

**“Invading a Sacred Space”: An Exploration of the Meaning Making of Male
Participants of Their Participation in the 2015 Silent Protest against Sexual Violence
at the University of the Witwatersrand**

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Declaration

I declare that this research report is my own, unaided work. It is submitted for the degree of Master of Arts in Clinical Psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other university.

Signed this _____ day of _____ 2017.

Viwe Dweba

Abstract

This study forms part of the broader project by Dr Yael Kadish, aimed at exploring participants' experiences of the annual Wits Silent Protest against sexual violence march. This particular study aimed to explore how male supporter participants in the Silent Protest made meaning of their participation in the protest, how they experienced participation in the protest as men, and to explore the views of the male supporter participants on how the protest can improve the experiences of male supporter participants in order to improve male participation. This study is an exploratory study that made use of a qualitative research design. Six males who participated in the Silent Protest at the University of the Witwatersrand in 2015 were interviewed. Participants were recruited on the day of the protest and data was collected using semi-structured in-depth interviews. Reflexivity throughout the research process included considerations of being a woman interviewing men on a relatively sensitive issue, as well as touching on the overlap of advocacy and researcher roles.

Five major themes were derived from the interviews: *Personal Reasons for Participating in the Protest*; *Lack of Knowledge and Understanding of the Purpose of the Protest*; *Sexual Violence Happens only to Women*; *Negotiating one's Sense of Masculinity in the Silent Protest*; and *More Male Faces Needed in the Protest*. These themes illuminated three major findings in this study: The first of these is that the issue of sexual violence was thought by interviewees to be a women's issue. The second is that they often feel that they are unfairly painted as potential perpetrators of sexual assault. Lastly, the third is that participation in the protest appears to be in direct contravention of the ideals of hegemonic masculinity.

Finally, it is suggested that in order to lower societal desensitization and the level of tolerance for sexual violence and to effect real social change, it is important to include all members of society - individuals from all social and gender groups and categories, not just women.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Sexual violence has received a large amount of attention in international and local social research owing to the consistently alarming statistics on the prevalence of sexual assault in our society (Gevers, Jama-Shai & Sikweyiya, 2013; Matthews, Abrahams, Jewkes, Martin, Lombard & Vetten, 2008). News24 reported that 30 069 rapes were reported between April 2016 and December 2016, which translates to approximately 110 reported cases of rape per day (Gqirana, 2017). As alarming as these statistics are, even more alarming is that they only account for cases of rape that are reported to the police. In 2014, only 1 in every 9 rapes was reported (Rhodes University, 2014). This study was conducted against the backdrop of accusations of sexual violence against a number of Wits University lecturers. In 2013, a number of Wits University lecturers were accused of sexual harassment (one of whom was accused of rape) by almost a dozen students. Of the accused lecturers, four were officially charged and disciplined by the university, three were dismissed following the outcomes of their disciplinary hearing and one resigned before any disciplinary action was taken (Gernetzky, 2013). The university's Vice Chancellor, Professor Adam Habib, released a statement emphasizing the university's intolerance for sexual harassment (News24, 2013). Following these disciplinary actions, the Centre for Applied Legal Studies conducted an inquiry into the university's policies and procedures around sexual harassment, with the aim to assess their effectiveness (Gernetzky, 2013). One of the key outcomes of the inquiry was the recommendation that the university adopt a broader definition of sexual harassment that includes a wide range of actions (Goko, 2013). This recommendation was an attempt to address the concern that incidents of sexual harassment were under reported at the university, which was partly owing to its narrow definition (Gernetzky, 2013).

Attempts to address this epidemic have turned towards the complex gender¹ relations that exist at the core of the victimisation of women and children (Truman, Tokar & Fischer, 1996). Many of the anti-rape campaigns and events that have been born out of this increased attention to sexual violence have been focussed on women rather than engaging men as well (Crooks, Goodall, Hughes, Jaffe & Baker, 2007; Katz, 2006; Rozee & Koss,

¹ Unless otherwise stipulated, the researcher will be discussing males/females or men/women when mentioning gender. This is for the sake of brevity and in no way undermines the autonomy or dignity of transgendered or intersex individuals.

2001; Scheel, Johnson, Schneider & Smith, 2001). Common discourses around sexual violence in these campaigns have often centred on women needing to protect themselves from the potential threat of sexual violation at the hands of men (Barone, Wolgemuth, & Linder, 2007). In recent years, this positioning of all men as potential perpetrators of rape against whom women must protect themselves has been challenged by some of the contemporary campaigns aimed at addressing sexual violence (Masters, 2010). These campaigns have largely adopted an egalitarian outlook on the problem of sexual violence.

1.1. The Silent Protest against Sexual Violence

The Silent Protest against sexual violence is a four-year-old annual event arranged by the Career, Counselling and Development Unit (CCDU) at the University of the Witwatersrand. The Silent Protest began at Rhodes University in 2006 in collaboration with the One-In-Nine Campaign, which was a series of political actions held in support of the complainant known to the public as 'Khwezi' in the rape trial against President Jacob Zuma (Rhodes University, 2014). Led by former employee of Rhodes University, Larissa Klazinga, local religious leaders, members of schools and NGO's marched on 26 March 2006 from the Rhodes University campus to the High Court in Grahamstown to demonstrate their camaraderie with women who are vocal against sexual violence (Rhodes University, 2014).

The Silent Protest came into existence at Rhodes University following the aforementioned political actions. It is an eight-year-old annual two day event that is organised by survivors, activists, students, Rhodes University staff members and alumni (Padmanabhanunni & Edwards, 2015; Rhodes University, 2014). At its inception, the Silent Protest had 3 main aims: to increase awareness around sexual violence, to foster solidarity among female survivors and to encourage survivors to break the silence around their experiences of sexual violation (Padmanabhanunni & Edwards, 2015). It has grown immensely since its inception 8 years ago, making it the largest protest of its kind in Africa (Padmanabhanunni & Edwards, 2015; Rhodes University, 2014). Over the past eight years, the protest has expanded to other universities throughout South Africa namely, the University of Kwa-Zulu Natal and the University of Cape Town in addition to the University of the Witwatersrand.

The protest takes place in 3 phases: the morning gathering, the 'Die-in' in the early afternoon and a breaking of the silence in the evening (Padmanabhanunni & Edwards, 2015). The morning gathering entails an early morning assembly in one of the university halls where all participants receive their t-shirts and are made aware of the availability of support services such as counselling at the CCDU (Padmanabhanunni & Edwards, 2015). Those who decide to participate as survivors are given a separate briefing where they are made aware of the various ways in which people tend to respond to the survivor t-shirt (Padmanabhanunni & Edwards, 2015). In order to symbolise those women who are not yet ready to disclose having been a survivor of rape, participants can also opt to have their mouths taped shut and to fast all meals and drinks for the day in solidarity (Padmanabhanunni & Edwards, 2015). Following the morning assembly, all participants march through the university campus. A number of dramatizations take place along the route, depicting various scenarios of victimization and sexual violation in order to help survivors to come to terms with their experiences (Padmanabhanunni & Edwards, 2015). The protesters then disperse, continuing with their day-to-day campus activities while remaining visible throughout the day (Padmanabhanunni & Edwards, 2015).

The 'Die-in' is the second phase of the protest and usually takes place around midday in one of the large halls (Padmanabhanunni & Edwards, 2015). It is an invitation for participants to lie on the ground completely still to symbolise the lives that are lost in some instances of rape (Padmanabhanunni & Edwards, 2015). The third and final phase is the 'Breaking of the Silence' ceremony. During this phase, women are invited to share their personal experiences of having been violated and share to reflect on their experience of the Silent Protest (Padmanabhanunni & Edwards, 2015). The floor is also opened to members of the community and the organisers of the protest.

