 2020). Following Martín-Baró (1994), Adams, Dobles, Gómez, Kurtiş & Molina (2015) encourage three different ways to decolonise psychological science and by extension to resist other forms of colonial oppression. These include de-ideologising everyday realities, which entails revealing and disrupting the ideology of everyday realities because they represent particular constructions of reality that reflect and serve the interests of the powerful/dominant. The second, is the recovery of repressed historical memory. This encourages the reconstruction of our identity and roots. Lastly, decolonisation entails privileging marginalised perspectives in order to provide a mindful corrective to conventional practice and enable a more adequate analysis of events. It does so by emphasising the humanity and dignity of marginalised Others (Adams et al., 2015, p. 218). Adams et al. (2015) echo the sentiments of African feminists discussed in the previous sections. A central concern is the rejection of Euro-American ideologies and a resistance against rudiments of Western feminism negate the African experience (Akin-Aina, 2011; Bakare-Yusuf, 2003; Oyèwùmí, 2002; Tamale, 2016). Naked body protests are women's way of reclaiming their agency and disrupting patriarchy and state oppression. The act of staging naked body protests by these women is a way of saying 'enough is enough'. It is their striving towards decolonial praxis. The study demonstrates that naked body protests are not just desperate outpourings of when women have reached their wits' end. Affect is a generative lens through which the body and its actions can be theorised.

2.9 Unclothing the Body of its Colonial Costume

In August 2009, the then South African Minister of Arts and Culture, Lulu Xingwana, walked out of the *Innovative Women* art exhibition she was to open after a quick and disturbed look

at artist Nandipha Mntambo's work as well as Zanele Muholi's photographs. She deemed the artists' work immoral and offensive. She also suggested that they were pornographic because she saw black nude bodies (Matebeni, 2013). The minister's actions and utterances force one to think about the representations of black women's bodies historically, and how these have affected the way we view black women's bodies today. Historically, black women's bodies have been the subject of voyeuristic consumption; the consumption not only of black women's sexuality but also of black women's pain and trauma (Lugones, 2010). Lewis (2005) asserts that in the 20th century context of a growing print industry, the modern sex industry and popular culture, visual pornography exoticised black women to continue the colonial emphasis on their excessively developed sexuality and their status as sex objects for men's gratification and use. Colonial explorers used the unclothed African woman's body as a symbol of Africa's underdevelopment and this underpinned colonial tropes of the continents need for taming (Coly, 2015). Feminist production works against these discursive moves. Zanele Muholi, Nandipha Mntambo and others who do similar work are re-inscribing black women's agency through images or artistic work. Similar to Nigerian, Ghanaian and Senegalese (see Coly, 2015) moves to use respectability and modernist politics to police women's self-representation, the South African minister failed to see the artists' point which sought to render the body as complex and as capable of agency, pleasure, pain and self-authorisation (Matebeni, 2013). The recent ejection of a Tanzanian woman member of parliament for purportedly wearing tight trousers (Saxena, 2021) is part of this trend and signals the entwined relationship between religion, modernist and colonial investments in women's bodies.

Against this history of the pervasive negative representation of black women's bodies, it is not surprising that black women are still viewed negatively in the present. Coly (2010) argues

that given the historical objectification of black women's bodies, it is no surprise that postcolonial narratives of African womanhood have tended to cover the body of the black woman, thus desexualising and decorporealising African womanhood. When women engage in naked body protests, they challenge colonial and patriarchal scripts that have been engraved on their bodies (Diabate, 2020; Tamale, 2020). Tamale (2020) postulates that the majority of colonised people have always resisted the dehumanisation, subjugation and brutalisation of the colonisers. She asserts that the decolonisation process can be divided into two parts, namely the political and psychological, because colonialism also had a double register. The former lies in the realm of experience while the latter is oriented conceptually. She argues that the concept of coloniality is like that of intersectionality (Tamale, 2020). Crenshaw (1991) argues that intersectionality refers to the simultaneous ways in which the oppressed experience multiple dominations based on their identities. Crenshaw expressed that since people's experience of oppression based on different identities such as race, gender and class are not mutually exclusive, their analysis should be intersectional. In a similar manner, Africa experiences its domination intersectionally. An intersectional approach is multifaceted and challenges Western institutions, coloniality and structures from different angles. Part of colonialism was to suppress heterogeneity. As a result, any serious analysis of decolonisation and decoloniality must go beyond race and gender oppressions (Tamale, 2020).

The postcolonial African state's policing of women in South Africa and Tanzania is reflected in the Nigerian senator's proposing of the Indecent Dressing Bill. Bakare-Yusuf (2011) notes that it proposed the prohibition and punishment of public nudity in Nigeria. In the bill, the partially clothed woman's body is positioned to represent society's moral decay and women's ungovernable sexuality. Coly (2015) explains that the bill derives from a colonial framework that has fused religion, modernity and civilisation to maintain the discourse of the dirty,

naked, immoral, heathen, African body. Such a bill asserts that it is nude women's bodies that entice and elicit sexual misdemeanours or violence (Bakare-Yusuf, 2011; Matebeni, 2013). In order to curb such social ills, the woman's body has to be fully clothed or veiled to eliminate erotic desire and unwarranted sexual advances. In this way, the agency of the woman's body is stripped away for the preserve of male agency (Bakare-Yusuf; Matebeni, 2013). Coly (2010) asserts that in African artists' work, stripping naked is a way of claiming back women's agency and stripping off the colonial costume. Writing about Cameroonian artist Ange`le Etoundi Essamba's portraits, Coly argues that Essamba unclothes the black female body in order to disrobe it of its colonial costume as well as its masculine heterosexual postcolonial costume (Coly, 2010). Moreover, Coly (2015) notes that as a colonial gesticulation and discursive production, the unclothed African or black woman's body aligns with the unclean and unwell black body. As such, the black woman's body is in need of intervention and this also legitimises the colonisation of African bodies, especially those of black women. The seminal gesture of unclothing the female body made possible the subsequent gesture of clothing (Coly, 2015, p. 14). In the process, both colonial gestures seized the African or black woman's body to signify Africa's closeness with civilisation, normalcy and morality. The colonial rhetorical dividing of unclothed Africa and clothed Europe, served the colonial civilising mission (Coly, 2015).

Bennett and Dickerson (2001) differentiate between the material body of the black woman and the discursive body society has created for the black woman, as ugly, strong and savage. They add that in the day-to-day life experiences of black women, the discursive body usually replaces and conceals the material body. It is thus Coly's point that Essamba's art performs decolonial work by disrobing the black woman's body in order to unclothe it of this colonial costume. The Photographer Zanele Muholi insightfully develops this decolonial gesture in the

photograph in Figure 5. It depicts two naked women who can be said to have disrobed themselves of the colonial robe that depicts women, especially black women, as objects there for the gaze and satisfaction of men.



Figure 5: Caitlin and I by Zanele Muholi

Source: Michael Stevenson (2010)

This photograph could be seen to disrupt the desexualisation of black women's bodies. By positioning the two women's bodies as erotic beings, and in what Matebeni (2013) suggests to be an "after sex" moment or an erotically intimate encounter, she publicly claims the sexualised nature of the black woman's body. Moreover, she positions the woman's body in relation to another woman's body, foreclosing the opportunity for male intervention. Here, she asserts a subversive sexuality that even goes against racial lines as the woman on top of her is white. The modern apartheid state ensured that blackness remained as distant from whiteness as possible. Muholi's work mounts a challenge to these tropes of black women's bodies.

2.10 Affective Energy and Change

Rosi Braidotti celebrates the power of undutiful daughters so that women can tap into their undutifulness and reclaim their agency. Braidotti follows in the footsteps of poststructuralists like Gilles Deleuze, Luce Irigaray and Michel Foucault, who advocated for rebelliousness,

unfaithfulness and being undutiful. Like Luce Irigaray, Braidotti advocates for difference. She argues that difference is generative and driven by an affective energy that opens conditions for change (Irigaray, 1977). I offer that this is the quality being displayed by the women who participate in naked body protests. They are driven by an affective impulse to activate for a change in their conditions. This affective drive or impulse to strive for change and better conditions is also best explained by Baruch Spinoza, one of the earliest theorists on affect. Spinoza (1677) asserts that human beings are all determined by what he terms *conatus*. This is a strong inclination to do ones best to persist in existence, the struggle for perseverance. Human beings are all striving to keep alive, and the ability to achieve this is measured by what he terms *potentia*. The higher *potentia* is the ability to do the best to keep alive, and the lower *potentia* is the least ability to maintain existence. Spinoza explains that *potentia* changes with time. He asserts that everything in the world is cause and effect, and these causes and effects can be internal or external (Deleuze, 1988; Spinoza, 1677). Spinoza defines affect as an affection that lowers or increases one's power of acting. An affect is a variation of the *potentia* (Spinoza, 1677). He contends that affection is the state of a body being affected by another body. For example, a body can be affected by external stimuli like someone removing their top or dress during a protest, as demonstrated by the women interviewed in this study. According to Spinoza, affections can also be referred to as emotions. He asserts that emotions are the result of the body being put into motion, when affected by another body (Deleuze, 1988; Spinoza, 1677). For Spinoza, all entities are to be understood in relation to the affects they are capable of in their encounters with other entities. The women who stripped in the different naked body protests shared an affective energy that moved between their bodies (Anderson, 2009) triggering them to strip in solidarity against a similar issue in the instance of #FeesMustFall or the Dobsonville naked body protest, for example.

Braidotti (2008) introduces the concept of nomadic becoming. She describes becoming as having to do with emptying out the self and opening it out to possible encounters with the outside. Braidotti (2008) explains that becoming is relational. One becomes active in relation to a number of others. She explains that becoming is an assemblage and has to do with relational alliances or modes that empower us to act. She also refers to affirmative joyful passions. By joyful in this instance, she refers to being able to confront the ugliness, the perverse, and the vulgarity of the times we live in and still act and not be overwhelmed by it, and this act is illustrated by the naked women protesters. Both theorists therefore offer valuable conceptual formulations and insights for understanding the oppressions faced by women as well as how women agentially respond to these. Following in the footsteps of Spinoza (1677), Deleuze and Guattari (1977) would argue that by confronting the ugliness of patriarchy and socio-economic inequality, the naked women protesters change their circumstances for new and better possibilities. For Spinoza, this sense of new and different possibilities is the ethical good.

Braidotti (2010a) explains that the molar line (the line of being, fixity, identity and potestas) and the molecular line (the line of becoming, nomadic subjectivity and potentia), make up two dissymmetrical paths. The challenge of the undutiful daughters is how they can undo the gravitational pull towards thinking dualistically and start thinking rhizomatically, thus redistributing power relations asymmetrically, rhizomatically and unpredictably (Braidotti, 2010a). Braidotti (2010a) urges the women to not sink into the scepticism of the melancholic but step up to the challenge of something affirmative and looking for new and better possibilities. She encourages women to engage in nomadic becoming. "Nomadic becoming is a process of expression, composition, selection, and incorporation of forces aimed at

positive transformation of the subject. As such it is also crucial to the project of a creative redefinition of philosophical reason and of its relation to conceptual creativity, imagination and affectivity” (Braidotti, 2008, p. 46). Nomadic becoming allows the replacement of linearity with a more rhizomatic and dynamic way of thinking. It allows imaginative repetitions such as retelling, reconfiguring and revisiting the idea, phenomenon, incident, or place from different angles (Braidotti, 2010b). Like Braidotti (2010a), Butler (1988) advocates for repetition of behaviour. She asserts that this repetition creates chances for the re-invention of the subject. Invoking anthropologist Turner (1974), Butler (1988) asserts that social action requires a performance which is repeated. She further argues that these performative repetitions create the possibility for a variation on that repetition (Butler, 1999), which creates greater space for counter-hegemonic possibilities as well as for social change (Gould, 2009). Braidotti (2010a) explains that creativity is a nomadic process in that it entails actively displacing dominant formations of memory, identity and identification. It involves emptying out the self, opening it out to possible encounters with the outside.

According to Braidotti (2010b), opposition, or in the case of this study, naked protesting is not about negativity, but rather about the transformation of negative into positive passions and hence the production of affirmative alternatives. She argues that these passions do not emerge dialectically. They are not tied to the present by negation, but must be allowed to emerge out of a different set of premises, affects and conditions. With reference to the Dobsonville women protesters, Al-Kassim (2006) contends that the women’s resistance to segregation, to the loss of their homes, is elevated by an affective factor of suffering, which enables their flight from home and into nakedness. The women’s suffering - related to the violent expulsion of their bodies from their homes - prompted their resistance (through naked protest) in demanding the right to and security of homes.

2.11 Theoretical Framework

2.11.1 Affect Theory

The study of affect can be organised into two broad orientations, namely affective science and affect theory (Hogan, 2016). Most writers in affect theory draw on a range of psychological, social, linguistic, cultural and other theories. The psychological principles of affect theory have tended to derive from the tradition of psychoanalysis, often through its radical revision or critique by theorists such as Jacques Lacan and Gilles Deleuze. Affect theorists have also drawn extensively on a range of theorists outside of psychology, especially poststructuralists, such as Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida (Hogan, 2016). Hogan (2016) explains that in contrast, affective science has its roots in cognitive science and to a lesser extent social psychology.

There are many ways in which affect can be defined and there are several theorists who have worked on the phenomenon of affect. One of the most prominent and earliest affect theorists is Baruch Spinoza. Spinoza (1677) explains that affection is the state of a body being affected by another body. For example, a body can be affected by external stimuli like the sun, sea waves, another person's voice, or someone removing their clothing during a protest. According to Spinoza, affections can also be referred to as emotions. For example, if one visualises a slice of cake, they may become hungry. The slice of cake might not be in front of the person, but it is in the person's mind and affects them. Spinoza asserts that emotions are the result of the body being put into motion, when affected by another body (Deleuze, 1988; Spinoza, 1677). For Spinoza, all entities are to be understood in relation to the affects they are capable of in their encounters with other entities. His theory is relational because he

believes that anything that exists does so as a function of its relations. For him all entities in nature are affected or modified by other entities in nature (Stenner, 2018).

Spinoza further explains that some of the affections have an impact on the potentia or people's motivation to keep alive. As explained above, an affection is the state of the body after being affected by another one; a snapshot of one's body in a given moment. This means that the state of one's body has an impact on their ability to maintain their existence. For example, too much sunlight on one's back might result in sunburn. This affection lowers the ability to persist in existence. The burnt skin does not allow one to move easily as it feels pain. This affection is an affect. Spinoza defines an affect as an affection that lowers or increases one's power of acting. An affect is a variation of the potentia. He calls affects, feelings. There are three fundamental affects that are central to Spinoza's philosophy namely joy/pleasure, sadness/pain and desire. Joy/Pleasure increases the power of acting or one's ability to persist in existence. For example, eating a chocolate cake brings joy because it increases the power of acting. Sadness/Pain is the opposite affect and it lowers the ability to persist in existence. The sunburn analogy described above holds here. Finally, desire is conceived as an expression of the conatus, which is a strong inclination to do one's best to persist in existence (Deleuze, 1988; Spinoza, 1677).

Following in the footsteps of Spinoza, Gilles Deleuze explains that "affection refers to a state of the affected body and it implies the presence of the affecting body, whereas affect refers to the passage from one state to another, taking into account the correlative variation of the affecting bodies" (Deleuze, 1988, p. 49). Deleuze (1988) observes that it has been remarked that as a rule, affection is said to be directly of the body, while affect refers to the mind. He

explains that on the contrary, the real difference is between the body's affection, which involves the nature of the external body, and the affect, which involves an increase or decrease of the power of acting, for the body and the mind alike. Deleuze explains affect as affections of the body such that the body's power of acting is increased or diminished (Deleuze, 1988). Therefore, like Spinoza, the body and mind are not viewed as necessarily separate entities.

Deleuze contends that affect is different from emotion. He posits that affect places more emphasis on bodily experience. Deleuze differs from one of the earliest affect theorists Silvan Tomkins, in that unlike Tomkins, he sees affect as an intensity characterised by an increase or decrease in power (Hemmings, 2005; Leys, 2011; Sherer & Ekman, 2009). Tomkins on the other hand asserts that affect can come in the form of nine different sensations or affects (excitement, joy, surprise, distress, fear, shame, contempt, dissmell and disgust). With regards to the dissmell affect, the upper lip wrinkles, the head is pulled back and the whole body withdraws to distance itself. In disgust, the lower lip and tongue are lowered, with the head thrust forward in preparation to vomit or spit (Otrofsky, 2003). Deleuze posits that affect is a pre-personal intensity corresponding to the passage from one experiential state of the body to another, and implying an increase or diminution in the body's capacity to act (Shouse, 2005). In Tomkins' terms, affect refers to the biological part of emotion. He sees affect as the primary innate biological motivating mechanisms that exist in each human being, which when triggered, bring about a known pattern of biological events (Tomkins, 1962). To illustrate the relational and biological attributes, he gives an example of how contagious a yawn, or smile or a blush can be (Hemmings, 2005; Tomkins, 1962).

Like Deleuze, human geographer Nigel Thrift argues for the unconscious nature of affect. He argues that affects are autonomous and precede reasons, intentions, beliefs and meanings, (Thrift, 2008). According to Thrift, affect is not simply an emotion, and it cannot be reduced to the affections or perceptions of individuals or subjects (Thrift, 2008). Wetherell (2014) believes that this view promotes a subjectless approach to affect. Following Deleuze, Thrift notes that affects are not feelings, but becomings that go beyond those who live through them. They go beyond the inner world or inwardness of the human subject. They are sensations, intensities or energies that can be discharged through spaces and objects, making it possible to view many other things, such as space and the environment, as affective (Mulcahy, 2015). Thrift imagines humans as puzzled and wondering, continually scratching their heads. Thrift suggests that the human motto could be “I don’t know what got into me” (Wetherell, 2012, p. 123). He maintains that humans are attacked from all sides by events that they do not create and do not own, but which modify and re-configure human beings (Thrift, 2008). In ways similar to Thrift, Massumi (2002) asserts that the world affects and has effects on the body first. Affect is not instantaneous in the true sense of the word and has a time lag of a millisecond. It is only picked up later by a thinking, speaking, cognising and representing subject. Massumi (2002) posits that affect is a kind of energy. He explains that affect is the ability to affect and be affected. Affects are fluctuations of the body’s autonomic response system. They are precognitive, asignifying and different from meaningful stages of emotional response (Massumi, 2002). According to Massumi, affect cannot be put into words or thought about because it escapes consciousness and discursive communication (Stenner, 2018). Affect can be understood as the bodily capacity or ability to affect and be affected (Massumi, 2002, 2009). Also following Deleuze and Massumi, Gregg and Seigworth (2010) define affect as that which arises in the midst of, or in-between-ness, in the capacities to act and to be acted upon. Historian Simon O’Sullivan takes the same trajectory as Deleuze and

Massumi, and defines affect as instants of intensity, a reaction in/on the body at the level of matter. He further explains that affects could be said to be inherent to matter. They are certainly immanent to experience, and as such, affects do not have to be related to knowledge or meaning, they occur on a different register; that is an asignifying register (Sullivan, 2001).

It is therefore possible to conceive of, for example, the topless protest of the three Wits students as some form of affective politics in which the protesting body has the effect of operating as a sign that addresses and triggers other bodies, including the police. Their topless bodies became signs that triggered and attuned the police officers' bodies to become part of the protest. It does not mean that they necessarily agreed or sympathised with the students' protest, but their bodies contributed to the creation of a collective event (Massumi, 2009). Similarly, the women who stripped, shared an affective energy that moved between their bodies (Anderson, 2009) triggering them to strip in solidarity against a similar issue (#FeesMustFall). One cannot assume a causal relationship between the students and the police officer's actions but in these instances, the police ceased fire, and the shooting on campus came to a halt. The students' naked body protests highlighted the plight of economically marginalised students, their relative powerlessness against state violence, and their resistance.

For Wetherell, affect is practice and not extra-discursive and uncanny excess (Wetherell, 2012). Affect should not just be seen as pre-personal (Anderson, 2009), but as discursive and available to verbalisation (Wetherell, 2013). Through the analyses of women's naked body protests, the study aims to illustrate that affect is not always pre-personal and non-representational. For this reason, Wetherell's theorisation of affect is relevant for this study.

In addition, the study utilises affect as theorised by Sara Ahmed to understand the psychology of naked body protests. Ahmed (2004, 2007) understands affect as not residing in objects or subjects, but as circulating between and sticking to bodies. In their circulation between bodies, emotions, or affects play a crucial role in surfacing individual and collective bodies. This study goes along with Ahmed's additional contention that affects are public in nature because they are not peculiar to single entities nor do they emanate from within and subsequently proceed towards others. For Ahmed (2004, 2007), emotions are not within nor without, but they create the effect of the surfaces or boundaries of bodies. Following Spinoza, Ahmed explains that emotions involve bodily processes of affecting and being affected; emotions are a matter of how we come into contact with others and objects. Ahmed does not question what emotions are, but is interested in what they can do. For instance, the assembling of naked women in protest may surface fear in the police, but the sight of police and their guns may surface anger in the women. The study therefore explores the affects that are evoked by naked women protesters.

Ahmed (2014) argues that for theorists like Massumi (2002), "if affects are pre-personal and non-intentional, emotions are personal and intentional. If affects are unmediated and escape signification; emotions are mediated and contained by signification" (Ahmed, 2014, p. 207). She argues that a distinction between a mobile impersonal affect and a controlled personal emotion suggests that the affect/emotion distinction can operate as a gendered division. In the cultural politics of emotion, she challenges the use of the distinction between affect and emotion because emotion is the word that is used in everyday life and that people can more readily understand. She argues that the labelling of affect as what moves us beyond emotion, allows the reduction of emotion to subjective or personal feeling, which she disagrees with. Ahmed (2014) argues that this distinction between affect and emotion risks cutting emotions

off from the lived experiences of being and having a body. Her interest is not in distinguishing affect and emotion as if they refer to different aspects of experience. Following Ahmed (2014), affect and emotion are used interchangeably throughout the thesis.

Sara Ahmed explains that “emotions do things, and they align individuals with communities, or bodily space with social space, through the very intensity of their attachments” (2004, p. 119). She asserts that emotions work by binding people together in such a way that the bonding creates the effect of a collective. Her economic model of affect suggests that while emotions do not positively reside in a subject or figure, they will bind people together (Ahmed, 2004), in much the same way the protesting students were bound together during their naked body protest. Expanding on Ahmed’s collective nature of affect, Nkomo (2015) explains that “they are not a property, something that I or we have” (Nkomo, 2015, p.165). Ahmed explains that affect does not exist in an object or sign, but is an affect of the circulation between objects and signs. The objects of emotions circulate. As they move through circulations, such objects become sticky or saturated with affect (Ahmed, 2004; Nkomo, 2015). As such, emotions are neither inside nor outside individuals, but emerge through relational processes, both actual and imaginary (Nkomo, 2015). To illustrate this, Nkomo gives an example of the Western Cape women he documented who had no access to Prevention of Mother to Child Transmission (PMTCT). These women were tied together by a shared actual and potential dilemma of not being able to assume responsibility and control for their own health and the reduction of the mother to child risk to HIV (Nkomo, 2015). In a similar manner, the women who stripped shared an affective energy that moved between their bodies triggering them to strip in solidarity against a similar issue (#FeesMustFall).

The #FeesMustFall protest did not only take place in South Africa but also in other parts of the world where students mobilised about issues of inequality of their campuses. Apart from the #FeesMustFall naked body protests, there were complex global flows and exchanges around women's naked protests in the second decade of the new millennium; including slut marches, MeToo, poo protests and the anti-war protests that took place in the US as well as in South Africa, Australia and Chile among other locations (Shannon, 2003). This is explained by cultural geographer Ben Anderson (2009) who asserts that affects can travel between places and can be shared between bodies. Anderson (2009) explored atmospheric affect and explains that recent studies have engaged somnambulistic imitation as a way of understanding how atmospheres can become contagious. This idea is advanced by Thrift who conceives of affective contagion and asserts that "affect spreads, sometimes like wild fire" (Thrift, 2008, p. 235). Thrift explains that affect spreads and multiplies. This can occur through an 'automatic' form of imitation. He gives an example of how hearing an expression of anger increases the activation of muscles used to express anger in others. He further contends that imitation is rapid, automatic, unconscious and involves emotional contagion. People appear motivated to bring their feelings into correspondence with others. He indicates that human beings have a default capacity to imitate, automatically and unconsciously (Thrift, 2008). In this conception, people are largely unaware that they are imitating.

Reestorff (2014) gives an account of Femen's topless "Free Amina Protest" in Tunis. The women were protesting for Tunisian Femen activist Amina to be freed from jail. She had been arrested and later charged for desecrating a cemetery. When the three Femen women protested in front of the court in the main square in Tunis for Amina to be freed, they were arrested for immoral behaviour. Other bodies were affected by these Femen protestors. The protesters were standing with their breasts directed towards passers-by. People began to

gather around them. These included photographers with their cameras. Reestorff (2014) explains that the cameras became embedded in the assemblage as signs that led others to interpret the breasts as important and worth documenting. It may be argued that the passers-by or spectators of the “Free Amina Protest” or the Wits students protest were reacting to these protests due to nakedness as a spectacle. Tamale (2016) indicates that given the historical reading of the African body, it is hard to relate it to the naked protesting body. In a context where being ‘fully’ or ‘appropriately dressed’ is seen as a mark of modernity and civility, disrobing in public is guaranteed to draw immediate attention. Tamale indicates that the naked body speaks the language of spectacle, rebellion, and subversion. She further explains that it is a strategy that has been used effectively all over the world, where covered bodies are the norm. Sutton (2007) also engages the spectator effect of nakedness as a form of protest, especially the naked bodies of protesting women. While some of the actions of the spectators may be attributed to nakedness as a spectacle, Margaret Wetherell’s theorisation of affect may provide further clarity. What the above theorisations do not explain is the reasoning behind the actions of the protesting women, the crowds and the police in the different scenarios given. For instance, one could ask why the police did not just go ahead and arrest the three Wits students. After all, the three women who protested for Amina were arrested. What explains the action of the women going topless?

Margaret Wetherell provides a valuable lens for theorising this missing component of the study. Wetherell (2012) points out that the recent turn to affect has focused on the distinction between emotion and affect, where emotion is seen as conscious and affect is seen to be autonomous and unconscious. This theorisation of affect as autonomous and unconscious is associated with the work of Brian Massumi, who follows the same school of thought as Nigel Thrift and Gilles Deleuze. Wetherell (2012) differs from Massumi, Thrift and their colleagues

regarding the way they define affect. She indicates that Massumi and his colleagues borrow from the philosophy of Deleuze and Spinoza, who understood affect as movement. Like Wetherell, Toby Juliff (2018) cautions that the definition of affect as embodied intensity and outside of meaning as suggested by Massumi and his colleagues is somewhat problematic. Juliff explains that affect theory determines that emotion is not always causal. For instance, if one is sad one cries. Affect is also communicative and generative. For example, someone's crying can make me sad (Juliff, 2018).

Wetherell (2012) counters by centring emotions as affective. She posits that affective scientists' interests are in emotional states and the distinguishing disturbances they cause in the mind or body. Affect can include every aspect of emotion or it can sometimes refer to just the physical disturbance and bodily activity (for example sobs, blushes, and snarls). She cautions that there is no neat definition of the concepts of affect, emotion and feelings. She explains that affect can be seen as "the processes involved when events hit bodies and minds" (Wetherell, personal communication, March 6, 2018). By way of example, she draws attention to the body/mind state involved in a minor car accident. The experience of initial turmoil is at once embodied and cognitive. Even though Wetherell is reluctant to draw distinctions between emotions and affect, she offers that emotions can refer to the terms and formats that a culture offers people to categorise their affect (personal communication, March 6, 2018). Emotions can be described as the processing and packaging of affect in accustomed cultural categories such as anger, grief and joy for instance (Wetherell, Smith & Campbell, 2018).

Feeling is the inside phenomenological dimension – what are often called qualia – for instance, what does it feel like subjectively? (M. Wetherell personal communication, March 6, 2018). According to Wetherell (2013), one cannot just ignore the meaning-making contexts and histories that shape the encounters between bodies and events. Wetherell (2015a) offers the concept of affective practice and argues that it provides a more social psychological grounding. She indicates that affect is useful in understanding those moments where human emotions are nebulous, mixed, or ambivalent. Wetherell insists that affect should be used in conjunction with practice rather than as a static phenomenon (Wetherell, 2012). The three core contentions in which her affective practices rest include: Affect is best conceptualised as part of a flow that is dynamic, mobile and contingent; it most often resolves into relatively predictable patterns but has the potential to be disruptive; affect can be both individual and communal (Bhreathnach, 2016). According to Wetherell (2012), affect allows one to step into the shoes of the protesters. It gives insight into how they feel and think in response to certain episodes, and how they make sense of their physical and emotional reactions (Bhreathnach, 2016).

Wetherell explains that her concept of affective practice has been influenced by many theorists, but that Pierre Bourdieu has been the most influential. Affective practice is therefore similar to Bourdieu's concept of habitus. Following this, Wetherell sees affective practice as “a figuration where body possibilities and routines become recruited or entangled together with meaning-making and with other social and material figurations” (2012, p. 19). Wetherell explains that affective practice often emerges uninvited and very quickly. She explains that we just act, and the action usually turns out to be familiar, communicative and reflexively related to the ongoing flow of other people's actions. It may look like acts of retrieval, but it is indeed new forms of social action (Wetherell, 2012). She suggests that

sometimes affect can start from scratch, and sometimes it can be a result of acting out our past or others' past affective practices (Berlant, 2008; Wetherell, 2012). This could help explain the action of the three Wits students going topless during the #FeesMustFall protest, or other naked body protests. It is, however, not a new practice and is modelled on previous naked body protests such as the Dobsonville protests of 1990. As Ndlovu relates, Sara who participated in the naked body protests, explains the cause and feelings of the moment in the following manner: "It was a blur. None of it was planned before that moment..." (Ndlovu, 2017, p. 74). Wetherell suggests that this notion of affective practice has a doubling character; affects can come unbidden, but they can also be controlled by individuals experiencing them (Wetherell, 2012). She explains that practice theories usually suggest a kind of bifurcation. People both actively practice, and thus have agency, but they also act out their historical affective practices. Practice can be both flexible and creative, and it can also be loosely determined by our past histories (Wetherell, 2014).

Importantly, Wetherell (2012) argues that affect can be represented through discourse. This is unlike the argument advanced by theorists like Massumi who believe that affect is autonomic and unconscious and therefore non-representational. In their view, affect and discourse have an antagonistic relationship. In this conception, discourse is identified as planned, deliberate and conscious, while affect is the opposite. Wetherell argues that there is a relationship between affect and discourse; they cannot be separated. By discourse in this context, she refers to the practical realm of language in action. The examples of language in action include utterances, words, texts and talk, conversations, stories, speeches, lectures, web pages, television programmes, messages on message boards and books, patterned within the everyday activities of the subject's social life (Wetherell, 2012). Wetherell (2012) explains that in conventional psychological research, language is seen as representing and expressing

emotion. In other words, affect can be expressed in words and is therefore representational. Canham indicates that affect can be discursive as it “gives researchers a way of theoretically investigating what is otherwise unspeakable” (Canham, 2017a, p. 9).

In this study, affective practice, together with habitus, will help shed light on the meanings of why affect is organised the way it is for different people; what are the social implications; who gets to perform this affect or the other, and what social difference does it make? Wetherell’s concept of affective practice is similar to Pierre Bourdieu’s concept of habitus, which is engaged in the next section.

2.11.2 Habitus

I needed a garden hose and took a friend shopping with me to a store called Ocean State Job Lot. As we left the store, my upper middle-class friend looked utterly disgusted and said, ‘That place gives me the heebie jeebies.’ I tried to find out what she meant, what emotion ‘heebie jeebies’ describes for her, but as I asked, and it became clear that the emotion had to do with a disdain not only for the lower-class goods in the store but for the lower-class shoppers, shame set in and she refused to keep talking (Layton, 2006, p. 51).

The term habitus was coined by French theorist and sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. It can be defined as culturally and socially acquired ways of moving and thinking (Bourdieu, 1984). It can also be defined as a character formed during an individual’s early life experiences, but it keeps changing and developing throughout one’s life (Shahriar, 2014). This refers to

gestures, mannerisms, taste, accent, attitude, dress sense, dispositions and posture. In the preceding excerpt by psychoanalyst Lynne Layton (2006), habitus can also refer to concepts like ethnicity and class within a culture; it reflects one's class or background and one's social history. In habitus, one's background becomes internalised or habituated into the way one thinks and acts. The values that one was brought up with begin to affect the way the body moves and the way one thinks. One does these without even thinking. These acquired ways of thinking and moving become natural to the human being. Habitus allows us to understand how our culture, history, class, and background change the way we think about the world, and about the way we act in the world (Bourdieu, 1984). In a similar manner to Bourdieu, Wacquant (2005) defines habitus as the way society becomes deposited in individuals in the form of lasting dispositions, the way they feel, think and act. Bourdieu's psychosocial understanding of habitus is that we are exposed to the world, and we develop dispositions because of that exposure.

For Bourdieu, habitus consists in part, of bodily beliefs that are passions and drives, and that the confrontation between the habitus and the field is always marked by affectivity, by affective transactions between habitus and the field (Bourdieu, 2000; Reay, 2015). Borrowing from Foucault (1977), Bourdieu states that: "We learn bodily. The social order inscribes itself in bodies through this permanent confrontation which may be more or less dramatic but is always largely marked by affectivity and, more precisely, by affective transactions with the environment" (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 141). The idea that habitus is always marked by affectivity is in line with Wetherell's belief that our day-to-day social activities are saturated with affect. In a similar light, our daily habitual activities are full of affect. In everything we do, there is affect (Wetherell, Smith & Campbell, 2018).

Bourdieu often used sports metaphors when referring to habitus, referring to it as a feel for the game. From this terminology he developed the concept of 'field'. He understood the social world to be divided into distinct fields of practice such as education, religion and law, each with their own unique set of rules, knowledges, and forms of capital. He defined a field as a setting in which individuals and their social positions are located. The position of each individual in the field is a result of the interaction between the rules of the field, the individual's habitus and their capital. Capital refers to goods or resources and the value of these resources. There are three types of capital, namely cultural, social and economic. Economic capital refers to money, property and other assets. Social capital refers to networks of influence or support in the form of group membership such as family, friends or other contacts. Cultural capital has to do with forms of knowledge, educational credentials and skills (Bourdieu, 1984). Bourdieu points out that some players are able to understand the rules of the game, use their capital productively and progress further than others. Bourdieu explains that when habitus encounters a social world of which it is the product, it is like a fish in water and as such, it does not feel the weight of the water (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

Next, I explore Bourdieu's conception of habitus as embodiment, habitus & agency, habitus as a compilation of collective & individual routes and habitus as a complex interplay between past and present (Reay, 2004).

2.11.3 Habitus as Embodiment

Bourdieu's (1977) concept of habitus demonstrates the ways in which not only is the body in the social world, but also the ways in which the social world is in the body. Bourdieu explains that "the habitus is a socialised body; a structured body, a body which has incorporated the immanent structures of a world or of a particular sector of that world-a field-

and which structures the perception of that world as well as action in that world” (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 81). This suggests that habitus is created in and through social processes and that the body is central to the emergence and creation or formation of habitus. Reay (2004) contends that one of the crucial features of Bourdieu’s habitus is that it is embodied, it is not made up exclusively of mental attitudes and perceptions. Habitus is expressed through individuals’ ways of standing, speaking, walking, feeling and thinking (Bourdieu, 1990a). People’s relationships to dominant culture are conveyed in a range of activities, including eating, speaking, gesturing and protesting (Bourdieu, 1984).