Participants in the protest can take part in any of the following ways: wearing a solidarity t-shirt, wearing a survivor t-shirt, marching without a t-shirt, expressing their feelings at the art stations at the CCDU, participating in the 'Die In', sharing their story in the play-back theatre, and participating in the debrief session of the play-back theatre. While the protest was created with women in mind, there have been male participants in the protest.

Forming part of the broader project by Dr Yael Kadish that will explore the perceived psychological effects of the *Silent Protest* on participants, this study sought to explore the

experiences of men who participated as supporters in this protest. The focus is on how these participants make meaning of their participation and how this relates to how they make sense of their masculinity. In understanding how men experience the protest, this study sought to understand ways in which more men can be drawn to the protest and how this improvement in male participation can aid the fight against sexual violence.

1.2. Aims

The broad aim of this research project was to understand male participants' experiences of the Silent Protest at the University of the Witwatersrand. Within this broad aim, the study sought to explore some of the reasons for participation and the meaning-making regarding this choice of men who participated in the protest. The study also aimed to understand the feelings that were evoked in male participants on the day of the protest. This in-depth look at the feelings evoked was intended to provide a better understanding of how the experiences of men in the protest might influence their understanding of their role in the prevention of sexual violence. The study further aimed to understand how participating in the protest made male participants feel specifically as men, which would shed light on the relationship (if any) between masculinity and participation in such protests or campaigns. Finally, the study aimed to explore the views of the participants on how the protest can improve the experiences of male supporter participants in order to improve male participation.

1.3. Rationale

It has been well documented that men are often positioned either as perpetrators or potential perpetrators of sexual assault in many movements against sexual violence (Masters, 2010). While statistics convey that women and children are usually the victims of sexual violence and men are usually the perpetrators thereof (South African Police Services, 2012), adopting this discursive stance explicitly or implicitly, alienates men rather than recruiting them as allies in the fight against sexual violence (Masters, 2010). Indeed, because this has been the historical attitude, contemporary anti-sexual violence movements and events actually need to make a *special* effort and take *special* measures to try to mitigate against the historical negativity or indifference expressed towards men, and the attitudes of men that result from this. This alienation of men - and particularly non-perpetrating men - lends itself to a polarisation of the genders, where fighting sexual

violence becomes implicitly synonymous with fighting men. Polarising the genders is therefore problematic as it turns sexual violence into a solely female problem.

While meeting male involvement with scepticism has been a recurring theme in many anti-rape campaigns, there has been a steadily growing focus on the importance of men in these campaigns (Minerson, Carolo, Dinner & Jones, 2011). The engagement of fathers, brothers, partners and male role models of all kinds in campaigns that target patriarchal power dynamics in a non-alienating manner has the potential to create a transformative ripple effect in our society. Patriarchal gender dynamics and the resultant privilege with which men are imbued have their roots in very early childhood (Minerson et al., 2011). The socialisation of boys and girls into their respective gender roles begins in the home from infancy and is further anchored by influences in the community and the media. Fathers, brothers, uncles, male teachers, elders in the community and other men who influence a child's growth provide representations of acceptable forms of masculinity throughout the boy child's life. It is here that the greatest impact can be made in changing the status quo regarding gender-based violence. If men create more flexible, gender-equitable masculinities and model this in their own lives, their sons, brothers, nephews, students and other young boys who are influenced by them can have representations of masculinities that are not dependent on domination for their validity and are therefore intolerant of violence towards girls and women. This will provide a foundation upon which boys (and girls) can build healthy gender relations (Minerson et al., 2011).

Campaigns such as the White Ribbon Campaign and Real Men Don't Rape have a particular focus on engaging men in an effort to address gender-based violence. The White Ribbon Campaign in particular is one of the largest campaigns that involves men and boys addressing the issue of violence against girls and women. Originating in Canada in 1991 and being active in over 60 countries, the campaign's white ribbon represents a commitment by men involved in the campaign to "never commit, condone or remain silent about violence against women" (Minerson et al., 2011, p. 2). Their work is anchored by three tenets: it is necessary to work with men and boys; this work can be effective; and it can be highly impactful and transformative for the lives of boys and men, as well as girls and women. It is important to note that changing the approach to involving men into a more inclusive one that focuses on the positive contributions of men does not in any way equate to diminishing responsibility for problematic behaviours, beliefs and attitudes

(Minerson et al., 2011). However, it is equally important (if not more so at this point) to change the narrative of the blameworthy man if we are to truly connect men with the importance of their role in preventing sexual violence.

This study's suggestion is, therefore, that in order to lower societal levels of tolerance for sexual violence and effect real social change, it is important to shift this almost default view (whether explicit or implicit) of men only as potential perpetrators of sexual violence in anti-sexual violence events, campaigns and programmes. It is more useful to begin from a position of a combined effort from men *and* women when addressing this social problem. The findings from this research will contribute to the body of knowledge on the experiences of males in campaigns against sexual violence. The Silent Protest, being the largest protest of its kind in Africa, forms an important part of involving the male student population in this movement, and it is important to understand how males experience their participation in this protest. As universities form a microcosm of the South African population, understanding this component of male involvement could contribute to understanding male involvement on a larger scale, potentially contributing to the movement gaining more traction.

Finally, there is a compelling argument that can be made for the necessity of an approach to addressing sexual violence in a manner that includes all members of society as equally involved. In order for the fight against sexual violence to gain more traction, it is important that the positioning of men in relation to women in this movement be critically understood. It, therefore, becomes vital that the experiences of and the meaning that is made by men about their participation in this movement be understood. Little literature has focussed specifically on how men experience supportive participation in events, programmes and/or campaigns against sexual violence, making this study an important part of adding to the body of knowledge on this phenomenon and improving upon the experience and inclusion of men in the Silent Protest and by extension, the fight against sexual violence as a whole.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

This chapter is a review of literature pertaining to the topic of this research. It begins by providing the context for this study by briefly discussing South Africa's broader history of violence. It then provides a context for the outlook of this research by tracing the beginnings of movements against sexual violence in society, beginning with feminist thought and weaving into masculinity studies. It also includes both historical and contemporary South African and international literature discussing the role of men in movements against gender-based violence.

The literature that is reviewed in this chapter will show that in recent years, the positioning of men as potential or actual perpetrators of rape against whom women must protect themselves has been challenged by some of the contemporary campaigns aimed at addressing sexual violence (Masters, 2010). Rather, the focus has been shifted to understanding the role that gender relations play in violence and how a critical understanding of these relations can contribute to the prevention of sexual violence.

2.2. Sexual Violence in South Africa

2.2.1. A history of sexual violence.

South Africa has a long and unsettling record of some of the highest statistics on violence in the world. In particular, the prevalence of gender-based violence is alarmingly high. In 1995, the Human Rights Watch reported that South Africa had the highest prevalence of sexual assault and domestic violence in the world (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002). Only 19.8% of the reported sexual assaults that were tried in 1998 culminated in a conviction (Statistics South Africa, 1998), indicating that there was (and still is) a deeply rooted systemic problem.

The socio-political landscape of contemporary South Africa is the image of a segregated history of colonialism and apartheid (Morell et al., 2012). Since European settlers arrived in the Cape in 1652, South Africa has had a long history of violence and brutal struggle against the dispossession of its people. What was to follow the arrival of European settlers would be a century of the expansion of military forces and armed conflict between

colonisers who were fighting for the ability to exploit the natural resources of the land (Morrell et al., 2012). Becoming a British colony led to institutionalised racial discrimination, maintained by discriminatory laws and structures within society (Morrell et al., 2012). This segregation meant that the wealth of the country was distributed along the lines of race and that employment patterns were distributed along the lines of gender, with men primarily being the breadwinners (Bozzoli, 1983; Morrell et al., 2012). This culminated in a pattern of racial and gender inequality that has persisted into present-day South Africa.

A colonial history contributed to and exacerbated all of the social and political challenges South Africa faces today. Nonetheless, gender inequality, gender-based violence and the general subjugation of women existed in our society further back than colonialism. It continues to exist to different degrees in most societies and cultures, and South Africa is no exception to this phenomenon. Collins (2013) and Faull (2013) write that there is often a relationship between the widespread use of various forms of violence and the sociocultural normalisation and acceptance of violence, and that this legitimises the use of violence in a society. The alarming rate of unreported incidences of abuse in the private sphere (in particular, intimate partner violence) speaks to a widespread culture of silence that needs to be addressed at all levels of society (Gevers et al., 2013). While it has been important that gender-based violence receive mass media attention in the way that it has in recent years, it is equally of importance that public discussion be accompanied by a change in discourse surrounding it and intimate partner violence, and this change be translated into action (Gevers et al., 2013).

2.2.2. Gender-based violence.

Studies across the globe indicate that the majority of gender-based violence (GBV) is perpetrated by men and that more times than not, the victims are women and children (Watts & Zimmerman, 2002). Despite global efforts, the statistics in GBV research on the abuse, rape and murder of women and children has remained chillingly high for over twenty years (Matthews et al., 2008; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000). In 2013, the vicious rape and murder of Anene Booysen and the killing of Reeva Steenkamp have sparked an important conversation about the severity of GBV in South Africa as well as internationally. While there has been public and political outrage following the intense

media attention garnered by these heinous crimes and a cry for harsher penalties, there has been little conversation focusing on the prevention of such crimes (Gevers et al., 2013).

The creation of a society in which women and children are safe is an issue that has been the priority of many researchers and activists, including Centres for Disease Control and the World Health Organisation (Gevers et al., 2013). Moreover, new research has indicated that it is important to recognise that men are vulnerable to violence as well (violence from other men), whether they are the victims or the perpetrators (Ratele, 2008). Primary prevention efforts to address GBV in South Africa are unlikely to succeed if this vulnerability is not recognised and addressed (Seedat, Van Niekerk, Jewkes, Suffla & Ratele, 2009).

In their paper on evidence-based primary prevention for GBV in South Africa, Gevers et al. (2013) propose six strategies for preventing GBV:

- a) Creating gender equality in two very important ways: promoting alternative, non-violent masculine identities as well as creating alternative, assertive feminine identities that will not be met with negative responses.
- b) Dismantling the pervasive socio-cultural attitudes and behaviours that are tolerant of violence in society.
- c) Cultivating non-violent conflict resolution and communication skills that are helpful and thoughtful.
- d) Developing attitudes and notions of interpersonal relationships that are respectful of the other and based on principles of equity.
- e) Tackling substance abuse as it is inextricably linked to violence.
- f) Tightening the reins on the ownership, access and use of guns.

It is noteworthy that South Africa has made some progress in the move towards gender equality. The Bill of Rights, which was adopted in 1996, prioritises the protection of women against unfair discrimination. Section 9 of the bill states that all persons are equal before the law and that neither the state nor any person may directly or indirectly unfairly discriminate against another person on the grounds of gender, among others (Commission of Gender Equality, n.d.). This prioritisation of women in the constitution is given effect by the Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act 4 of 2000, which serves to “prohibit unfair discrimination and harassment; to promote equality and eliminate

unfair discrimination; to prevent and prohibit hate speech; and to provide for matters connected therewith” on the grounds of gender, among others. Additionally, the Commission for Gender Equality exists to protect and promote gender equality as well as to investigate gender inequality and monitor compliance regarding this (Commission of Gender Equality, n.d.).

While still to a very limited extent, women are being represented more in government and corporate leadership roles (Gevers et al., 2013). The private lives of people, however, leave much to be desired. In most spheres of private life, women and children remain vulnerable to abuse and GBV perpetrated by intimate partners or people with whom they have close relations (Southern Africa Gender Protocol Alliance, 2013). This abuse comes in various forms, including the more spoken about physical and sexual abuse as well as the less spoken about emotional and economic forms of abuse. Social institutions such as the family, church and schools are complicit in the perpetuation of gender inequality and have a long way to go in addressing this issue (Gevers et al., 2013; Machisa, Jewkes, Morna & Rama, 2011). It then becomes important that gender relations in private be examined as much as public gender relations, if not more.

2.3. Feminism

2.3.1. A brief look at the three waves of feminism.

The first wave of Feminism came about at the turn of the nineteenth century and dawn of the 20th century, born of the industrialist and liberal era (Brooks, 1997). Its priority was to avail new opportunities to women and advocate for the ability of women to vote. Criticism and challenging of the ‘cult of domesticity’ as well as advocacy for women’s participation in politics led to the scrutiny of differences between men and women - as they were perceived to be at the time (Brooks, 1997). One of the first contentions at the time was that of the moral superiority of women and their potential for improving the political arena. During this first wave, the face of feminism was predominantly the face of middle class white women (Brooks, 1997).

The second wave of Feminism saw its dawn in the 1960’s and persisted into the 1990’s. Its beginnings were during a time of civil rights movements as well as movements that were against the war in Vietnam. Simultaneously, many of the minority sectors in the United

States of America were growing in their consciousness of themselves and more liberal political dispensations were gaining traction. The main priority of this wave of the feminist movement was the reproductive rights of women and passing the Equal Rights Amendment to the American constitution (Alaei & Barfi, 2014; Lotz, 2003). It began to draw women of colour as well as developing nations, recognising the intersection of gender relations and other forms of oppression. Terms such as 'the personal is political' and 'identity politics' were coined in order to demonstrate the relationship between race, class and gender oppression. Efforts to rid society of sexism from children's classes to government sectors were launched (Brooks, 1997).

Lastly, the third wave of feminism began in the mid 1990's, getting much of its influence from post-colonial and post-modern thought. Many of the constructs that existed in earlier feminist thinking are being challenged. Constructs such as that of 'universal womanhood', heteronormativity, sexuality, gender and body have been destabilised in an attempt to become a more self-conscious movement that thinks ever more critically about gender relations (Lotz, 2003). The subversion of sexist culture is also being propelled by the re-appropriation of derogatory terms such as 'bitch' and 'slut', which are used as a verbal weapon against women (Lotz, 2003). Thinking has shifted towards shattering boundaries and demolishing binaries that have dominated the way we think and speak about sexuality, gender and identity (Brooks, 1997). Additionally, an important development in the third wave has been that of the recognition and examination of the intersection of gender with race, social class, sexuality and other forms of oppression (Lotz, 2003; Short, 1994). This fresh focus has critiqued many of the previous feminist writings as they tended to neglect diversity under the umbrella term of 'sisterhood' (Lotz, 2003; McRobbie, 1994; Short, 1994).

2.3.2. Feminism in South Africa.

Gender dynamics in South Africa have been and continue to be intertwined with a history riddled with racial segregation and violence (Morrell, Jewkes & Lindegger., 2012). While global developments in the feminist movement had an impact on the trajectory of South African feminism between the 1970's and 1980's (Morrell, 1998), there was a vehement rejection of Western feminism by many black women of the time. However, the trajectory of South African politics began to have its own influence on the movement in the 1990's,

resulting in an openness to grappling with issues of racial and class differences in a way that was in line with the non-racial society that this country was attempting to become (Fouche, 1994).

Earlier feminist thought in Africa tended to focus on women and promoting sisterhood, neglecting critical engagement with the idea of men as oppressors or as allies in the movement for gender equality. Some third world feminist thinkers contended that African feminism supported some of the more benign elements of patriarchy and did not do enough to challenge patriarchy in radical ways that provoked radical change (Mikell, 1997). A common stance at the time – especially as issues of racial and class oppression were at the forefront – was that issues around gender were not a priority and that unity in the face of racial oppression was more important. Following this period, politics have tended not to prioritise issues around gender (Morrell, 2002).