2.11.4 Habitus and Agency

According to Bourdieu, it is through the workings of habitus that practice (agency) is linked with capital and field (structure) (Bourdieu, 1990b). Bourdieu views habitus as potentially generating a wide variety of possible actions, at the same time enabling the individual to draw on transformative and constraining courses of action. He explains that habitus is generative in that it leads individuals to reproduce habitual behaviour, but in an unpredictable manner (Bourdieu, 1990c). One could argue that habitus is generative the same way affect is productive and enables individuals to protest and resist oppression.

2.11.5 Habitus as a Compilation of Collective and Individual Routes

Bourdieu (1990b) maintains that habitus formation is at two levels; personal and social at the same time. It is a result of both one’s social circumstances, experiences and interaction, and one’s personal attitude towards them. The women protesters in the study may come from disadvantaged backgrounds, but we see them not accepting their situation and willing to challenge the status quo. As Reay (2004) notes, a person’s individual history is constitutive of habitus. This is also the case for the whole collective history of family and class that the

individual is a member of. Individual habitus is therefore a product of an individual's personal and collective history (including personal nature, likes/dislikes, and family background). Members of the same class experience, practice and understand issues in similar ways when compared to members of another class. Habitus is a product of one's early life experiences. However, it keeps evolving and transforming as a result of one's continuous life experiences (Shahriar, 2014).

2.11.6 Habitus as a Complex Interplay Between Past and Present

Habitus is linked to people's history (Bourdieu, 1990c, p. 86). People's histories are key to understanding habitus. Reay (2004) writes that current situations or circumstances are not just there to be acted upon but get to be internalised and become another layer to add to layers from earlier socialisations and so on. Although habitus is a product of early childhood experiences, and in particular socialisation within the family, it is continually re-structured by individuals' encounters with the external world (Reay, 2004). By drawing together these four themes running through Bourdieu's reflections of habitus, it can be viewed as a complex internalised core from which everyday experiences of the women protesters in the study originate (Reay, 2004).

2.11.7 Affect and Habitus

Drawing on Bourdieu (2000), Lane (2012) indicates that habitus is affective in nature. Gould (2009) adds that the practical dispositions incorporated into the habitus operate at the affective level, often bypassing conscious thought altogether. "The habitus, that practical sense, is acquired - and thus has a relation to the social - but it is also embodied, inculcated at the level of non-conscious, bodily knowledge" (Gould, 2009. p. 33). This suggests that we

acquire and unconsciously internalise our daily habits and behaviours from a young age through socialisation. Wetherell (2014) takes this notion of affective habits further and suggests that our affective practices have a doubling character. She explains that we do not only act unconsciously, but we can be agentic too. People can both actively practice or act out their habits, and thus are agentic, but they also act out their past affective practices. Butler (1997) concurs with the unconscious nature of habitus and explains that the noncognitive process of embodiment is a literal incorporation made into a second nature; it is what makes the social in us feel like second nature, like our own individual thoughts, values and feelings. That acquired practical sense becomes one's nature (Butler, 1997; Gould, 2009).

Tyler demonstrates that differences and distinctions between "*people like us* and *people not like us*" can conjure up intense affects of disgust and contempt, inciting extreme emotions of shame and humiliation among the dominated and those made abject (Tyler, 2008 in Wetherell, 2012). Writing about class and affect, Reay (2004) asserts that class position generates a specific affective style.

She argues that habitus is helpful in understanding how individuals unconsciously internalise feelings of inferiority/superiority, privileged/underprivileged, and recognition/abjection. Habitus helps us understand how these internalised feelings end up being played out in our daily affective practices (Reay, 2004). Class habitus shapes the boundaries of what seems possible. Classed cultural groups are excluded, and sometimes exclude themselves from certain practices by virtue of their unfamiliarity. For instance, Reay (2004) found that students from the working class were more likely to exclude themselves from places that were seen or perceived as "*not for people like us*." She explains that working class habitus is usually characterised by abjection and a sense of hopelessness. On the contrary, what we see

being displayed by the women protesters in the current study, is a rejection of this abjection and hopelessness.

Wetherell writes that Bourdieu saw emotion and affect as mainly conservative in nature; habitus does not just change disruptively. Emotions are conservative in Bourdieu's view because they force the individual back into established practice and reinforce the power of past social practices (Wetherell, 2012). For Bourdieu, emotions seem to carry the unreflective or non-conscious aspects of habitus. Individuals find themselves re-enacting past practices without knowing why, or without necessarily being willing to do so (Wetherell, 2012). Wetherell further explains that for Bourdieu, affect is something the body does; it is pure action. This is more in line with Massumi (2002) and theorists who follow the same school of thought that affect is non-cognitive and preconscious. According to Bourdieu, social actors are bound to social fields by a strong affective grip (Crossley, 2001). At the same time, social agents feel the weight of the concerns and cares generated by these social fields with a great emotional intensity (Crossley, 2001). Wetherell explains that Bourdieu saw affect as an unreflective bodily response divided into pre-existing universal types such as joy, anger and grief. His interest was in how the natural bodily force could reinforce the more unreflective and non-conscious aspects of habitus. For instance, disgust, anxiety and shame, would encourage the kind of practices of habitus that keep people within familiar routines, discouraging transgressions and reinforcing established inequities and patterns (Layton, 2006; Wetherell, 2014).

Gould asserts that although Bourdieu developed the concept of habitus to account for social reproduction, he believes that it can also be instrumental in social change. Social movements, like naked body protests in this study, can develop new ways of understanding the world,

ways that make people question the status quo and engage in practices that may lead to social transformation. Bourdieu saw habitus as more or less stable, but because habitus is constituted through human practice, it is dynamic and always subject to alteration or modification (Gould, 2009). Gould explains that for its reproduction, habitus must be re-instantiated and Butler adds that the need for habitus to be repeated creates the possibility for a variation due to repetition (Butler, 1999).

2.11.8 Critique of Bourdieu's Theorisation of Affect

Probyn (2004) explains that Bourdieu's account of affect is a bit limited as he ignored the potentially disruptive quality of affect. Skeggs (2004) critiques Bourdieu and points out that his theory of the working-class habitus mainly stresses lack and deficit as if the working class will always experience lack. Reed-Danahay (2005) points out that it is not clear when affect reinforces habitus and when it might bring change. Reay (2015) on the other hand, argues that because of his strong focus on taking an objective and scientific approach, Bourdieu's work often fails to deal fully with the affective aspects of human life. Notwithstanding the critiques or limitations of habitus, it is relevant for this study as it sheds light on why people display certain affects and not others. It helps navigate the motivation behind certain affective reactions displayed by different people. Habitus is therefore a generative means of explicating the situated and social dimensions of affect as espoused by Wetherell.

2.11.9 Affect and Power

The idea that affect can and cannot be tamed raises the question of power, both as a repressive and productive force. As the discussion of habitus indicates, one of the ways in

which power operates is affectively. Power is exercised through and reproduced in our feelings, and it is forceful and effective precisely because of that. The power of a habitus to shape human behaviour, for example, derives from the fact that it operates at a visceral affective level, often bypassing conscious thought altogether. We tend to be compelled by bodily information and thus tend to follow it, thus reproducing the existing social order. If we accept that affect helps to secure a given habitus, then we can see that social forces are powerful to the extent that they are able to manipulate the affective charges that get attached to all aspects of living. Because an emotional habitus can structure people's feelings, including those affective charges, it is especially important for the operations of power. As an example, imagine how an emotional habitus that generates fear of terrorism, can enhance a regime's power to regulate and control its population (Gould, 2009). The conceptualisation of affect as mobile, as being individual and communal, as well as having the power to be disruptive, has similar characteristics to Foucault's conceptualisation of power. Foucault (1991) explains that power is everywhere and is not just found in organisations but within individuals as well. He further notes that power relations go right down into the depths of society, and are not only situated within the state or in one person (Foucault, 1991). In this conception, we all have a relationship to power. Diabate (2020) illustrates this relationship that we all have with power by referring to the positions of power and victimhood occupied by the Dobsonville women protesters. She explains that the women felt empowered during the protests, but also felt guilty and ashamed after the protests, with society also disapproving of their actions.

Wetherell (2012) indicates that power is significant to the study of affect. She argues that it leads to the investigations of the unevenness of affective practices. Some of the key questions she is concerned with include how are practices grouped, who gets to do what when, and

what relations does affective practice make, enact, disrupt, and reinforce? Other questions include who is privileged emotionally, who is emotionally disadvantaged and what does this privilege and advantage look like? (Wetherell, 2012). These questions are more in line with Reay's (2004) class notion, where some people are privileged and some are not, enabling each group to practice their habits according to what group they fall under.

Looking at how Nietzsche theorises power and the body, Grosz (1994) posits that Nietzsche does not really have a coherent theory of the body and power, but some accounts of the body can be extracted from his writings. Nietzsche advocates for the body's role in the production of knowledge and truth. He also writes about the body's relations to the will to gain power. According to Grosz (1994), Nietzsche's theorisation of the body is more positive than Foucault's because Foucault believes that society inscribes racialised, gendered, classist and sexualised hierarchies on a passive body (Grosz, 1994). Nietzsche on the other hand, does not see the body as passive. In contrast, he theorises that the body is active. In this conception, knowledge and power are the results of the body's activity. According to Nietzsche, the will to power refers to becoming truly who one is; it is a self-expression, the will to improve oneself and overcome obstacles (Grosz, 1994).

While retaining Nietzsche's conception of the body as active, this research utilises Foucault's theorisation on power. Foucault contends that power can be possessed by the body. For him, the body is affected by history and culture. Foucault's theorisation is more contemporary as it centres gender and sexuality in ways that Nietzsche does not. The focus of this study is on naked body protests, and Foucault's theory is helpful in shedding light on the power that can be possessed by bodies, be it from either a powerful or relatively powerless position. In her

analysis of the Nigerian women's 1929 protest, Tamale (2016) explains this phenomenon cogently. She explains that historically, we have observed women protesting in various ways using their naked bodies for political transformation. Their actions have no doubt subverted patriarchal-capitalist power dynamics, as well as dealt with countless other issues of discontent (Tamale, 2016).

According to Foucault (1991), there exists large deposits of power in the body, and it is this power that the stripping protesters use to bring attention to the issues they are protesting about. Foucault's concept of power was in part developed as a critique of Marx' theory of power as an instrument of a class domination that was understood to originate from economic interest (Barret, 1991; Foucault, 1991). On the contrary, Foucault saw power as something to be exercised as opposed to being possessed. Foucault asserts that power is not attached to agents and interests but is incorporated in numerous practices (Barret, 1991; Foucault, 1991; Munro, 1999). Foucault explains that power is not an individual's privilege, nor can it be acquired or preserved. Power cannot be applied with the intention to prohibit those who do not have it (Foucault, 1991).

Foucault (1991) explains that power can be from the bottom up. It does not always have to be from top to bottom. He uses the notion of a capillary to illustrate his argument. By capillary he meant that power operates at the lowest extremities of society in everyday social practices. One of his criticisms of Marxist theory was that everything was reduced to economics, and so he argues that not everything has to be reduced to passive forms of class power. Foucault suggests that people must look at how power is utilised, as opposed to just looking at who is exercising the power (Foucault, 1991). Protest is therefore an illustration of power being

practised by marginalised groups typically positioned as powerless. Foucault differs from Bourdieu in that he sees power as ubiquitous and beyond agency or structure, while Bourdieu sees power as culturally and symbolically created through habitus or socialised tendencies that guide human behaviour and thinking. Bourdieu's work was mainly concerned with the dynamics of power in society, especially in diverse and indirect ways and how social order is maintained across and within generations (Wacquant, 2005).

This study shows that the naked body, in its defencelessness, can be powerful because it can be a form of resistance against the one presumed to be holding the power. In this regard, Tamale (2016) asserts that naked bodies have the ability to disrupt and, in a remarkable way, turn vulnerability into empowerment (Tamale, 2016). It usually makes it difficult for an armed person to continue to attack a naked person because in their nakedness they are simultaneously vulnerable and strong. This is illustrated by Misri (2011) in her story of a woman named Draupali, who had been apprehended and then sexually assaulted by the Indian army. The story of Draupali is set against the background of the Naxalite revolt, a major peasant rebellion that began in the late 1960s in the Naxalbari region of the Indian state of West Bengal. The peasant rebellion was unavoidably also a caste rebellion by the mostly lower-caste cultivators against the upper-caste feudal landowners. Among other things, the revolutionary movement grew in response to several generations of feudal exploitation in the form of extremely low wages, exorbitant rates of interest charged by landowners, and sexual exploitation of tribal women. This is the broad context within which the action of the story takes place. Draupali and her husband Dulna are among the tribal revolutionaries who engage in guerrilla warfare against the landlords (Misri, 2011). At the end of the story, she disrobes herself and refuses to put her clothes back on, standing in front of Senanayak, the army officer who had authorised her rape. The officer stands in front of her, an unarmed target, in a

terrified state of paralysis usually associated with the victim. She refused the disciplining power of shame and stood there boldly stating: “What’s the use of clothes? You can strip me, but can you clothe me again? Are you a man?” (Misri, 2011, p. 5). Draupali exercised the power of her vulnerable naked and bruised body to stand up against this officer who possessed more power than her.

Hariharan (2017) adds that when a woman’s naked body speaks, its language begins to turn the victimised body into a speaking, fighting one. She explains that the woman becomes a source of power in as far as she turns her wounded body into a weapon. Hariharan (2017) further explains how in that brief moment, Draupali’s severely damaged unarmed body, terrorised her oppressors, to a point of threatening Senanayak’s manhood which was the source of his power.

2.11.10 Gender Performativity

“One is not born a woman, but rather becomes one” Simone de Beauvoir, 1949

The concept of performativity was introduced in 1955 in a series of lectures at Harvard University by the philosopher of language and pioneer in speech-act research, J. L. Austin (Chinn, 1997). He differentiated between constative and performative utterances. The former state the truth or falsity of the uttered words while the latter carry out a performance, for example “I do” at wedding ceremony, “I christen you” at a christening ceremony or “I resign” from employment. Butler’s theorisation of gender performativity thus advances J. L. Austin’s conceptualisation of performative speech acts (Claeys, 2007).

According to Butler, “gender is in no way a stable identity or locus of agency from which various acts proceed; rather, it is an identity tenuously constituted in time—an identity instituted through a stylised repetition of acts” (Butler, 1988, p. 519). In other words, gender is not biologically governed. It is formed through a repetition of acts, so that if one is born a female, they can choose to identify as a man for instance. Butler illustrates how malleable gender is by comparing it to a dramatised or theatrical character role. The performed gender is one of definite character, whose acts create its interior or internal identity. These definitive character acts are expected to adhere to assigned roles. She argues that within each performance of gender, there are attributed proper social roles and behaviours associated with the person’s gender. These roles are utilised by society to understand and justify one’s actions (Butler, 1988).

Societal perception ascribes expected frames of reference to each gender character. These frames of reference determine each gender’s value systems and proper behaviours. Butler writes that performing one’s gender incorrectly calls for a set of punishments both obvious and indirect, and executing it well provides the reassurance that there is an essentialism of gender identity after all (Butler, 1988). Butler therefore maintains that when an individual obeys the constructs of gender, they are rewarded with the comfort of acting within the frame of reference ascribed to their specific gender (1988). When they deviate from the expected behaviour, they are faced with disagreement resultant from a discrepancy between their expected gender roles, and the roles they performed (Barret, 1998; Butler, 1988). Canham and Williams (2017) illustrate that indicators for black legitimacy are associated with certain kinds of performances, language and geography. To be an ‘authentic’ black one has to speak a certain way and live in certain areas for example. They note that while there has always been a small class of black elites in the South African society; the historic legacy of

colonialism and apartheid have somewhat flattened blackness to a single class and way of being. Canham and Williams (2017) argue that performances of blackness which deviate from this script are therefore seen as inauthentic; the same way the women protesters in the study are seen as deviating from the script of subordinate, well behaved women.

Naked body protests have performative possibilities that both reify and challenge gender. This is to suggest that in stripping clothes off the body, protesters obtain a reaction which is based on a biological reading of the body and the meanings inscribed on the body by society. Judith Butler's gender performativity theory is utilised to illustrate that the essence of the reality of gender lies in its fluidity and that one's gender is real to the degree that it is executed or performed (Butler, 1988). This is important because naked body protests both use and disrupt gender identities. She suggests that gender should be conceived of as a performance in which individuals act. The script of gender performance is transmitted from generation to generation where individuals witness, reproduce and internalise gender related actions through repetitive acts. Butler holds a constructionist view of gender and argues that the performance of gender itself creates gender. The act of performing creates the act that it seeks to create and through repeated performances of the act, reality is reproduced (Butler, 1988). Butler looks at the work of Simone de Beauvoir (1949), who asserts that a woman is something that one becomes; one is not born a woman, one chooses to or is trained to become a woman. This separates gender from sex. The former is that which can be acquired from one's environment and through repeated performances (de Beauvoir, 1949).

According to Butler, performativity is ongoing and can change over time. For example, 100 years ago, women acted completely differently from how they act today. This performativity

can vary from place to place, especially when comparing being in public and being alone in a private space. She insists that gender identity is not pre-existent and only comes into being when performance takes place (Butler, 1988). Gender is not naturalised; it is merely repeated acts of performance. This means that performing gender creates the space for gendered beings to resist any prior characterisation of their gender. This can be seen in the different naked body protests by women discussed in this study and in other studies. These women disrupt the expected performance of their given gender identity. While Butler has points of disagreement with Foucault's work on sexuality and gender, there is some convergence when they contend that sexual instincts are not as natural, as is generally believed. In his work on the history of sexuality, Foucault indicates that human's sexual identities are constructed. Sexuality is influenced by things like politics, science and religion (Foucault, 1978). This notion of a constructed sexual identity is considered to be at the centre of leading gender and queer theorists.

Butler's critics have reasoned that gender performativity might imply that everything is discourse, thus denying the materiality of the body. Susan Bordo, for example, has argued that Butler reduces gender to language, contending that the body is a major part of gender, thus totally opposing her conception of gender as performed (Hekman, 1998). Martha Nussbaum (1999) has argued that Butler has misread J. L. Austin's idea of performative utterance. Nussbaum (1999) disagrees with Butler's claim that the marriage ceremony is one of many examples of performatives in Austin's writings that suggests that the heterosexualisation of the social bond is the paradigmatic form for those speech acts that bring about what they name. For example, if one says, "I bet R10", one is not reporting on the action but actually conducting that action. Nussbaum (1999) therefore argues that marriage is no more paradigmatic for Austin than betting is. He is concerned about the formal feature of

certain utterances, and we are given no reason to assume that their content has any significance for his argument (Nussbaum, 1999). In addition, Butler has been criticised for not engaging with race in her theorisation of gender performativity (Salih, 2006). Although gender performativity has been misunderstood and criticised on numerous occasions, Butler has revised and reformulated some aspects of this theory in the course of several publications (Claeys, 2007). Not making light of the criticisms, the theory is relevant in this project because it illustrates that performing gender creates the space for women to resist any prior characterisation of their gender, hence the staging of naked body protests. As the theory of performativity does not really engage with race, it is important that intersectionality is included in this study, in order to have a full understanding of the naked body protests in this context.

2.11.11 Intersectionality

The black woman asked a white woman:

“When you wake up in the morning and look in the mirror, what do you see?”

“I see a woman.” The white woman replied.

“That’s precisely the problem,” said the black woman. “When I wake up in the morning and look in the mirror, I see a black woman. My race is visible to me every day because I am not privileged in this culture. Because you are privileged, your race is invisible to you” (Hook, 2009, p. 512).

The above anecdote is told by Michael Kimmel, a gender studies scholar, about a dispute he heard between a black and a white woman in one of his women’s studies classes (Hook,

2009). Gender matters in this study because women, especially black women in South Africa, inhabit the world as gendered beings and suffer discrimination based on their gender, race, class and sexuality. Their identities matter, and intersectionality can hold all these identities simultaneously so that black women's bodies can be understood as refracted through these identities. Intersectionality was first introduced by feminist scholar Kimberlie Crenshaw to address multiple failures not only in law, but also political failures within feminism and anti-racism. In the context of employment discrimination, intersectionality was meant to draw attention to the many ways in which black women were being excluded from employment in industrial plants and elsewhere; women that were segregated by both gender and race. Specifically, black jobs were allocated to black men, and women's jobs were available to white women only. Black women were not able to secure jobs anywhere because they did not fit the kind of woman (white) or the kind of black (black men) that were preferred by the employers at the time. This meant that there was a structural gendered and racial intersectional form of discrimination (Crenshaw, 1991). In addition to employment discrimination, black women also faced discrimination in the courts. From the courts' perspective, because all women were not being excluded (white women were not discriminated against based on their race) and all black people were not being excluded (black men were not discriminated against based on their gender), the black-female plaintiffs had no case. The courts felt that if black women were allowed to make a gender and race claim at the same time, they would be getting preferential treatment. Intersectionality was therefore concerned with highlighting and bringing attention to black women's experiences of gender and racial discrimination (Crenshaw, 1991).

However, Storti (2015) cautions against a major deficiency of intersectionality, which is in its practice. She argues that intersectional scholarship and politics are often reduced to an "add

race/class/gender/sexuality and stir” event. In doing this, intersectionality fails to look beyond identity and thus is unable to account for the ways in which feeling and ontology affect individuals (Storti, 2015). Puar (2012) argues that although intersectionality emerged as an intervention on the part of black feminists to challenge the rubrics of race, gender and class in Western feminism, it ends up recentralising the very white feminism that it sought to decentralise. Deploying the concept of assemblage from affect theory, Puar critiques intersectionality and asserts that as opposed to an intersectional model of identity, which presumes that components of race, class, gender, sexuality, nationality, age and religion are separable analytics and can thus be stripped apart, an assemblage is more in agreement with interwoven forces that merge and dissipate time, space, and body against linearity, coherence, and permanency (Puar, 2012). Deleuze and Guattari (2005) define an assemblage as laying out or putting things together. Intersectionality is valuable in this study because it grapples with important identities inhabited by black women as well as the discrimination they experience on a daily basis based on their multiple identities including their sexuality, class, race and religion.

2.11.12 Conclusion

I conclude this chapter by considering the commonalities across the theories that inform this study. Briefly stated, the theories in the study share a commitment to fluidity, contingency, multiplicity, and a commitment to social justice. Intersectionality, affect and performativity theory allow for multiplicity and variety, not sameness and rigidity. The nomadic notion of affect as espoused by Braidotti (2010a), shows that humans cannot be seen with a tunnel vision which renders them static and singular. Rather, they should be apprehended in their plurality of being and multiplicity of performance. Nomadic affect coheres with other

theories of the body in that it promotes fluidity of being and personhood as practice, rather than essentialism. In other words, identity is fluid and constantly changing, hence it is also possible for one's habitus to change. This is echoed by Butler's (1990) theory of performativity that understands gender as a performance, and thus fluid and changeable rather than rigid, immutable and inflexible. Similarly, Braidotti's undutiful daughter challenges conceptions of women as lacking dynamism and movement; existing only in pre-defined circumstances. Fluidity and changeability are contextual because identities take shape in specific places at the intersection of a range of influences. Crenshaw's intersectionality takes up the challenge of conceiving of identity at the confluence of multiple factors and in place. When different features of identity such as race, class, gender, sexuality and place converge, they produce specific experiences and ways of being. Power, affect, gender performativity and habitus are fluid are useful ways of theorising as they enable us to make meaning of women that protest naked.

Chapter Three: Methodology

3.1 Qualitative Research

The choice between qualitative and quantitative research is determined by the research question, not by the researcher's preference. The aim of qualitative research is to get a better understanding of the participants' experiences and behaviours through having conversations with them. Such studies answer the "why" and the "how" questions. The essence of qualitative research is to study real people and their behaviours in real or natural settings (Marshall, 1996). For the purposes of this study, which aims to explore the why's and how's of naked body protests, the qualitative research approach is appropriate. Specifically, the study is located in or informed by the post structuralist approach, which rejects the notion that there is only one truth (Chilisa & Kawulich, 2018). Post structuralism advocates for a relationship between power, language and knowledge. It is of the view that knowledge is contextual and partial. This suggests that knowledge is not neutral. Post structuralism is interested in the operation of power in text. It asserts that we have no access to the world except through language. Post structuralists also believe that reality is textual and is made up of multiple narratives and discourses that create a meaningful world to us. They observe that power is always implicated and present in discourse. Their aim is to deconstruct existing discourses (Fox, 2014). Since women's naked bodies are the subject of contested meanings and investments, there can be no single or final truth. Read as texts, they invite discursive interpretations. In this study, I assume a poststructuralist African feminist reading of black women's bodies. In this regard, I see the body as invested in its own theorisation at the confluence of multiple intersecting identities, temporalities and geographies. Since black women's bodies have historically been appropriated for colonising and patriarchal missions, I

use critical discourse analysis (CDA) to make meaning of how their bodies speak for themselves and back at society. CDA is appropriate in this study as it deals with the discourse dimensions of power abuse and the inequalities as well as injustices that result from it. It is concerned with how power is exercised through language (Fairclough, 1995; Van Dijk, 1993). Some of the prominent representatives of post structuralism include theorists such as Jacques Derrida, Gilles Deleuze, Michel Foucault and Judith Butler (Finkelde, 2013). In this study, I make use of the works of Deleuze, Foucault and Butler.

The remainder of this chapter discusses the sample, an outline of the research procedure, ethical considerations, and a detailed explication of how data collection was undertaken. The chapter concludes with a self-reflexive account of my own orientation towards the politics of the study and how my identity is entwined with the lenses I bring to bear conceptually and analytically.

3.2 Sampling Techniques and Sample

3.2.1 Sampling Technique and Process

This study is qualitative in nature and utilises two qualitative sampling methods namely purposive and snowball sampling methodologies. Purposive sampling is a form of non-probability sampling which requires researchers to have prior knowledge about the purpose of their study so that they can properly choose and approach eligible participants. The participants have to fit a particular profile (Foley, 2018). In this case participants had to have participated in naked body protests. After purposively locating the first few participants, snowball sampling was employed. Snowball sampling technique is usually used in hidden populations which are difficult for researchers to reach. In this case, people who have

participated in naked body protests were considered as very rare because not many people participate in naked body protests. For some who participated in naked body protests, it is not that easy to come forward as they may later regret this if it leads to further negative exposure. It was therefore appropriate for a non-probability sampling technique to be used where existing participants recommended possible participants among their acquaintances (Marshall, 1996; Teddlie & Yu, 2007). I therefore asked interviewees to refer me to other women that they know of who had engaged in naked body protests.

3.2.2 Research Sample

The sample depended on the referrals that I was able to secure. Data sampling ended when the data reached a point of saturation. After 16 participants were interviewed, my sense was that the study had reached saturation. Saturation means that on the basis of the data that have been collected, further data collection is unnecessary as it yields the same results (Saunders, Sim, Kingstone, Baker, Waterfield, Bartlam, Burroughs & Jinks, 2018). The participants were people who had taken part in naked body protests. The sample was sought in communities where there had been a reported history of naked protests such as Dobsonville and university campuses such as the University of the Witwatersrand and Rhodes University.

Participants who engaged in naked body protests participated in one-on-one interviews of a duration of approximately one hour to one and a half hours. The length of time was meant to accommodate the viewing of the 7-minute Dobsonville naked body protest video, and having a conversation based on it. The aim of viewing the video with participants was to facilitate a common conversation across participants, to spark an intergenerational reflection of naked protest between older protests and more recent ones, and to observe the different affects experienced by the women as they watched the video. Amongst other things, they were asked

to discuss the different affective registers they experienced during the protests. The interviews were about the naked body protest as an event or action that is simultaneously oral, aural (involving the sense of hearing) and visual. Wetherell (2015b) explains that bodies, meaning making, feeling, communication, and social action emmesh and become figured together in emotional episodes. The affective and the discursive intertwine (Wetherell, 2015b). In summary, the sample consisted of the components listed below, which were the units of analysis. The unit of analysis refers to whom or what is being studied in a research project. It is concerned with the specific entities that the researcher wants to know about (Lewis-Beck, Bryman & Liao, 2004). I list the various points of data used in the study below:

1. One-on-one interviews with 16 women who have participated in naked body protests. This also entailed watching and discussing the Dobsonville video recording of women protesting against housing demolitions in 1990.
2. An analysis of a podcast of a radio interview with two Wits women naked body protestors about their naked protest. An analysis of a radio podcast interview with a Rhodes university protester.
3. An analysis of the online comments/texts that are made in response to the videos on naked body protests.
4. Observation of participants' behaviour in the Dobsonville protest video. This part entailed observing the participants' behaviour during the protest in the protest video.

Table 1 below summarises the characteristics of the sample of the women interviewed.

Place of protest in South Africa	Reason for naked body protest	Number of interviews	Participant age range	Year of protest	Province
Dobsonville	Housing/eviction	4	60-75	1990	Gauteng
Rhodes University	Rape culture on campus (#IamOneInThree)	5	20-40	2016	Eastern Cape
Nelson Mandela University	Rape culture in solidarity with Rhodes (#IamOneinThree)	1	20-40	2016	Eastern Cape
University of the Witwatersrand	Rape culture in solidarity with Rhodes (#IamOneinThree)	1	20-40	2016	Gauteng
University of the Witwatersrand	#FeesMustFall/Outsourcing	3	20-40	2016	Gauteng
Gender-based violence and femicide summit 2018	Gender based violence	1	20-50	2018	Gauteng
TUT Rape 2019	Rape on campus	1	20-40	2019	Gauteng

Table 1 : Sample characteristics

3.3 Overview of the Research Process

3.3.1 Research Procedure

I applied for and received ethical clearance from the Committee for Research on Human Subjects at the University of the Witwatersrand (Clearance number: H18/10/22). I then visited areas where there was reported history of naked body protests. With regards to the 1990 Dobsonville protesters, I used the '*Ukuhamba ze*' 1995 documentary where the women were documented for their 1990 naked body protest against eviction from their homes. The video of the 1990 protest was produced by Jacqueline Mainguard, Sheila Meintjes and Heather Thompson in February 1995 at Wits University. I was able to locate four women who protested in Dobsonville in 1990 through referrals from those I had interviewed. Consent was requested from participants before they participated in the study. In order to obtain informed consent, only when the nature of the study and requirements and implications for participation had been explained, and participants had signed consent forms, did they take part in the study. I first interviewed the Wits university women protesters, followed by the Dobsonville women, Wits University in solidarity with Rhodes then Rhodes university protesters. This sequence was followed for convenience. The two universities are sites where naked body protests had occurred.

In addition, I utilised preselected YouTube videos and radio podcasts on naked body protests and user comments/text that accompanied the videos. The comments were analysed using critical discourse analysis, which is explained below. This means that there were four sources of data, namely interviews, videos and podcasts and comments on the videos. The analysis reads these as textual data.

3.3.2 Ethical Considerations

Upon approval of the ethics application, ethics number H18/10/22, and institutional permissions to carry on with the research, I began setting up appointments with the prospective participants to conduct the interviews at times convenient to them. Written consent to be interviewed and audio-recorded was requested from the participants. Three participants who were interviewed virtually emailed me their signed consent forms. I carried out face to face interviews at a locations that was convenient to the participants. Some opted to be interviewed at their homes, others at a restaurant or at university, while others were interviewed virtually as they were far away. All interview settings were able to accommodate the viewing of the Dobsonville naked protest documentary video on a computer screen.

All participants were informed that participation was completely voluntary and that if at any stage of the research they wanted to withdraw their participation, they could do so without facing any repercussions. I informed the participants that there would be no incentives for participating, but that they would be contributing to academic knowledge. The participants' identities remained strictly confidential throughout the study as pseudonyms were used instead of their real names. I assured them that only myself and my research supervisor would have access to the transcripts and the audio-taped interviews. To ensure anonymity in the thesis and subsequent publications, each participant was assigned a pseudonym. However, even though I sought to protect the identities of participants, they were aware that other media interviews that they had given as well as the media coverage of their protests meant that they were potentially identifiable beyond this study. Indeed, some of the protestors have written about their own protests. While this study posed no threat or harm, I explained that

free debriefing and counselling services would be provided by Lifeline if the services were needed.

I informed the participants that the report would be submitted to the University for Examination as a research report which would be available on the online University of the Witwatersrand Library Portal. They were also informed that the report would possibly be published and parts would be presented at academic conferences. I assured them that their names would remain protected in the publications and at conference presentations.

3.4 Data Collection Procedure

3.4.1 Data Collection Techniques

A combination of data collection methods was utilised in this study in order to enhance validity through data triangulation. These included semi-structured interviews, naked body protest videos and texts that accompanied the videos as well as a podcasts of radio interviews. The use of all these data sources resulted in enriched, validated and reliable data on the phenomenon of naked body protests. These data collection methods are briefly elaborated upon below. I begin by explaining the concept of triangulation.

3.4.2 Triangulation

In research terms, triangulation refers to the use of more than one approach to researching a question or phenomenon (Heale & Forbes, 2013). Triangulation can combine both quantitative (questionnaires and tests) and qualitative (for instance, interviews and participant observations) methods (Flick, 2018; Heale & Forbes, 2013). Denzin (1978) defined

triangulation as the mixture of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon. He viewed triangulation as a strategy for data validation in research (Flick, 2018). In this study, data triangulation is used. This consists of the use of different sources of data (such as interviews, protest videos, texts related to the videos, radio podcast interviews). This is the type of triangulation used in this study. Triangulation resulted in enriched, validated and reliable data on the phenomenon of naked body protests.

3.4.3 Interviews

This study utilised semi-structured interviews as they allow the participants to give open-ended responses but with a bit of structure and guidance. Semi-structured interviews consist of a number of key questions that serve as a guide and help define the areas to be explored. Follow up questions are also possible (Burnard, Gill, Stewart, Treasure & Chadwick, 2008). The interviews were audio-recorded, then transcribed and kept safely in a password protected computer (Malterud, 2001).

3.4.4 Podcasts of Radio Interviews

In addition to the interviews, the second part of data collection entailed radio podcasts, which were transcribed and analysed using critical discourse analysis. In the first podcast, two #FeesMustFall women protestors were interviewed by a local radio station about their experience in the naked body protest. They also interacted with callers who presented various views about women's bodies and protests. The second podcast interviewed a woman who protested naked against the rape culture at Rhodes University. The woman also engaged callers who presented their views on the women's naked body protest.

3.4.5 Videos and Texts Accompanying the Videos

The third part of the data collection was videos and text accompanying the videos. The text consisted of comments made by the public in response to the video content.

3.4.6. Observation of Participants' Behaviour in the Dobsonville 1990 Protest Video

The fourth part entailed observing the Dobsonville protesters' behaviour during their protest in the video. One of the questions of the study was what are the affective dimensions of the naked body protests. Observing some of the protesters' behaviour assisted in establishing some of these affects. As Wetherell puts it, the body and talk are intertwined and co-constituted in the moment (Wetherell, 2015b). This suggests that it is important to consider the participant holistically by focusing on their body language, their voices, tone and temper of voice and even facial expressions.

3.4.7 Data Sequencing

Table 2 below summarises the process or sequence that I followed during data collection.