A shift occurred in thinking around gender in the 1990's, following democracy and academic thought of the era that provoked political and academic progress in this area. The African National Congress made gender equality a human rights priority in its attempt to address the institutionalised oppression of women. The recognition of marital rape as a crime, harsher penalties for domestic violence and obligating companies to hire women were among some of the legislative victories for women (Morrell, 2002).

Campbell's study was one of the earliest gender studies that sought to explore the relationship between constructions of generational masculinities and the violence that was so rife in KwaZulu-Natal at the time (1992). From about the middle of the 1990's (after the abolition of Apartheid legislation and heralding in democracy in South Africa), it was evident that a shift towards understanding masculinity occurred during a time when addressing racial and class inequality was at the forefront of social movements (Hightower, 2003). Despite radical political changes for the better, gender-based violence remained rife in South Africa, necessitating new ways of thinking and illuminating the relationship between the history of colonialism and Apartheid and gender-based violence in South Africa (Morrell et al., 2012).

2.3.3. Feminist positions on sexual violence.

Susan Brownmiller was one of the first feminist writers on rape. In her 1975 publication, she provided her own definition of rape. She wrote that rape is a “conscious process of intimidation by which all men keep all women in a state of fear” (Brownmiller, 1975, p. 15). In this work, she contended that rape was a symptom of the socio-political problem of gender inequality. This system of oppression resulted in the sexual exploitation of women. The contemporary feminist definition of rape is inclusive of other forms of sexual violation and not limited to coitus. According to Chasteen (2001), sexual assault is any violation of a person’s consent that is related to sexual acts.

More recently, feminist anti-rape theory has subjected patriarchal systems to a great deal of scrutiny when attempting to understand the phenomenon of rape (Chasteen, 2001). This scrutiny has been the result of the growing incidence of rape and the call to put an end to this violence against women. This anti-rape theory posits that sexual violation has its roots in patriarchy, which has created a system where women are oppressed and men are empowered at the expense of women (Chasteen, 2001). Chasteen (2001) further writes that men who rape women are found in all sections of society and that their only consistently common trait is that they use violence to dominate and control women. This extends to the macro level, where women’s movements are limited because of the fear of rape, thereby limiting their agency (Ward, 1995). This serves as double-edged tool, simultaneously stifling women’s agency and solidifying men’s power and ownership over women. Because women are thought to belong to men, female sexuality is also owned and controlled by men. Rape is, therefore, a demonstration of this power to other men as well as a means to maintain oppressive gender relations (Chasteen, 2001; Gavey, 2005).

2.4. A Shift towards Critical Thinking on Masculinity

Studies into masculinity began only in the late 20th century, following much feminist work on gender (Connell, 2005). Feminist thinkers introduced critical thought on gender roles in society, introducing the concept of gender as socially constructed rather than biologically determined (Connell, 2005). This major development prompted studies into masculinity, as the nature of masculinity had up to this point been taken for granted.

2.4.1. Masculinity studies.

Kimmel (1987) writes that until the late twentieth century, gender studies had been grounded in the sex role model, which states that “biological males and biological females became socialized as men and women in a particular culture” (p. 12). While the sex role model was the beginning of understanding gender in terms of the roles that are prescribed for and expected of men and women, it has been criticised for being limiting in the sense of thinking about the interaction between gender roles. This critique is based on the contention that masculine and feminine gender roles have a relationship that must be critically examined. The power dynamic present in the relationship between the two has been the subject of study when thinking about the systematic oppression of women as well as male privilege (Boonzaaier & de la Rey, 2004; Shefer, 2010).

Additionally, Wester, Pionke and Vogel (2002) have pointed out the potential for the sex role model to perpetuate the idea that femininity and masculinity have inherently different sets of characteristics that make each gender identity valid. Connell (1992) and Kimmel (1987) further criticised the sex role model for having at its foundation the assumption that men and women had inherently different thoughts, behaviours and feelings that were directly related to their ascribed sex. This assumption neglected the influence of socio-cultural, socio-economic and socio-political factors in the formation of one’s gender and the enactment of gender roles (Demetrious, 2001).

2.4.2. Hegemonic masculinity.

Hegemonic masculinity is a term that appears very often in gender studies. The perennial use of this term is a constant reminder of the critical eye with which we must look at the nature of masculinities (Hunter, 2005; Morrell et al., 2012). Connell (2000) writes that there are variations in the constructions of masculinity across cultural and historical contexts. However, these variations in masculinities sometimes do not complement one another, elevating one type of masculinity and marginalising all other forms of masculinity, making one form the dominant form. Social research has named this dominant form ‘hegemonic masculinity’. According to Connell (2005), the term hegemonic masculinity refers to the relationship of complete domination and subordination between forms of masculinities in the culture of a society.

There are very specific dominant normative forms of gendered behaviour that are expected of men and boys that constitute what is deemed to be legitimate masculinity. One of the defining traits of hegemonic masculinity is its intolerance for any behaviour or attitude that could be construed as feminine or as weak. Part of this is the unwritten rule that masculinity invariably means heterosexuality, and that any 'outside' forms of the expression of sexuality are met with disdain and persecution (Herek as cited in Kimmel, 1986; Ratcliffe, Lassiter, Markman & Snyder, 2006; Phoenix, Frosh & Pattman, 2003). Studies by Herek (2001) and Thurlow (2001) are among many studies that have found that heterosexual men tend to be more disapproving of homosexuality than heterosexual women.

Ratcliffe et al. (2006) and Blackbeard and Lindegger (2007) further write that the strict gender roles prescribed within hegemonic masculinity are self-monitored and monitored by the gaze of other men who subscribe to these traditional gender roles, making it very important that men always perform their masculinity, especially in public spaces (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007). Maintaining the validity of one's masculinity thus becomes intertwined with bowing to the social pressure that men inflict on one another. This pressure often includes displaying homophobic and sexist attitudes in the presence of other men when one feels that their masculinity has come into question (Ratcliffe et al., 2006).

2.4.3. Performative nature of masculinity.

Judith Butler has written extensively about gender performativity and is considered to be one of the most influential scholars on the topic of masculinity (1988, 1990, 1993 & 2004). Butler (1990) famously contended in her *Bodies That Matter: On the Limits of Sex* that assigned biological sex and gender are two very separate parts that constitute a person (or an actor, as she fittingly named people in their performances of their genders). While the presence of primary and secondary sex characteristics is considered to have some influence on how one performs their gender, it is also recognised that they also have no bearing on the performance of one's gender in those cases where one's gender identification (and subsequent gender performance) and assigned biological sex are not in alignment with one another (Butler, 1990).

Connell (2001) writes that masculinities "do not exist prior to social behaviour, either as bodily states or fixed personalities" (p. 18). Connell further writes that it is only in acting

masculinities out that they begin to exist (2001). Butler (1990) proposed two interlinked processes in the production of masculinity through widespread discourse: reiteration and citation. Reiteration is the process through which the actor (who identifies as masculine) reproduces a behaviour or ideology that has been culturally accepted (and therefore coded) as masculine because the actor's culturally informed schemata have identified the behaviour or ideology as essentially masculine. Citation is the process by which the masculine identified actor's internalised point of reference validates the contribution of an act or ideology to their own identity as a masculine being (Butler, 1990). These two processes are dependent on one another and create a system of including and excluding certain behaviours and ideologies based on their masculine value.

2.4.4. Masculinity studies in Southern Africa.

Up to the mid 1980's to the 1990's, international literature generally neglected investigating the link between violence and hegemonic masculinity. However, masculinity studies in Southern Africa have continued to pay close attention to this relationship. Writers such as Breckenridge (1998) and Mooney (1998) have made extensive contributions about the link between race, social class, violence and masculinities in Southern Africa. They spoke primarily of the presence of racial hierarchies and how these hierarchies were mirrored in the masculine hegemonies that exist in Southern Africa.

Unique to international masculinity studies, South African studies of masculinity have paid particular attention to the interaction of gender, race and violence (Morrell et al., 2012). According to Glaser (1998), Mager (1998) and Wood and Jewkes (2001), race has remained an inextricable part of the socio-political and socio-economic fabric of South Africa, acting as a conduit for advantage (and a lack thereof) through time. As discussed earlier in this chapter, there has been a longstanding relationship between violence and power in South Africa. A number of writers have attempted to theorise about the levels of violence in South Africa by looking at the nature of hegemonic masculinity. Campbell (1992) postulates that there has been a history of the acceptance of the pervasive use of violence by men across racial lines, which has turned violence into a part of what is considered to be legitimate forms of masculinity.

2.5. Constructions of Sexual Violence and the Positioning of Men in Contemporary Campaigns against Sexual Violence

A number of feminist and other writers contend that it is vital that a view of sexual assault be coupled with a critical understanding of the gender dynamics at play in heterosexual courtship practices (Courtenay, 1999; Marshall, 1993; Pollack, 1998). Men are often seen as pushing for sexual contact while women are the gatekeepers of sex – the woman withholds and protects sex while it is the man's role to pursue and obtain what the woman is protecting (Gavey, 2005). Many campaigns against sexual violence hone in on these gender relations in their approaches to involving men in their efforts to address the problem of sexual violence. Common messages such as 'real men don't rape' continue to be used in an attempt to reach men. Increasingly in recent years, campaigns that encourage androgyny among men and women have been used, rather than genders that exist as roles that oppose each other (Gavey, 2005).

The results of Zevenbergen's (2009) study on male resistance to rape prevention programs reveal some of the constructions of sexual violence as well as masculinity in some anti-rape programs. It is suggested that a more useful way of involving men is through the construction of alternative masculinities that provide men with versions of masculinity that have been cleansed of associations with dominance and coercion (Zevenbergen, 2009). This means defining masculinity in ways that do not create what Shepherd (2010) describes as a game where only one or the other gender can win in gender relations – creating a scenario where one gender inevitably 'loses'. Part of this becomes constructing masculinities that exclude sexual coercion as an expression of strength and, by extension, masculinity. It also allows for the acknowledgement of positive and healthy behaviours in sexual relationships, rather than grouping all men as potential rapists (Schewe, 2002). This approach then shifts the focus from women policing men to men understanding and holding each other accountable for the ways in which they perform their masculinity (Rich, Robinson, Ahrens & Rodriguez, 2008; Walker, 2005).

One of the ways that sexual violence has been understood is as a breakdown in the communication between sexual partners (Masters, 2010). This breakdown in communication then makes sexual encounters unsafe for both the man and the woman. Healthy sexual relations involve open communication and consent from both partners, and rape is constructed as a deviation from these healthy sexual relations (Krahe, Scheinberger-Olwig, & Kolpin, 2000). This approach is used in the *Men Ending Violence* campaign, which focuses on encouraging healthy sexual relations through communication. Acting on

the expectation of sex without clearly stating these expectations and listening to one's partner is seen as the foundation for sexual assault (Krahe, Scheinberger-Olwig, & Kolpin, 2000). The focus of the campaign shifts from an individual focus on the man to guidelines surrounding general safety for both men and women in sexual encounters (O'Byrne, Hansen, & Rapley, 2006).

One of the ways that were found to have a generally positive response is the reclaiming of perpetrators of sexual violence as a part of society. Rather than banishing perpetrators of rape to the outskirts of society and completely ostracizing them, perpetrators are given a platform for repentance and an opportunity for rehabilitation. Rather than 'othering' the perpetrator of rape as a person who is foreign to those who have healthy sexual relations, it is recognised that rape can be perpetrated by any person (Masters, 2010).

Studies have suggested that the manner in which men are positioned in campaigns against sexual violence influences how the message is received and, potentially, the extent to which males participate in these campaigns (Masters, 2010; Hong, 2000). Drawing on discourses that position men in ways that exclude them from the fight against sexual violence and isolate them as the problem does not seem to have been helpful. Positive results have been observed in online campaigns in the United States of America that are inclusive of men and allow for the opportunity to think of and construct their masculinity in ways that do not perpetuate gender stereotypes that are unhelpful in addressing tolerance for sexual violence (Hong, 2000).

2.6. Absence of Men in the Movement against Sexual Violence

Despite the call for the involvement of men in the fight against sexual violence, there has been a historical absence of men in the movement (Smith & Welchans, 2000). Programmes that have been put in place to address this societal ill have seldom targeted men (Crooks, Goodall, Hughes, Jaffe & Baker, 2007; Katz, 2006; Rozee & Koss, 2001). Many campaigns have tended to focus on women avoiding rape by implementing self-defence strategies, remaining vigilant and acting very decisively in the face of potential danger (Scheel, Johnson, Schneider & Smith, 2001).

A study by Bachar and Koss (2001) found that out of a sample of 15 programmes targeting sexual violence, only 4 targeted men. Similarly, O'Donahue, Yeater and Fanetti's (2003)

study reported that only 2 universities out of the 21 universities had sexual violence programmes that targeted men. Contemporary academics have criticised this neglect of men in sexual abuse prevention programmes and have argued that it places the onus on women to prevent rape rather than targeting men, who are statistically more likely to be perpetrators of rape (Rich, Utley, Janke & Moldveanu, 2010).

While there is still much room for improvement, there have been some prevention programmes that target men. Programmes such as the *Men's Program*, *Men's Project* and *Interact* are some of the programmes that have targeted men (Barone et al., 2007; Foubert, 2007; Rich et al., 2008). Moreover, there has been an increase in research that explores men's acceptance of rape myths with the aim of developing models of understanding and preventing sexual violence (Burgess, 2007).

A number of studies attempting to understand the attitudes of university men towards sexual violence have found some common and unhelpful assumptions that are held by these men. One such assumption is that the issue of violence against women pertains only to women and to perpetrators of this violence, and has no relevance to their lives (Katz, 2006; Scheel et al., 2001). A study by Crooks et al. (2007) found that another common belief held by college men is that feminists have grossly exaggerated the issue of sexual violence. Bohmer and Parrot (2003) found in their study that many men accept rape myths without questioning them. Foubert (2000) as well as Katz (2006) reported that men in their studies tended to be defensive when taking part in rape prevention interventions, and Kilmartin and Berkowitz (2001) found that the men in their study believed that exposure to educational programmes on gender and violence against women would bring their masculinity into question and would make them appear to be 'gay'.

2.7. Men as Potential Allies in the Movement

As previously stated, there has been a shift towards involving men in the fight against sexual violence following extensive ground work on gender that was laid by the feminist movement. The overwhelming majority of gender-based violence is perpetrated by men, making it vital to ensure that men are involved in prevention efforts. There is an inextricable relationship between hegemonic masculinity, gender inequality and violence against women, which makes the critical engagement that was started by feminist thinkers essential to the success of rape and violence prevention.

The *White Ribbon Campaign* has based its work with men on three pillars: The first of these is that it is a necessity to work with men (Minerson et al., 2011). As a group that is the most likely to perpetrate violence against women, it stands to reason that this is the intervention that has the most potential to succeed at the primary prevention level. Building on the need for work with men and boys, the second pillar is that working with men has the potential to be highly effective (Minerson et al., 2011). As critical engagement and reflection with men about masculinity produces new insights among men and new understandings for organisers of prevention programmes, a solid data base of best practice can be built and shared. Finally, the third pillar is that this work can lead to transformation in society not only for girls and women, but also for boys and men. Positioning men only as potential or actual perpetrators of violence is very limiting and ultimately unhelpful as it does not allow for the possibility of all the critical gender work that can be done by men and passed on to communities at large (Minerson et al., 2011).