Data Sequencing	Source
Interviews	Wits University FeesMustFall protesters
	The Dobsonville women protesters
	Wits University protesters in solidarity with Rhodes University students against rape culture
	Rhodes University protesters against rape culture on campus
Radio podcasts	Podcasts of radio interviews. In the first, two women protesters from the Wits #FeesMusFall protest were interviewed. In the second, a woman who protested against the rape culture at Rhodes was interviewed.
Gender based violence interview	Gender-based violence and femicide summit 2018 naked body protester
Rape on campus interview	TUT Rape 2019 naked body protester

Analysis of texts from videos on naked body protests	Videos on naked body protests (Wits, Rhodes, Dobsonville videos) and commentary texts accompanying the videos.
Observations of how protesters behaved in the Dobsonville naked body protest video	Dobsonville naked body protest video

Table 2: Data sequencing

3.4.8 Strategies That Can Be Used To Collect Data In Order To Analyse Affect

Knudsen and Stage (2015) suggest three meta-strategies that can be used to collect data in order to analyse affect. For the purposes of this study, the second and third method were utilised. The first method does not fit in this study because no artificial environment was created. The second method involves observations of the participants' affective experiences, which is one of the methods used in the study. The third method deals with the analysis of texts and comments produced through social media like YouTube, Twitter and Facebook. In this study, texts from YouTube videos about participants' naked body protests were analysed. I describe these below:

Embodying Fieldwork: This involves observations to investigate more than representational layers and emotional or affective practices embodied by researchers (Knudsen & Stage, 2015). Margaret Wetherell gives an example of a *haerenga kitea* (walk along interview) she did with a participant in New Zealand. The participant was shopping during New Zealand's national day (*Waitanga* day which is on 6 February every year) and Wetherell was to walk around with her observing her and the affective experiences she went through that day (Wetherell, 2015b). She explains that her participant's account of her emotions is not the only thing open to her to analyse. The body and talk are woven together and co-constituted in the moment (Wetherell, 2015b). For this study, the behaviour of participants in the protest videos

as well as during the interviews was observed. Part of watching the Dobsonville video with participants was to simultaneously work with the body and talk. As Canham (2014) observes, one cannot just focus on talk, but has to work with the body as a present material. One's body language, facial expressions, the tone and temper of voices, all contribute to affect.

The Collection/Production of Affective Textualities: Knudsen and Stage (2015) explain that these can be produced in the heat of affective experiences or while remembering or recollecting them via textual production. This is first-hand data produced by subjects in the field of investigation; existing textual material. Knudsen and Stage (2015) suggest that the textually productive immediacy of social media (for example, YouTube, Twitter, internet forums) and mobile media (such as ipads, digital video cameras, smart phones), make these media very interesting empirical sources for affect research. The texts and comments available in the YouTube videos to be used in this study were instructive.

3.4.9 Video Characteristics

Videos were chosen through conducting a search using phrases such as 'naked body protests' and 'nude protests.' The videos were selected based on the criteria that they showed naked body protests. The selection was not restricted by factors such as length, who uploaded it, date of uploading or number of views. Below is a table with the videos used in the study. The Dobsonville video is not on YouTube. It is a documentary video made by Jacqueline Mainguard, Sheila Meintjes and Heather Thompson (1995) based on the 1990 naked body protest by Dobsonville women against evictions. I have obtained a copy of this recording.

	Name of Video	No. of comments	Uploaded by	Date published	Length of video	Date viewed
1	Wits Fees Must Fall Naked Body Protest	131	SABC Digital News	04/10/2016	00:07:48	06/04/2018
2	Rhodes University students protesting naked against rape culture	27	Times Live Newspaper	19/04/2016	00:00:17	19/05/2018
3	Wits Students protesting against rape culture in solidarity with Rhodes University students	194	City Press Newspaper	27/04/2016	00:03:27	06/04/2018
4	Video from the 1990 Dobsonville naked body protest	The video was produced by Jacqueline Mainguard, Sheila Meintjes and Heather Thompson in February 1995 at Wits University. The video is 00:07:49 long.				

Table 3: Video Characteristics

Table 3 outlines the characteristics of the videos used in the study. With the exception of the Dobsonville documentary, *Ukuhamba ze*, the videos can be accessed on the links below.

1 Wits Fees Must Fall Naked Body Protest

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3Om85YRc1WU&t=43s>

2. Rhodes University students protesting naked against rape culture

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9noISdRte54>

3. Wits Students protesting against rape culture in solidarity with Rhodes University students

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WQHjiDUeKUU>

4. Video from the 1990 Dobsonville naked body protest

3.5 Data Analysis

A contemporary group of affect researchers namely Brian Massumi, Nigel Thrift and Patricia Clough focus on affect as an outside stimulus that hits the body first, and only reaches cognition at a later stage. This is to suggest that it is pre-conscious. A second group, consisting of Margaret Wetherell, Sara Ahmed, Judith Butler and Lisa Blackman, criticise these dichotomies of body and cognition, biology and culture, the physical and the psychological (Knudsen & Stage, 2015). For the first group of researchers, the analytical strategy would view semiotics (discursive meaning making) and semantics as distorted traces of affect. For the second group, language would be considered capable of expressing affects. For the purposes of this study, the second methodology of analysis which does not preclude affect as stimulus, will be adopted. It is also related to discourse analysis, whose roots come from various fields of enquiry including language and semiotics (Coyle, 1995).

Discourse analysis is a field of enquiry whose roots come from various domains such as speech act theory, conversation analysis and semiology. Discourse analysis has mainly been influenced by post-structuralism which holds the view that meaning is not static and fixed but is fluid and provisional (Coyle, 1995). In this regard, the analysis of discourse emphasises how social reality is linguistically constructed and aims to gain a better understanding of social life and social interaction through the study of social texts (Coyle, 1995). There are many definitions of discourse, but it can simply be defined as patterns of language use within spoken or written material (Coyle, 1995). Parker (1992) defines discourse as a set of statements which construct an object. There are different types of discourse analysis, namely discursive psychology, Foucauldian discourse analysis and critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1995; Van Dijk, 1993). I used critical discourse analysis and explain it next.

3.5.1. Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) deals with the discourse dimensions of power abuse and the inequalities as well as injustices that result from it. It is concerned with how power is exercised through language (Fairclough, 1995; Van Dijk, 1993). Writing from a feministic perspective, Michelle Lazar explains that CDA is part of an emancipatory critical social science which is openly committed to the attainment of a just social order through a critique of discourse. The dominant concern of feminist critical discourse analysts is with critiquing discourses which sustain a patriarchal social order. They are concerned with relations of power that systematically privilege men as a social group, and disadvantage, exclude, and disempower women as a social group (Lazar, 2007). This study adopts feminist tenets to CDA.

Wetherell argues that many theorists view affect as a kind of extra-discursive event (Wetherell, 2013). However, she argues that there is a relationship between affect and discourse, and that the separation of affect from discourse as well as from mindfulness is unsustainable (Wetherell, 2013). She contends that the goal of affect theory is to deliver the tools required for lively, textured forms of assembling that constitute social life moment to moment (Wetherell, 2013). This is in line with the multimodal data collection described above. The role of critical discourse analysis is to bring about change through critical understanding of life events and social practices. This is significant, since naked body protestors are invested in altering social conditions.

Written, or oral data contains underlying meanings of the words being analysed. Analysis of underlying meanings can assist in interpreting issues and contexts in which the naked body

protesters find themselves. This helps us understand why naked body protesters act the way they do. As Margaret Wetherell (2012) argues, one cannot ignore the meaning-making contexts and histories that shape the encounters between bodies and events. For this reason, CDA is relevant as it is concerned with underlying meanings. The texts from the YouTube videos were analysed using CDA. The racial and gendered connotations arising from the texts and comments were also critically analysed.

3.5.2. Different Approaches to Critical Discourse Analysis

There are different approaches and schools to critical discourse analysis and they have some similarities and differences. The approaches differ in terms of theoretical foundations and the tools they use to analyse discourse, but the concepts of ideology, critique, and power are present in all of them (Roger, Hodge, Kress & Trew, 1979).

Critical discourse analysis was formulated in the 1970s by critical linguists at the University of East Anglia (Roger et al., 1979). It became well known through the writings of European linguists namely Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak and Teun van Dijk (Fairclough, 1995). Other prominent figures who contributed immensely towards CDA include Karl Marx, Antonio Gramsci, Louis Althusser, Jürgen Habermas, Michel Foucault and Pierre Bourdieu (Fairclough, 1995; Thompson, 1990). The main aim was to examine ideologies and power relations involved in discourse. It was to examine the underlying relationships of power or ideologies in speech as well as written text (Fairclough, 1995). Van Dijk and Huckin will be discussed in more detail as they will be applied in this study.

3.5.3 Teun Van Dijk's Socio-Cognitive Model of CDA

Teun Van Dijk started his CDA work in the 1980s by applying his discourse analysis theory to media texts, mainly focusing on the representation of ethnic groups and minority groups in Europe (Van Dijk, 1988). He defines critical discourse analysis as a field that is concerned with studying and analysing the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political contexts (Van Dijk, 1998). Van Dijk (1993) summarises that critical discourse analysts are interested in understanding, exposing, and resisting social inequality.

Van Dijk explains that critical discourse analysis focuses on the reproduction and challenge of dominance by the dominant groups. By dominance he refers to the exercise of social power by institutions, elites and dominant groups resulting in social, cultural, class, political, ethnic, gender and racial inequalities (Van Dijk, 1993). He asserts that the reproduction of inequalities may involve different modes of discourse such as enactment, representation, legitimisation, denial, mitigation or concealment of dominance. He presents a triad relationship between discourse, cognition, and society, where socio-cognition is the mediation between society and discourse (Van Dijk, 2001, 2006). Social cognition is defined as the system of mental representations and processes of members of a particular group (Van Dijk, 1995). He argues that part of the system is the sociocultural knowledge or evaluative beliefs shared by members of a specific group, culture or society. For example, feminists may share certain beliefs or attitudes about abortion, or sexist men may share certain beliefs or attitudes about naked body protests by women. According to Van Dijk (1995), members of a group or culture usually acquire ideologies through long term processes of socialisation. Ideologies organise, keep an eye on and control specific group attitudes. He explains that ideologies mentally represent the social characteristics of a group, such as the group's identity, tasks,

goals, norms, values, position and resources. Sexist men for example, represent society as a conflict between men and women, in which their identity, goals, values, positions and resources as men are seen to be threatened by the others (women, for instance). It is a case of Us versus. Them. In this instance, 'Us' carries positive properties and the others are associated with negative properties (Van Dijk, 1995).

3.5.4 Power and Dominance

Van Dijk (1993) argues that an important presupposition in critical discourse analysis is understanding the nature of social power and dominance. According to Van Dijk (1993), social power is based on access to things such as wealth, income, status, group membership and knowledge. Power has to do with control, and a powerful group may limit the less dominant group by controlling their minds (cognition) or their freedom of action, as was the case with the police violence against the Wits #FeesMustFall protesters, or the policing of women's bodies as is illustrated in the radio podcast interviews; the results of which will be discussed in the next chapter. Van Dijk (1993) cautions that dominance may not always be overtly displayed. On the contrary, dominance may be enacted as well as reproduced by subtle, routine, everyday forms of talk and text that appear natural and acceptable. This is why it is important for critical discourse analysts to focus on the discursive strategies that legitimate control, or otherwise naturalise the social order, and especially relations of inequality (Fairclough, 1995).

3.5.5 Ideology

Van Dijk (2006) explains that ideologies can be defined as foundational and axiomatic beliefs that underlie the shared social representations of specific kinds of social groups. He further

explains that ideologies organise a social group's identity, actions, aims, norms and values, as well as its relations to other social groups.

Van Dijk (2006) explains that people acquire, express and reproduce their ideologies largely by text or talk. This means that racist or sexist ideologies may be expressed and reproduced in racist or sexist talk, comics or movies in the context of mass media for example (Van Dijk, 1995). An important qualification provided by Van Dijk is that all people use ideology. While the powerful generally use it to oppress others, marginalised groups use it to resist their oppression. Ideology is therefore not inherently bad or good. Rather, it can be deployed to the ends sought by social groups. Naked body protests can therefore be understood as presenting a counter ideology to patriarchy.

Sociologist John Thompson (1990) distinguishes between two general types of conception of ideology, namely neutral conceptions and critical conceptions of ideology. He asserts that neutral conceptions purport phenomena as ideology or as ideological without implying that these phenomena are illusory, misleading or aligned with the interests of any particular group, be it a dominant or prejudiced group. According to Thompson, ideology may be as needed to subordinate groups in their struggle against the social order as it is to the dominant groups in their defence of the status quo (Thompson, 1990).

The second general type is the critical conception of ideology which Thompson prefers. It conveys a negative, critical sense of ideology. It implies that phenomena characterised as ideological or as ideology are one-sided, illusory or misleading. He asserts that the analysis of ideology according to the critical conception of ideology is concerned with ways in which

meaning is mobilised in the social world and serves thereby to boost individuals and groups who occupy positions of power (Thompson, 1990). Thompson's conception of ideology has a drawback because it argues that only dominant forms of political and social thought are ideological (Eagleton, 1991). Van Dijk (1993) differs from Thompson (1990) in that he argues that the dominant ideologies can be resisted and challenged, whereas Thompson only conceives of these as utilised by dominant groups.

3.5.6 Thomas Huckin's CDA

For the purposes of this research, I analyse the data using the tools of CDA which include genre, framing, foregrounding, omission, and presupposition (Huckin, 1997, 2002). The analysis hones in at the level of the sentence, word, and the social context. Huckin's tools are briefly defined in Table 5.

Huckin's CDA Tools	
Genre	There are different genres to which text can belong. For instance, advertisements are a genre that use visual aids and special language to encourage readers to buy the product or service. Genre orientation allows the analyst to see why certain types of statements appear in a text, what has been said and what has been left out of the text.
Omission	This refers to leaving things completely out of a text or narrative. Omission is one of the most potent aspects of text because if something is not mentioned, it might not even enter the reader's mind.
Framing	This refers to how the content of a text is presented. It refers to the sort of angle or slant the writer or speaker is taking.
Manipulation	A text can be written in a manipulative manner to attain a certain narrative. For instance, in news reports a loaded word may be used to drive the narrative in a certain direction.
Presupposition	This is the use of language in a way that appears to take certain ideas for granted, presenting them as the norm, as if there were no alternative.
Foregrounding and backgrounding	These refer to the writer emphasising certain concepts or words by giving them prominence and de-emphasising others.

Table 4: Huckin's CDA Tools

Source: Huckin, 1997, p. 81-82

As much as CDA is relevant for this study it does have its shortcomings. Firstly, there are many options available through the various CDA traditions. This can result in methodological problems, as each tradition has its own epistemological position, concepts, procedures, and a

specific understanding of discourse and discourse analysis. Secondly, each tradition/branch of discourse analysis has been critiqued. For example, conversation analysis is said to be narrow, while Foucauldian discourse analysis is said to be too broad. Lastly, the general lack of clear techniques for researchers to follow when conducting critical discourse analysis has been critiqued as a hindrance (Morgan, 2010).

3.6. Reflexivity

Reflexivity is the examination of the researcher's own beliefs, assumptions and practices during the research process and how these may have influenced the research. Linda Finlay differentiates between reflexivity and positionality. She explains that if positionality refers to what we know and believe, then reflexivity is about what we do with that knowledge (Finlay, 1998). Pierre Bourdieu encourages sociologists and social scientists to conduct their research with conscious attention to the effects of their own position. He cautions that they must be conscious of their own set of internalised structures (*habitus*), and how these are likely to distort or prejudice their view of the world. Ian Parker warns that as researchers, we notice and describe the world from particular positions. As a result, the position of the researcher has to be specified in reflexive form so that the claims made by the researcher are carefully considered by the readers of the research (Parker, 2013). In keeping with this need to track my own views, I kept a reflexivity journal during the data collection phase to help me document my impressions of the participants. I returned to this journal during the data analysis and discussion stage of my study.

Given that some of the participants were Wits University students and have a long association with the university as an alumnus and current doctoral student, I anticipated that this might

affect the research. I anticipated that the students that I interviewed might identify with me and be more open during the interviews because I also studied at Wits. To my delight, I found that the positive identification as a member of the in-group led to an openness and willingness to share their experiences with me. As a black woman, I am not neutral on the issue of naked body protests. I am moved in solidarity with the protestors. Given the patriarchal and unequal socio-economic conditions that prevail, I am invested in overturning the status quo in favour of an equitable society where women's bodies are not sites of violence and consumption. However, as in insider interviewing students at Wits University being a student myself, there was always a risk of over-identifying with the participants and seeing similarities in our circumstances. I had to remain cognisant of how this over-identification might have influenced the interviews and subsequent data analysis. For instance, given my own position as an oppressed women in a patriarchal society, I had to be careful not to romanticise the power of naked protests and to invest them with decolonial power when the women protestors might not always have been intending to upend social inequality. In addition, in relation to the older women from the 1990 Dobsonville protest, I might have been a bit distant and not seen similarities between myself and them. For instance, I was not an elderly woman fighting for housing. As a result, I might have been more open to new interpretations and insights.

As a young, black, woman student I felt a little uncomfortable about collecting personal stories about affect and naked body protests from former students who might have been more financially disempowered relative to me. While I was not financially stable, my circumstances might have been better than those of my participants', particularly since some of them had been rendered more socio-economically precarious as a consequence of participating in the protests. For instance, some had been dismissed from their universities.

With regard to the anti-rape protests, I thought that some of the participants would not feel comfortable enough to talk about their experiences. On the contrary, the women spoke freely about their experiences, which was re-assuring to me as a researcher. I was conscious that I may have been invading their privacy and re-opening their wounds. During some of the interviews, I grappled with the fact that some of the women expected me to assist them with some of their problems, and I was not in a position to help. I struggled with the reality that I nothing to offer these women in return. This made me feel unhelpful and extractive. This sometimes made me reluctant to set additional interview appointments with more women. However, in the end, I did manage to return to the field to do more interviews. This reflection suggests that while I set out to study the affect of participants, I too was affectively moved throughout the process. There were also moments during the interviews where the women and I had incongruent emotions. This points to how emotions work in interview spaces. For instance, I felt sad for Thabisa for the hardships she had endured in life. I even carried some of the sadness home with me. There were moments during the interview where she talked about the joy she felt when she eventually received her housing site. When Patricia felt angry as she was narrating her experiences to me, I felt an affective sadness grip me because she was still experiencing pain and injustice.

The idea that PhD theses are only read by the supervisors, examiners, partners, family members or friends further emphasised that these women had shared parts of themselves purely for me to get a PhD degree. However, having said this, I have managed to make good friends with most of the women I interviewed.

Chapter Four: Findings and Discussion

Chapter Four presents and discusses the empirical data gathered. The chapter presents the different affective dimensions of naked body protests. In this chapter, I illustrate that affect and naked body protests can advance decolonial objectives; the affect of naked body protests performs psychosocial work; affect can be the generative lens through which the body speaks; and affects generated by naked body protests can have an afterlife. The research questions are addressed throughout each of the subsections. Several data sources are analysed to think through naked body protests. These include interviews with naked body protestors, YouTube video commentary and radio podcast discussions of naked body protests and a short documentary video of the 1990 Dobsonville protests. Based on these data, the chapter addresses four major thematic areas. The first of these explores why protestors engage in naked body protests and nakedness as decolonial praxis. The second is concerned with the affective dimensions of naked body protestors as well as the psychosocial work performed by these protests. The third thematic area engages with the ‘speaking body’ and meanings assigned to different parts of the gendered body. The final theme addresses the afterlife of naked body protests by considering how women protestors live with the social and psychological consequences of participating in naked body protests.

Part One

4. 1 Ukuhamba ze!: Nakedness as Decolonial Praxis

In this section, I explore the reasons why women participate in naked body protests, highlighting the use of nakedness as decolonial praxis, while also focusing on the affective registers experienced by the protesters. The reasons discussed include using naked body protests to challenge ideologies that hold that nakedness in public is wrong; and to resist patriarchy as well as state and institutional oppression.

If decoloniality is defined as a way to re-learn the knowledge of one's forebears that has been pushed aside, forgotten, buried or discredited by the forces of modernity, then decolonial praxis can be defined as the practise of re-learning the forgotten knowledge of our ancestors. Here, I understand praxis as the doing of theory in embodied enactments. Decolonial praxis can come in many forms, of which nakedness is one.

4.1.1 Challenging Ideologies That Police Nakedness in Public

Naked women protestors received a censoring backlash to their protests. Their protests have been discussed on talk radio shows, in newspaper articles, online commentary and on YouTube commentary. The women protestors sometimes took up opportunities to talk back to their detractors. In challenging the ideologies of patriarchy, women often relayed similar affective energy as that conveyed during protests. In the excerpts that follow, I observe that the younger women protesters within the #FeesMustFall do not necessarily experience the shame that grips the older Dobsonville women. This could be attributed to the possibility that young, urban, middle-class women inhabit a world of reason that assumes that protest should be clearly articulated by rational beings who prioritise, according to Cartesian logic, their

minds and not bodies. In addition, since the younger women have been raised in democratic South Africa in a more liberal climate, they may also have a different relationship to their bodies when compared to the 1990 protestors.

The excerpts below are the women's responses to a radio host's question which asked whether or not naked protests were necessary. Two young black women within the #FeesMustFall protest were interviewed on the radio. Busi was in the studio and Tumi participated in the interview over the phone.

I find those questions so annoying... I mean whose body is necessary? What questions are we asking when we say that? Whose body is necessary? Whose body is "inappropriate?" Who is deemed "appropriate?" Men piss on the street all the time, and nothing is said about that (Radio podcast 2016, Tumi, Wits protester).

Throughout the interview, Tumi was filled with an anger that appeared to penetrate the radio. It was the type of anger that one could feel sitting at home in their living room, bedroom, kitchen, or wherever they were while listening to the interview. For Wetherell (2012, p. 81), Tumi's anger is "not a random, irrational outpouring." It comes from a shared social experience with other women who seek to decolonise constructions of the body. In this excerpt Tumi, rejects negative constructions of the body and compares this policing to the lack of public censure of men's bodies.

During the #FeesMustFall naked body protests, Ndlovu (2017) notes that masculinities always had to be negotiated at the picket line (i.e. in the form of police men and the male leaders of the #FeesMustFall movement). Ndlovu asserts that women's names are usually not

remembered or written about in history. She consequently makes it a point to list the names of the women at the picket line because they played a role in the naked body protests. She asserts that their work and their bodies matter. Women's anger is fed by constantly having to negotiate their space and importance at the picket line.

The preceding excerpt illustrates Foucault's (1978) assertion that where there is power, there is resistance. It is this power that the stripping protesters use to bring attention to the issues they are protesting about. Society ideologically constructs women's naked bodies as profane, indecent, shameful and sexual, never to be displayed in public (Gqola, 2015). Oppressive dictates couched in respectability politics require women to cover their bodies, particularly their breasts, buttocks and vaginal areas (Tamale, 2016). The effect of the hegemonic disciplining of the body is that it should remain covered and hidden. Unless it is for male consumption, the naked woman's body is considered an abomination, repulsive and undisciplined. Tumi rejected this hegemonic disciplining. Bakare-Yusuf (2011) critiques the idea that women's bodies are not allowed to be exposed in public unless for the satisfaction of men. Like Bakare-Yusuf, we see Tumi critiquing this idea when she asks "*whose body is appropriate?*" Tumi also displayed the character of the undutiful daughter (Braidotti, 2010a) by evincing a disobedient attitude as well as being a feminist kill-joy (Ahmed, 2010).

Palesa, the radio presenter who interviewed the two women protestors indicated that in their formative years, women are taught to cover up, but that the women protestors were challenging this ideology through naked body protests. *We all grew up with this idea that one's body must be covered, especially when you are a woman... uum and obviously that it's inappropriate to be naked in public. But the black women at #FeesMustFall challenge this*

(Radio podcast 2016, Palesa, Radio presenter). The emphasis on covering up “especially when you are a woman” confirms the success of patriarchal ideologies of representing women’s bodies as profane, repulsive and in need of disciplining. Palesa uses the word “obviously” as a presupposition that it is something normal and acceptable to expect women to “obviously” cover up. This way of viewing women’s bodies has been naturalised and become the norm. However, we see the women #FeesMustFall protesters subverting this idea and challenging normative patriarchal values.

The excerpt by Mariam below, from the *Ukuhamba Ze! (To Walk Naked)* Dobsonville video, further illustrates the success of patriarchal ideologies in representing women’s bodies as needing to be covered at all times. It, however, simultaneously subverts this scripting of their bodies.

I was not even thinking, that by the way, I am a woman and I am naked. I had lost myself for a while because what was happening had disturbed me. I also had a lot of strength and power, but I was very hurt. I had forgotten that as a woman, I wasn’t supposed to walk amongst people (as she says this, she puts her hands around her vaginal area in a bid to cover it) (Dobsonville protest video 1995, Mariam, protester).

Mariam explains that she had lost herself for a while. She was also hurt and disturbed by what was happening. We see a sharp burst of action-oriented affect that propels her to do something; to flee, remonstrate, appeal or move closer—to lose herself (Wetherell, 2012). In the moment that she had ‘lost herself’ there was a sharp burst of affect that propelled her to strip in front of her shack in a bid to protect it. Her pain and suffering also spurred her on to

strip naked to protect her home (Al-Kassim, 2006). In Mariam’s excerpt above, we observe how our habitus becomes entrenched in how we behave without us even flinching. Reay (2015) explains that habitus enables us to better understand how the psyche is formed through the social. The way we are socialised informs and determines how we behave in our future. Mariam explains that *I had forgotten that as a woman, I wasn’t supposed to walk naked amongst people*. The idea that Mariam feels and believes that as a woman she must cover up and not walk naked in public, did not just happen overnight, it comes from her gendered habitus. In the excerpts that follow, Lisa and Pinki who had protested with Mariam in the 1990 Dobsonville housing protest, reject passivity and advocate for fighting for their social rights and decoloniality. It is important to note that the women mostly refer to their protest as being against social injustices, but I go further to suggest that it is a fight against coloniality because the lack of land can be seen as the result of the systems of colonialism, apartheid and patriarchy.

Yo! Eish! Yona e maswe maan! (Eish it is ugly maan). But when things are tough, and you see that blood is being shed, u bona gore go gobe moo goa nyewa, hai! lathlela kwa! (If you see that it’s really bad and people are dying, strip!). [Laughs] This is a fight! When you are fighting with someone, you use anything that you can to defend yourself (Dobsonville protest interview 2019, Lisa, protester).

Lisa was a little sceptical because she thought it was “ugly” to take part in naked body protests. She is overtaken by affective shame—Ngai’s ugly feelings (Ngai, 2005). Sitting across her in her living room, I observed that her eyes were downcast in shame and she could not look at me directly when she told me that it is ugly to protest naked. I read this to indicate

shame for exposing her body in naked protest. Borrowing from Sara Ahmed's theorisation on affect, the emotion of shame sticks to Lisa twenty-nine years after the protest. Ahmed (2004) would argue that Lisa's surface is constructed or impressed upon. Because emotions do not positively reside in a subject or figure and are not a property that one owns or has, we can read this shame as a social shame of nakedness that sticks to Lisa. Emotions circulate between bodies and stick as they circulate (Ahmed, 2004). However, Lisa adds an important qualifier in her recollections of the protest. She contends that if things are very difficult and blood is being shed, then there is nothing wrong with staging a naked body protest. For her, nakedness is an act of aggression and a defence against injustice. It is brandished like a weapon of struggle. Lisa's talk suggests that the naked body is both shameful and defensible. Shame can be weaponised. One could also argue that Lisa has internalised patriarchal ideologies that assert that unless it is for male consumption, the naked woman's body is considered shameful. At the same time, she rejects this objectification of women and reclaims her bodily agency to fight for her rights and the decolonisation of housing and land ownership. This example demonstrates the multiple affects that circulate and cling to the body.

As was the case with Lisa, I interviewed Pinki in her home in Dobsonville. We had the interview while having tea and scones she had made. Amongst other things, I asked what she would say to her younger self regarding the naked body protest she took part in back in 1990. She spoke with a sense of pride, indicating that she fought the good fight, and today she sees herself as an unsung hero. This statement resists the idea that if one protests naked then they are seen as loose and mad. Instead, she asserts herself as a "hero" because she was fighting for the right things. Unlike Lisa, she does not view their naked protest as "ugly". To claim the mantle of heroism is to destabilise post-apartheid constructions of bravery that are associated

with the grand narrative of resisting apartheid and which are generally attributed to men. For Pinki, the fight for land on which to build one's house and to live in dignity is heroic. Even Pinki, however, uses moralising gendered discourse of the body when she suggests that "proper" women should use naked protests in "good" fights linked to struggles for housing; bad fights are associated with "improper women" in, for example, struggles for sex work decriminalisation".

Yazini, ukulwile... ukulwa okuhle (You have fought the good fight), even if there is nothing to show... but I have shown that you know what! You were a young mother, very active, who was fighting for the right things. Unlike abanye abo'mama ba lwela ukuthi a be prostitute a enzeni, things that are not right (Unlike other women who fight to be prostitutes). I am proud nge'zinto enga zenza (I am proud of the things I did). Today I am an unsung hero, but I was a hero. I was a hero (Dobsonville protest interview 2019, Pinki, protester).

In the Dobsonville video of *Ukuhamba Ze!* (To Walk Naked), the younger Thabisa related how powerful she felt during the naked body protest. This further negates the idea that public nakedness is inappropriate. She drew strength from her protest and talked about the power that charged through her body. *At the time when I was naked, I felt so powerful... the power to even hit a policeman* (Dobsonville protest video 1995, Thabisa, protester).

Writing about the *Ukuhamba Ze* video that documents the Dobsonville women's naked body protest of 1990, Naminata Diabate (2020) explains that the women's faces powerfully communicated their anger and that their body language evokes what is called *bolekaja*, a

Yoruba term meaning “Come down and let’s fight.” The women’s naked body protest is active resistance against humiliation and dispossession (Diabate, 2020). Naked body protests are believed to represent the strongest of curses that can be placed on someone. Because women give life, to put the most private symbols of motherhood into the public space is to negate that life and to say those in power are dead to society. It is believed to be very difficult to undo such a curse (Guyson, 2016).

In the interview I had with Thabisa 29 years later, as one of the leaders of the 1990 Dobsonville protestors, she indicated that she and her peers that were arrested at the protest and subsequently appeared in court naked. Therefore, the women ‘misbehaved’ with continued protest even in an official court of law. By appearing undressed in the establishment meant to enforce coloniality through compulsory patriarchal decorum, the women upended the idea of the body as private, irrational, shameful and therefore as apolitical. They politicised their bodies as they had in their community. Thabisa relies on an affective sense of humour to explain the logic of appearing naked in court.

He [the magistrate] sent in a “black woman” to tell us that he would lock us up and throw the key away into the ocean if we come to him naked. We then asked “this woman” if the magistrate thinks it is wrong for us to enter his court naked? This woman said yes, it is wrong. We then said to her, but we do not think it is wrong because the police were able to arrest us from our homes naked like this. They put us in their vans and took us into prison cells, naked like this. What are we supposed to wear because no one was given a chance to go to their homes and get dressed when we were arrested? (Dobsonville protest interview 2019, Thabisa, protester).

In the preceding excerpts, Tumi, Mariam, Pinki, Lisa and Thabisa resist the idea that it is inappropriate for women to be naked in public and they reconfigure nakedness on their own terms. Tamale (2016) and Sultana (2013) assert that the naked bodies of protesting women reconfigure nakedness by actively refusing patriarchal societies' objectification of and control over women's nakedness. The gendered gaze that is directed at women positions them as sexualised objects for the male gaze (Bakare-Yusuf, 2011; Oyèwùmí, 1997; Sultana, 2013). Jimlongo (2018) adds that this male gaze determines when women's bodies should be exposed and what these bodies should look like. Tamale explains that "society constructs the female naked body as profane, indecent, shameful and sexual, never to be displayed in public. Women must therefore cover their bodies, particularly the areola, nipples and curves of their breasts, their butts and especially the *mons pubis*" (Tamale, 2016, p. 2). Unless it is for male consumption, the naked woman's body is considered an abomination, repulsive and undisciplined. Since the courthouse is supposed to be an asexual masculine space of rationality, the women protestors affectively disrupt the space. This echoes the sentiment about Jamaican dancehall women who adorn and present their bodies in subversive ways (Bakare-Yusuf, 2006). The act of nakedness rejects objectification and reclaims agency.

4.1.2 Resistance Against Patriarchy

Patriarchy is a universal system of male domination meant to apportion privilege and power to men (McFadden, 2016). Its manifestations include supremacy, violence and impunity, privatisation and power abuse. It involves the dehumanisation of women (through exclusion) and intersects with racism, racial ideologies, class and colonisation. It functions through institutional structures that include the family, economy, the political, legal, educational, religious, social and cultural. In this section, I explore the operation of patriarchy and how

women resist it through naked body protests and their talking back. Since black South African women experience patriarchy's intersection with colonialism, I explore/interpret their resistance as decolonial action

The following excerpts, reflect an altercation between Tumi and a male caller, Ts'itso, who felt that the women going topless portrayed their craziness. The excerpt shows how Tumi challenged the caller's patriarchal and misogynistic prejudices and flipped the judgmental question back at him. Ts'itso begins the exchange with the critique of the naked protesters.

When a woman is feeling emotional and frustrated, does that mean they have to go topless and naked? ...It's just that we're talking about how they were emotional, how they felt frustrated and how they were numb and all those uuum factors, they just uuum decided to go topless. But now I felt like they are degrading themselves by saying that. You can't say... let's stick to the actual uuum mindset. We're all talking about fees must fall right? ... Are we really basing the idea on a "woman's perspective" on going naked and being seen by the whole world or pushing the free education system?(Radio podcast 2016, Ts'itso, Male caller 1).

Buti [brother], why are you more concerned with our breasts than the police brutality that took place on that campus? (Radio podcast 2016, Tumi, Wits protester).

I'm not being concerned, it's just that you guys... (Radio podcast 2016, Ts'itso, Male caller 1).

[Interrupts him angrily]: *You said we're degrading ourselves, so you're placing a moral judgement on what we were doing at the time...* (Radio podcast 2016, Tumi, Wits protester).

Yes (Radio podcast 2016, Ts'itso, Male caller 1).

Yes. So, you're more concerned about us going half-naked to stop police shooting at black students, than you are about the fact that police were shooting at the students. I'm not sure, this is why your question is, is confusing me because your priorities seem a bit skewed, right? (Radio podcast 2016, Tumi, Wits protester).

Silence.... [then Palesa interjects] ... (Radio podcast 2016, Ts'itso, Male caller 1).

The above interaction illustrates Tumi's resistance to patriarchy, misogyny and the policing of women's bodies. She rejects this moral judgement that Ts'itso subjects her to.. She silences him with her counter assertions about what is truly at stake when women protest. Ts'itso's altercation with Tumi illustrates Foucault's (1977) contention that the discourses we inhabit produce the subject positions we occupy in society. Ts'itso's reasoning stems from Cartesian dualisms that theorise the body as irrational and as associated with women, while reason or the mind is associated with men (Grosz, 1994). Grosz explains that in the history of Western knowledge, the mind has always been privileged over the body. The body was historically seen as interfering with and as a danger to reason (Grosz, 1994). According to Plato (1787), the body is "a betrayal of and a prisoner for the soul, reason or mind" (Grosz, 1994, p. 5). For Plato, reason had to rule over the body. In comments ridiculing naked

women's protests, women are often implored to be reasonable and to find less embodied forms of protest. In the same way that Ts'itso does in the preceding exchange, women are asked to discipline their 'unruly' bodies. Ts'itso clings to the patriarchal belief that men should give permission to women on how to behave, when and where. In patriarchal societies, men hold power and dictate to women, when and how they should behave (Källstig, 2020). Men are often portrayed in roles of authority, as opposed to women who are almost always portrayed as objects to be controlled by men (Berger, 2011). However, Tumi publicly rejects this ridicule and control from Ts'itso and radio listeners invested in policing women. With the act of naked body protests, these women reject this objectification and claim back their agency. The women use their bodies (and words) as weapons against patriarchy, misogyny and the policing of their bodies.