A number of campaigns and movements such as *Walk a Mile in Her Shoes*, *10x10x10*, *Men Ending Violence*, *Men against Violence*, *Real Men Don't Rape* and the *White Ribbon Campaign* have been established in order to target men and recruit them as allies. One such international campaign that has received immense media coverage is the *He for She* Campaign. It was established in 2014 by Emma Watson, who is a United Nations Global Goodwill Ambassador. This is the first campaign of its kind in the United Nations. The campaign is geared towards rebranding femininity by uniting men and women against gender inequality, rather than subscribing to the popular view of feminism being synonymous with 'man hating'. Perhaps one of the most significant aspects of the campaign is its focus on acknowledging that gender inequality disadvantages both men and women, shackling each gender to an inflexible role that disallows any overlap. Rather than masculinity and femininity being viewed as opposing genders, it is the ideological stance of the campaign that gender should be viewed on a continuum, where both men and women are equal (Watson, 2014). This campaign adopts a strong feminist approach that is mainly in line with the egalitarian principles in Third Wave Feminism. Watson (2014) argues for the active involvement of men in renegotiating traditional masculinity as well as renegotiating the positioning of women as subservient in relation to masculinity. Empowering men to reintegrate parts of themselves that have been excluded in traditional masculinity such as expressing emotion is an important part of the campaign. While this campaign empowers women to renegotiate the constraints of traditional femininity, there is

an equal focus on empowering men to renegotiate the constraints of hegemonic masculinity (Watson, 2014).

A very important part of working towards diminishing and eventually eliminating sexist oppression is involving all members of society. The movement against sexual violence is not intrinsically anti-male but is rather against a system of gender relations that perpetuates the victimisation of women and children in society but as previously mentioned, men have been ostracised and alienated by these movements in the past, whether explicitly or in more subtle ways. In order to gain traction in this movement, alternative masculinities that are also allies in feminist activism need to be developed (Hooks, 2000). A vital aspect of feminist masculinity is the ability to engage with ally behaviour and by so doing, connect with women as well as feminism (Hooks, 2000).

2.8. Conclusion

The above literature illustrates the necessity for an inclusive approach to addressing sexual violence, where all members of society are equally involved in this movement. Feminist ground work that led to a shift in the analytical gaze from women-centred preventative measures to masculinity has illuminated problematic characteristics within hegemonic masculinity that fuel gender-based violence in our society. A vital part of a critical understanding is that of unpacking the role that masculinity plays in how men make sense of their part in the movement against sexual violence. As discussed in this chapter, there has been a historical exclusion of men in anti-rape events and campaigns and a subsequent indifference by some men towards the urgency of these efforts. Studies have found that campaigns and programmes based on providing male participants with a supportive, non-judgemental forum for critically engaging with hegemonic masculinity have a positive influence on ally behaviour. This study, therefore, contends that it is vital that the experiences of and the meaning that is made by men about their participation in these campaigns/movements be understood in order to bridge the gap between anti-rape efforts and potential male allies. As stated earlier in this chapter, the involvement of men in the home and the community in addressing problematic gender power relations is paramount to effecting real change.

Chapter 3: Methodology

This chapter is a guide through the methodology that was followed throughout this study. This will include the sampling procedure, data gathering and management as well as the method of data analysis. A section on self-reflexivity follows the foregoing. Finally, ethical considerations pertaining to the study are discussed.

3.1. Research Design

This study is an exploratory study that has made use of a qualitative research design. This design has enabled the researcher to gather rich and detailed data on the subjective experiences of the participants, giving deeper insight into the meaning they make of their participation in the Silent Protest (Babbie & Mouton, 2011; de Vos, Strydom, Fouche & Delport, 2011; Dey, 1993; Willig & Stainton-Rogers, 2008). In-depth interviews were used to collect the data, using an open-ended interview guide. The open-ended interview guide allowed for the participants to respond in detail and in their own words to the questions asked, while allowing for additional material on the participants' experiences to be able to emerge during the interview (de Vos, Strydom, Fouche & Delport, 2011; Creswell, 1998). Given that the aim of this study was to explore and describe key themes that emerge on the meaning making of the participants, a qualitative approach that allows the researcher to explore and delve into the lived experiences of the participants was most appropriate.

This study utilised an inductive approach. The inductive approach to identifying themes is driven by the data itself. Unlike its counterpart, the deductive approach, the coding process is not driven by theory or frames prescribed by the presumptions of the researcher's method of analysis (Babbie & Mouton, 2011; Braun & Clarke, 2008). This study's data were, therefore, coded according to the patterns that emerge directly from the data, making thematic content analysis's freedom from theory ideal for the richness and complexity of the data that would be yielded by in-depth interviews (Braun & Clarke, 2008).

Braun and Clarke (2008) do state, however, that data analysis cannot be completely devoid of the guidance of some epistemological foundation. Considering the interpretative nature of this study and the richness of the data that would be analysed and interpreted, the interpretative-phenomenological tradition was an appropriate foundation for the methodology (Babbie & Mouton, 2011). The phenomenological tradition is based on the

assumption that reality is the sum of phenomena as they are perceived by the people who experience them (Conroy, 2003). Interpretivism takes this a step further, positing that human beings behave in accordance with their subjective interpretations of the environments in which they find themselves (Conroy, 2003). It was only appropriate that this be the epistemological underpinning of this study as the participants' experiences of the Silent Protest, how they interpret their experiences and how this translates into how they engage with sexual violence prevention initiatives, is the focus of this research.

3.2. Research Questions

1. What are the responses of male participants in the *Silent Protest* at the University of the Witwatersrand in 2015 to the message of the protest?
2. How do males who participate as supporters in the *Silent Protest* make meaning of their masculinity in relation to women within the context of the Silent Protest day?
3. How do males who participate as supporters in the *Silent Protest* view sexual violence in light of their participation in the protest?
4. Do male supporter-participants in the Silent Protest event feel that there are changes that could be made by the event organisers that might increase the number of male supporter participants, or improve the experience for male supporters?

3.3. Sampling Procedure

The population for this study were males who participated at the Silent Protest at the University of the Witwatersrand in August 2015. The sample comprised 6 male participants, 5 of whom were recruited using convenience sampling at the meeting on the morning of the protest. Snowball sampling was used for one of the participants as there was an insufficient number of volunteers who responded when contacted by the researcher. The participants who had been secured were asked to refer the researcher to any other male participants who were willing to participate in the research.

In order to participate in the study, participants needed to meet certain criteria. The first criterion was that participants needed to be male. Secondly, they needed to participate as

supporters in the purple solidarity shirts. Owing to difficulty recruiting a sufficient number of participants, this criterion needed to be widened to include any male participants wearing any of the shirts that were offered on the morning of the protest. The third criterion was that participants in the study needed to have participated in the protest voluntarily. Finally, participants needed to have taken part in the protest in 2015 so as to ensure that they were able to recall and reflect on their experiences while the memories were easily accessible. This was essential to the quality of the data.

3.4. Procedures for Data Collection and Management

Following receipt of ethical clearance, participants were recruited using convenience and snowball sampling on the day of the protest as well as shortly afterwards. On the morning of the protest, a table was set up in Flower Hall as one of the stations that were in the hall on the day. After signing up for the protest, male participants were stopped and asked if they might be interested in participating in this study. It was explained that the research seeks to understand their experiences of the protest as well as the meaning that they make of their participation. Potential participants wrote their names, contact numbers and email addresses on a sign-up sheet. Those who were interested but not completely sure if they wished to participate were encouraged to give their details, even if they still needed to think about their decision to participate. The researcher then contacted the volunteers via email to find out whether or not they had decided to participate in the research. The email contained further information on the aims of the study as well as what participating in the study would entail. Attached to the email was the consent form and an information sheet on the research. Those who agreed to participate in the study were then contacted via telephone to arrange a day and time that was convenient for both participant and researcher to meet in an available room at Emthonjeni Centre.