Listening to the radio podcast of Tumi's interview about her nakedness at the #FeesMustFall protest, I could feel the anger conveyed in her voice. In the moment, I imagined how other radio listeners were compelled to sit with her anger and the affects it elicited for them. As she addressed the listeners, her shaking voice shook me and I was affectively moved to anger. Tumi was filled with affective anger, and fearlessly corrected Ts'itso. She pointed to his skewed priorities which focused on the protestors' breasts instead of the police brutality of shooting at the protesting students on campus. Feeling her anger in my own body, I wondered how she had moved the male caller and if her affect had moved like an atmospheric contagion. Anderson (2009) asserts that affects can travel between places and can be shared between bodies. Following Anderson then, I can understand my own feelings and those of the protestors through this lens of traveling affects.

Busisiwe and Tumi, two of the women who protested naked at the Wits #FeesMustFall and a woman caller Buhle, strongly reject the idea of their bodies being policed and being governed by patriarchal rules. In the excerpts that follow, they reject body shaming as a way to control women's bodies.

Uum, I don't think it's a question that we should be asking, whether they are appropriate, or they are necessary. I mean, the big question is you decide on what to do with your body... I reject this idea that a woman's body is taboo and I reject all this paranoia around us using our bodies to block violence because it's not a new thing in Africa. It has always been happening and it continues to happen (Radio podcast 2016, Busisiwe, Wits protester).

Drawing on feminist solidarity, Busisiwe discursively weaves her protest into the historical lineage of African women who have used their bodies to block violence.

I have thoughts right, while you're sitting there. You keep repeating this question "was it necessary? Was it necessary?" And in my head, it keeps coming back as I have to ask for permission for what to do with my body. It feels like some people keep asking me "did you ask for permission?" [breathes heavily out of anger] ... "Did you ask for permission for what you do with your body"? I don't know why I need to apologise for my body. I don't know why to hide it. I don't know why I need to seek permission. (Radio podcast 2016, Tumi, Wits protester).

When Tumi said these words to the radio presenter, her voice was shaking a little. The tempo in her voice became a little faster. The presenter did not respond. She let her express all her anger and just listened to her. However, in highlighting the problematic nature of the question “was it necessary”, Tumi suggests that the presenter is complicit with patriarchy as she premises the question on permission to show one’s body. Another woman called in support of the women’s naked body protest and diffused the tension that was in the air.

...When women finally stand up for a cause, which is education, you get men coming and telling you that they’ve got silver stripes, they’ve got hanging boobs, they’ve got this. Who gave them the right to define what we should do with our bodies? And when it suits them, we seem to be having the best bodies, only because it’s to satisfy their selfish needs. (Radio podcast 2016, Buhle, woman caller 3).

The women protestors remain unapologetic and resist the idea that they should seek permission for what to do with their bodies. When observers body shame them by pointing to their breasts or stretch marks, they remain uncowed and assert sovereignty over themselves. Colonial strictures of the covered body and western ideals of beauty are rejected. Prior to colonisation, minimal clothing or exposure of the torso was common amongst Africans (Bakare-Yusuf, 2011; Entwistle, 2000; Hansen, 2004; Tamale, 2016). The partially clothed body, which in many African cultures was previously read in a non-sexual manner, is now sexualised and is mainly associated with sexual intercourse. Colonialists brought this new meaning of associating the naked body with sexual intercourse and shame; forcing women to view their bodies as sites of sin, moral corruption, and a source of distraction from thoughts that are godly (Entwistle, 2000; Hansen, 2004). Lugones (2008) encourages women of colour

to resist these marks of subjection or domination such as race, gender, class and sexuality. The naked body protestors can therefore be said to be engaged in these forms of feminist resistance.

4.1.3 Resistance Against State and Institutional Oppression

This subtheme illustrates how the women resisted oppression by the state. Even though the women come from different eras, they all experience exclusion and oppression by the state and different institutions in various ways. The Dobsonville women were excluded from housing while the Wits women were fighting for decolonised education and non-exclusion from education through un-affordable fees. Their resistance to institutional and state oppression is discussed here.

The excerpts below illustrate how the 1990 Dobsonville women protesters resisted their exclusion from a basic right like housing by the state and its patriarchal institutions. Thabisa explained how during the apartheid era, unmarried women in particular were excluded from everything and did not even qualify to own a house. Meintjes (2007) contends that during apartheid, women were defined as minors under customary law and were therefore dependent on men. Single women, divorcees and widows had no right to access housing because like children, women were defined as subject to men. The state policies excluded single women from owning a house and they were forced to rent in other people's backyards. These women lived in appalling conditions where there were no sanitation systems or running water (Meintjes, 2007). The women had had enough of these exclusions and ended up protesting naked, defying the state and its patriarchal rules, as shown in the excerpts below.

Hmmm...Then those of us without husbands but having given birth to children, will never ever have our own places. So, this is the main reason that pushed us to go and place ourselves like we did...It was that government that was like that, because even your parents' three roomed house, if there was no boy child, they would take it...That's why my brother had the audacity to chase us out. If it was just us girls, the government would take that three roomed house. If there was no boy child in the family, you would be kicked out (Dobsonville protest interview 2019, Thabisa, protester).

In Thabisa's quote above, we see an affective impulse that propels her to do something; to protest (Wetherell, 2012). She contends that "this is the main reason that pushed us to go and place ourselves like we did." Here Thabisa justifies her actions as coming from a place of deep frustration with the patriarchal home ownership laws that work against unmarried women. The discourses of paternalism and infantilisation was prominent and Thabisa articulates a familial struggle where male siblings were given priority while women had no prospects outside of marriage. Women were seen as children who had to be taken care of by their husbands (Janks, 1997), but these women defied those mores.

When the apartheid police came to demolish the Dobsonville women's homes, the women staged a naked body protest to halt the demolition (Meintjes, 2007; The Star, 1990). While the protest was meant to protect their homes, the women also called attention to an unjust system that did not value the lives of impoverished black women. In the excerpt that follows, Mariam describes the protest.

When we saw the police...we saw that they had started to demolish our shacks. When I saw that they were coming closer to my shack, I honestly took off my clothes and stood as naked as when I was born. I took everything and threw it inside my shack. I said this shack of mine you shall never demolish. This shack I bought with my own money because you didn't give me a place to stay. You didn't even give me money to buy this shack... Then I said "strip off, strip off, strip off women! All women got up and stood still. Then the police stopped and left our shacks alone. (Dobsonville protest video 1995, Mariam, protester).

However, it looks like in the end, the police still went ahead and destroyed Mariam's shack because towards the end of her narration, she explained that *I was very heartbroken when I realised that I had lost all my belongings. My shack – my home that I love very much is gone!*

When Mariam was speaking these words in the video, she was simultaneously filled with anger and sadness. At the beginning of the excerpt, she was animated and talked with her hands in the air. At the end, she was crying, explaining how painful it was to see one's shack demolished in one fell swoop. The women protesters were driven by an affective anger and pain. They stood as one and disrobed daring the police to advance. Mariam relates that *When I saw that they were coming closer to my shack, I honestly took off my clothes and stood as naked as when I was born. I took everything and threw it inside my shack.* She had a strong push to strip in front of her shack in a bid to save her home. Her act of disrobing does not appear premeditated and her peers seem to have been equally moved to become naked. As mostly middle-aged women, nakedness held many risks for the women. Many have subsequently told of their shame after the event. Mariam's words telling the police that *This*

shack of mine you shall never demolish. This shack I bought with my own money because you didn't give me a place to stay. You didn't even give me money to buy this shack... could be seen as a desperate and angry Wetherellian appeal to push back at the state and its institutions.

In the excerpt below, Paulina from the Dobsonville video, illustrates how determined they were to resist the state in a bid to decolonise housing and get access to land and housing.

It was a real struggle but we were determined to get what we wanted. We were not prepared to be intimidated by police. We decided to show them our naked bodies.

When the police saw the women strip naked, they stopped demolishing the shacks. A common reading of the subversion of patriarchal, capitalist and state power dynamics would hold that “stripped of everything, these displaced and abject women throw back the figure of resistance and in triumph over their oppressors perform the primitivism feared by a racist phantasm” (Al-Kassim, 2006, p. 61). Bell (2008) asserts that the racism phantasm undermines common sense, making supporters and adversaries of racism alike, end up advocating for policies that, in the short or long run, will disappoint rather than fulfil our eagerly sought-after outcome, which is the end of racial oppression. As if heeding the resistance call of Hardt and Negri (2000), the women’s affective love for themselves propels them to perform the ultimate form of resistance. They strip in a bid to protect their homes, and the racist apartheid police are deterred. This shows that when confronted with the truth of resistance, the colonial powers lose their bearings and are overcome.

The following excerpt from the radio podcast of 2016 Fallist protestors further shows how women refuse to be oppressed by the state and have their bodies policed:

Whether you like it or you don't like it, stuff it! You have to live with that because we are a generation...fallism is a certain form of resistance. We refuse to have our bodies policed and we will respond as such. Just today, there is a guy who stood naked, half naked also uuum at TUT. He was shot three times with rubber bullets, and now he is standing as a hero. We are also heroes in our own right. Who said a woman's body is a taboo? We refuse with our bodies, and we refuse to continue living in a society that polices women, and we are going to proceed as such. After this generation of fallism, society will never be the same!!! (Radio podcast 2016, Busisiwe, Wits protester).

Busisiwe recognises the power that is vested in her naked body and asserts that through women's protest, "society will never be the same". She heralds a revolution to decolonise the world as we know it. According to Foucault (1991), power is not the preserve of states and institutions. It does not reside in only some people while others are powerless. The women protestors recognise that they too have the power to rattle the system. We all have a relationship to power. Foucault's theorisation is helpful in shedding light on the power that can be possessed by bodies, be it from a powerful or relatively powerless position. The body is conferred with power and it is this power that the stripping protestors use to bring attention to the issues they are protesting about.

In the following excerpt, the women students from Wits tell the radio presenter and the listeners that they were protesting for decolonised education. These women along with other students, saw the need to challenge the continuing power and privilege of whiteness in higher learning institutions. They were tired of experiencing universities as alienating spaces with unfamiliar norms and practises that delegitimised their experiences and lives. For instance, some complained that the texts they are expected to read are mostly Eurocentric and written in dense academic English. For them, a more Afrocentric curriculum would reflect their experiences, realities and aspirations. The students were tackling and dismantling the epistemic violence and hegemony of Eurocentrism. They would like the curriculum to be reframed and reconstructed such that it places South Africa, Southern Africa and Africa at the centre of teaching, learning and research (Heleta, 2016).

Yes, aaah, look, I think ummm whether our society likes it or not, umm fallism is a different generation [Tumi interrupts in support and says: yes babe!] ... one of the questions that we have asked is to say decolonise, and we understand exactly what we mean by decolonisation. We have refused for our bodies to be policed. You are not going to tell me how to respond when I'm emotional, it's my business [Tumi cheers her on and says: yees!] (Radio podcast 2016, Busisiwe, Wits protester).

In this excerpt, we witness the feminist erotic of sisterly love. Tumi's interjections of solidarity with Busisiwe are supportive and affirming. Busi and her fellow Wits women protesters found themselves protesting naked in a bid to get free decolonised higher education. They also sought a cease fire between police and students on campus. The women heed Ndlovu-Gatsheni's (2013) call on Africans to be vigilant against the trap of ending up

normalising and universalising coloniality as a natural state of the world. The women unmask and resist coloniality. Tamale (2016) posits that when women bare their nakedness to the public, they are not engaging in sexual provocation or inviting the male gaze. Instead, they are drawing on dominant gender norms. They are challenging and subverting them to draw attention to their different plights and grievances. In society, women are usually classified as the powerless other, therefore as the 'powerless' gender, they mobilise their bodies as a powerful resource.

4.1.4 Conclusion

Part one of this chapter sought to explore the ways in which naked body protests might be conceived as decolonial praxis. The role of women in fighting for social change and decoloniality was also explored. The discussion demonstrated the exclusion of black women from knowledge production processes. It also demonstrated the distortions, misrepresentations and silences that occur in teachings, history and theorising about African women, both in Africa and the West. It marked how various forms of subjection on the basis of race, gender, class and sexuality are engraved on women on a daily basis.

The study suggests that naked protests demonstrate a grounded African feminism which enables African women to speak from their location and reality. Because society often expects women to cover their bodies except for when they are stripping their bodies for male pleasure, with the act of naked body protests, the study establishes that the women reject this objectification. It suggests that naked body protests enable women to resist coloniality, reclaim their agency and disrupt patriarchy and state oppression. Lastly, this section illustrated that protests are social practices that are saturated with affect. African women

consistently resist coloniality. This is, however, often unrecognised as naked body protests are dismissed as crude and rare.

Part Two

4.2 Affective Dimensions and the Psychosocial Work Performed by Naked Body Protests

This part of the analysis examined the affective dimensions of the naked body protests and the psychosocial work performed by naked body protests. Drawing from affective experiences of the naked women protesters in the study, part two firstly utilised a psychosocial understanding of Bourdieu's habitus to better understand how the external social world is experienced and mediated by the interior world of the psyche. The psychosocial approach seeks to make meaning of the social world but also how naked women protesters act upon their environment. Secondly, the study used Wetherell's theorisation of affect, especially her concept of affective practice, which is defined as an activity where emotion is the principal focus (Wetherell, Smith & Campbell, 2018). Sara Ahmed's theorisation of affect to illustrate how affects circulate and stick to people was also utilised (Ahmed, 2004). The study illustrated that affects are always embedded in acts and practices, including naked body protests. Lastly, using Judith Butler's gender performativity theory, the study showed that naked body protests have performative possibilities that both reify and challenge gender. Performing gender creates the space for gendered beings to resist any prior characterisation of their gender. The study illustrated that through naked body protests, women disrupt the expected performance of their given gender identity.

The psychosocial approach looks at the relationship between the persons' mental/emotional world and environment, and how these influence their behaviour. It seeks to make meaning of the social world but also how people act upon their environment (Woodward, 2015). There are different definitions of the term psychosocial. For Wendy Hollway, one of the leading

exponents of psychosocial research, the term psychosocial refers to “an intellectual project to understand the mutual effectivity of psychological and social realms in the production of identity, action and relating” (Hollway, 2006, p. 15). Similarly, Winlow and Hall (2009, p. 286) define the psychosocial as “the social scientific attempt to understand the subject as an interface between the psychological and the social.” For Diane Reay (2015, p. 10), the psychosocial is about “inquiry into the mutual constitution of the individual and the social relations within which they are enmeshed”. Reay (2015) argues that there are strong links between the psychosocial and Bourdieu’s concept of habitus. She explains that the concept of habitus, introduced in Chapter Two of this thesis, enables a link between people’s inner emotional worlds and the external social world. According to Reay (2015), habitus enables us to better understand how the psyche is formed through the social. It allows us to expand our understanding of how the past is played out in the present, but also to get a better grasp of the degree of ease and/or discomfort with which people respond to and internalise the wider social world, as they move across a range of familiar and unfamiliar fields. Following Bourdieu (2000), Lane (2012) proclaims that habitus operates at an unconscious level and is affective in nature. He maintains that the practical dispositions incorporated into the habitus operate at the affective level, often bypassing conscious thought altogether (Gould, 2009).

Based on infant, cross-cultural, and neurobiological studies, Tomkins (1962) determined that there are nine affects. These include interest, enjoyment, surprise, distress, anger, fear, shame, disgust (a reaction to noxious tastes), and dissmell (a reaction to noxious odours). The first three affects (interest, enjoyment, surprise) are termed positive affects, and the other six (distress, anger, fear, shame, disgust, dissmell) are categorised as negative affects. Deleuze (1988) on the other hand, conceives of active (caused internally) and passive (caused externally) affects. Active affects are not dependent on external forces. Therefore, the bravery

that propelled the women to act and stage naked protests in an attempt to strive for better life resulted in positive affects, such as joy, happiness and love.

Based on the data gathered for this study, in what follows, I present some of the affects evoked by the different naked body protests in order to surface the psychosocial work performed by the protests. These affects include adaptations and combinations of relief, joy, empowerment, self-love, anger and rage, as well as fear as identified by Tompkin's discursively grounded model.

4.2.1 Relief

When asked what affects were evoked by her participation in the *#RUPreferenceList* naked body protest at Rhodes, Beauty explained that she had a sense of relief. The *#RUPreferenceList* protests were against gender-based violence that was occurring on the Rhodes University campus. In this protest, alleged rapists were named by the protestors. I interviewed Beauty over the phone and I was not able to see her facial expressions during the interview, but I could hear the change in the tone of her voice when her emotions changed.

Yannis Hamilakis (2017) defines affects as assemblages that cohere around in-betweenness. He suggests that sensoriality and affectivity, memory and multi-temporality are key features of assemblage thinking. Following Hamilakis (2017), Canham, Kotze, Nkomo and Nkomo (2019) used assemblage thinking that centred the sensorial, multiple temporalities and memory, to imaginatively connect to their histories and the figures of their grandfathers. Canham et al. (2019) suggest that a picture for instance, can evoke sensorial memories and varied temporalities located in the past, present and future imaginings. In a similar manner, I

had to imaginatively connect to Beauty and picture her facial expressions and her body language in general as the tone and temper of her voice changed from time to time depending on what part of the protest she was narrating to me.

I located Beauty on Facebook as I also used social media to locate participants for the study. At the time of the interview, she was in KwaZulu-Natal and I was in Johannesburg. She told me that she did not experience shame as society would have expected her to. It is interesting to note that in all the interviews I conducted for the study, Beauty was the only woman who said that she experienced relief. I had imagined that most women would feel relieved that they expressed all that bottled up anger and said their peace, but only one woman mentioned this affect. Beauty was relieved that all the pent-up anger that had sedimented within her had come out into the open through the naked body protest.

In the case of Beauty, relief might be seen as cathartic and as a positive affect. I note that affect is deeper and more complex than “relief”, even though the participant herself codes it as such. In addition, I view affect in line with postcolonial theorists’ ideas that affects and emotions cannot be neatly identified, universalised or homogenised, and/or that affect could be both universal pre-cognitive feeling, but also often socially constructed and not “pre-conscious”.... (Wetherell, 2012; Ahmed, 2014). Therefore, Beauty draws out her experience of relief as follows:

The relief came from a place where you sit in the same lecture venues with these people and you’re expected to behave a certain way, umm even if you’re going out to the club, you see them at the club, and you can’t act out. I can’t go and swing a punch

at that person because then I'm just attacking them on the whim, nobody knows what they did... you know behind closed doors. So, in that environment, where I was able to say such and such a person did one, two, three, four to me, there was definitely a big relief there! (#RURReferenceList protest interview 2019, Beauty, protester).

Crossley (2004) explains that engaging in behaviour proscribed by society may provide a psychological feeling of rebellion against dominant social values, which, in turn, creates a sense of freedom, independence and protest. This aligns with Beauty's experience. By expressing their anger and rage through naked body protests, Beauty's body and fellow protesters' bodies come to be vehicles of resistance against dominant cultural norms (Bordo, 1993). I could sense the relief in her voice as she said the words *there was definitely a big relief there!* Brittney Cooper (2018) argues that black women are restricted when it comes to expressing their rage. However, Beauty and the other women expressed their rage during the naked body protest, and she was able to experience some relief from all the pent-up anger. There were, of course, punitive consequences to this expression of rage. I engage these in the theme that discusses the afterlives of naked body protests in part four of this chapter.

4.2.2 Joy

Here, I explore the joy experienced by the women protesters when they achieved the outcomes they wanted their naked protests to yield. Liz, Thabisa and Lucy were gripped by an affective joy. Liz was a janitor at the university and had protested in solidarity with the students during #FeesMustFall and against outsourcing in 2016. Thabisa had protested for housing in Dobsonville, in 1990. Lucy had protested in the #IamOneInThree naked body protest in 2016 as well as the #FeesMustFall 2016 naked body protest. I interviewed Liz in her home in the presence of her daughter and grandson. The daughter was eagerly awaiting

me to arrive and was happy when I got there. She wanted to be present when I interviewed her mother. When I arrived, Liz was wearing her traditional Tsonga regalia. She was wearing a beautiful purple and green *xibelani*, with red, orange, white and green ribbons towards the hem. On her waist, she wore yellow beads with red and blue patterns. Her sweater was white and black, and she wore a beautiful purple cloth across her body like a sash. She wore a blue *doek* or headscarf with red patterns to cover her hair and had a whistle in her mouth. To complete the look, she wore a necklace made of yellow beads with red and blue patterns. For shoes, she wore white flat takkies. She came to meet me at the gate and gave me a welcome *xibelani* dance. I joined in the dance. It was a warm welcome. We conducted the interview in Tsonga, as she was more comfortable to have the interview conducted in her home language. Liz spoke with much enthusiasm and joy when she told me that she was happy during the protest. Her joy and smile were contagious as I could also not help but smile with her as she was relating the event to me.

The joy and relaxed mood I experienced is the opposite of the affective anxiety I felt as I was driving to her place. When she gave me directions, she told me that the area she lives in is a squatter camp. I toyed with the idea of meeting her there or asking her to meet me in a different place where I would feel 'safe.' I finally decided to go to her place out of respect because she was an elderly person, and also because I wanted to interview her in her home where she felt comfortable.

So, for me, hai! I am happy. I am happy...Errr, I can say I am happy but also not happy...Because we work very hard, we work under difficult conditions with a mop! And now they have even put cameras, you have to clock with your fingerprints at 7

O'clock. I don't use my own transport (#FeesMustFall protest interview 2019, Liz, protester).

Liz was happy that her salary improved, but she noted that the working conditions were unsatisfactory. As a result, she experienced both joy and sadness simultaneously. The structural conditions have remained in place and her working-class position in the university means that she is under extra surveillance since the addition of cameras and biometric access systems.

Thabisa's joy came about when she was finally given a piece of land that she had been fighting for. When she was called to sign for her site, she was filled with joy. *I was then shown my site. The way I was so happy that day!!!* (Dobsonville protest interview 2019, Thabisa, protester). I met Thabisa at the creche that she runs in her community. She wore a denim skirt, a black top that had thin white strips and a white bucket hat with black training shoes. She was a tall medium built woman who was feisty and confident. We conducted the interview in Sesotho and Zulu. She decided to give me her life story first, before we could talk about her protest. To think through the meaning of insisting on telling one's life story and not following the interview questions, I draw on the interview Canham (2014) conducted with a woman who expressed herself through tears for the most part of the interview. He was forced to read this participant's tears differently by working with her body as a present material. He could not just listen to her words but was compelled to take the actions of her body into consideration as well. This experience taught him that engaging in research is not simply an extractive process, but requires one to follow Ahmed's advice of listening out for an absent presence of history (Ahmed, 2004). Ahmed (2004) asserts that the participant's

history provides useful supporting information for understanding their narratives and experiences. In a similar vein, I learnt that one has to let the participant express themselves in any way they feel comfortable, including telling their life story first. This disrupts narrative and temporal distinctions between ostensibly different topics. Following a feminist ethic, it is also important to let black women tell their truth in whatever manner they choose (Collins, 1991; Lewis and Baderoon, 2021).

There were high and low emotions as Thabisa related her life story to me. I left her place feeling sad for her, mostly for the painful experiences she had gone through in her life. It took me two full days to recover from the interview that had affectively moved me to a place of sadness. Rowling (1999) writes that what has been ignored in dealing with interviews about sensitive issues is the researchers' well-being. She asserts that advice text books often emphasise the importance of protecting the participant by keeping them anonymous for instance. Another emphasis is on maintaining interviewer/interviewee distance in conducting research. She further explains that distance could suggest detachment, indifference and coldness to emotional responses of participants. I had no way of dealing with the sadness I was feeling after the interview with Thabisa. I shared her pain and can only hope that she was affirmed in this sisterly sharing.

Lucy and I met in a restaurant in her suburb. She showed up wearing black pants, a black top, sunglasses, a beautiful red necklace and brown sandals. She arrived one hour and thirty minutes later than the agreed upon time. At one point I had wanted to leave, thinking that maybe she had changed her mind, but she showed up and was happy to talk to me. She had been delayed for personal reasons she could not avoid, and she apologised for being late.

Lucy had a smile that warmed one's heart and made me feel at ease. In the excerpt below, Lucy relates how during the #IamOneInThree naked body protest in solidarity with Rhodes University students, she and other women protesters at Wits put bloody pads on police cars in a bid to get them to move from campus.

There's a time they were threatening us with violation of state whatever. We were like 'you are actually going to have egg on your faces when this thing comes to the media to say you arrested students that were protesting against militarisation and sexual harassment for them placing pads; bloody pads on your cars.' Whether the blood is real or not is a conversation for another day. So, nothing ever happened, but what makes me happy is really what we achieved, is we got them to remove the nyalas [police armoured vehicles] from the piazza (#IamOneInThree protest interview 2019, Lucy, protester).

Lucy and her fellow women protesters experienced joy when they saw police moving their cars from campus. From the excerpt above we see that language can operate to convey affect. It courses through and between bodies (Mulcahy & Witcomb, 2018), as is evident in Lucy's account when she relates how they spoke to police on campus. Affect is anchored in words and in already available subject positions of perpetrator and victim of sexual harassment and police brutality on the women protesters on campus (Mulcahy & Witcomb, 2018). These women are enlisted to the practice of calling out sexual harassment and police brutality towards women protesters on campus. They engage affectively/discursively towards a new configuration of social relations and they challenge the status quo (Mulcahy & Witcomb, 2018; Wetherell, 2012). As Butler (1988) argues, gender is not natural, it is merely generated

by repeated performances. This means that performing gender creates the space for gendered beings to resist any prior characterisation of their gender. They use gender to undo the work of gendering. These women disrupt the expected performance of their given gender identity by staging naked body protests to bring about change. We also see the women going against their expected/internalised habitus (Bourdieu, 1984) in which they would be expected to be submissive and obedient, but these women challenge the police. The use of “bloody” pads by the protesting students signals the menstrual curse, which originates in Cote d’Ivoire. The women in Cote d’Ivoire wear a red cloth called the kojdo for menstruation. Zéka Togue asserts that the kodjo is believed to symbolise the woman’s power to curse, to give life, and whose word is sacred when she takes off and waves the kodjo to curse her oppressors (Togue, 2011 in Diabate, 2020).

As I indicate in Chapter Two, following Deleuze (1988) and Massumi (2002, 2009), Gregg and Seigworth (2010) define affect as that which arises in the midst of, or in-between-ness, in the capacities to act and to be acted upon. Affect is generated in interaction between bodies (Blackman, 2012; Mulcahy & Witcomb, 2018). We observe this in how the naked women protesters were angered by the militarisation of their campus represented by the presence of the police and their vehicles on campus, to a point where they placed bloody pads on the cars. It is also evident in how the police took offence at the students placing bloody pads on their cars. This compelled them to move their cars and leave. The protesting women were consequently happy as they achieved what they wanted; *but what makes me happy is really what we achieved, is we got them to remove the nyalas [police armoured vehicles] from the piazza.*

Below is a quote from Sihle, who protested against the sexual harassment of women at Rhodes University. Sihle indicates how proud she was of herself and other women. She talks about the fact that she was not alone and that the support from other women and staff members made her feel proud. Here we might consider the value of solidarity but also the positive affects that circulate and stick to assembled bodies (Ahmed, 2014). Sihle sounded happy and smiled warmly as she related this part of the interview. I interviewed Sihle over a WhatsApp video call as she was in the Eastern Cape at the time of the interview.

[smiles] I was... I was proud, and I was happy, that it was not just me alone. There were so many other students, there were so many staff members, who were with us, who were supporting us. And I felt ukhuti (that) "You know what, if the entire university could do this, it would mean so much, so, so much to so many women and victims of sexual violence (#RURference list protest interview 2019, Sihle, protester).

Affects are always embedded in acts and practices and these include naked body protests. They constitute an essential part of the practical activities with which bodies relate to other subjects and objects (Zembylas, 2018). Željka Miklošević and Darko Babić's (2018) study on a heritage exhibition found that participants reported that they felt good and consoled that there were other people like them. This is similar to Sihle's assertion where she notes:

[smiles] I was... I was proud, and I was happy, that it was not just me alone. She is happy that naked body protest was an affirmation that there were women protesters who empathised with her and with one another. The congregation of oppressed bodies as an act of revolt affirms the existence of the problem, signals the shared nature of the oppression, and

demonstrates that those assembled will not tolerate their continued violation. Solidarity is a central theme of African feminism (Mohanty, 2003).

Here, while joy was a common affect both during the protests and afterwards, it is useful to consider other affects that lie beneath or alongside the happy affect. This is because most of the gains of the protests were fleeting and very often were related to the de-escalation of the violence of state agents such as police. The institutional discrimination such as the surveillance of janitors, elimination of gender-based harm, or the provision of free quality and decolonised education are more intractable. The Dobsonville protestors appear to have made the most significant gains as they eventually obtained the rights to the land. This should, however, be read in relation to the political moment of the transition from apartheid to democracy. Therefore, while joy is an important affect, it is important to understand it alongside negative or low affects.

One of the affects that were evoked by participation in the naked body protests was the feeling of power, as discussed below.

4.2.3 Empowered and Powerful

In this section, the focus is on the feeling of empowerment that the women experienced during the naked body protests.

...One patriarch ten sjamboks. And so I also had the sjambok (a heavy leather whip) in my hand, and there were also the struggle songs, the speaking, the singing, and so for me that moment was affirming. I felt affirmed, I felt empowered, I felt powerful somehow. Because when you ... when you have been raped and when you experience

rape, it makes you feel, for me it made me feel weak... Uuuh it made me feel very vulnerable. Uuum, it made me feel like an object and not a person. And so I remember that moment feeling empowered... right...I have my sjambok, I have my sisters around me... (#IamOneInThree protest interview 2019, Sibü, protester).

Peterson (2010) asserts that empowerment can be multi-dimensional. In other words, it is possible for a woman to simultaneously experience empowerment on one level and disempowerment on another level. Sibü explains that the rape experience made *me feel weak... it made me feel very vulnerable*, while the naked body protest made her feel *affirmed and empowered*. Although the experience of rape had removed her power and agency, Sibü reclaims these during the naked body protest and refuses to be a victim. The solidarity of other women and the sjambok represent feminist armour and protection against perpetrators.

From a psychosocial point of view, as human beings in society, we are always both subject and object. We are shaped by our environment but at the same time we can act on the environment (Woodward, 2015). The rape made Sibü feel weak and vulnerable, but she chose to act and do something about this by taking part in the naked body protest as a way of resisting the suppression imposed on her by the man who raped her. As objects for another we are not necessarily victims of derogation and suppression (Cahill, 2009). As subjects we are not necessarily autonomous and free, since the social is interwoven with the psychological. We can however choose not to allow our environment and habitus to turn us into victims exclusively. Foucault (1998) explains that the process of subjectification (how we become who we are) works both to constrain and enable possibilities for how we understand ourselves and other people, and how we experience and act in the world around us. For instance, the choice to be passive and remain a victim is as much an effect of power as is the choice to be active and reclaim one's agency through the staging of naked body

protests as Sibü and the rest of the women protesters have done (Gavey, 2012). For Butler (1993), the subject does not exist prior to discourse. Instead, it is through the iteration of societal norms, practices and conventions that the subject is constituted in what is not a singular act or incident, but a ritualised production (Butler, 1993). In other words, the subject is not naturalised, but it is repeated performance. In repeated performances lie the possibility for one to resist prior subject characterisations, hence the ability for Sibü to move out of the victimhood state after the rape incident, into the state of feeling empowered and claiming back her power during the naked body protests. It is however important to note that even after the protest, one can have moments of feeling helpless as the protest does not suddenly make one an overcomer. In the moment of the protest though, Sibü experienced a sense of power and affirmation.

For me I remember like watching the night the RU reference list happened, coz it happened when they particularly took the rapists from their residences. So, I was watching it happen online. We were watching it on Twitter and on Facebook. I remember joining groups on Facebook. And seeing what was happening, being triggered but also empowered because these women were literally taking these rapists out of the streets... I mean out of their rooms. They were... they took them... so there's this street. I'm seeing the street now but I saw it in like videos. They made them walk down the street...right...and they made them sit in a circle...They umm, and they removed their power. I remember feeling so affirmed umm by their actions and I remember just being so proud of them. But I was so deeply, deeply triggered. And then there was the naked protest...and because I had also not dealt with my own rape... right, it umm.... I had gone to therapy and stuff, but I had never completely

dealt with it. Umm so I remember feeling very triggered but also very affirmed
(#IamOneInThree protest interview 2019, Sibü, protester).

Following Spinoza (1677), Deleuze (1988), and Berlant (2008), Hardt (2015) explains that affect is the power to affect and to be affected. He argues that it is important to recognise our power to be affected as not a weakness but a strength and to realise, without regret, that we are non-sovereign subjects. This suggests that we are affected by outside forces. For Spinoza (1677), being affected by others or by external forces, is not a weakness but a strength and it is power. This is illustrated by Sibü's preceding narrative. With reference to the women's actions towards the rapists, Sibü narrates that the women protesters *removed their power. I remember feeling so affirmed umm by their actions and I remember just being so proud of them, but I was so deeply, deeply triggered.* We can only proceed on a path to liberation and joy by working through affects (Hardt, 2015). This can be likened to Sibü who had to work through the affective vulnerability caused by the rape she had encountered in the past. Hardt (2015) explains that we should think of the power to be affected as a gauge of our capacity to really exist in the world. From the preceding excerpt, we also observe that social media such as Twitter and Facebook have the capacity to move one affectively. Sibü was moved in ways that she describes as triggering and empowering. Here, the word 'triggered' is illuminating in its reference to being affected. To trigger is to build tension or intensity in the emotional or physical registers and to set into motion. Therefore, one can read both the social media engagement and the protests as triggering. With reference to both, Sibü contends that she was *so deeply, deeply triggered.*

After watching the 1990 Dobsonville protest video (Ukuhamba Ze!) with me, I asked Siviwe from the TUT protests how she felt. She responded by asserting:

I felt empowered, that was one! Coz... I feel like... like the protest we are doing is nothing compared to that (#TUT 2019 Rape protest interview 2019, Siviwe, protester).

She elaborated as follows:

I am talking about the naked protest... because thina (us) we still want to be dressed. Those women are walking with their panties, literally with their panties. Thina (us) I think we're still scared. I don't think we've reached that point that ... I understand we are angry, but I don't think we've reached that point where we are They are ... they pour petrol [laughs] (#TUT 2019 Rape protest interview 2019, Siviwe, protester).

Affects such as anger and rage can be used as a form of resistance and to disrupt the status quo. The type of anger that Siviwe refers to is one that is encouraged by Audre Lorde. Lorde (1981) has urged women to use their anger and rage to disrupt oppression. She argues that every woman has a well-stocked store of anger potentially useful against oppressions, personal and institutional, which brought that anger into being and that when focused with precision, can become a powerful source of energy serving progress and change (Lorde, 1981). Lorde's reference to energy signals an affective charge to be moved. This is echoed by Cooper's (2018) assertion that rage is a powerful affect for change. For the participants

watching the video of the Dobsonville naked body protest, it was apparent that their stock of anger moved as a powerful energy. It had the capacity to move a younger generation of women. In my own observations of the interviewees as they watched the Dobsonville protest video, I witnessed their rage reignited. The rage of 1990 moved the young women of 2019.

In the excerpt below, Beauty recalls the fearlessness that they experienced in the midst of threatening police presence.

So, we definitely felt powerful. We felt powerful the most when we were on the ground, or on the streets and were protesting through the streets or through the campus. Because then there would be all of this police presence, and their guns would not scare us as much as they would if we were protesting for anything else
(#IamOneInThree protest interview 2019, Beauty, protester).

As Braidotti (2010b) argues, opposition, or naked protesting in the case of this study is not about negativity, but about the transformation of negative into positive passions. The moment of protest was not pleasant, and some of the affects experienced by the women were not always positive. However, as Beauty explains, it was empowering for them to protest even in the presence of police; especially because they were protesting against the rape culture on campus. Like Beauty, in the excerpts below, Mercy and Thabisa recall their fearlessness and killing rage articulated by hooks (1995). Amongst other things, hooks (1995) asserts that killing rage has to do with black women gaining strength to confront sexist, racist, patriarchal restrictions by sharing knowledge and resources with one another, as opposed to uniting on the basis of being victims.

Hey! We were fighting that day. Like I said, when the police approached a man, we the women would rush there to protect that man and stop him from being arrested. And I was not afraid of anything, especially [mentions name of fellow woman protester] also had so much power and cheekiness. I was not afraid of anything, I did not fear a boer (white Afrikaner) man...I was not afraid, I never had any regrets. I just told myself we would also kill them (Dobsonville protest interview 2019, Mercy, protester).

Thabisa, a protagonist from the 1990 Dobsonville protest contends, “*At the time when I was naked, I felt so powerful... the power to even hit a policeman*”.

Mercy, Thabisa and the other women dared to be undutiful daughters who speak and fight back (Braidotti, 2010b; Foucault, 2001). They both assert that they were not afraid of anything, including the police. For instance, articulating a killing rage, Mercy adds that *I told myself I would also kill them*. When I spoke to her twenty-nine years after the 1990 protest, Thabisa could still relay the power she felt as she remembered that she fought until the policeman had to scoop her off the ground with the forklift of a bulldozer. However, despite the power and strength she felt during the protest, she still felt a bit of shame as she mentions that she had not removed all her clothes, while her friend had removed everything. This points to the complexity and simultaneity of affects. This is illustrated in the quote below.

When the bulldozer approached my shack, I took off my clothes. [Name of a fellow woman protester] had started first and removed everything even the panty. At least I

was still wearing my bra, panty and boots. I fought with the bulldozer until they scooped me up and put me inside the bulldozer (Dobsonville protest interview 2019, Thabisa, protester).

Invoking Spinoza, Gartens (1996) asserts that the human body is totally open to its surroundings and can be composed, recomposed, and decomposed by other bodies. Once we open up and expand our power to be affected, however, then begins the work of selecting among the affects and discovering the ways to repeat or prolong those that are beneficial and prevent the detrimental. “Increasing one’s power to be affected and thus enlarging their sphere of interactions will multiply one’s potential to experience joyful encounters just as shooting more arrows while blindfolded will increase their chances of hitting the target” (Hardt, 2015, p. 219). As the preceding excerpts suggest, the naked protests resulted in the women feeling affectively empowered and affirmed. The women engaged in nomadic becoming, which is a process of expression, composition, selection, and incorporation of forces aimed at positive transformation of the subject (Braidotti, 2010a). Thabisa and her fellow protesters stepped up to the challenge of something affirmative and looking for new and better possibilities through naked body protests. She asserts, *when the bulldozer approached my shack, I took off my clothes*. Thabisa was ready for anything and was not cowed when she was scooped off the ground in a bulldozer. Her power to be affected was enlarged and she found herself engaging in actions that were not pre-meditated.

Writing about the *Ukuhamba ’Ze* video, Diabate (2020) observes that the women had an expression that called out, “come down and let’s fight”. The Dobsonville video indexes the empowerment the women get from their naked body protest. Maathai (2006) and Turner and

Brownhill (2003) argue that when elderly women protest naked and throw off their clothes, they are revoking the life that they had given to the individual through child birth. People enter this world through women; therefore, women give life. Naked body protests signify the strongest of curses that can be placed on a person. Because women give life, to put the most private symbols of motherhood into the public space is to negate that life (Guyson, 2016). On the other hand, when young women expose their flesh, it is their way of rejecting obstructive rules that police women's bodies (Bakare-Yusuf, 2011).

4.2.4 Self-Love

This subtheme discusses the love that the women have for themselves and for other women. As a response to white supremacy, rage can have three possible outcomes: destructive consequences, cathartic release of pent up sedimented anger, and to be “simultaneously an expression of self-love” (Canham, 2017a, p. 1). Following Canham, I argue that naked body protests as a response to sexual harassment on campus, high fees for colonial education, and lack of housing, are an expression of self-love and self-sacrifice. Militancy transforms resistance into counterpower and makes rebellion into a project of love (Hardt & Negri, 2000). In other words, resistance and rebellion are expressions of self-love. The women love themselves enough to rebel and stage a naked body protest in order to fight for social change. They love themselves and other women enough to stage naked body protests and assert that enough is enough. Dominant patriarchal and racial scripts prescribe that black women direct love outwards to others, but the women in this study invert this.

Re ne re inehetse (we had surrendered ourselves). O ya kwazi ku zinikela ne? (Do you know how to surrender yourself?). Ya! Re ne re inehetse hore re sehlabelo! (Ya! We had surrendered ourselves that we are the sacrifice!). Whether they shoot or not, but

at the end of the day, we have set an example! Our children will take it from there. We knew that to die, we will die! Ya! To die we knew that we will die! (Dobsonville protest interview 2019, Pinki, protester).

In this excerpt, Pinki's surrender is equivalent to love of the self and future generations. She sees the struggle as intergenerational and asserts that 'our children will take it from here'. For her, the sacrifice of her life was a claim to dignity. To intervene in the world in ways that ripple forward is an act of theorising ones condition in relation to alternative futurities. It to bring experience and theory into productive conversation (Gqola, 2001).

When I asked her if she would participate in a naked body protest again, Lwandle, a #RURerenceList protester, stated she would do it again. She reads revolting as a way to love herself and other women. *I have learnt to accept what is me, and I think I would do it to raise awareness...I have accepted me as me that is loved. After everything. I think I would share that with the world, definitely.* Despite the trauma of naked protest that she resignedly accepts — 'after everything,' she would repeat the protest as a way of sharing her love for justice with the world. In this context, 'doing it again' is akin to Wetherell's (2012) conception of affective practices that are informed by an intentionality rather than Massumi's (2002) more preconscious understanding of affect.

Below, Zukiswa recalls the solidarity that naked protests enabled for the women. For her, gender trumped race and class-based differences. The protest was a moment of affective intensity. This moment of intensity can occur on a different register; an asignifying register

(Gregg & Seigworth, 2010; Massumi, 2002, 2009; Sullivan, 2001; Thrift, 2008), but which Wetherell (2012) adds can be put into words and be given discursive meaning.

I think for that actually I loved it because it was really a moment where I don't know, I think as women... we were so... It actually was a painful moment and it was such a like moment of unity because white women were here. It was a thing of like this is a woman issue. You know so, there wasn't a thing of "oh white woman. Oh...black woman. Yeah...Or privileged woman. And you know like it was... it was such a... sho.... It was very... it was very intense. That was very intense... because no one wants to just like want to take off their clothes just for the sake of it
(#RURereferenceList protest interview 2019, Zukiswa, protester).

Even as she spoke to me, I could sense the intensity of Zukiswa's experience of women's solidarity. She repeats the word 'intense' like a mantra and she is moved affectively even in her recollection of the protest. While she is able to describe the experience, there is a sense in which it is preverbal and evades discursive representation. In this regard, Zukiswa's affective experience is more aligned to Massumi (2002) and Thrift's (2008) conception of affect. In the moment of recounting, Zukiswa appears literally exhausted by the intensity.

Thabisa from the 1990 Dobsonville housing protest told me that the patriarchal apartheid state forbid women the rights to land and housing. At some point she had to take her children home to her mother as she had no home of her own to raise the children. I was moved when she recalled an intense experience of gendered solidarity and love during the 1990 protest. In her recollection, this love numbed their pain.

The way we as women loved one another so much, one never really felt the pain so much. If I had a loaf of bread, I would share with the others. Everything was shared, it was alright. There were many shacks, about 30-36 shacks, or above, but we cared for one another (Dobsonville protest interview 2019, Thabisa, protester).

The bonds of solidarity among the women protestors enabled them to face down the power and might of the police both in 1990 and again during the 2016 protests. The affective energy emitting from shared bonds of struggle recalls Maathai's (2006) account of Kenyan women who put their lives on the line based on a shared commitment to justice and collective freedom. Thabisa's solidarity is premised on the need to love oneself in order to love others. The bonds of positive affect that circulate among women protestors has protective qualities that enable Thabisa to assert, "one never really felt the pain so much".

4.2.5. Rage

While there were positive affects that were evoked during the naked body protests (such as love, relief and empowerment), negative affects such as anger, rage and fear were also evoked. Anger and rage were pronounced affects during the protests. Following Grier and Cobbs (1992), Canham (2018) defines rage as an affective response that arises as a consequence of people not being able to withstand any more oppression. Canham (2018) differentiates between rage and anger and explains unlike anger, rage has an active component that is expressed through community unrest or protests. The naked body protests in the study are an enactment of anger. Transformed to action, they intervene as rage. Bradbury (2020) explains that rage indicates that people know that the world does not need to

be organised in this (oppressive) way. They recognise that the elite has both the power and the financial resources necessary to change things but not the political will to do so (Bradbury, 2020). In this sense, rage may be seen as an indicator of hope. It may be seen as a belief that the future does not need to bear resemblance to the past or the present (Bradbury, 2020; Canham, 2018). Guided by these definitions, for the purposes of this study, I think through the affect of rage to make meaning of the naked body protests. As is the case with the affect of self-love, patriarchal and racial scripts prescribe that black women's rage and self-hatred is directed at their own bodies. The women protesters navigated not only the taboo of naked body protests but also the way they should feel about them. Rage is usually viewed as an unfeminine emotion, but these women were able to express their rage through their bodies.

Patricia explained that she experiences rage on a daily basis because the perpetrators who raped and violated her walk free on the streets. Her rage led her to stage a naked body protest at the gender-based violence and femicide summit held on the 5th of November in 2018.

Patricia's rage is explosive and she evocatively likens it to a fat build up in her body that will someday be uncontainable.

There is no justice in South Africa. And you know when you get angry everyday of your life...like... [makes a fist and slaps it with her other hand] ... you're getting fat... like I'm getting fat inside. You feel that, like I'm getting fat inside! And I know that one day, soon ... not long... I will explode. And when I explode, my blood will spill to the wrong people. I will explode. I'm very, I'm very, I'm very angry! (#Gender Based Violence Summit protest interview 2019, Patricia, protester).

I felt Patricia's intense anger as she narrated her experiences to me. I observed what felt like a building pressure that could explode at any time. At the same time, I also felt an affective sadness stick to my surface (Ahmed, 2004) because of what she went through and continues to experience, without getting any justice. Her words are laden with affect and she frames her sentences in ways that convey her intense rage (Huckin, 1997). She keeps repeating the words *I'm very, I'm very, I'm very angry!* The tone in her voice also changed to express the anger that she was feeling. The interview recalled her brave naked protest in front of the president, members of his cabinet and gender activists. The solo protest was captured live on national television and covered by social and print media. The proliferation of her story mimics her explosive affect.

Zukiswa, Yonela and Lucy echo the sentiments of rage informed by their experience that there is no justice for rape survivors in South Africa. They were protesting this fact at the #RURReferenceList. In our 2019 interview, Zukiswa noted: *In that moment you are angry and you really just don't even care... Right? In the moment you really not thinking about the consequences. But after I think you are just really like Sho okay that happened...* Zukiswa's rage echoes the 1990 protest where Thabisa did not care that she was scooped up by a police bulldozer. To not care is to paradoxically care. It is a declaration that one has had enough. In the excerpt that follows, Yonela conveys a similar sentiment.

You know and it's so frustrating that we live in a society as women, in order for you to get justice over your body or to even say... to even say that that person... that man raped me or that person hit me or he is an abuser. You have to come up now with so many facts um... and like so many things backing up your... your story even though

we know that violence is so rife. And even if you do come forth with those facts you know no one wants to believe you. No one is going to take the seriousness of the crime against you [sounds very angry and frustrated] ... But I... I am... I am certainly um... I am infuriated (Radio podcast 2018, Yonela, Rhodes protester).

In a radio interview months after participating in #RUPreferenceList naked body protest, Yonela raised the issue of societal ideologies (Van Dijk, 1993) that do not believe in women's justice regarding rape. Diane Reay (2015) postulates that the concept of habitus enables a connection between people's inner emotional world and the external social world. She asserts that the psyche and its dispositions can impose limitations on one's agency and that class habitus can form the barriers of what seems possible. As Bourdieu (1984) explains, one's habitus is constituted through daily practice. This means that habitus is always subject to change or alteration (Gould, 2009). Gould's assertion suggests that if one has been socialised to be a submissive passive woman during childhood, it is possible for that habitus to be altered in adult years, hence Yonela's defiant stance in how women are treated by society. In her statement, it is clear that she does not agree with the way society socialises women. She is an example of someone who does not conform to expected habituation. From Yonela's account, we see that women are treated like second class citizens. They experience intersectional exclusion and oppression on the basis of class, race, sexuality and gender (Coetzee & Du Toit, 2018; Crenshaw, 1991). Yonela explains that *it's so frustrating that we live in a society as women in order for you to get justice over your body... no one wants to believe you...* We see that it has become the norm and way of life to not take the rape of women seriously.

This kind of day-to-day living can result in women not being able to fight back and claim their agency because there will be no justice anyway, but Yonela goes against this habituation and fights back. Her affective anger and frustration also penetrated through my radio and travelled to me. This recalled Anderson's (2009) conception of travelling affects. Similarly, sitting across me at a table in the coffee shop where we had our interview in 2019, Lucy's face changed from its calm state to one filled with rage and anger, and my blood boiled with anger too, from being affected by her anger and rage as she recalled the events of the #IamOneInThree naked body protest she participated in: *I, I was angry. I was mad. It was, it was the rage*. Following Ahmed's (2004) conception of rage, Lucy's rage circulated between the two of us and stuck to my body as well.

The preceding three quotes reflect an intense rage that overcomes the women. Some are unable to recall the exact details that led to their undressing except the distinct feeling of an uncontrollable affect that they variously describe, "I was mad, it was the rage, I am infuriated". Rage can shift the world in ways that feminist foremothers like Audre Lorde and Patricia McFadden have suggested. Rage opens up possibilities to alterability and potentialities.

4.2.6 Fear

This sub-theme explores the affect of fear. I observed that fourteen of the sixteen participants clearly state that they were not afraid of being shot by police. One could link this with the earlier discussion of empowerment they felt as they were protesting. The fact that they felt empowered appears to have lanced the fear. As Deleuze (1988) argues, human beings strive or desire to live a better life and strive for positive or enjoyable affects. When one would

have expected the women to be afraid that they might be shot at for instance, the opposite is seen. They present a bravery where they are ready to die, in their striving for land, houses and better living standards, and in the face of gender-based violence and police brutality. Some asserted that they were more afraid of the rape and gender-based violence, than being shot at by the police.

And uuum, I don't think I feared or cared about anything because the way we went to the police to say "here shoot us" and we kept on charging towards them. Even when they were drifting back, we kept on following them and, uuum, I think anger more than everything else kind of allowed that moment of madness whatever you want to call it [laughs], uum to prevail coz during that moment you don't care about anything, you're fearless. You don't care about what can happen to you and whatsoever and you're like I'm going in and that's what I'm going to do and if it serves the purpose then it's ok. Ya (#FeesMustFall/Outsourcing protest interview 2019, Busi, protester).

Busi and her fellow protesters demonstrated what Judith Butler regards as the power of assembly (Butler, 2015). This involves bodies coming together in a collective protest about issues oppressing them (Mohanty, 2003). These women are embodied beings coming together to say for instance *"this is a homeless body"*, or *"this is a sexually harassed body, listen to me!"* In a similar manner, Busi and the other women charged at the police without fear saying *"here, shoot us."* Butler (2015) argues that protests serve as a way of expressing the affective rage felt or experienced by the oppressed group. The rage Busi felt brought her to a place where she says *during that moment you don't care about anything, you're fearless.*

You don't care about what can happen to you. Similarly, remarking on the Dobsonville housing protest, Mercy also told me that no one was afraid. If you die, you die. She went on to say that the police are the ones who were afraid and ran away.

Yes! We were fighting. We were not going to allow them to destroy our shacks. We believed that if you die, you die! The police were trying to arrest the men. [Mentions name of fellow protester] said to the women "Strip!!! Si ya khumola [we are stripping]." We stripped, even the grandmothers. There were many of us. The newspapers were there taking pictures of us. Hm-hm! No one was afraid. The police are the ones who were afraid and ran away. We were not afraid. The only thing is that the white policemen would instruct the black police men to beat us up
(Dobsonville protest interview 2019, Mercy, protester).

Despite the possibility that the student protestors could have been shot at by the police, the students faced them and instead the police kept "*drifting back*." A similar observation is made by Mercy in relation to the 1990 Dobsonville protest. She narrates that the police were the ones who ended up running away as the women were not afraid and they were prepared to die. Instead, we see the fear being transferred to the police as *they drift back* and "*run away*" when they see topless students with exposed breasts "*charging towards them*", and Dobsonville women of all ages stripping in protest.

It is important to note the choice of words by Busi. She says they were "*charging*" at the police, and that the police kept "*drifting*" back. Busi frames her sentences to illustrate that they were not afraid of police (Huckin, 1997). Instead, the police are the ones who retreated

in the face of bared breasts. Butler (2015) argues that during a protest or an assembly, bodies come together to bring to the surface their grievances. The concerted action of charging at the police can be described as a disruptive power of assembly (Butler, 2015). The women were able to disrupt the police and paralyse them into affective fear such that they could not move forward but drift backwards in fear of exposed breasts. Young (2020) describes the women's charging at the police as an act of war and an intervention to stop the masculinised violence by putting their bodies on the line in a concerted manner. The charging at the police is also going against the women's habitus, where they would be expected to be afraid of police, but we observe them doing the opposite and going towards the police.

Lisa on the other hand, experienced fear, as she was afraid to speak up when the red ants (an eviction organisation) were taking away her fence. The reality of the violence enacted by the police intimidated her.

Yes, they were there. The red ants [an eviction company] were going with the police. The red ants were destroying the shacks. Then there was a policeman driving the bulldozer... the police were ensuring that the people do not fight. It was busy. The red ants would collect the zinc sheets and place them in the truck. They took my fence while I was standing there watching them. Ke tshaba go bua ke re (I was afraid to speak) Jo! Ke fence eaka! E tlogeleng, ka ba shebella so! (Jo! It's my fence! Leave it, I just watched them like this) (Dobsonville protest interview 2019, Lisa, protester).

A YouTube comment from the #IAMOneInThree video also alluded to the affective fear that gets instilled in young women that *some man might come and take that one precious thing that is yours to control.*

It's so sad to see the negativity in this comment section when all they are fighting for is so that this rape culture falls. Can you imagine the fear that has been instilled in us as young women that because nobody cares and everyone deems it right, some man might come and take that one precious thing that is yours to control...

(#IAMOneInThree protest YouTube comment, 2016, YouTube user).

Ahmed (2014) differentiates between fear and anxiety. She asserts that fear can be contrasted with anxiety because it has an object that one is afraid of. Anxiety is a tense anticipation of a threatening but vague event, while fear is an emotional reaction to an identifiable threat. For instance, the protesters in the study were afraid of police approaching and shooting at them. Following Heidegger (1962), Ahmed (2014) explains that fear responds to what is approaching rather than what is already here. She further explains that it is the futurity of fear that makes it possible that the object of fear, rather than arriving, might pass us by. She adds that the object that we fear is not simply before us, or in front of us, but impresses upon us in the present, as an anticipated pain in the future. For instance, Lisa anticipated that if she moved or said anything, the red ants and police might hurt her. In Lisa's case, the object of fear is the red ants and police who were destroying people's shacks, and potential male rapists in the case of young women. Fear's relation to the object has a temporal and spatial dimension in that we fear an object that approaches us here and now. Fear involves an anticipation of hurt or injury. When affectively moved by fear, one's whole body becomes a

space of unpleasant intensity. It is an impression that overwhelms us and pushes us back with the force of its negation. This may sometimes involve taking flight, and other times may involve paralysis. Lisa experienced some paralysis as she says, *They took my fence while I was standing there watching them. I was afraid to speak and say it's my fence! Leave it. I just watched them like this.*

In the case of the more recent protests of #FeesMustFall and outsourcing, Liz notes the following:

When they were pouring those chemicals (tear gas), I was angry, and I was also afraid. While they were busy doing that, I was shouting and yelling at them, but at the same time I was afraid. The following day I could not even go to work. I think I stayed at home for about a week or even two (#FeesMustFall/Outsourcing protest interview 2019, Liz, protester).

Like Lisa, Liz experienced fear during the protest, but she also experienced anger. During our interview, she explained that the police sprayed chemical water on them and this made their skin very itchy. Her fear could have stemmed from being sprayed with a strange liquid whose extent of harm she did not know. There was also the possibility of being shot at. This can be seen as the anticipated pain to which Ahmed (2014) refers.

So, one thing that also triggered my relationship with Grahamstown police, they also brought out police dogs, and they took them out to chase us, but that never made the news. The cameras were not there. I tore my ligament, chased by a dog. And it was

after that incident that I lost all fear of police (#RURReferenceList protest interview 2019, Lwandle, protester).

An affect such as fear or anger, is not an object inside the self, but is a relation to others, a response to a situation and to the world (Ahmed, 2014; Wetherell, 2012). For Lwandle, instead of being afraid of police after they set dogs on her and fellow protesters, she assumes an affect of anger. As she was narrating her story to me, her tone changed and her face altered from its relaxed state to an angry one. From a psychosocial perspective, black people are usually supposed to be afraid of police and their dogs, but a different reaction is elicited from Lwandle after the police set their dogs on her. She says that after she tore her ligament running from police dogs, *I had lost all fear with police*. Thabisa recalls her experience of violence below.

Ya! The Boers were there, watching from the side-lines, instructing black people to beat us up. And they were really beating us up!!! They were not playing. Even the one who was driving the bulldozer, was not white if I'm not mistaken. It was a black person. And he is the one who was taking me up and down in the bulldozer. And I did not have fear that maybe the spikes would hurt me. That fear, I didn't have (Dobsonville protest interview 2019, Thabisa, protester).

In the above excerpt, Thabisa's other object of fear (Ahmed, 2014) might have been the bulldozer spikes, but she says she did not have that fear. This suggests that her anger had overwhelmed other affects such as fear. Similarly, in the following quote, Sihle engages her fearlessness.

Uuum ... I personally... I wasn't scared. I think a lot of us weren't scared. Because we... we... it came to me when I was standing there ukhuthi I fear being on campus more than I fear uuum the police. I fear being in this space, right. Ummm because I will be arrested, and I will get bail or whatever, and I'll come out I'll be fine. But there's the thought of... of... being raped, and being on this campus with that perpetrator. That is what scared us the most. And I think that's what kind of encouraged us to do that naked protest (#RURestoreList protest interview 2019, Sihle, protester).

Sihle conceives of university campuses as Gqola's (2015) fear factory. Sihle's statement about her fear of being raped as stronger than being afraid of police is chilling as it shows how rife rape culture is on campuses in the country. Mampho echoes the same sentiments that she was not afraid of police, that if anything the fear would have been related to the possibility of being expelled or being singled out. The objects of their fear (Ahmed, 2014) were the possibility of being raped, or the possibility of being expelled, but not of being shot at by police. These words demonstrate how tired the women were of rape on campus, to a point where they were prepared to die.

So if there was any fear it would have been the fear of maybe we would have felt that management would have then black listed us. It would have never been fear for police ya... It's actually less likely. To some extent when I think of the protest, the protesters were less afraid of the police, and more afraid of the possibility of being expelled, or

singled out (NMU in solidarity with #RURReferenceList protest interview 2019, Mampho, protester).

4.2.7 Conclusion

The study has illustrated that affects are always embedded in social acts and practices, including naked body protests. This section has demonstrated that social practices can arouse a range of affects, both positive and negative. It has also been established that beings are constantly affected by the external world, but at the same time, they also affect the outside world. This, according to Deleuze (1988), is not necessarily a bad thing, as the power to affect and be affected, enables humans to strive for better living conditions; to strive for a life full of joy, as illustrated by women protesting for better living conditions. Wetherell's concept of affective practice states that affects can have a doubling effect (coming unbidden or uninvited). Theoretically, it can be inferred that it is possible for women protesters to be agentic and take control of their affects and only express the affects that will bring their grievances to the fore, such as rage. The double sidedness of rage is that it has both negative and positive affects which include anger and self-love.

Following Butler's theory of performativity, it may be possible to demystify extant stereotypes or dominant negative beliefs that surround women. Stereotypes and dominant ideologies work through repetition (Rosello, 1998). They can therefore be debunked the same way they are created. These beliefs can include the fact that it is not usual for women to take part in protests, or naked body protests as this is "unladylike". The women have undermined the veracity of this belief by staging naked body protests. Building on a long lineage of African women's naked body protests the women in this study normalise the notion that women can be anything they want, including being undutiful.

Part Three

4.3 When the Body Speaks: The Affective Language of the Protesting Body

Part three explores the affective messages and meanings communicated by women's bodies in naked body protests. Following Butler's (1990) invocation of Foucault, the analysis is based on Foucault's conceptualisation of power and his assertion that where there is power, there is resistance. Judith Butler draws primarily on Foucault's analysis of subjection. The nature of subjection (becoming who we are/becoming women) is such that at the same time of being subjected to power relations by society, women and other oppressed groups can resist or challenge this subjection through a subversive performance of the gender norms that govern the production of gender identity (Butler, 1990). The analysis is also grounded in the work of African feminists (Oyèwùmí, 2002; Tamale, 2016; Yusuf, 2011) based on their advocacy for women to resist oppression. The analysis suggests that the naked protest is a powerful form of protest and it transforms the woman's body from social constructions of vulnerability and consumption to a site of militancy, defiance and one that speaks back from a position of solidarity and strength. I contend that these protests demonstrate a grounded African feminism which enables women, particularly African women, to speak from their location and reality through their bodies. This section begins with a meditation on the body before engaging in a more specific account of different body parts that are implicated in naked body protests. These are breasts, buttocks, the vagina.

4.3.1 The Body

Tamale (2016) asserts that a discussion of naked protests entails a conceptualisation of the body as an instrument of control as well as a source of disruption. She contends that "the

body is a site of imagining the social structuring of society; it carries the symbols of hierarchies based on gender, sexuality, class, race, ethnicity, (dis)ability, age, etc” (Tamale, 2016, p. 30). Coly (2015) extends this by illustrating that African women’s bodies are also co-opted into signifying the postcolonial projects aspirations to modernity. Holding both Tamale and Coly’s conceptions of the body in mind, it is apparent that there are societal hierarchies where men hold greater power than women and there are complex investments in African women’s bodies. In these hierarchies, heterosexuality is perceived as normal while homosexual people are generally understood as aberrant and white people are seen as superior to black people.

Brown and Gershon (2017) contend that bodies are sites in which social constructions of differences are mapped onto individuals. They explain that the body is placed in hierarchised dichotomies, for example, masculine/feminine; mind/body; able-bodied/disabled; fat/skinny; heterosexual/homosexual; and young/old (Brown & Gershon, 2017). Women’s bodies are usually associated with the negative side of these hierarchies and dichotomies. Grosz (1987) observes that Descartes separates the body from the mind. Descartes’s binary theorisation is usually associated with other binary pairs; nature and culture, private and public, self and other, as well as subject and object. The mind is associated with culture, reason, subject and self; while the body is associated with nature, the passions, object and other. The positive side of this mind/culture opposition is associated with masculinity or with men, and their opposites, with femininity or with women (Grosz, 1987). Mignolo (2009) extends this to consider how the global South is conceived of as the place of darkness and data while the Western world is considered as the place of reason, civilization and enlightenment.

The data presented in the excerpts from Yonela, Busi, Tumi, Lucy and a YouTube user illustrate some of these hierarchies in the manner in which women are ridiculed. After watching the video on the Dobsonville naked women's protest, Lucy commented that one of the women was worried that her husband would see her at the naked body protest:

[laughs] ... you're worried about someone that you're actually fighting for. And also because of the way it is, he's also not going to see it as his wife fighting for their shelter. He'll just say you're irrational, you're crazy (#IamOneInThree protest interview 2019, Lucy, protester).

Lucy's words are indicative of the comments that ridicule naked women's protests, where they are often beseeched to be reasonable and to find less embodied forms of protest and to discipline their unruly bodies (Grosz, 1994). To expose the body is to shame ones husband, community and to stall the nations project of modernity and progress. These multiple investments in African women's bodies help to think through the backlash that naked protests unleashes.

Your comments are the truth. It's pointless starting a debate/argument with a woman/female, because truth and logic does not matter to a woman. Women are irrational and illogical beings, this is fact. It's annoying to us men but to them being irrational and illogical is completely normal. I guess it's not their fault...which is why we men lead women, in relationships and in many other aspects in life, we men are the leaders (#IamOneInThree protest YouTube comment, 2016, YouTube user).

The comment above was made by a man responding to another man justifying the assertion that as men they should rule over women because *women are irrational and have no logic*. This echoes the sentiments of Descartes and many others that agree with this notion (Grosz, 1994). Oyèwùmí (2002) asserts that when colonialists reached Africa, they assumed the superiority of settler over native, but, at the same time, they also posited the dominance of man over woman. Lugones (2010) adds that through colonisation a hierarchical, dichotomous distinction between human and non-human was forced on the colonised in the service of Western man's sovereignty, where natives were characterised as non-humans. Other dichotomous distinctions included those between men and women. This, however, excluded indigenous people and Africans who were not seen as human (Lugones, 2010). The masculine/feminine distinction as a hierarchical opposition served in the colonial encounter as a mark of civilisation so that becoming civilised meant internalising this distinction with all its associated norms and values (Coetzee & Du Toit, 2018). In other words, to be fully human meant to fit clearly and unmistakably into one side of this dichotomy and to act according to its prescriptions and to embody its values. This gender and racial intersectional exclusion of native women from the standards and norms of the human, under colonial and patriarchal conditions, classifies native and African women as socially abject beings (Coetzee & Du Toit, 2018; Crenshaw, 1991). This is succinctly illustrated in Yonela's words *though women are a majority in the society we are still treated as the minority in society... We are still side-lined* (Radio podcast 2018, Yonela, Rhodes protester).

Busi and Tumi make similar observations. *So, men strip all the time when they play soccer; sometimes they remove their tops when it's hot, they do it all the time and no one says anything...* (#FeesMustFall/Outsourcing protest interview 2019, Busi, protester). Here, the men's bodies are treated as unremarkable. Tumi voices frustration at how often men's bodies

are treated as normative. *Men piss on the street all the time, and nothing is said about that. Women are raped every day, and very little is said about that* (Radio podcast 2016, Tumi, Wits protester). Busi and Tumi's observations on the different treatment that men get when they are topless or when they urinate on the streets exposing their genitals perhaps stem from the fact that historically, religion, especially the male dominated Christianity and Islam, stressed the impurity and inherent sin associated with women's bodies (Coly, 2015; Goodson, 1991). Through religion, colonial authorities were able to colonise Africans' minds and encourage women to always hide their bodies, especially the breast and genital area as women's bodies were viewed as sites of sin (Goodson, 1991; Tamale, 2016). Key to these three preceding quotations is the choice of words (namely; strip, piss) used by the women to indicate their affective disgust at the hierarchies placed on women's bodies. The words have been framed in such a way that it is clear for the listeners to sense their disgust (Huckin, 1997).

Tamale (2016) notes that naked women's protesting bodies are different from seductive nude bodies as the former represent defiance and agency while the latter represent sexual objectification. Defiant naked bodies force us to rethink our association of nakedness with shame and debasement. At the extreme, naked bodies make strong political statements that challenge structures of domination or exclusion. Naked bodies have the ability to disturb patriarchal structures and turn naked vulnerable bodies into powerful ones (Tamale, 2016). The #FeesMustFall naked body protesters and other naked protests disrupted South Africa. This is captured by the words of the head of Soul City at the time, Lebo Ramafoko. During the radio interview of two of the women who participated in the #FeesMustFall naked body protest, Lebo Ramafoko observed:

The disruptions that the young women are showing now, are making me as a 45-year-old Black African woman feel like the future is in safe hands. Because we have pussy-footed, we have covered our bodies, and yet 9-month-old babies, grandmothers have been raped. For me it extends beyond was it appropriate or not appropriate. It is the conversation about the brutalisation of the black woman's body (Radio podcast 2016, Lebo Ramafoko, GBV- Organisation representative).

Ramafoko shares the sentiments of the protesting women and commends them for their audacity and care about GBV. In this formulation, nakedness is care. During the colonial era, black women's bodies were the subject of voyeurism. In the period of the slave trade, black women's naked bodies were put on display for the purposes of humiliation and ridicule (Mazibuko, 2018). The example of Sara Bartmann is a seminal case of this humiliation (Abrahams, 2004; Diabate, 2020; Lewis, 2011). In the post colony, the (un)clothed woman has become the business of patriarchs and lawmakers (Coly, 2015). As much as the colonial (and coloniality) gaze has disarmed women, so too have women used their nakedness to disarming effect, to claim or reclaim a power that is threatened or lost (Diabate, 2020). We observe this disarming effect in Zukiswa's words *And I think we understood that society wasn't going to understand it because they don't get how you could ever use nakedness to protest. You know because for them it's just you know for male consumption* (#RURReferenceList protest interview 2019, Zukiswa, protester). Zukiswa conceives of disrobing as more than consumption and as encompassing the ideology of coloniality more broadly.

The disruptive effects of the protests cohere with Tamale's (2016) assertion that women's bodies have the power to disrupt patriarchal and by extension colonial structures. Amanda Gouws (2017, p. 24) asserts that during the #RURerenceList protest, "the naked black/queer/trans body was used to claim back bodily autonomy and invert the colonial gaze of the silent 'hypersexual' African woman or the 'unAfrican' queer body". Lolly attests to the use of queer bodies to reclaim bodily autonomy during the #RURerenceList protest in the excerpt below.

I remember a friend of mine, a gay man... uuum, or rather queer, let's use queer. Uuum when he took off his T-shirt, and then he wrote whatever he had written...Uuum, I just remember there being a different response. And he wrote, "I am naked all the time and you don't rape me." Something like that you know. Coz men go topless all the time. They don't... It was a question of "If I'm naked all the time and you don't rape me, why do you feel the need to rape women?"
(#RURerenceList protest interview 2019, Lolly, protester).