Interviews took place as soon as possible after the day of the protest so as to reach the participants while their experiences were fresh in their minds and easily accessible. Data was collected using semi-structured in-depth interviews. The use of a semi-structured interview provided the necessary structure and direction for the interview, while allowing for useful content that may not necessarily emanate from specific questions to arise in the interview (Babbie & Mouton, 2011; McCracken, 1988). The duration of the interviews ranged from approximately an hour to just under two hours and each interview was

recorded using an audio recorder. These recordings were then transcribed and kept in a protected file on the researcher's laptop, the researcher's supervisor's computer as well as a secure external back-up device.

3.5. Procedures for Data Analysis

The method of data analysis that was used in this study is a thematic content analysis. Though this is a widely used method of analysing qualitative data, there does not appear to be complete consensus on the exact steps that one should follow (Braun & Clarke, 2008). Hsieh and Shannon (2005) define content analysis as “a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns” (p. 1278). Parker (2005) further describes this process as “an attempt to trace the internal shape of experiential awareness” (p. 99). This method of analysis is particularly useful for finding patterns of ideas in qualitative data. As this is an exploratory study, thematic content analysis was the ideal method of analysing the data collected in this study.

Following the transcription of the interviews, the researcher read each interview in order to become familiar with the material. The text was then analysed in accordance with guidance provided by Braun and Clarke's six phase process for doing a qualitative content analysis (2006), which is detailed below. The unit of analysis for this study was each theme that emerged from the data.

Content analysis steps:

3.5.1. Phase 1.

The first phase of the analysis was becoming familiar with the text. After the interviews were transcribed, an initial perusal of the transcripts was done with the aim of understanding what is contained in the text as well as to do a preliminary scan of patterns and themes. This initial reading was done before the data was read for the purpose of analysis.

3.5.2. Phase 2.

The second phase of the analysis was generating the initial codes. Phrases and words that appeared sufficiently often in the text were recorded. These codes formed the building blocks of the themes in the third phase of analysis.

3.5.3. Phase 3.

In this phase, the codes noted in the second phase were sorted into themes. Potential themes that did not have sufficient codes to warrant the presence of a fully-fledged theme were eliminated.

3.5.4. Phase 4.

A review of the themes that emerged in phase 3 was done for the purpose of refining the themes. As some of the themes were likely to be related to one another, they were collapsed into one another, creating broader and fewer themes that had subthemes. Some of the themes needed to be sorted under the umbrella of broader themes based on them having more than one criteria to which they can be applied.

3.5.5. Phase 5.

The fifth phase of the data analysis process entailed a final review and refinement of the themes with the aim of “determining what aspect of the data each theme captures” (Braun & Clarke, 2008, p. 92). Once again, related themes were collapsed into each other where necessary.

3.5.6. Phase 6.

The final phase of the analysis was the write up of the research report. Braun and Clarke (2008) write that writing about a study’s findings needs to be more than a description of themes; a compelling argument needs to be made regarding the research questions and speak to the rationale of the study. This involved providing an account of the themes that were extracted from the interviews with the six participants. The presentation and discussion of findings included illustrative quotes that provided evidence for the themes

that were being described. Each theme includes a discussion of findings that is woven into the literature that was reviewed.

3.6. Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations have become an important focus in social research in recent years and are often a topic of debate (Babbie & Mouton, 2011). While there are general guidelines that are prescribed for the ethical conduct of researchers, it is essential that the uniqueness of the ethical issues of each research endeavour be appreciated and thoroughly considered. It is with this intention that the ethical considerations of this study are teased out.

3.6.1. Provision of psychological services.

The topic of sexual violence is in itself a sensitive one and students who participate in research of this nature are sometimes motivated to do so by a variety of personal reasons that are close to their hearts. Some of these reasons include a personal history of sexual violation or support of a significant person in the student's life who has experienced sexual violence. While this study did not deal specifically with males who have experienced sexual violence, some of the participants did disclose a personal experience of sexual violation or that of significant others. While it was not the aim of the study to delve into the details of these experiences, reflecting on the motivations behind participation was a new experience for some of the participants and some painful emotions were expressed. Thus, the researcher was careful not to delve deeply into any traumatic experiences that may have motivated the participants as this was not the focus of the research and may have caused unnecessary psychological distress.

It was also important to consider that some of the participants may have had negative experiences at the protest. Given that experiences of the participants are the focus of this study, recounting any negative experiences in the interviews may have been difficult. Though participants in this particular study are not considered a specifically vulnerable population, the necessary provisions were made for psychological services. All participants were informed of psychological services at the Counselling and Careers Development Unit, a free counselling service for students at the University of the Witwatersrand, in the event that they experienced any negative psychological effects derived from participation

in the study or if they felt that they needed debriefing. They were also referred to Lifeline, which offers a free community counselling service. Participants were further informed that they could withdraw from the study at any point during the interview or before the write up of the report.

3.6.2. Dissemination of results.

Moreover, participants were informed that the results will be disseminated in the research report, which will be submitted to the University of the Witwatersrand Psychology Department. The report will then be made available on the library's electronic database and the results of the research may be published in a research journal. Participants will also be provided with the results of the research once the research process has come to an end.

3.6.3. Informed consent.

In terms of ethical procedure, the insurance of informed consent is outlined below. Participants were given a consent form which they read and signed before they were interviewed. This form contains all information on the nature of the research and the nature of participation in the research. Participants were informed of the following:

- a) They were able to refuse to answer any questions with which they were not comfortable.
- b) They could stop the interview process at any time.
- c) They could withdraw from the study at any time before the writing of the report.
- d) They were required to verbally answer questions.
- e) The interview could take between one and two hours.
- f) They were free to say anything they desired with regard to the research topic.
- g) The researcher may directly quote their words in the report.
- h) They will receive the research results if they request them.
- i) They could be debriefed after the interview if they felt they needed it.
- j) They would be put in contact with the necessary counselling help if participation in the research caused distress.
- k) The recordings and transcripts would only be heard and read by the researcher and the research supervisor, and would only be processed by the researcher and research supervisor.

- l) All digital recordings and transcripts would be kept in a password encrypted folder on the researcher's laptop as well as the research supervisor's computer, to which only the researcher and research supervisor would have access.
- m) All recordings would be kept in the laptops/computers of the researcher and supervisor after the research is complete.
- n) No identifying information will be used in the transcripts or the research report.

All of the interviews were recorded using an audio recorder and volunteers signed their consent to be audio-recorded in the consent form before participating in the interviews. Each interview recording was transcribed and stored on the supervisor's computer and the researcher's laptop in a password protected folder. Only the researcher knows the password to access this folder. All the interview material will be kept in password protected files in the laptop and computer of the researcher and supervisor after the research is complete.

3.6.4. Confidentiality.

As the method of data collection was a face-to-face interview, anonymity could not be ensured during data collection. Additionally, the consent forms required the names and signatures of the participants, which can identify them. Consequently, the privacy of the participants needed to be protected at all times throughout the research process as well as afterwards. Consent forms are contained in a folder that is kept in a locked, secure cupboard to which only the researcher has access. Participants were given pseudonyms in the report and no other identifiable information was used in the transcripts or the research report in order to protect their identities.