Sasson-Levy and Rapoport (2003) assert that social constructionist theories do not view the body as a biological given but as constituted in the intersection of discourse, social institutions, and the corporeality of the body. Elizabeth Grosz observes that patriarchal oppression justifies itself through the belief that women, more than men, are tied to a fixed corporeality. This suggests that under patriarchal oppression, women are considered to be more natural and biologically driven, less cultural, and to be more object, and less subject than men (Grosz, 1987). Men's bodies are less discursively implicated in the projects of

colonial scripts that are underwritten by patriarchy, religious control, consumption and civilisation/uncivilised hierarchies.

In the course of our interview, Lolly expressed her frustration at how the women's naked body protest and their bodies were sexualised and reduced to a sexual tease. In addition, she contends that male solidarity is not forthcoming in GBV protests. Here, the limits of male solidarity are apparent. The affective investments in patriarchy are exposed even among men who are activists for social justice.

It wasn't a sex thing... at all... it wasn't a sexual thing ... [sounds angry] but that's the problem. It's like we're constantly suffering from, or being seen from the male gaze! That is exactly what the protest was trying to express!!! And that's exactly how they responded!!! ...And the most shocking things were being said by our male comrades who had stood with us at FeesMustFall, not at Reference List, at FeesMustFall. ...And things like "Oh, laba bamabele alengayo (here are these ones with hanging breasts); they should have at least shown us sexy tits." Uum just the most atrocious things nje! that were being said by our comrades (#RURReferenceList protest interview 2019, Lolly, protester).

One of the YouTube commenters on the #RURReferenceList naked protest also expressed their discomfort with how women are corporeally reduced to objects that must be raped for exposing their breasts: *So rape is okay as long as the women were showing their breasts? Then they deserve it? It's not the RAPISTS' fault, it's the woman's fault (for being born with breasts)? Do these women who are someone's daughter, sister, maybe even mother, deserve*

to be raped for showing their breasts? I'm just curious because that's what your comment is implying (#RURReferenceList protest YouTube comment 2016, YouTube user). This comment pushes against the patriarchal tide that seeks to discipline women and undo the work of protest. Social media platforms are particularly vile since users generally hide behind anonymity. To engage the patriarchs and publicly expose their bigotry takes emotional labour but is important activist work.

In the excerpt below, Lwandle jokes that when women move out of the corporeal position in which they have been placed by patriarchal society, it is as though they are breaking protocol — that they do not know their place. They subvert gender norms and resist oppression (Bakare- Yusuf, 2011; Butler, 1990; Oyèwùmí, 2002; Tamale, 2016).

The funniest thing is that it was only now, this year, that I started to have a conversation about the sexualisation of women's bodies by society. And the funniest thing is that women's bodies will always be sexualised for pleasure. They will always be problematised. When women use their bodies as a form of protest, it's deemed in a patriarchal society as unacceptable. So, women are chastised. Women are crushed, so that they know their place. It's always a process of saying "you are breaking protocol" [says it jokingly] And people who break protocol this is how we deal with them (#RURReferenceList protest interview 2019, Lwandle, protester).

Grosz (1987) explains that women's controlled societal existence is rationalised in biological terms and is thus rendered fixed. Butler (1993) challenges the notion that biological sex is prior to the social and is unchangeable. For Butler, sex is not something that one has or a

static description of who one is. She contends that sex is not a bodily given on which the construct of gender is artificially imposed, but a cultural norm which governs the materiality of the body (Butler, 1993). Relying on essentialism, naturalism and biologism, misogynistic thought restricts and limits women by tying them to a biologically and logically necessary dependence on men, ensuring its own continuity through the ascription of a biologically determined female nature. Grosz (1987) argues that the body need no longer be an object of theoretical aversion and ideological suspicion. Feminists need not commit themselves to essentialism or biologism. They need to engage in conceptions of the body compatible with transformations in social relations, non-biologistic, non-reductionist and anti-essentialist notions of the body so that women's specific experiences can be articulated.

Tumi and Busi challenge the understanding of women's bodies as vile, suspicious, and needing to be kept away from the public. Tumi and Busi who protested in the #FeesMustFall protests, challenge the presenter and radio listeners on being asked if naked body protests are appropriate. Tumi asserts, *So, whose bodies are appropriate and inappropriate? I mean, I'd like [breaths heavily and in anger...] It's annoying, it's annoying because that question comes at me from a place of patriarchy.* Busi articulates a politics of refusal. *We refuse to have our bodies policed and we will respond as such* (Radio podcast 2016, Busi, Wits protester). Both Tumi and Busi heed Lugone's call to refuse the colonial imposition that becomes interwoven into day-to-day relations, including intimate relations. They fight for decolonial feminism in order to overcome this colonality of gender (Lugones, 2010). They also go against the ideological belief that women's bodies are inappropriate, vile, and unworthy. This coheres with Van Dijk's (1993) contention that it is possible for marginalised groups to challenge the dominant group's ideologies with counter ideologies of insurgency.

In the YouTube video on the #FeesMustFall naked protest, the TV presenter keeps apologising to sensitive viewers. One of the commenters asks what exactly she is apologising for. *Why does she keep apologising for the human body? For women's bodies? Did she herself not come from a woman? Are there any people whom she is apologising to who were hatched [from eggs]?* (#FeesMustFall/Outsourcing protest YouTube comment, 2016, YouTube user). This is in support of the resistance of women being viewed as objects to be undressed only in private for men's pleasure (Lugones, 2010; Tamale, 2016).

Feminist scholarship on gender and the body teaches us that women's bodies are appropriated more often and completely than those of men because women's bodies are constituted within discourse, rules, norms, and institutions formulated and dominated by men (Frank, 1991; Sasson-Levy & Rapoport, 2003). At the same time, women's bodies have an inherent potential to resist domination and power relations (Butler, 1990; Matebeni, 2013). As Sibule indicates:

...any struggles that have been won whether it's the struggles for... for... against racial domination, against the struggle for women to have the right to vote, etc, etc...have been achieved through some sort of revolt ...right...by the oppressed class...so this idea of revolting, of resisting oppression so that's why we need to ... we need some kind of revolt... (#RURReferenceList protest interview 2019, Sibule, protester).

This assertion supports Foucault's (1978) claim that where there is power there is resistance. According to Foucault (1991), the body is bestowed with power, and it is this power that the

stripping protesters use to bring attention to the issues they are protesting about. Foucault (1991) further explains that power can come from different directions. It does not always come in a top-down fashion. Sometimes it can be from the bottom to the top. Even in extreme forms of oppression, the marginalised are able to resist oppression in different ways. Foucault (1978) postulates that there are multiple loci of resistance. There are resistances that are possible, necessary, and improbable. Others are spontaneous, savage, solitary, determined, uncontrolled or violent. Spivak (1988) argues that the subaltern speaks, even in their silence. This demonstrates the point of multiple loci of resistance. In a similar manner, women protesters speak and resist forms of oppression through naked body protests. Patricia protested in a different manner from the other women during the gender-based violence and femicide summit held in Irene, Pretoria on the 5th of November 2018. She had wanted to write a message where her panty would sit on her body, as she related to me in 2019.

Ok, we decided to write messages on panties, and I said, "Coz you're writing a message on a panty, I'm gonna show my panty body to the president, coz I don't have a panty, I don't wear a panty." Coz the panty has to sit here [shows me the area around the tummy and vagina on her body] and it doesn't fit because of the operation. I said "I don't have a panty, I will use my body panty, ja". Me, I wanted them to write something on my body, so that when I removed my clothes, there would be a message!

Similarly, Lucy and fellow protesters, scripted their bodies to convey a message against GBV.

So, we went topless... so that was like properly planned out... uuum and then there was also a lot of painting, body painting as well. Some of the lines read "still not asking for it." Uuuu.... "No means No" "Not with my cake." Everything just had to do with sending a message saying there's literally no one that deserves or calls for sexual violence of their bodies. Ummm, I think it was successful

(#FeesMustFall/Outsourcing protest interview 2019, Lucy, protester).

The careful planning and discursive use of the body by Lucy and her peers points to Wetherell's (2012) contention that affect is not restricted to the preconscious and can be discursively represented. Naked body protests by women represent resistance and insurrection against the dominant scripts engraved on women's bodies. These include scripts of subordination, passivity, sexuality, subservience, and vulnerability. By staging naked body protests, women participate in a discursive re-scripting and reconfiguration of their bodies (Gouws, 2017; Jimlongo, 2018; Mazibuko, 2018; Misri, 2011; Tamale, 2016). Patricia observes: *I wanted them to write something on my body* and Lucy narrates how their bodies had *a lot of painting, body painting*. These acts could be read as a way of women physically re-scripting themselves. This re-scripting entails assuming a position of agency and subverting the vulnerability of nakedness into armour. It also entails the visibilisation of private trauma. While Patricia's violation by a group of men who disfigured her was meant to be a private shame, she weaponised this shame. By exposing her scared genitals to the president and national media, she shamed those who were compelled to see her naked body. Since her protest, her shame and pain are no longer hers alone. We cannot say we did not know. She theorises her violation by asserting it into the public domain and thereby self-authoring herself into existence. One would also argue that the women exercised what Cixous encourages women to do – to write through their bodies. She encourages women to

speaking out and to write themselves, to write about women and to bring women to writing. She argues that women must put themselves into the text as into the world and into history (Cixous, Cohen, & Cohen, 1976).

It is however important to note that resistance need not always result in success or failure. Writing about black explosion and utopia, Tan (2018) argues that we should understand black explosivity not as a strategy or tactic harnessed to provoke change or to mobilise, but as an intuitive resistance to things as they are and as they have been constructed. Similarly, Glover (2020) observes that women who deform and refuse do not necessarily want to be saddled with providing solutions. The obligation to fix things should reside with those who break them. In the same manner, naked body protests should not only be understood as a strategy to provoke change. Naked protests might end as resistance to how things are. We therefore cannot exclusively see naked protests as successes or failures. As acts in the world, naked protests may be read as actions of explosion but there is no guarantee as to the directions in which observers may be moved. If we understand naked protests as acts of defiant despair and therefore as already negative affects, we should not burden them with the expectation of only positive outcomes. On the other hand, we might also read defiance as underpinned by a hopeful rage. This aligns with Canham's (2018) contention that rage is fuelled by hope since the status quo is unbearable. Therefore, while the protesting naked body is always one of revolt, the possibilities are uncontainable and cannot be foreseen. The following YouTube comment captures this hopeful rage — *Those women who feel like they need to take back their bodies must do so in as violent a way as the crimes that are perpetuated against them* (#IAmOneInThree protest YouTube comment, 2016, YouTube user). Here, the commenter is in support of naked women protesters expressing their rage through naked body protests. The

commentator stops at the call for violence against violence and does not apply pressure for change.

4.3.2 The Meanings of Breasts, Buttocks and Vagina During Naked Body Protests

4.3.3 Buttocks and Disgust

Following on the more general discussion of the protesting body, in this sub theme, I first detail a series of historical protests where women protested by exposing their bare buttocks. I then look at what it meant for the women protesters in the study to expose their bottoms. In the novel *I Saw The Sky Catch Fire*, Obinkaram Echewa (1992) includes a fictional reconstruction of the 1929 Women's War against the colonial intrusion in Igboland. This colonial intrusion resulted in taxation on women for their belongings, including goats, chickens, and palm oil (Diabate, 2020). Below is a passage from the novel about this fictionalisation.

The White Officer, Malcolm Davis, stepped forward toward the women, flanked by two soldiers and an interpreter. He held a piece of paper in his right hand, ready to read the women the riot act. "Ndom kwenu" Ugbala intoned. "*Huo-ra-nu Nwa-Beke-eikeh! Huo-ra-ya-nuotila!*" [Show the White man your backsides!] As if on cue, all the women turned around, facing away from Mr. Davis and his soldiers, doubled over, turned up their buttocks and aimed them at the approaching White man. Then they pulled up their loincloths, so as to expose their naked bottoms. Mr. Davis did a double take, then froze in place. The soldiers with him turned away their faces, as did the formations behind them. It was a sight none of them had ever seen before and hoped

never to see again. They felt insulted, assaulted, defiled, and cursed (Echewa, 1992, in Diabate, 2020, p. 175).

A protest in 1959 Cato Manor, Durban echoes the Nigerian naked protest against colonial exploitation. On the 17th of June 1959, South African women from Cato Manor, Durban, participated in a series of boycotts against beerhalls. According to the Native Beer Act of 1908, it was illegal for women to brew and sell traditional beer. Police ransacked homes and demolished home fermented liquor so that men would be forced to use municipal beerhalls and buy the beer sold there. In fighting back, women attacked the beerhalls and destroyed equipment and buildings. Some went to the beer halls half dressed with their breasts exposed, and when they got nearer, the police tried to stop the women. When they saw the police trying to stop them, the women turned around and pulled up their skirts such that they exposed their buttocks. The police closed their eyes and the women passed by and went in (Reed, 2015).

More recently on the 19th of January 2016, about 16 African National Congress (ANC) women bared their buttocks and stormed into the offices of the ANC in Tshwane. Some unzipped their jeans, lifted their tops, and undid their bras before turning away to expose their naked backsides, as illustrated in Figure 6. They were protesting attacks that took place at a branch meeting in Hamanskraal on the weekend before (Moatshe, 2016). The image below captures a moment of the protest.



Figure 6: ANC Women's Naked Body Protest

Source: Pretoria News, January 17, 2016

The excerpt above from Echewa's novel captures the meaning of exposing the buttocks.

"They felt insulted, assaulted, defiled, and cursed." By exposing their buttocks, the idea is to insult the perpetrators (usually men) and to make them feel assaulted and defiled, the same way the women are made to feel by their oppressors. The act also has an affective shame and fear that is placed on the men, because they close their eyes so as not to see what is in front of them. Some people believe that seeing naked women's buttocks brings bad luck, hence the fear. While playing on a subversion of dominant scripts, exposing buttocks is also a means through which women play on societal politics of disgust. Fahs observes that many women dread 'defective femininity' which is often represented by "fear of excessiveness, loathing a particular person's body, and language of smelliness and disgust..., weaving together women's fears about fatness, dark skin, becoming old or disabled" (2017a, p. 184). Black women who protest naked often weaponise ideas of defective femininity by exposing loathed body parts such as dark-skinned, fat buttocks associated with smelliness and disgust. They can therefore be said to express their own disgust by exposing that which disgusts their oppressors. Black women, especially in southern Africa, have been pathologised by Western Scientism as non-human by virtue of their large buttocks. This condition is called steatopygia

and it derived from Greek word “steato” meaning “fat” and pygia meaning “buttocks.” Using white body norms, this is defined as excessive fat of the buttocks, usually seen in black women. It is sometimes called Hottentot Bustle because it was commonly seen in the Hottentot people of southern Africa (Ersek, Bell & Salisbury, 1994). In addition to speaking back at the disgust represented by the buttocks, the women in the study were defiantly speaking back through parts of their bodies that have been distinctively pathologised. The second register to this disgust is to reclaim their bodies by exposing them as an act of self-validation.

In the excerpt below, Lisa talks about this fear that is associated with seeing unclothed buttocks. Although she does not explain why the police were afraid of seeing unclothed buttocks, to the extent that they stopped dismantling the shacks, it suggests that they too, probably associated naked buttocks with fear, bad luck and being insulted (Fahs, 2017a). In this quote, we see examples of both spontaneous or preconscious protests and those based on observation and cognition.

The woman was naked and not clothed. She came running out naked! When she started running out naked like that...leburu le neng le ganna bulldozer, eitse ha a bona motho o montsho a tswa ka tlung a matha ka matswele le ka marago, obviously o tlo etsang? Wa ema gakere? A be a emisa a sa thlole a emisa mok'huk'hu. Bana ba bang bao e leng gore mek'huk'hu ea bona e tserwoe or e tlo weswa, ba re “Oh, ebile ba ts'aba marago a basali le matswele, a re apoleng!” That's why ba bile ba apola bo 'me' (The boer who was driving the bulldozer, when he saw a black naked woman running out, obviously stopped. When the other women whose shacks were already

dismantled or were about to be dismantled, said “Oh, they are afraid of naked women’s bums and breasts, let us strip (Dobsonville protest interview 2019, Lisa, protester).

For Busisiwe, the idea of covering the buttocks, vagina and breasts was introduced by Western modernity. Therefore, exposing these body parts means rebelling against the colonisation and postcolonial ambitions to modernity through women’s bodies.

I would say maybe it’s umm, it’s one of those umm problems that came with modernity... whatever modernity means...which I think in most cases is a, is a Eurocentric way of policing women’s bodies... and umm essentialising the breasts and umm the vagina and the bums and everything (Radio podcast 2016, Busisiwe, Wits protester).

Patricia on the other hand, finds herself having to expose her buttocks to urinate in the middle of the road as her bladder cannot hold a lot of urine as a consequence of the brutal gang rape. During the interview, she told me that her bladder was reduced to about a 200ml capacity, from the 400ml that most people have. This was an operation done on her after she was gang raped. Although she does not choose to expose her buttocks, she finds that it can be a way of rebelling against the respectability politics that always tell women to respect themselves and cover up their bodies. Smith (2014) explains that the reaction by black protesters that includes burning and looting, is an expression of their affective rage at the misconduct of police and their brutality against black people. By the same token, it can be argued that Patricia exposing her buttocks without fear of respectability politics is her expression of the

practical limitations of her damaged bladder but also affective anger towards men who raped her, towards society at large and towards the justice system that has failed her.

My bums are always outside even if I'm covered; coming to work and telling myself that no, today I'm a lady, No! I will take off my clothes and try to pee on the streets, so...I realised that no maan, it's this body that we are talking about...and we are talking about people who tell themselves that we must hide this body, respect this body, but they themselves don't respect this body. I'm gonna show you this body that we are talking about. We are talking about a woman's body. Men know how to change this body; I was not born with operations. I was not born with such a big tummy [she shows me her tummy] (#Gender Based Violence Summit protest interview 2019, Patricia, protester).

In Acholi culture in Uganda, nakedness is related to shame. It is one of the traditional means that Acholi women and men have used to express their anger (Ebila & Tripp, 2017). In biblical texts (2 Samuel 10:1-5 and 1 Chronicles 19:1-5), the exposure of buttocks and genitalia, as well as shaving a man's beard, were deeply harming, and humiliating to men (Lipka, 2017). Similarly, by exposing their own buttocks in protest, the women protesters shame and humiliate their male oppressors. Writing on fatness and blackness, Elizabeth Shaw (2006) gives an example of Granny Nanny, a Jamaican leader who was believed to be able to stop white men's bullets with her big fat buttocks and hurl them back at the assailants during colonialism. While Granny Nanny was not historically described as a fat woman, the use of her fleshy buttocks represents rebellion and resistance as her buttocks were able to stop bullets and send them back to the enemy. Big fat buttocks could also be seen as rebellion and

resistance against skinny Western buttocks that are usually represented as the norm (Shaw, 2006). Patricia is being rebellious, but not against skinny Western buttocks. She is being rebellious against the respectability politics and the justice system that enables her rapists to be free while she lives with the scarring of their actions.

4.3.4 The Sociality of the Protesting Vagina

This subtheme explores the meaning of the exposed vagina for some of the women protesters I interviewed. Some of the Dobsonville women protested fully naked. In the more recent protests, only one woman protested by exposing her vagina. The others staged topless protests. I begin by engaging the theorisation of the protesting vagina.

In 1947, women of Abeokuta in Yorubaland, Nigeria, led by Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti, protested against taxes applied to goods and related issues in the marketplace in a naked protest called the “vengeance of the vagina head protest.” In spite of being challenged by police using teargas among other hostile methods, the women remained unwavering and in the end their demands were met, leading to the resignation of the Alake in 1949 (Ugwuja & Onyishi, 2020). The women placed a vaginal curse on King Alake, chanting the following words:

Alake for a long time you have used your penis as a mark of authority that you are our husband. Today we shall reverse the order and use our vaginas to play the role of husband on you...O you man, vagina's head will seek vengeance (Wilcox-Lee, 2015).

The Abeokuta women point to the fact that Alake used his penis as a mark of authority. Misri (2011) contends that the penis is seen as terrifying because men use it to rape women and present them as subjects of shame and fear. Misri (2011) asserts that naked body protests appropriate naked women's bodies from a normative discourse of feminine shame and victimhood to that of resistance. She further explains that the women's naked body protests challenge the rape script that underlines the disciplinary violence of the state. Following Marcus (1992), Misri explains that the rape script is defined as the set of gendered, cultural narratives that enable the violence of rape by presenting women as subjects of shame, fear and violence. This script also presents men as subjects of aggression backed by physical dominance. The women changed the script by shaming the men with the exposure of their vaginas. The Abeokuta women's wilfulness in their naked body protest is a militant way of creatively re-scripting the gendered language of violence.

Turner and Brownhill (2004) argue that we all come into the world through the vagina. By exposing the vagina, the women are saying: "We are hereby taking back the life we gave you." Turner and Brownhill further explain that the act of exposing the vagina is simultaneously about bringing forth life and denying life through social ostracism, which is a kind of social execution. The vaginal curse is such that men who are exposed are viewed as dead. It is believed that no one will cook for them, marry them, enter into any kind of contract with them or buy anything from them (Turner & Brownhill, 2004). Here, the vagina signals social death and is a moment of dissociating femininity from men. The women who engage in social ostracism do so on behalf of all women. This act of social shunning might be seen as an earlier version of the present day cancel culture. Cancel culture refers to "the withdrawal of any kind of support, be it viewership, social media follows, purchases of products endorsed by the person, for those who are assessed to have said or done something

unacceptable or highly problematic, generally from a social justice perspective especially alert to sexism, heterosexism, homophobia, racism, bullying, and related issues” (Ng, 2020, p. 623). This is another instance of how women’s naked protests transform the body from sexualised objects to social and cultural armour that can disrupt patriarchy. The women use Meagher’s (2003) ‘cultural objectification’ of the body against social norms by playing to the ambiguity of embodiment as simultaneously enticing and disgusting.

According to Abonga, Kerali, Porter and Tapscott (2020), the vaginal curse highlights symbolic power through the symbolism of the exposed vagina and cosmological power through the assumed lethal power of the curse. However, it must be noted that once released, the vaginal curse is unpredictable. It can be redirected against its maker if its original target is undeserving or if words are uttered to reverse the curse. It is believed that people generally understand naked protest as a powerful but risky measure of last resort, used when there is no other avenue to make one’s voice heard and one’s needs respected. The curse is most effective when the cause is just and the person who produces it has the moral and relational authority to use it (Abonga et al., 2020). These qualifications as to when and under what conditions a vaginal curse can be issued can be read as checks and balances or cultural boundaries that regulate the sociality of the protesting vagina.

Apart from the fact that the vagina is where life comes from, the vagina is believed to have devirilizing qualities. In other words, the vagina is believed to emasculate men, as it sucks up the penis during sex. In Eve Ensler’s *Vagina Monologues*, under the “Workshop” section, women were asked to draw and describe their vaginas. One woman said “I had always thought of my vagina as an anatomical vacuum randomly sucking up particles and objects

from the surrounding environment” (Ensler, 2008, p. 13). Benjamin Walker explains that “the vagina is a destructive orifice and a devirilizing element in the female structure, and sexual intercourse results in a kind of castration. Woman then becomes the devouring female, the vulva incarnate” (Walker, 1977 in Diabate, 2020, p.199). In a society and global order that is obsessed with women’s virginity (for example, Beljuli Brown, 2009), the imaginary of the devouring vagina is devirilizing as it centres agency on protesting women. In other words, the woman asserts her ownership of her vagina while also upending chastity and modesty through employing the politics of disgust similar to the meanings of rioting buttocks.

Vagina protests refuse abjection and might be read as making claims on subjectivity (Hammers, 2006). According to Hammers (2006), society places the vagina at the border of amplification and erasure. The vagina's status as part of the body is amplified through the heightened and exaggerated emphasis on the vagina as sexual, shameful, and improper. In the amplified state, the vagina is positioned as part of discourses that have been used to justify women's association with the body and the related devaluation of the body versus the mind (Grosz, 1994; Hammers, 2006). On the other hand, the vagina functions under a double erasure. It is first erased, along with the body in general, from being displayed and discussed publicly. Secondly, the vagina has been erased from the woman’s body in particular. Because of the negative discourses surrounding the vagina, some women do not want to have a relationship with their vaginas (Hammers, 2006). Hammers (2006) critically reads the Vagina Monologues play and how it explores different ways of resisting the negative, shameful, and embarrassing associations with the vagina. I argue that the women protesters in the study rebuff these negative and shameful connotations with the vagina and re-assert themselves through naked body protests.

During the interviews, I asked the women whether there is a different meaning to the body part that is revealed during naked body protests generally and then with reference to the different naked protests they had staged. Referring to Patricia's protest of exposing her vaginal area, Beauty indicated that for her the exposure of the vagina called for a level of vulnerability that she was not ready for. At the same time, she described it as a bold move. It is interesting that she uses two contrasting words to describe what Patricia's exposure of her vagina meant to her; vulnerable and bold. This is in line with Tamale's (2016) contention that naked body protests have the ability to turn vulnerable bodies into powerful ones. Similarly, Patricia may have been vulnerable but also bold enough to stage a naked body protest to fight for her rights. Here vulnerability is not the opposite of bold but the affects can be read as co-dependent and mutually reinforcing.

I remember umama doing that, and I felt that that was incredibly brave, because I don't know, I don't know... I would rather show my boobs, than show my vagina, because as soon as I show my vagina, there's a different level of vulnerability that I personally do not feel umm, ready enough to... to experience. So that for me was a very bold move. (#RURReferenceList protest interview 2019, Beauty, protester).

For Lisa, the exposure of the vagina during naked body protests had to do with the respect attached to the exposed body part, be it the breast, buttocks or vagina.

[laughs] Hai! I don't want my things to be exposed and even this big bum... no! But white people...white people respect breasts more than the vagina. You know you can never really see a white woman exposing the breasts. Even during breast feeding they

don't. Unlike us black women, in the past we even used to just plonk out the breast and breast feed the baby. Black women seem to respect the lower part than the breast (Dobsonville protest interview 2019, Lisa, protester).

Lisa's choice of words to refer to the vagina shows that she appears affectively ashamed to name the body part and hence substitutes *things*, and *lower part*. As an elderly woman she would rather omit the word vagina and refer to it as something else. This omission (Huckin, 1997) suggests that as much as she earlier asserted that the women had to stage a naked body protest for their rights and to save their lives, she also feels a little bit ashamed of the act.

For Lwandle, the exposure of the vagina during Patricia's naked body protest, meant the exposure of how the state continues to sexualise women's bodies and how the state looks away at the oppression of women. The presidents' looking away may be read as repulsion and so too might the withdrawal of police officers that are confronted by naked protestors. The president can therefore be seen as shamed by the accusation levelled at him by the bared vagina. To look away therefore has a double register – a refusal to see in order to perpetuate a wilful ignorance and a shaming.

For me that was a very powerful protest... that ends up with the President looking away. Also reinforcing the position that women's bodies are there to be sexualised. Because in that moment, she wasn't there saying "here I am." She wasn't a sexual goddess at that time. She was saying "This has happened!" and he looked away! That was a very pivotal moment. A very telling moment, of how the patriarchal society responds, because that was citizen number one of South African society. When he was

faced with the truth, that ugly, that unbearable truth, that did not even happen to him... It happened to another body outside of him, that first citizen looked away. So that represented a lot about how the status quo truly is, about how the state is actually a repeat offender. About how the state carelessly addresses women
(#RURReferenceList protest interview 2019, Lwandle, protester).

Mampho echoes Lwandle's sentiments but adds that Patricia had felt undignified already, and that there was nothing to dignify, hence the stripping. It is interesting to observe that none of the women associated the bared vagina with the revocation of life since this is the dominant interpretation in the literature on the protesting vagina (e.g. Turner & Brownhill, 2003).

I think for her, right, umm I want to argue that she had then felt the most undignified already. There was nothing for her to safeguard because society and various organs of the state had already deemed parts of her body to be umm undignified. Particularly when you look at the fact that she had to go through medical procedures for that, and the attack in and of itself, the medical procedure she had to undergo, the healing process, involved doctors, seeing that space again right, if I can call it that ... there was nothing... I think at that point everyone had seen it. There was nothing to dignify... to hide anymore. She had already been stripped off her dignity countless times. Umm but also I'd like to think it to say there's a strength in that to say that this body does not make me who I am... umm and so it's also saying my vagina is what I feel is the strongest part of me and so I will reveal my strength. I think on the flip side that could also be umm a possibility... ya. So it's not entirely a weakness but it's also

exposing the strongest part of yourself, ya (NMU in solidarity with

#RURReferenceList protest interview 2019, Mampho, protester)

Mampho talks about how Patricia “*had then felt the most undignified already, and that there was nothing for her to safeguard because society and various organs of the state had already deemed parts of her body to be umm undignified.*” This is in line with Hammers’ and Grosz assertion that the vagina is positioned as part of discourses that have been used to justify women's association with the body and the related reduction of the body versus the mind (Grosz, 1994; Hammers, 2006). Patricia repositions the vagina inside out so that it becomes public. I argue further that Patricia felt that she was going to display back to society the same body that society deems vile, dirty, and unpretty, as she said in her own words: ... *we are talking about people who tell themselves that we must hide this body, respect this body, but they themselves don’t respect this body. I’m gonna show you this body that we are talking about.* This statement is an instance of Patricia rebuffing the negative connotations of the vagina and her re-asserting herself. Invoking Segato (2014), Souza (2019) remarks on the wars waged on women’s bodies by the state and argues that in a political scenario, violence against women’s bodies cannot be reduced to the category of private sexual crimes as this ultimately serves as a way to individualise and privatise women’s experiences and remove them from public accountability. Souza (2019) further argues that violence against the colonised woman’s body during colonialism, even when it occurred in the domestic arena, was never simply private, but an expressive manifestation of a certain political imaginary of conquest, the means through which colonialism was created. Tamale (2004) argues that a dominant system that accepts naked bodies in private but forbids them in public has political motivations, such as policing and controlling women’s bodies. I argue that by bringing her bruised raped body into the public for the president and the nation to see, Patricia brought the

private into the public, because the private is public. The private/public or personal/political dichotomy is an artificial construct intended to support the oppressive status quo (Butler, 1990; Tamale, 2004). Patricia went against this.

4.3.5 Bared Breasts

This subtheme explores the meanings of bare breasts in general and specifically for the women who participated in naked body protests. The breast is the most bared part of the body in the naked body protests that I explore. Bared breasts carry different meanings depending on the place, the time and the age of the people involved. Bared breasts are taboo in many colonial contexts for older or married women but not for young girls. In Christianised and Islam colonial and postcolonial contexts, bared breasts are viewed as taboo in public. In many Western contexts, bared breasts are seen as taboo in the general public and “allowed” only for young women who bare their breasts for men’s pleasure.

During our interview, Busi talked about the bad luck that is associated with moments of darkness. She gave me an example of the Liberian women who protested naked to end civil war in the documentary called *Pray the Devil to Hell*. She explained that the women stripped because there is a belief that “*when a woman strips for you, you will have bad luck*” (#FeesMustFall/Outsourcing protest interview 2019). The curse is so dire that these outcomes would not be limited to the immediate perpetrators only. The curse would have a generational consequence as it would snowball and spill over from generation to generation, including those not yet born. The exposure of the grey hair on their heads by the women is a sign of mourning a dead husband. The implication of this for oppressors is that they would experience mourning in their homes and families owing to untimely deaths (Kunle, 2010).

The function of the breast is assumed to be that of nourishment and giving life. However, when old women who are past the age of breastfeeding expose their breasts, it is considered a curse because no one is supposed to see old women's breasts. When elderly women protest naked and throw off their clothes, they are declaring that "this is where life came from, I hereby revoke your life" (Turner & Brownhill, 2003, p.7). This symbolic gesture apportions the power of life and death to women. Breasts signal the confluence of biology, gender and sexuality and their public exposure is often read through the conflation of these three markers (Morton, 2011). The policing of breasts creates space by marking them as heterosexual, masculine, or as available for the practice of biological necessities like breastfeeding. The excerpt below from a RU Reference list protestor highlights the symbolic power possessed by the bare breast. In addition, she adds that the bare breast is part of tradition and points to the multiple meanings of the bare breast. Sibum reclaims bare breasts as a cultural practice.

Uuum, so... because the RU reference list was a naked protest as well right...umm and for it to be a truly solidarity protest, it had to also be a naked protest. And women in the African continent have utilised you know... a naked protest umm for symbolic power in different parts of the continent, including Liberia etc. And also nakedness in our tradition, like exposing your breasts... with Xhosa culture, with Zulu culture, with the Swati culture, has not been sexualised (#RUMReferenceList protest interview 2019, Sibum, protester).

In Africa, the breast is usually associated with nourishment and giving life. However, Sihle's quote shows that African women can also use their breasts as weapons. *And we realised*

ukhuthi [that] our main weapon is our bodies. And we went out there and we took off our tops (#RURReferenceList protest interview 2019, Sihle, protester).

Thabisa reiterates that as women, they are always oppressed, and although she did not like the idea of stripping, they had to strip in order to fight for their rights.

Errr, truly speaking it is not a good thing to strip as a woman. It is actually a painful thing. There are other ways or methods we could use to fight to get our rights. It's not good for a woman to strip and be naked. You know... a woman [her eyes well up with tears] You know, this part and this part [points at her breasts and vagina], it's painful to see those parts exposed and being published in newspapers... [gets emotional] It is painful, but yes... Why are we always oppressed as women? When a woman wants a better life, she must always fight...but to fight using nakedness eish! I really don't have an exact answer when it comes to nakedness... (Dobsonville protest interview 2019, Thabisa, protester).

Listening to Thabisa's words, I could sense the influence of her older woman habitus on how she felt she should behave as a woman when she said "*Errr, truly speaking it is not a good thing to strip as a woman.*" She wants to fight for her rights, but her socialisation and her habitus frame how she views nakedness.

While the bared breasts represent weapons for FEMEN and for African women protesters as shown in Sihle and Thabisa's excerpts above, they can also be read as a form of disruption if bared for purposes of breastfeeding. Writing about breastfeeding in public and how the law is

sometimes restrictive to women breastfeeding in public, Chantal Morton asserts that “breasts become the metonymic sign for the sexual woman and thus pose a threat to the orderly, non-sexual way of life preferred in our public spaces” (Morton, 2011, p. 602). Breasts are metonymic because they represent male and female sexuality, static identity, women’s subordination to the male gaze and passiveness (Butler, 1993; Grosz, 1987; Morton, 2011). Morton explains that when women breast-feed in public, they challenge these particular constructions of the breast. Breasts bared in public are disruptive and threatening in conventional society because they refuse ownership and containment (Morton, 2011). Bared breasts subvert and resist the usual norms of only baring the breasts in private (Butler, 1990). Lucy’s assertion below is an indication of this subversion and shock to the system. When I asked her for her opinion on why the police on campus stopped shooting at students during the #FeesMustFall protest when they went topless, she responded as follows:

I think it was, I think it was shock...because there’s this thing of you know, we’re a country and perhaps maybe even a world that sexualises women’s breasts. And at that point in time perhaps it was a thing of you’re seen more as a sexual being than you are seen as a protester. So it was just so shocking that how can we just easily go naked like that, you know. So I think for the most part it was shock. And I think what then came in was the stereotypical response of seeing a naked person, we look away. We had that... there’s this one picture where there’s one police who was looking to the side, but his gun was still pointed at our direction [smiles]

(#FeesMustFall/Outsourcing protest interview 2019, Lucy, protester).

The behaviour of the police looking away from the women's breast could also stem from their habituated behaviour. Layton (2006) posits that, one's upbringing and background become internalised or habituated into the way one thinks and acts, which could explain the police men's behaviour. The police's act of looking away also talks to Wetherell's affective practice, where affects can sometimes come uninvited (Wetherell, 2014). The affective shock that engulfed them when they saw bared breasts was not planned. It is a normal day-to-day social practice to look away when we see a naked person in public, hence their spontaneous reaction of looking away from the women's breasts. Lunceford (2012) notes the ambiguous nature of the exposed breast. He argues that the breast can be seen for its breastfeeding function or as a disruptive weapon against patriarchy. At the same time society or the police in the current study, may see it for its sexual nature, hence the looking away from the breasts as narrated by Lucy *"there's this one picture where there's one police who was looking to the side, but his gun was still pointed at our direction."*

4.3.6 Conclusion

This subsection has illustrated that women's naked body protests are not just vain protests. They have subversive meanings and they portray different messages depending on what the protest is about. Various body parts including buttocks, the vagina and breasts were discussed with the view to trace their subversive nature. The affects that came out of the exposure of different body parts are shame, fear and shock. The exposure of the buttocks resulted in affects of fear and shame for the onlookers. Here the women repurpose the affects that they are made to feel by their oppressors. This suggests that they shame them with their shame. In a similar manner, the exposed vagina resulted in affective shame and fear in the perpetrators. These affects worked to re-script the discourse of shame and fear that is associated with

women and placed it on the men (Misri, 2011). Young (2020) argues that as a political intervention, the naked body in protest is manifestly legible. It presents a confrontation with the constructions of vulnerability and the clear defiance of the subject whose voice it carries in its exposure of an unjust and violent public sphere. This subsection has shown how the women shamed their oppressors by throwing back the shame in their faces. The women have placed curses on the oppressors through the exposure of certain body parts. At the same time, the women have re-asserted themselves, resisted oppression and claimed back their agency through their naked bodies in protest (Butler, 1990; Tamale, 2016). They re-script both the body and the body politic.

Part Four

4.4 The Afterlife of Naked Body Protests

Part 4 of the findings examines the afterlife of transgressive naked body protests. It explores how life has been in the time following the protests for the women who have taken part in naked body protests. There is little that is written about the psychological aftereffects of protest and the afterlife of the protest is often overlooked. Social movement scholars have theorised many cultural concepts to explain social movement mobilisations. These explanations have often stressed the cognitive and rational aspects of mobilisations (e.g., Von Holdt et al., 2011). However, they have often overlooked the emotional and psychological aftereffects of protests (Brown & Pickerill, 2009; Jasper, 1998). The current analysis relies on Rosi Braidotti's concept of the undutiful daughter to think about the psychological afterlife of naked body protestors. Braidotti advocates for difference, rebelliousness and unfaithfulness. She argues that difference is generative and driven by an affective energy that opens conditions for change. The study offers that this is the quality being displayed by the women who participate in naked body protests. The analysis is also based on Foucault's assertion that one who speaks frank truth to power, puts their life in danger by so doing, and could be punished for that or get rewarded if the authorities are not offended by such truth. Similarly, I follow Sara Ahmed's contention that women who say 'no' or wilful subjects (Hartman, 2019) who generate negative affects, make meaning of the afterlives of naked protests. I give accounts of the experiences endured by women protesters since their participation in naked body protests. These range from continued shaming by their communities, being arrested by police, expulsion from educational institutions and psychological distress. Moreover, the data suggest that women who protest against gender-based violence appear to receive heavier sanction compared to those who protest in causes that do not centre gender. Positive

experiences include being granted basic housing, access to funding for education and institutional responses in the form of anti-sexual harassment policies.

4.4.1 Analysing Accounts of Naked Body Protestors

I first analyse the mental health experiences of the women after participating in naked body protests. This is followed by the shaming that the women experience from society. Finally, I look at how the women speak truth to power.

4.4.2 Mental Health Aftereffects

In April 2016, the students at Rhodes University engaged in parrhesia and initiated a poster campaign called chapter 2.12. This was to get the attention of the university's management on the rape culture that was prevalent on campus. The campaign was also to make management aware that the university's sexual harassment policies were inadequate. The university's campus protection unit responded by removing the posters. Due to the frustration of their pleas falling on deaf ears, the students staged a topless naked protest. This was to compel university management to listen to their grievances. The women rejected the phallogentric and patriarchal view imposed on women and staged a naked body protest (Irigaray, 1977; Matich, Ashman, & Parsons, 2019). As 'undutiful daughters', the women fearlessly spoke their truth regardless of the severe consequences. Gayatri Spivak challenges Western representations of the subaltern as a victim of colonial or patriarchal domination (Spivak, 1988; Zembylas, 2018). She argues that the subaltern speaks all the time, but Western history has made her mute (Spivak, 1999). She argues that it is not a matter of not speaking, but of being heard or listened to. We see the women protesters resorting to

disrobing as a last resort to be heard. Naked protests can thus be seen as a language of the subaltern and the wilful subject.

Lolly is one of the women who went topless at the naked body protest against the rape culture on the Rhodes campus in 2016. When I met her at her apartment in Makhanda, she was wearing a red, white and black traditional healer cloth, and had beads on both her wrists and her ankles. It was not clear if she became a traditional healer after the protest. She welcomed me with some chai tea. During the interview, she smoked a hubbly bubbly, and swore a lot. She exuded a lot of confidence and behaved as an undutiful daughter. Lolly recounts how she herself went through a mental breakdown for a couple of weeks, following the protest. *Umm, I think I just slid into a depressive state umm, and I was like that for a couple of weeks... for longer even* (#RURReferenceList protest interview 2019, Lolly, protester).

The choice of words that Lolly uses is important. She does not want to directly say “*I got depressed.*” Instead, she says “*I think I just slid into a depressive state.*” Huckin (1997) argues that certain labels may carry negative connotations. Lolly may not want to label herself as depressed, because of the negative connotations it carries in society. However, Lolly is also signalling the emotional toil and costs of resistance. Writing about the Dobsonville protesters and their accounts in *Ukuhamba Ze!*, Young (2020) explains that the meanings associated with conscious nakedness are complicated. Unlike the passive position of the painterly nude, the agency involved in public nakedness may produce for the subject herself both a sense of empowerment and a loss of self (“I don’t know who I was”). She explains that the testimonies of the *Ukuhamba Ze!* women suggest that the transporting sense of power that accompanies acts of resistance also comes at a cost. For Lolly, the cost

came in the form of sliding into a depressive state. The transgression can be felt so intimately that it fundamentally impacts the women's sense of self (Young, 2020). When I asked Lolly if she got any help or if she spoke to anyone about her mental state during that period, she responded as follows:

My friend ya... My friend would say "Oh, let's go" and then I told her... I told her and she was like "stay at home dude, because you have to be alive at the end of this thing." And that's the thing... is that we have to be alive. We have to continue. Our world stopped, but the university's doesn't (#RURerenceList protest interview 2019, Lolly, protester).

Here, Lolly points to the power of institutional life and its recalcitrance in the face of resistance. The individual cost of resistance against institutions is mental health difficulties. Self-preservation is an important aspect of resistance. This preceding excerpt also indicates that the undutiful daughter knows that change often comes with pain. Braidotti (2010a) explains that change is a painful process, but this does not equate it with suffering, nor does it warrant the politically conservative position that frames all change as dangerous. The point in stressing the difficulties and the pain involved in the quest for transformative processes is rather to raise awareness of the complexities involved – the paradoxes that lie in store – and to develop a nomadic ethics of sustainability (Braidotti, 2010a, p. xii). By nomadic ethics of sustainability, she refers to fluidity based on courage, resisting being weary of burnout and being gentle with oneself. It is to be sustainable or if one burns out, to take time out, walk away for a while to heal and recover.

Below Sihle narrates how she and other women were left emotionally drained after the #RURReferenceList protest. There are considerable emotional costs involved in the very act of taking a stance of resistance on an issue, particularly when one is opposing the dominant beliefs of society. One of these costs is emotional burn-out (Brown & Pickerill, 2009). Constantly feeling ‘different’ and apart from society or the university in the case of Sihle and other protesters, adds a particular emotional pressure to activism and requires a high degree of emotional reflexivity and support in order to overcome or cope with this dissonance (King, 2005). It appears that the protestors did not have adequate support and this resulted in emotional drainage. Among the emotions expressed by Sihle, Beauty and Lwandle in the following excerpts are emotional fatigue, infuriation, emotional scarring and deep depression.

And my involvement in that protest was very deep for me. It was not just being in solidarity. So, I think after that ... that day, a lot of us were just drained emotionally. We were very, very tired emotionally. Umm and the worst thing that the university could possibly do, they took out an interdict against the students... and umm my name was there. And I ... I... I was shocked! Really. More than anything. At the most, I was very, very shocked more than anything. Because we had just exposed ourselves. We had just done the most courageous things in front of everyone. And instead of sitting down, with, with, with the students, they took out an interdict (#RURReferenceList protest interview 2019, Sihle, protester).

I think I'm just more infuriated, but my infuriation has taken a different shape over the years. Umm in 2017, I was infuriated because now I'm out of this university but I'm still carrying all of the scars that came with that protest and nothing came out of

it except the fact that we made it known to the world that this is what's happening on our campus and our management is literally firing shots at us. And they are busy with the perpetrators to an extent where all the people who were on the (perpetrator) list were taken to a safe house off campus, so that the police could shoot at us without worrying about harming them; very, very ironic (a sense of hurt in her voice)

(#RURReferenceList protest interview 2019, Beauty, protester).

Beauty foregrounds her level of anger by using the word infuriated, not angry. Huckin (1997) postulates that foregrounding refers to the writer/speaker emphasizing certain concepts or words by giving them prominence. According to Young (2020), the naked protests at Wits, Rhodes and other campuses in 2016, drew attention to the shocking prevalence of rape on campuses and the apathy universities have towards rape culture. Beauty's account is evidence of this apathy. She observes *I'm still carrying all of the scars that came with that protest and nothing came out of it except the fact that we made it known to the world that this is what's happening on our campus and our management is literally firing shots at us.*

Like Lolly, Beauty who participated in the same protest, experienced mental health aftereffects that resulted in hospitalisation for three days. Brown and Pickerill (2009) advise that protesters must acknowledge that protest encounters are emotionally laden, relational, hybrid, corporeal and contingent. This affective complexity is evident in the accounts by Beauty, Lolly and Lwandle. This also calls attention to the cost that comes with protest and resistance (Young, 2020). In the case of these women, their mental health was affected.

Umm, I was heavily affected by it... I was hospitalised umm for three days at (mentions name of hospital). And what had happened was that I went into a type of shock where I was just unresponsive. My ... my warden at the time... I don't know what had happened but my warden at the time came into my room for one reason or the other at res. Umm apparently one of my friends at res had come to my room umm coz she had seen me walk in but I didn't seem like myself. And she followed me into the room. She says I just sat on the bed and I just zoned out, and I would not respond to anything. So, she called my warden and then my warden decided to call the ambulance. The ambulance umm took me to hospital and I was hospitalised for three days (#RURerenceList protest interview 2019, Beauty, protester).

Lwandle was similarly hobbled in the aftermath of the protest.

I must say that because I was going through this tale spin, that for me the rape protest was so personal that I lost myself in it...I remember this other time, I was in my room, and I could not move... I remember my best friend realised I didn't pick up my phone. She called my warden. And then she came and looked for me. And then she saw me, and then she just got into bed and just said "It's OK!" She could sense. And I just cried [says it in a whispering voice]. She knew also what had happened to me in the past...(#RURerenceList protest interview 2019, Lwandle, protester).

Like Beauty and Lolly, Lwandle experienced emotional trauma as a result of her participation in the naked body protest. For Lwandle, participation in this protest was personal and particularly triggering because of a prior experience of violation. It seems that she and other

women protesters hoped to have rape culture eradicated so that they could have closure and heal. Moreover, they hoped that the next generation of women do not have similar experiences. However, as Braidotti (2010a) suggests, there is a cost to change and this may be psychological or otherwise.

In an interview she had with the SABC on the 19th of March 2020, Simamkele Dlakavu explained that protests are often romanticised, but they come with personal costs. She observed that the psychological trauma that leaves those on the frontlines of these movements damaged and scarred for life is not often highlighted. She urged that “when we think about these protests, we need to understand they came with a cost and this has not been resolved...some are in mental institutions, some in prison” (Mekuto, 2020). Patricia’s cost of the naked body protest came in the form of being shunned by her community. When I spoke to her about her experiences since the naked body protest, she told me how people in her community would talk about her whenever they saw her passing by after the naked protest. She has been body shamed and ridiculed wherever she goes, but like the undutiful daughter that she is, she consoles herself that people will eventually forget and talk about something else, and life will go on as usual. She indicated that after the protest, she had hoped to get assistance from the presidency for the costs of her medical procedures and scarring. However, this did not happen.

Not even one person talked to me. We are dealing with those consequences of what happened at the Summit, coz people can recognise you in taxis, and they start to chat about you! These are the kind of things we have to deal with. At the location, when they are drinking, they will point at you when you pass and say “This is that one who

undressed.” Then they take out their phones and say “we mean this one, you see her?” You are passing, going home, people they will see you!” At the Summit I was even stopped by big body guards, as no one wanted to talk to me or help me. I was hoping that other women would help but that did not happen (#Gender Based Violence Summit protest interview 2019, Patricia, protester).

As she spoke, I observed intensive pain in her eyes. This suggests that these everyday experiences of aggression are hurtful to her. Like Lolly and the other women protesters at Rhodes, Patricia also had a ‘mental breakdown’ for some time. In trying to cope with psychological turmoil after the naked protest, she went to her diseased grandfather’s house.

I went to my grandfather’s house. I wanted to see his pictures. I wanted to burn impepho (incense), and all of those things I grew up with. I wanted all of those things like now, now, now! [she says these words with passion] Like I had to go home. And at work they gave me two weeks and I stayed at home. I didn’t like it because when you are alone you lose your mind. Sometimes you can feel like your mind is going somewhere, so I came back (#Gender Based Violence Summit protest interview 2019, Patricia, protester).

Like Patricia, Liz also experienced the aftereffects of people talking about her and taking out their phones to look at pictures of her to confirm her identity in online pictures when they saw her passing:

I remember there were days when I was walking in Braamfontein and people were looking at me, and I asked myself why they are looking at me. When they were looking at me they would say “Nguye lo mama” (“It is that woman”). Sometimes I would go and work in Parktown, sometimes in [... residence name], they would not tell me but I could see that they are talking about me. They would be saying to themselves it is that woman. They would even take out their phones and look at them and say “It is really her!” It used to upset me, but not so much because I told myself that I am fighting for my rights (#FeesMustFall/Outsourcing protest interview 2019, Liz, protester).

Although Liz explains that it used to upset her when people discussed her when she passed, she quickly consoled herself - *I told myself that I am fighting for my rights*. Patricia also consoled herself that people will forget about her and talk about something else. This suggests that these women’s orientation is the one of undutiful daughters who are aware that change comes with pain (Braidotti, 2010a).

The data examined above suggests that the protests had long-lasting psychological effects on some of the women. However, as Braidotti explains, the undutiful daughter is a figure of defamiliarisation. She describes defamiliarisation as an ethics of freedom; a way to think about difference as creative and productive. Through naked protests, Lwandle, Lolly, Sihle, Patricia and Liz evolve from the normative vision they have become accustomed to (Braidotti, 2010a). Braidotti points out that change is a painful process. The fact that Lwandle took part in this protest against rape was simultaneously difficult and liberating for her. Despite the painful aftereffects of their protests, the women refuse institutionalised

patriarchal habits of being obedient and docile oppressed women. They refuse silence against the rape culture on campuses and elsewhere.

4.4.3 Shame

In this section, I discuss the shame felt by the women protesters themselves and the shame foisted on them by members of society after their participation in naked body protests. I begin with an account of Thabisa's experience. When I met Thabisa, one of the 1990 naked women protesters, she looked strong and healthy, and exuded real confidence. During our conversation, she told me that although she ended up being allocated a housing site, she worries about how her grandchildren will view her for protesting naked.

Just imagine. Today, I am watching this video with you, let's say you are my granddaughter. Tomorrow I will be watching with your child..." But granny was crazy! To go naked? ... "Look at her" Now they speak modern English [smiles] "What was she trying to do? Then when you try to discipline them..." (Dobsonville protest interview 2019, Thabisa, protester).

Huckin (1997) explains that the tone of the speaker or writer plays a role in the point they want to make. Thabisa's tone suggests that she feels guilty and ashamed of her actions. The aftereffects of her protest being captured in a video recording is that it is potentially available for discovery by her grandchildren. She fears that her grandchildren will not respect her if they see that she was a naked protestor. Thabisa had an affective sense of shame in the aftermath of her protest. In the video of *Ukuhamba ze!* where she was interviewed by Mainguard, Meintjes and Thompson (1995), she observes that she explained her behaviour to

her children as follows: *I had to strip to fight the police. I always ask myself a sorrowful question. I tried to explain to my kids why I stripped. I was trying to fight for them so that they could find their home* (Mainguard, Meintjes & Thompson, 1995). Therefore, even as Thabisa felt a sense of shame that her offspring would see her naked, she also recognised that the protest was for her children and grandchildren's legacy. Contextualising her protest across time from 1995 to the time of the interview in 2019, Thabisa's shame could be attributed to patriarchy back in 1995. In 2019, we see an old woman thinking about her nakedness from the historical vantage point of old age. Resistance is not the same for the women across temporal planes. In 1995 the women might have been gripped by shame for their naked body protests, but this is not necessarily the case for the younger women who protested naked in 2016.

Tomkins (1962) describes shame as a negative affect. Shame can also be described as an intense negative emotion accompanied by a negative evaluation and beliefs of the self (Benetti-McQuid & Bursik, 2005; Fullagar, 2003). Miller-Prieve (2016) explains that these negative evaluations of the self are in response to violating a societal or group norm. When an individual does not meet certain expectations set by themselves or societal norms, it can elicit feelings of shame. In society, women are the ones who usually experience this shame as they are generally judged harshly (Miller-Prieve, 2016). This may explain why Thabisa, Mariam and Paulina felt so ashamed of their participation in the naked body protest. Mariam and Paulina voice a similar affect of shame in the excerpts below:

I was not even thinking that by the way, I am a woman and I am naked. I had lost myself for a while because what was happening had disturbed me. I also had a lot of

strength and power, but I was very hurt. I had forgotten that as a woman, I wasn't supposed to walk amongst people naked (as she says this, she puts her hands around her vaginal area in a bid cover it) (Dobsonville protest video 1995, Mariam, protester).

Everyone wanted to know what our problem was. You would explain but people didn't have the same spirit as we did. There were no painful memories as we had. People thought we were mad to strip off being adults...I tried hiding behind other people because I was afraid of my husband seeing me (Dobsonville protest video 1995, Paulina, protester).

Even my parents, when seeing me in these wars... they will understand that it was a struggle, realising I was deeply hurt (as she says these words, she starts crying with pain, tears roll down her face and she puts her left hand on her face) (Dobsonville protest video 1995, Mariam, protester).

Mariam's observation that *I had forgotten that as a woman, I wasn't supposed to walk amongst people naked*", and Paulina account that *"I was afraid of my husband seeing me"*, and Mariam cries out *"Even my parents, when seeing me in these wars... they will understand that it was a struggle*, indicate how successful patriarchy has been in conditioning the women to internalise the disciplining gaze of patriarchy which demands shame. The women feel ashamed of their naked body protest. Mariam goes to the extent of covering her vaginal area as she expresses her affective shame. However, at the same time, it can be argued that their naked body protest was a "resistance against the state and the various institutional locations

of patriarchal repression and violation” (McFadden, 2005, p. 9). It is therefore possible to both feel shame and pride at one’s nakedness as taking a stand against oppression.

Bourdieu (1984) saw affect as an unreflective bodily response divided into pre-existing universal types such as joy, anger and grief. His interest was in how the natural bodily force could reinforce the more unreflective and non-conscious aspects of habitus. For instance, disgust, anxiety and shame, would encourage the kind of practices of habitus that keep people within familiar routines, discouraging transgressions and reinforcing established inequities and patterns (Layton, 2006; Wetherell, 2014). This is similar to keeping these women subordinate under patriarchy. In the above excerpts where the women spontaneously expressed their shame regarding their naked body protest, Mariam even shielded her vaginal area with her hands without thinking. This is one of the ways in which habitus plays a role in ensuring that women obey the rules, including patriarchal rules.

Apart from dealing with the community trying to understand what they were going through at the time, and even being labelled mad, the women have to deal with the fact that their nakedness was videoed, and will be on video archives for posterity. Twenty-nine years later, their archived naked body protest is still being referred to. Al-Kassim (2006) observes that their nakedness was recorded, broadcast and mediated in a way that exposes them to the repetition of their nakedness in public and as public record. My own research process required the women to watch their protest yet again. While the repetition of their nakedness exposes the women to heightened negative affects, it also includes positive affects such as pride. Importantly, it stands as an archival record of how they had to fight for housing. Similarly, the more recent protests against police violence during the fees and gender-based

violence demonstrations will serve as a history making moment of women continuing a tradition of disobedience. While the protestors assented to the *Ukuhamba Ze!* documentary, one sees the ambivalence of exposure in the example of Paulina who tried to hide behind others so that her husband could not see her. Mariam notes *Even my parents when they see me in these wars, they will understand that it was a struggle*, and she cries in pain.

Importantly, Mariam does not succumb to her shame since she observes that her parents will understand that this was a struggle. In war, non-normative behaviours are common.

Although some of the Dobsonville women experienced shame, their nakedness became an effective and affective intervention, which brought the police to a standstill and made some of them retreat and refrain from demolishing their shacks. Al-Kassim (2006) argues that when wronged, the injured party may expose themselves to show what the other's harm has wrought. The bare body of the wronged, especially the bare body of an elderly woman or mother, holds a mirror to the shame of the wrongdoer or perpetrator and materialises it in the visual field. In this sense an affect becomes a sign. The women's bare bodies bring shame to their wrongdoers (Al-Kassim, 2006). According to Diabate (2020, p. 46), "in seeking to inflict shame on the police, the women are liberally sharing their own feelings of humiliation". Ahmed explains that "emotions are not simply something 'I' or 'we' have. Rather, it is through emotions, or how we respond to objects and others, that surfaces or boundaries are made: the 'I' and the 'we' are shaped by, and even take the shape of, contact with others... the surfaces of bodies 'surface' as an effect of the impressions left by others" (Ahmed, 2014, p.10). This is to suggest that in as much as the police made an impression on the protestors, they too in turn left their imprint on the police officers and those who continue to engage with the protest archive. Although Mariam and her fellow protesters feel ashamed of their naked body protest, when they confronted the police with their nakedness, it was their

way of shaming the police. Young (2020) asserts that by exposing their bodies, the women confront the police with their abjection and expose the men as perpetrators of acts of inhumanity. She explains that the shame inheres in the violation of the policemen's gaze, as well as in the destruction of the women's homes. The shame that these women felt when their shacks were being demolished and the shame they felt when they had to strip naked to defend their homes, is similar to the shame that the police officers had to contend with when confronted with the violence of the actions reflected in the protestors naked bodies.

According to Silvan Tomkins (1962), shame is one of the primary negative affects. Ahmed defines shame as an "intense and painful sensation that is bound up with how the self feels about itself, a self-feeling that is felt by and on the body" (Ahmed, 2014, p. 103). She further observes that when shamed, one's body seems to burn up with the negation that is perceived (self-negation). Ahmed (2014) asserts that shame impresses upon the skin, as an intense feeling of the subject being against itself. This feeling of negation, which is taken on by the subject as a sign of its own failure, is usually experienced before another, hence the women were gripped by affective shame in front of the onlookers when they protested naked. At the same time some of the policemen were filled with shame when they saw the naked bodies of the women, some of whom were elderly women, hence they retreated and refrained from bulldozing the shacks. This is illustrated by Lisa when referring to the police. *Oh, they are afraid of naked women's bums and breasts, let us strip* (Dobsonville protest interview 2019, Lisa, protester).

Liz, an elderly woman who is part of the cleaning staff at the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits), protested naked in solidarity with the students at #FeesMustFall and Outsourcing. Liz

explains how she was shamed and ridiculed by a young boy in her neighbourhood. She also talked about how she expressed her affect through the naked body protest.

When I came back home, there is a boy who said to me “mama, what you did was embarrassing!” I said to him, “My child, thank you, Nakhensa mina, when I did that, I was fighting for my rights! And I was also fighting for your rights! Going forward, you will be able to get a job! Then he said “but mama, it was shameful, don’t you have shame? I said to him, “No! I don’t have shame; I was angry and I wanted it to be known that I was angry! I wanted that anger to come out!” I want my rights, my children’s rights and yours too!” I think this went on for about a week, until I told him that “hayi! Nndzi tshiketi mina! (Just leave me alone) [smiles] (Liz, protester, 2019).

From an intersectional perspective, we see how Liz experienced sexism and ageism because the boy felt that as an elderly woman, she was not supposed to expose her body in public as “*it was embarrassing.*” Writing about the fat shaming experienced by fat pregnant women they interviewed in Auckland, Australia, Parker and Pausé (2019) explain that the positive feelings of preparedness and anticipation with which participants embarked on pregnancy were diminished as they encountered the negative evaluation of their bodies in the discourses and practices of pregnancy-related health care. Within these discourses and practices participants’ bodies were constructed as a burden to care for and a risk to their babies’ present and future health. The negative evaluation left participants feeling that they had transgressed the norms of healthy pregnancy and responsible motherhood. It was like they had to take the subject position of failed mothers to be (Parker & Pausé, 2019). By the same token, I argue

that Liz could have felt that she had transgressed norms of good behaviour for women in society when she was ridiculed and shamed by the boy for protesting naked, but she did not. Instead, she stood her ground and told the boy that “*No! I don’t have shame; I was angry and I wanted it to be known that I was angry! I wanted that anger to come out!*” She also told the boy that she was fighting for her rights as well as for his.

Below is an account from Busi, who protested naked at the #FeesMustFall protest. She recounts how she had to deal with body-shaming from women after her participation in the protest.

So umm, as...I think the most violent thing is to see the shaming coming from women. Even when I hit moments of debating that topic on social media, a few weeks, a few days after, I was always debating women, and not necessarily men. Which is something that’s very exhausting because I don’t, I’m not excusing men’s behaviour on that, but or maybe condoning it, but I would say I’ll take a different struggle when I fight with a man over those issues. But it becomes something completely different from a woman because you expect them to understand (#FeesMustFall/Outsourcing protest interview 2019, Busi, protester).

Here is another quote where a woman shamed the protesters on YouTube: *LIKE THOSE BOOBS, FEES MUST FALL!!!* (#FeesMustFall/Outsourcing protest YouTube comment, 2016, YouTube user). It is important to note that the comment above was posted by a woman, mocking the protesters and even writing her point in capital letters. Of course, the person's gender is assumed by the name that they use. This body shaming also illustrates that naked

body protests are not always welcomed by society or by onlookers. Ndlovu's (2017) account of #FeesMustFall events explains that their bodies were objectified and sexualised. She shows how their hard work at the picket line had been reduced to discussions about beauty standards and hanging breasts.

In the excerpt above, Busi explains that she was not expecting this body shaming and censoring to come from women. The success of patriarchy in body shaming women is evident when women themselves exercise the oppression on one another. The use of the word "violence" to explain the shaming that comes from women is key here and can be seen as the internalisation of patriarchy. The woman commenter from YouTube used capital letters to make sure she drives the message home. Busi has framed (Huckin, 1997) her words such that they paint a clear picture of the hurt, harassment and damage this body shaming does to the women, especially when it comes from other women. Patriarchy has been so insidious that even young boys feel they have the right to reprimand older women like Liz by telling her that *what you did was embarrassing!* Just like women can internalise patriarchy, young boys might be seen as patriarchs in training and as equally capable of enacting patriarchy.

After the naked body protest at #FeesMustFall, there were many comments online as the protest was filmed and placed on YouTube. Like the Dobsonville women, their nakedness will permanently be on the online video archives. Their predicament is worsened by the fact that videos can now be placed on internet platforms where everyone has access anytime. Below are some of the body shaming comments that were directed at the women by different YouTube users following the #FeesMustFall and outsourcing protests.

Fees must fall, but clothes must stay on...zero need to show off mkhabas (big stomachs)!

A note to ugly people, don't protest nude please. Thank you!

Damn, those chicks look horrible!

Fanghanel (2020) asserts that most naked body protests staged by groups like FEMEN and Slutwalk, usually mobilise thin, white, attractive able-bodied naked women. Mobilising such women gives us a commodified version of the naked protest, one that is easy to consume, is titillating and is complicit with capitalism. Since the black woman's body is already historically positioned as ugly, fat and available, it attracts more censorship and violence. It is not surprising then, to have shaming comments from that public such as *zero need to show off mkhabas (big stomachs)!*, *note to ugly people...*, and *... those chicks look horrible!* In addition, if we see body shaming as an investment in clothed bodies that project successful modern subjects (Coly, 2015), we can see shaming as a postcolonial malady that is always imbricated with coloniality.

Protesting naked in public is already transgressive, but protesting naked with bodies that are perceived to not be aesthetically pleasing to the eye is taking the naked protest to another level of transgression (Fanghanel, 2020; O'Keefe, 2011). As Bourdieu (1984) explains, habitus is constituted through human practice. This means that habitus is dynamic and always subject to alteration or modification (Gould, 2009). This alterability enables protesters to go against the norm by using naked body protests to claim back their agency, regardless of how their bodies are perceived by society.

At the time of the #FeesMustFall naked body protest, comedian Skhumba Hlophe also body shamed the women in an online clip. He likened them to South African Social Security Agency (SASSA) applicants, suggesting that they are grandmothers (Times Live, 2016). The clip has since been removed after a public outcry about his comments.

Please don't show your boobs. When a boob shows, it should look like a tennis ball. These females are showing hanging boobs that look like wet all-stars without shoelaces. Others have big tummies with silver stripes. A student with a silver stripe? With boobs hanging all the way to the belly. Please put your clothes on (Times Live, 2016).

Skhumba's joke along with other people's comments are loaded with historical and collective traumas that remind us of the low value assigned to black women and the policing that they are subjected to. Moreover, such comments illustrate the experiences of black women living at various intersections of sexism, classism and heterosexism (Thomas, Joseph, Williams, & Burge, 2018). These comments are also connected to a long-standing history of the representation of the bodies of black women (Lewis, 2011; Lugones, 2010; Mazibuko, 2018). The body shaming and the mocking of the women and their naked body protest takes away from the message that women were intending to portray. This has the effect of trivialising the protest and portraying the women as irrational, wild and in need of civilisation (Lugones, 2010). The shaming of these women's bodies indexes the patriarchal gaze that forces women to only reveal their bodies for the pleasure of men. It also speaks to what type of body is deemed attractive and not (Bakare-Yusuf, 2011; Jimlongo, 2018; McFadden, 2005; Oyèwùmí, 1997; Sultana, 2013; Tamale, 2016). The women have defied and refuse to

succumb to these tropes any longer. In the words of Busi, who was interviewed on a radio podcast after the #FeesMustFall:

We have refused to have our bodies policed. You are not going to tell me how to respond when I'm emotional, it's my business ...Who said a woman's body is a taboo? We refuse with our bodies, and we refuse to continue living in a society that polices women, and we are going to proceed as such. After this generation of fallism, society will never be the same!!! (Radio podcast 2016, Busisiwe, Wits protester).

Wits university students also had a solidarity protest with Rhodes university students against the rape culture on campuses. The solidarity protest was named #IAmOneInThree. This was filmed and placed online. One commenter refers to the nerve that one of the protesters has to expose her *flat buttock*, while one asserts that *those Breasts....look like drips*. This misogyny once again illustrates that the only bodies that have social permission to be consumed are those deemed aesthetically pleasing by male values and standards. If the black woman's body is exposed for reasons other than to please men in the bedroom, then these women are cast as prostitutes. *Isibindi sokuveza isishwapha se...[mentions the name of one of the protesters]* (*The nerve to expose her flat buttock*) (#IAmOneInThree protest YouTube comment, 2016, YouTube user).

THESE ARE FUTURE PROSTITUTES IF NOT YET... I SEE HOES

ONLY (#IAmOneInThree protest YouTube comment, 2016, YouTube user).

The fact that this commenter decided to write this comment in capital letters illustrates how strongly they feel about the point they are making.

They look like savages though (#IAMOneInThree protest YouTube comment, 2016, YouTube user).

Lol some of those Breasts....look like drips (#IAMOneInThree protest YouTube comment, 2016, YouTube user).

These students are horny (#IAMOneInThree protest YouTube comment, 2016, YouTube user).

The fact that the commenters sexualise the women seeks to detract from the message they want to portray. They are labelled as horny prostitutes with drip-like breasts. This coheres with the historical representation of black women as being wild savages who need disciplining (Gqola, 2015; Lewis, 2011; Lugones, 2010). To describe nakedness by women as savagery is to imbibe colonial stereotypes of Africans as backward. This verbal attack on the women represents the patriarchal mechanism of silencing, shaming and discrediting the women (Gamie, 2020).

Like the rest of the protesters in different naked body protests, Siviwe who participated in the TUT 2019 rape protest, recounts the body shaming she was subjected to.

Ja. Especially on that day. I was... This guy was like "Slender, hai! You are not even slender wena (you). You are thin. You can even see a six pack here. You have a six pack on your chest... hee hee hee. But at least your thighs are nice. I could use some grabbing... heee at least your ass is nice...At least your ass compliments your body. It's not big, it's not small". Yo! I was angry! I was ... I looked at him and I was like "Would you tell that to your mom? Would you tell that to your sister? Why are you doing it to me if you wouldn't do it to your sister or to your mom?" He was just laughing, but you could see that he was ashamed of himself. The grin on his face was not genuine. It was as if he was ... you could see that I hit the head on the nail. And everyone was staring at him like... even the guys they were staring at him like are you crazy? (TUT Rape 2019 protest, Siviwe, protester).

In the excerpt above, Siviwe stands up for herself. Instead of cowering and being silenced by the abusive words from the male spectator, she fought back. It can be argued that she was affected. Her reaction was that of affective anger. Habitually, she would be expected to cower and be ashamed, but she took the opportunity to speak back to the man and re-assert herself. The words of this man are more evidence of men who see women as sex objects for their satisfaction. However, Siviwe was able to flip the shame back at him with her questioning and he ended up being ashamed of himself (Al-Kassim, 2006). Body shaming suggests that there are certain bodies that are deemed appropriate to be exposed and those that are not. Bakare-Yusuf (2011) has argued against politicians who create a causal relationship between women's sartorial choices, sexuality and the potential for sexual violation. Similarly, naked protestors assert that their bodies are not sex objects to be made available for the male gaze under patriarchal surveillance.

4.4.4 Exclusions and Stigmatisation

This subtheme explores some of the aftereffects of speaking truth to power, such as being excluded from university and being stigmatised. The colonial and apartheid history ensured that women were subordinate and seen as lesser beings than men. This history makes it difficult for women, especially black women, to escape stigmatisation and shame, even when they are a post-apartheid generation (Gouws, 2018). By tapping into negative affects and punitive responses, I move away from the tendency towards only romanticising naked body protests.

Parrhesia, or speaking truth to power, refers to speaking one's mind truthfully, freely and transparently, without any fear (Foucault, 2001). Parrhesia in this study, refers to the women protesters speaking truth to power. It means challenging authorities, universities and government housing departments for instance, without fear of how those authorities will react. Institutions that hold power do not necessarily welcome contradiction and resistance. Moreover, institutional power is built over long periods of time and resists challenge. The might of institutional power is often greater than individual people's power and can be particularly pernicious towards black women as they are generally positioned on the bottom tier of social hierarchies of power.

As introduced before, in October 2016, three women students went topless at Wits during the fees must fall protests when police were shooting at the students. The protest was for free and decolonised education. They pleaded with the police to cease fire and the police retreated (Vallabhjee, 2016). Women janitors also joined the protest in solidarity with the students

seeking free decolonised education, eradication of rape on campus and better working conditions for cleaning staff.

When I met Lucy, one of the women who participated in the naked body protest at #FeesMustFall, she looked beautiful and I told her that she looked beautiful. She jokingly responded that many people are surprised when they meet her and say things like *you look so beautiful, you do not look like someone who would strip naked in public the way you did at the #FeesMustFall protest*. She explained that many people still associate feminists, undutiful and rebellious daughters with being unattractive. This association with unhappiness is generally made with women who are considered undesirable to men. ‘Beautiful’ women are expected to be content and bask in the light of admiration and desirability of men. In exchange, they must be dutiful. Lucy challenges this trope. When I asked her how she felt about having protested naked, she responded as follows:

So, I still look back with pride. I’m still proud of us. I’m very proud of what we did then. Coz honestly my other thing is that we could have walked away any day and said ‘this is not my struggle; I’m not going to be a part of it’. But I’m very proud that we sat there and we fought... (#FeesMustFall/Outsourcing protest interview 2019, Lucy, protester).

Lucy recounts how the naked protest has helped her to be brave and enabled her to speak truth to power without fear. She recounts how she lost her father just two weeks before she started a new job and how she had to be strong. Thabisa, Mariam and Paulina had mixed affects about their naked protest. While they felt shame, they are also proud of their protest

and some see it is having been a necessary struggle. Lucy on the other hand, does not have any shame as she narrates below:

So, I think I've always been ... the protest has taught me to consistently stand up for myself. There's also this thing that when you get to workplaces it's like your voice gets swallowed up. You're no longer a human being with feelings, you're just a body that is just there to make some money for someone else, but I've refused that identity many times... Umm, I, I, I still learn to speak out and speak truth to power... and so I don't think it's something I'll ever be ashamed of. Even if it comes up 10 years from now, and whether I'm... I don't know... whether I'm trying to be president of the country or whatever it is, I'm still going to own it (#FeesMustFall/Outsourcing protest interview 2019, Lucy, protester).

The frankness with which Lucy expresses herself in refusing her voice to be swallowed up at work is characteristic of a true parrhesiastes, as she freely speaks her mind without fear of the circumstances (Foucault, 2001). The boldness of the speaker drives one away from their comfort zone, as parrhesia has an unsettling effect on one's interlocutor, with potential to break the bond between speaker and interlocutor (Ramos, Barlem, Tomaschewski, Castanheira & Rocha, 2020), but Lucy is not afraid of this possibility. Her exercise of parrhesia could also be seen as a form of resistance against oppression and her re-asserting herself. Lucy resists social discourses that expect women to be submissive and passive. We see the women refusing to reproduce broader social discourses and critiquing as well as resisting these patriarchal, sexist ideologies (Van Dijk, 1993).

Yonela was interviewed on a national radio station in 2018, to find out how her life was after the naked body protest she participated in back in 2016. She had participated in the #RURenownedList naked body protest. She is one of the women who were dealt a hard blow as she was expelled from Rhodes University indefinitely. Some of the consequences were severe, with some of the naked women protesters being banned from campus (de Villiers, 2017). Below are some of her accounts from the interview with the radio presenter:

I was excluded and given a lifetime sanction from the institution of which you know I'm currently serving as it is. I am banned at Rhodes University but essentially what also the conditions of that judgement entail um... it makes me very... I don't get my credits from the institution. So, I forfeit my credits for... for uh... for the year of 2017. I... it's... there is just a whole lot of conditions that I even don't really understand but what they do uh... do to me and my academic prospects is that they make it very hard for me to go to another institution to continue my studies.

I was doing my third-year last year. I had two exams before you know completing my third year. If I were to go to another institution, I still have to plead my case because my transcript reflects these alleged crimes that I have co... you know supposedly committed. Um... even that on its own you know is a conduct unsatisfactory that has been endorsed against my name.

So, it makes it hard to get into university... Um... and starting all over will mean applying with my matric results as opposed to using my university transcript because no one is going to touch my transcript not even (mentions name of a distance

institution). I can't even do part time as it is because of what is endorsed in my transcript. That's how they literally blocked and made it so hard for me to even maneuver around the academic space in the country (Radio podcast 2018, Yonela, Rhodes protester).

The lengths to which the university went to block Yonela and her educational prospects indicates the pushback of patriarchal institutions in society. It illustrates how these institutions will do anything to keep women who do not toe the line in their place. McFadden (2005) writes that in Zimbabwe, expressions of patriarchal resistance to women's presence in educational institutions emerged in the gang rape of female students and the stripping of any young woman who dared to step outside the bounded notions of hetero-normatively. This included those who defied ideas about decency - by wearing a mini skirt or refusing to conform to the expected traditional decorum of a “decent” woman - the latter being ironically an artifact of colonial (Victorian) invention.

It is also important to note that a small number of white women students participated in the naked body protests in solidarity with black women at Rhodes University. However, their racial identity positioned them differently from black women (Gouws, 2017). As Mazibuko (2018) points out, two of the black women (one of them Yonela) involved in the naked body protest under the hashtag #RUReferenceList were expelled from the university for life. The harsh response against these women is not the experience of the white women students who also participated in the protests. She further observes that white women's bodies symbolise fragility, innocence and purity (Mazibuko, 2018). Their bodies are not threatening to the university and do not warrant a harsh response from the institution. As a historically white

university, the bodies of white women belong while black women's bodies sit discordantly (Canham, 2017b; Puwar, 2004). Audre Lorde (1981) points to a longer lineage of the effects of racial differences between white and black women and cautioned that one cannot address racism without dealing with the realities of black women. Gouws (2017) points out that when women students took part in naked body protests both against #FeesMustFall and #RURenewal, to them intersectionality referred to intersectional (interlocking) identities of oppression: race, gender, class, sexuality, sexual orientation, disability and others. When Rhodes expelled the two women students, these women experienced intersectional oppression and exclusion at the levels of gender, race and class. Yonela's experiences epitomise the might of institutional power when it is deployed to silence women who dare to protest boldly.

4.4.5 Conclusion

The central aim of this section was to explore the experiences of naked women protesters after participating in naked body protests, whether positive or negative. This was achieved through the use of interviews, a radio podcast and YouTube comments as case studies. The section also illustrated that because these women have engaged in parrhesia, they risked their lives. Some found themselves being expelled from universities indefinitely; some are continuously being ridiculed by society, while some were allocated basic housing and some managed to spark debate regarding free higher education and gender-based violence. Because they are undutiful daughters, they found the courage to speak truth to power to fight for their rights. The study has shown that even in different times and spaces and for different reasons, women can be undutiful daughters and engage in parrhesia, despite the consequences that may follow. By staging naked body protests, they reject the androcentric and phallogocentric view of the world imposed on women (Irigaray, 1977; Lam, 2020). Braidotti (2010a) points

out that change is a painful process, but the undutiful daughters are aware of this, and they are spurred on to strive for change in the Deleuzian formulation of drive. The section has also explored the different affects the women have gone through during and after the naked body protests.

Chapter Five: Conclusion

This chapter presents the conclusion of the study. It begins with presenting the summary of findings for each of the subsections/parts of the findings and discussion chapter, namely nakedness as decolonial praxis; the psychosocial role of naked body protests; when the body speaks; and the afterlife of naked body protests. The chapter then presents the value and implications of the study, which include the use of data triangulation methods that increased the validity of the results through cross verification from two or more data sources; and the use of a sizeable number of participants, which was necessary given the difficulty of reaching the appropriate type of participants for this study. The historical perspective necessitated by exploring protests from 1990 to as recently as 2019, is another strength discussed here. This is followed by a presentation of the limitations of the study. The chapter next presents the recommendations which include further enquiries into mental health outcomes experienced by protesters in the aftermath of protests and increasing the scope by also researching women protesters from other African countries.

5.1 Summary of Findings

5.1.1 Nakedness as Decolonial Praxis

This part of the thesis focused on the utility of nakedness as decolonial praxis. It explored the reasons why women engaged in naked body protests, while also paying attention to the affects experienced by participants. Through the generative nature of affect, the women protesters disobeyed patriarchal expectations and challenged the status quo. Their rage

against oppressive inequality and violence pushed them to fight for social change and decoloniality. Because affect has the potential to escape social control, this quality created space for counter-hegemonic possibilities and for social transformations (Gould, 2009). Overall, the women believed in the strategic deployment of nakedness as a tactic to work against patriarchal surveillance in the fight for their humanity. For many, the issues they protested were a matter of life and death and nakedness was a way of placing their very bodies on the line. Even though some of the older women protesters later had regrets as a consequence of internalised respectability politics, they consoled themselves that they were fighting for housing for their families and nakedness was a necessary form of disobedience. The younger women on the other hand, did not really experience regret or feel ashamed afterwards. However, they did suffer from the backlash that came from social media users and the knowledge that their naked bodies were in an online public archive over which they had no control. The women's nakedness was recorded, broadcast and mediated in a way that exposes them to the repetition of their nakedness in public and as public record (Al-Kassim, 2006). Notwithstanding these complicated feelings, there was general consensus among participants that the protests were important and had brought them both material and psychological relief. More broadly, if we see nakedness as both a practical and theoretical intervention, the women protestors have been at the leading edge of community and social struggles to decolonise colonial institutions and values and consequently compelled scholars to theorise along with them. By engaging in naked praxis that challenges the very premise of colonial modernity, the women advanced the course of decolonisation.

5.1.2 The Psychosocial Work Performed by Naked Body Protests

Part two engaged with some of the affects evoked by the different naked body protests in order to surface the psychosocial work performed by the naked body protests. The affects include relief, joy, empowerment, self-love, anger and rage, as well as fear. This is aptly captured by a participant that reported that she experienced relief from the pent-up anger that she had harboured because then she was able to say *that person did this to me*. Crossley (2004) explains that engaging in behaviour prohibited by society may provide a psychological feeling of rebellion against dominant social values, which, in turn, creates a sense of freedom, independence and protest. By expressing their anger and rage through naked body protests, the protesting women's bodies were used as vehicles of resistance to dominant cultural norms (Bordo, 1993). The study found that affect is generated in interaction between bodies and thus confirmed the work of several theorists (for instance, Blackman, 2012; Mulcahy & Witcomb, 2018). In one incident at #FeesMustFall, naked women protesters were angered by the presence of the police and their vehicles on campus. This led them to place bloody pads on the police vehicles. This act affectively moved the police and compelled them to move their cars and leave. The departure of the police resulted in the protesting women's affective joy as they achieved what they wanted. For instance, a protester noted that *what makes me happy is really what we achieved, is we got them to remove the nyalas [police tanks] from the piazza*.

Psychologically, as human beings in society, we are always both subject and object. We are shaped by our environment but simultaneously act on that very same environment (Woodward, 2015). The study found that the experiences of rape made some of the protesting women feel weak and vulnerable, but they chose to act and do something about this by taking part in the naked body protests as a way of resisting the suppression imposed on them by the

men who raped them. Butler (1993) argues that the subject is not naturalised, but is constituted by repeated performances. In repeated performances lies the possibility for one to resist prior subject characterisations. Therefore, participants demonstrated the ability to resist victimhood and work towards their empowerment by reclaiming their power through the enactment of naked body protests. New performative possibilities inaugurate new subjectivities.

One of the affects experienced by the women was self-love. The study has illustrated that naked body protests as a response to sexual harassment on campus, expensive and unaffordable colonial education and lack of housing, is an expression of self-love and self-sacrifice. This is aligned to contentions posited by Canham (2017) and Hardt and Negri (2000) that militancy turns resistance into counterpower and transforms rebellion into a project of love. Despite the consequences, the participants of this study loved themselves enough to rebel and stage a naked body protest in order to fight for social change. While there were positive affects that were evoked during the naked body protests (such as love, relief, and empowerment), negative affects such as anger, rage and fear were also evoked. However, I have demonstrated that negative affects such as rage can lead to positive change. The women's intense anger propelled them to undress and protest naked in a bid to save their homes. At the same time, they engaged in Braidotti's nomadic becoming and defamiliarisation where they dared to do something different and fight for their rights. In relation to the affect of fear, most participants clearly stated that they were not afraid of being shot at by the police. An affect such as fear or anger, is not an object inside the self, but is a relation to others, a response to a situation and to the world (Ahmed, 2014; Wetherell, 2012). What was evident among the protesting women is that their rage and commitment to change overcame fears of the possibility of the police shooting at them.

5.1.3 When the Body Speaks

Part three of the analysis explored the affective messages and meanings communicated by women's bodies in naked body protests. The study found that historically and even in the present, women are treated like second class citizens, and that through naked body protests the women fight against this. This is captured in the assertion by one of the women - "*We refuse to have our bodies policed and we will respond as such.*" In addition, the study found that different parts of the naked women's bodies communicate different affective messages. By exposing their buttocks, the idea is to insult the perpetrators and to make them feel assaulted and defiled in the same way the women are made to feel by their oppressors. The act also has an affective shame and fear that is placed on the men, because many close their eyes so as not to see what is in front of them. While playing on a subversion of dominant scripts, exposing buttocks is also a means through which women play on societal politics of disgust (Fahs, 2017b). The exposure of the buttocks was found to be a way of expressing rage and rebelling against the respectability politics that always tell women to respect themselves and cover up their bodies. The act of exposing the vagina on the other hand is simultaneously about bringing forth life and denying life through social ostracism, which is a kind of social execution. For one woman in the study, the exposure of the vagina called for a level of vulnerability that she was not ready for. At the same time, she explained it as a bold move. This is in line with Tamale (2016) when she says naked body protests have the ability to turn vulnerable bodies into powerful ones. The findings also illustrate that by exposing their breasts, the women protesters were bringing bad luck to their oppressors (Kunle, 2010). In line with Valente (2015), other women said that their breasts were their weapons against oppression.

5.1.4 The Afterlife of Naked Body Protests

One of the findings is that subsequent to the protests, the women protesters received continued shaming from their communities, while others were arrested by police. Some of the women were expelled from educational institutions and others suffered psychological distress. Moreover, women who protested against gender-based violence appeared to receive heavier sanction compared to those who protested in causes that did not centre gender. Positive experiences include being granted basic housing, access to funding for education and institutional responses in the form of anti-sexual harassment policies. The women protesters learned that naked body protests come at a cost. The mental health conditions that were suffered by some of the women were not anticipated. The punitive effects that follow may be understood in relation to Braidotti's (2010a) contention that change is a painful process.

Some of the older women protesters from the Dobsnonville naked body protest chastised themselves because their naked protest appeared out of character and broke some of their own values of respectability. For example, Thabisa noted, *"I always ask myself a sorrowful question. I tried to explain to my kids why I stripped. I was trying to fight for them so that they could find their home."* The younger women protesters were mostly shamed online as their naked protests were captured on YouTube, Twitter and Facebook. However, despite the public shaming, the women protestors spoke back and defended their actions by making no apology for their nakedness. It can be argued that their naked body protest was a form of "resistance against the state and the various institutional locations of patriarchal repression and violation" (McFadden, 2005, p. 9). The women protesters spoke truth to power without fear of the consequences. Some of the women protesters were permanently banned from the university and either struggled or were unable to find places at other universities in the

country. This could be seen as one of the ways that institutions place undutiful daughters in their place.

5.2 Value and Implications of the Study

The study extends gender studies by centering the bodies of women for analytical purposes. This assists in bringing women to the centre of decolonial praxis where men tend to assume the space of dominant interlocutors. Moreover, the study provides a female face to community protests that are generally positioned as led by men. Here, women are not the followers but are central to decolonial struggles against state oppression, neoliberal commodification of education and the ongoing fight against gender-based violence. While protest studies have tended to have a masculine face, this study has provided a decidedly female face and demonstrated the centrality of women in leading social change.

An implication of this study is that more scholarly and policy attention is needed to understand and support naked body protestors as the aftereffects are generally severe. This highlights the backlash of institutions, colonial cultures and patriarchy. Another implication is that psychological support is needed for naked body protesters as they have to live with seeing themselves in online platforms years after the protests. With regards to the Dobsonville women protesters, their 1990 protest was captured on various television channels and newspapers, both local and international. They still have to deal with the consequences of this act and explain to their grandchildren why they had to protest.

Theoretically, while the turn to affect has seen an increased number of studies using the affective lens, this has not been done in relation to naked protests. Ironically, even though psychology as a discipline focuses on emotions, it tends to pathologise these without engaging their subversive potential. This research has therefore contributed to lifting emotions out of psychological obscurity by pointing to the power of rebellious affects. Here, I have not sought to think of affects that cohere with expectations of happiness. Instead, I have centred affects that stand apart and insist on claims to social justice rather than psychological health. Importantly, despite the feminisation of emotions in order to delegitimize them, the study has pointed to the subversive dimensions of affect to suggest that affect is a powerful tool to effect social change.

Although Bourdieu (1984) described habitus as relatively stable, the women protesters have illustrated that one can go against their habituated social position and express rebellious behaviour for social change (Gould, 2009). The implication is that if more of these naked body protests and other forms of rebellion are exercised, the sustained pressure may add to broader African feminist efforts to dismantle patriarchy. The study suggests that naked body protests as another form of social movement, can make people question the status quo and engage in practices that may lead to social transformation (Gould, 2009). The theoretical implication of the performative nature of naked body protests is that it creates an opportunity for women to subvert patriarchal expectations of submissive behaviour and change the status quo altogether. It gives them an opportunity to imagine new ways of being women in society (Tamale, 2020).

With regards to intersectionality, women, particularly black women in South Africa, occupy the world as gendered beings and suffer discrimination based on their gender, race, class and sexuality. Some of the participants in the study are mothers, partners, sisters, students and working/middle class. Intersectionality gives attention to all these identities simultaneously so that black women's bodies can be understood as refracted through these identities. Women are discriminated against because of their gender, class and race. The study has sought to be attentive to these identities and the multiple ways that women protesters subvert and refuse to be oppressed simply because of their identities.

The study utilised data triangulation, which refers to the use of different sources of data (such as interviews, protest videos, texts related to the videos, radio podcast interviews). The research also used theoretical triangulation, approaching the data from varying theoretical approaches which included affect, feminist approaches, intersectionality, and habitus. Flick (2018) postulates that triangulation is a powerful technique that increases the validity of the results through cross verification from three data sources. This resulted in enriched, validated and reliable data on the phenomenon of naked body protests. In this study, theoretical and data triangulation validation methods were applicable. Another strength is that I managed to access some of the women who protested in the 1990 Dobsonville naked body protest and interview them about the events of that day, discuss their *Ukuhamba ze!* video with them, and explore their experiences after the protest. This is important because even though scholars such as Young (2020) and Diabate (2020) have written about this Dobsonville naked body protest, they were not interviewed the women directly. Moreover, interviewing the women almost thirty years after the protest gives valuable longitudinal perspective to the protest and the women's lives in the aftermath of the protest. The type of sample needed for this study is

quite hard to reach, but 16 participants were sourced. This enhances the credibility of the data.

5.3 Theoretical Contributions of the study

5.3.1 Affect

Theoretically, the study contributes towards understanding the affective dimensions of the protesting African body. This is imperative for uplifting discourse from gendered forms of body shaming and victim blaming as well constructions of black women as primitive (Lugones, 2010; Oyèwùmí, 2002). The study contributes to affect theory by illustrating that protests are social practices that are saturated with affect. In affective practice, Wetherell (2012) postulates that affects can have a doubling effect. Theoretically, it can therefore be inferred that it is possible for women protesters to be agentic and take control of their affects by only expressing the affects that bring their gripes to the forefront, such as rage. The bilateral nature of rage is that it has both positive and negative affects such as self-love and rage.

As a discipline, Psychology usually deals with different emotions in ways that either pathologise negative affects and reify conformity towards happiness as health. There is no investment in social justice beyond individual affects (Rappaport, 1981). The effect leads to victim blaming. The dissident potential of negative affects for social change is overlooked. Theoretically, this research has contributed to lifting emotions out of psychological unimportance by pointing to the power of unruly affects. Significantly, despite the feminisation of emotions as a way of delegitimizing them, the study has pointed to the

rebellious dimensions of affect to suggest that affect is a powerful tool that can result in social change.

Lastly, the study has demonstrated the African feminist commitment to the dialogical flows between experience and theory. In this regard, it heeded Gqola (2001), Lewis (2001), McFadden (2005), and Tamale's (2020) call among others, for an attentiveness to how African women theorise in their everyday lives. By homing on nakedness, the study has theorised protest and demonstrated that African women self-authorise through embodied acts in the world. They intervene through disrupting coloniality by recognising how it is inscribed in their bodies through expectations of being proper, clothed, modern women. Instead, they choose unruliness and thus claim ownership of their bodies on their own terms.

5.4 Limitations

The first limitation of this study that is shared by qualitative research is that of generalisability. Qualitative research usually utilises smaller samples and as such the findings cannot be generalised. Generalisability refers to the extent to which findings obtained from a study sample can be applied to a larger population. This meant that the study had low external validity. External validity is the extent to which the findings of research can be generalised outside the sample that produced them (Flick, 2014). However, it was not the intention of the study to get generalisable but rich data that contributes to the understanding of affect and naked body protests. Instead, the findings of the study may be thoughtfully transferred to think about similar spaces in other parts of the continent.

Once off interviews were conducted in the study. As a result, there was no opportunity to obtain further clarity on some of the ideas that emerged as important during data analysis. For instance, one of the participants was a gogo (traditional healer). It only occurred to me at a later stage that she could have embarked on the journey of being a healer after participating in the naked body protests. Going back to her months later to ask about this detail would have felt like an invasion of her privacy. Future research would do well in exploring the relationship between participation in naked body protests and embarking on a traditional healer journey and other health seeking behaviours after the protests.

There were few studies done on affect and naked body protests in the South African context. As a result, there were not many studies with which to compare, making it slightly difficult to identify previous research gaps that exist and need to be investigated further. Lastly, while not necessarily a limitation in and of itself, the complexity of affect theory that comes from the different schools of thought sometimes made it unwieldy to apply.

5.5 Recommendations for Further Research

This study found that from the South African context, men do not take part in naked body protests where they remove their pants and underwear to reveal their nakedness for instance. Male bodies with or without clothes have generally been represented in ways that convey virility, strength, and sexual agency, which is not the case with women. Bordo (2013) adds that for many men, both gay and straight, to be passive in accepting to be gazed at, as is the case in modelling, is incompatible with being a real man. Ndlovu (2017) on the other hand, writes from the South African context that generally, protests are violent, disruptive and

male-dominated. The participants of this study expressed that they would not take the men seriously, and that men usually do not have a reason to protest naked as they are usually perpetrators of oppression. Future studies could explore the gendered meanings that men's bodies have in order to understand why naked chests are unremarked upon and why men generally do not use nakedness as a protest tactic. Another line of enquiry for further research would be to explore if men and women experience and express affect differently. In other words, is affect gendered or is it only read differently by society? Does the fact that women are generally more oppressed than men because of pervasive patriarchy and rape cultures mean that women's affective expressions are any more intense than those of men?

Research rarely focuses on the psychological aftereffects of protests. Social movement scholars have theorised many cultural concepts that they felt explained social movement mobilisations stressing the cognitive and rational aspects of mobilisations. However, they have overlooked the emotional and psychological aftereffects of protests (Brown & Pickerill, 2009; Jasper, 1998). Future research would benefit from enquiring into this issue further. While there might be a number of existent studies on affect in general, there seemed to be a scarcity of research projects on the cost of naked body protests and how to deal with the consequences. Part of this research investigated the afterlife of naked body protests and affect. Some of the women indicated that they burnt incense, others went for counselling, while others closed themselves in and withdrew into themselves. This area is worth investigating further. It would also be beneficial to explore how interviewers deal with the afterlife of the affective registers they experience during and after the one-on-one interviews.

In the literature review chapter of this thesis, reference to naked body protests by elderly women to the gods asking for rain (Nchelenchele), protesting against atrocities in villages or protesting to cease fights between factions was made. However, such protests are no longer witnessed in communities. Are we going to witness newer forms of naked body protests where people take pictures of their nakedness and post them online or send to the president in protest over a certain issue for instance? In these cases, will the premeditated nature of these actions mean that affect is purely conscious and discursive? Future studies would do well to consider other forms of naked body protests like nchelenchele.

5.6 Concluding Comments

The current study explored affective dimensions of naked body protests. The main thrust of the study was to find out about the different layers of affect experienced by women protesters during protests and during our one-on-one interviews. Their stories and accounts were touching and I was affectively moved while conversing with my participants. Their accounts were nothing short of bravery, strength and fortitude and were inspiring. I felt like I was witnessing a new generation of women fighters.

The historical narrative of resistance by the Dobsonville women was particularly moving. Pushed into a corner, they fought back like wounded tigers to claw back their land. What was more emotive, is how mismatched the power balance was, with the apartheid machine fully weaponized and at its zenith. They ate the fire of the wrath of the government of that time. I often fought hard to hold back my tears and my body was often moved by their bravery. In one particular interview with a Dobsonville participant, I felt her pain, rage, frustration, hopelessness and joy throughout our interview. She also felt those emotions all over again during the interview. What I carried home with me at the end of that meeting was her pain. I

was numb! I could not shake myself out of that state immediately. I had to go to church that evening. This incident illustrates how affect and naked body protests have an afterlife that lingers after the protests have happened and move between bodies. In this regard, 29 years after a protest that I did not participate in, I was affectively moved by the power of that protest.

My experience with student protesters was also touching and exposed another layer of affect. As an academic at heart, and a doctoral student, it was only natural for me to empathise with their struggle for free education and justice. The fact that they used naked body protest as a weapon of resistance echoed back to the Dobsonville women's naked protest and also recalled the heady atmosphere of the 1976 youth uprising. Some of the younger women I interviewed have now become household names in the tale of black South African women's stand against inequality, injustice and patriarchy, because of their bravery. Their accounts were perspective-shifting in that they dealt with the status quo and the issues faced by students post-apartheid in a different manner. They offered an alternative to the traditional way of resistance. They opened new depths and powers of the naked body. Having travelled across the country to meet my interviewees, I was engrossed in the transcendental affect of place, time and encounters. This left me with a mix of emotions. I was exhilarated at the thought of younger women once again taking the centre stage in the fight for justice and wrestling back power. I was melancholic about the state of our political landscape that has led students to such desperate attempts at vocalising their plight. The wilful deafness of authorities towards the cries for help from the bodies of students as they spoke was heart rending. I wept often. I wiped my despondency. But it came back in the still of the night. I felt the heaviness of helplessness. Some students later faced academic exclusions for their role in the protests; some were jailed; some lost their prospective employability. I shared their pain in a deep way. I became one with them in body and in spirit as we embraced and sought for hope.

Overall, I learnt a lot during this journey. I made a lot of friends, some of whom I remain in contact. I have cried a lot, and felt sad at times. I have also laughed and felt the most heart-warming joy. I am most thankful for the women I met and the friendships we created! The study further crystallised this notion in my mind: the body is one, the body speaks, and the body is powerful.

...for women, 'narrative' is not always and only, or even necessarily, a speech act. We women signify: we have many modes of (re)dress -Abena Busia

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Participant Information Letter



PSYCHOLOGY
THE SCHOOL OF HUMAN AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT (SHCD)



Private Bag 3, Wits, 2050 • Tel: 011 717 4541 • Fax: 011 717 4559 • E-mail: psych.SHCD@wits.ac.za

Participant Information Letter

Good Day,

My name is Mpho Mathebula and I am a PhD student at the University of the Witwatersrand currently undertaking a PhD research study in the department of Psychology. My study examines the phenomenon of the naked body protest by black women. Specifically, the study will examine the role of naked bodies in protest action, the motivation behind this type of protest and the performative potentialities which may result.

The study aims to explore this phenomenon by conducting individual interviews which will last approximately an hour with identified participants. The interviews will be conducted by myself at a location that will be convenient to you. You have been invited to participate in the study because you meet the criteria of having participated in a naked body protest. Based on this, I would like to welcome your participation in the research study.

With your permission, interviews will be audio recorded. Should you agree to participate, your participation is voluntary, and you will not be advantaged or disadvantaged in any way for choosing to participate or not participate in the study. All your responses will be kept confidential, and no information that could identify you would be included in the final research report. Some of the responses that you provide in the interview will be quoted directly or indirectly in the final written report where a pseudonym will be used to refer to your identity and responses.

The interview transcripts and tapes will not be seen or heard by anyone at the University of the Witwatersrand at any time except by myself and my supervisor. For transparency purposes, your interview transcript will be made available to you for your perusal. Any information that you may or not be comfortable with for inclusion in the final report may be amended in this stage.

The interview schedule contains questions that will inquire about your history of naked body protests and includes questions like the number of protests you have participated in, the issues you were protesting about, what motivated you to remove your clothes during protest.

You may refuse to answer any questions you would prefer not to, and you may choose to withdraw from the study at any point (the data collected at this point will in this regard be discarded and not included for analysis). If you choose to participate in the study please contact me or alternatively leave me a message, and I will contact you within a day or so in order to discuss your participation. My contact details are 072 2756 235 or via e-mail at mathebulam40@gmail.com

Thank you for taking the time to consider participating in the study.

Yours Sincerely,

Mpho Mathebula (Researcher)

Supervisor: Professor Hugo Canham (Hugo.Canham@wits.ac.za)

Appendix 2: Consent Form (Interview)



PSYCHOLOGY
THE SCHOOL OF HUMAN AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT (SHCD)



Private Bag 3, Wits, 2050 • Tel: 011 717 4541 • Fax: 011 717 4559 • E-mail: psych.SHCD@wits.ac.za

Consent Form (Interview)

I, _____, consent to being interviewed by Mpho Mathebula, for her study exploring the affective dimensions of naked body protests. Please tick relevant boxes. I understand that:

- Participation in this study is voluntary. ☐
- I may refrain from answering any questions. ☐
- I may withdraw my participation and/or my responses from the study at any time before the research report is examined. ☐
- There are no risks or benefits associated with participation in this study. ☐
- All information provided will remain confidential, although I may be quoted in the research report. ☐
- If I am quoted, a pseudonym (Participant A, Respondent B etc.) will be used. ☐
- None of my identifiable information will be included in the research report. ☐
- I am aware that the results of the study will be communicated in the form of a research report or journal articles. ☐
- The research may also be presented at a local/international conference and published in a journal and/or book chapter. ☐

Signed: _____

Date: _____

Appendix 3: Consent Form (Recording)



PSYCHOLOGY
THE SCHOOL OF HUMAN AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT (SHCD)



Private Bag 3, Wits, 2050 • Tel: 011 717 4541 • Fax: 011 717 4559 • E-mail: psych.SHCD@wits.ac.za

Consent Form (Recording)

I, _____ give my consent for my interview with Mpho Mathebula, to be audio recorded for her study. Please tick the relevant boxes. I understand that:

- The audio-recordings and transcripts will not be seen or heard by anyone other than the researcher and her supervisor. ☐
- The audio-recordings and transcripts will be kept in a password protected computer. ☐
- No identifying information will be used in the transcripts or the research report. ☐
- Although direct quotes from my interview may be used in the research report, I will be referred to by a pseudonym. ☐

Signed: _____

Date: _____

Appendix 4: Institutional Permission Letter



PSYCHOLOGY
THE SCHOOL OF HUMAN AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT (SHCD)



Private Bag 3, Wits, 2050 • Tel: 011 717 4541 • Fax: 011 717 4559 • E-mail: psych.SHCD@wits.ac.za

Dear Registrar,
Institutional Permission to Conduct Research

Good Day. My name is Mpho Mathebula and I am a PhD student at the University of the Witwatersrand currently undertaking a PhD research study in the department of Psychology. I would like to request institutional permission to interview students who have historically participated in naked body protests on campus. My study examines the phenomenon of the naked body protest by black women. Specifically, the study will examine the role of naked bodies in protest action, the motivation behind this type of protest and the performative potentialities which may result.

The study aims to explore this phenomenon by conducting individual interviews which will last approximately an hour and a half with identified participants. The interviews will be conducted by myself at a location that will be convenient to the participants.

With their permission, interviews will be tape recorded. Should I be granted institutional permission to conduct the research and the participants agree to participate, their participation will be voluntary, and they will not be advantaged or disadvantaged in any way for choosing to participate or not participate in the study. All their responses will be kept confidential, and no information that could identify them would be included in the final research report. Some of the responses that they provide in the interview will be quoted directly or indirectly in the final written report where a pseudonym will be used to refer to their identity and responses.

The interview transcripts and tapes will not be seen or heard by anyone at the University of the Witwatersrand at any time except by myself and my supervisor. Any information that they may or not be comfortable with for inclusion in the final report may be amended in this stage.

The interview schedule contains questions that will inquire about their history of naked body protests and includes questions like the number of protests they have participated in, the issues they were protesting about, what motivated them to remove their clothes during protest etc, etc.

They may refuse to answer any questions they would prefer not to, and they may choose to withdraw from the study at any point (the data collected at this point will in this regard be discarded and not included for analysis). If they choose to participate in the study they may please contact me or alternatively leave me a message, and I will contact them within a day or so in order to discuss their participation. My contact details are 072 2756 235 or via e-mail at mathebulam40@gmail.com

Your students' participation in this study would be greatly appreciated. This research will contribute to the pool of knowledge in the area of naked body protests in the country.

The proposed study aims to explore the phenomenon of naked protests by examining the affective dimensions and psycho-social work performed by this act. Secondly, the study will explore the gendered nature of naked protests to ascertain the meanings assigned to different kinds of protesting bodies. Importantly, the focus will be on the South African context, as not many studies have been done on this phenomenon in the country. Theoretically, the study hopes to contribute towards understanding the affective dimensions of the protesting African body.

I would appreciate it if you could please grant me permission to gain access to the students in your institution to request their participation. This research could possibly be published, and it could therefore be used to add on to the pool of knowledge. Kindly sign below to grant me permission to conduct the study.

Thank you for taking the time to consider giving me permission to conduct my research in your institution.

Yours Sincerely,

Mpho Mathebula (Researcher)

Supervisor: Professor Hugo Canham (Hugo.Canham@wits.ac.za)

Please complete the slip below:

This letter confirms that I, Prof, Dr./Mr/Mrs/Ms, Mx _____, grant
Mpho Mathebula permission to conduct research in this institution.

Signature: _____

Position: _____

Date: _____

Appendix 5: Ethics Clearance Certificate



Research Office

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL)
R14/49 Mathebula

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

PROTOCOL NUMBER: H18/10/22

PROJECT TITLE

Affective dimensions of naked body protests

INVESTIGATOR(S)

Mrs M Mathebula

SCHOOL/DEPARTMENT

Human and Community Development/

DATE CONSIDERED

19 October 2018

DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE

Approved

EXPIRY DATE

07 November 2021

DATE

08 November 2018

CHAIRPERSON


(Professor J Knight)

cc: Supervisor : Professor H Canham

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR(S)

To be completed in duplicate and **ONE COPY** returned to the Secretary at Room 10004, 10th Floor, Senate House, University. Unreported changes to the application may invalidate the clearance given by the HREC (Non-Medical)

I/We fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee. **I agree to completion of a yearly progress report.**


Signature

11 / 11 / 18
Date

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER ON ALL ENQUIRIES