3.7. Self-Reflexivity

Qualitative research, particularly within the social sciences, is often criticised for its lack of positivist empiricism, dependence on subjective data and analysis that is usually from an interpretivist approach (Tolman & Brydon-Miller, 2001). It has often been contended that the foregoing means that research in the social sciences is vulnerable to the personal biases and motivations of the researcher, which negatively impacts the validity of its findings (Dey, 1993). While it is understood that researchers bring a part of themselves into the research process, "awareness of the inevitability of this influence allows researchers to

guard against undue biases that may direct processes in favour of the researcher's needs, but also makes explicit a level of complexity and challenge which may be hidden in other research forms" (Nair, 2008, p. 1). Thus, reflexivity becomes an important part of the qualitative research process.

This study sought to explore perceptions of sexual violence, masculinity and the meaning participants assign to their participation in the protest. These can be sensitive areas and were approached with the knowledge that one cannot be neutral. It was important for me to not lose sight of the fact that I am a woman attempting to speak to men about a topic that is deeply intertwined with issues around gender dynamics and the power dynamics in sexual relationships. As a woman interviewing men who mostly identify as masculine, it was important to navigate interviews with sensitivity around the discomfort that discussing this might cause some of the participants.

Moreover, as a black female who was raised in a family that encourages the empowerment of women, it was essential that I observe any gender dynamics that arose during the interviews with my black male participants. Openly speaking about sexual violence and masculinity with black men as a black woman can be culturally unusual and was sometimes uncomfortable for some of the participants. I needed to be aware of participants potentially censoring themselves because traditional African gender roles would suggest that men sanitise their conversation with and around women in order to preserve their purity and protect them from harm.

The above dynamics were unavoidable in some of the interviews and it became very important that I manage my own feelings in the interviews. Having been raised in a family that encouraged my empowerment as a woman, I felt frustrated when my gender entered the room. I instinctively felt the need to assert my position as a researcher in the room and to make it clear that my femininity was unimportant (if not irrelevant). Uncontained, these feelings may have had a negative impact on the interview. In order to minimise the impact of the above dynamics, I needed to make use of bracketing as a strategy, which is a conscious psychological process of attempting to minimise the impact of my own experiences, feelings and preconceptions on the research process. This helped me to ensure as far as possible that my own personal experiences and biases did not colour the manner in which I conducted the interviews.

My role as the researcher also overlaps with my role as an advocate for the involvement of men in the movement against sexual violence. This duality means that I have an interest in the research yielding results that will be helpful in this regard. Part of guarding against inadvertently influencing the study involved bracketing off and being vigilant in relation to my own expectations when conducting every aspect of the research process - the interviews, the analysis, and the writing up of the research findings. In order to protect my researcher neutrality (one's subjectivity must always be guarded against), I kept a research journal to record my feelings and thoughts during the entire research process. In this way, I endeavoured to be aware of, and so to guard against, my own subjectivity impinging on the research process.

Chapter 4: Findings and Discussion

4.1. Introduction

This study aimed to explore the experiences of males who participated in the Silent Protest against sexual violence that was held at the University of the Witwatersrand on 21 August 2015. The study specifically sought to explore how these male participants made sense of their participation in the protest. This study was interested in the feelings that were evoked during the protest as well as how male participants experienced their sense of masculinity in relation to participating in the protest. Finally, the study explored suggestions the participants have regarding the organisation of the protest that could improve the experience of men and increase male participation in the protest. As this is an exploratory, inductive study, there were no hypotheses or expectations regarding the results.

This chapter is a presentation of the thematic findings of this qualitative study as well as a discussion of these themes and their relevance to the literature reviewed in Chapter 2. The five main themes that arose from the data are outlined and will be discussed, namely: *Personal Reasons for Participating in the Protest*; *Lack of Knowledge and Understanding of the Purpose of the Protest*; *Sexual Violence Happens only to Women*; *Negotiating one's Sense of Masculinity in the Silent Protest*; and *More Male Faces Needed in the Protest*. Supportive data in the form of direct quotations from each participant's interview have been used throughout this chapter to further elucidate each theme. Repetitions, difficulties with self-expression and unnecessary or irrelevant information in the transcript quotations have been omitted in the interest of clarity and conciseness. It is important to note that one of the participants, who has been called Jesse, participated in the protest as a survivor.

4.2. Personal Reasons for Participating in the Protest

This theme deals with the participants' reasons for participating in the Silent Protest, most of which were of personal significance to them. This theme includes the range of reasons that motivated participation as well as the unexpected difficulty of the experience of participation. This theme is dealt with in four subthemes: *Personal Experience and Participation*, *Incidental Participation*, *Participation for Own Interests*, and *Unexpectedly Difficult Experience*.

4.2.1. Personal experience and participation.

This subtheme deals with participants having a personal connection to the purpose of the protest, which motivated their participation. Mulalo took part because of his girlfriend's disclosure to him:

Mulalo: *Eish... my girlfriend told me two years ago that her uncle forced himself on her... but she was silent... She came out last year. So I decided to support her.*

Although Mulalo's participation was initially incidental, his reason for remaining in the protest is one that is very personal to him. Having his girlfriend disclose to him that she had survived rape by her uncle brought the experience nearer to him rather than having it remain a distant thought that rape is something that happens to strangers. His continued participation once he learnt the message of the protest was motivated by empathy for a loved one, making him more invested in continuing in the protest.

Quite differently to Mulalo who had a close relationship with someone who experienced sexual violence, Jesse participated as a survivor for the first time.

Jesse: *I decided it's finally time to come out as a survivor and because this year has been especially rough for quite a few of my friends... Three people have come out to me as survivors as well so, it was in the back of my mind. It was always there so I decided I was gonna march for them as well because they are not comfortable doing it. So I was gonna march not only for myself too as a pathos but for people who can't march.*

Having personal experience of being sexually violated created a deep connection to the purpose of the protest for Jesse. In addition to his own experience, some people in his life disclosed their survivor status to him, motivating him even further to participate for himself and in solidarity with these survivors who were not yet ready to publicly disclose their experience.

This finding echoes the findings of Piccigallo, Lilley and Miller's (2012) study regarding the relationship between sensitizing experiences and motivation for participating in anti-rape events. They conducted an in-depth study on the motivations behind university men's

involvement in all male anti-rape groups. In their study, they found that one of the major influencers of active participation in these groups was a personal connection to someone who experienced sexual violence or concern for the safety of women in their lives with whom they have close relationships. Piccigallo et al. (2012) argued that it was this personal connection to the issue of sexual violence that opened the door to empathy for women who have experienced violence. They wrote: “men’s exposure to a sensitizing experience is one of the initial pathways to men’s involvement in anti-violence against women work. It helps create the empathy that prior research has shown as necessary to affect attitudinal and behavioural change in regard to sexual assault and provides the personal link that creates the sense of being a stakeholder for many men” (Piccigallo et al., 2012, p. 510).

While empathy is an important part of solidarity, it is impractical to place all reliance on empathy created by a personal connection to victims of sexual assault when recruiting men to join programmes that are aimed at addressing this issue (Piccigallo et al., 2012). Though studies have corroborated the effectiveness of hearing the stories of survivors in fostering empathy (including accounts from the participants in this very study), it is important to think about the implications of this approach. This approach may inadvertently and rather unfairly place the onus on survivors to foster empathy and educate men for the cause - whether they share their stories verbally or as anonymous text (Piccigallo et al., 2012).

4.2.2. Incidental participation.

This subtheme deals with participants’ incidental participation. Participants described personal reasons for participating in the protest that have more to do with curiosity about protesting rather than standing in solidarity with survivors of sexual violence.

Mandla speaks about initially being unsure of the purpose of the protest and participating out of curiosity because his friends were taking part in the protest. It is during the course of the protest that he began to understand the aim of the protest:

Mandla: *At first it was because my friends. They were there so I thought it would be a great experience as I was joining in. Then as time goes on, I actually saw the need of why they were doing this and we got to understand the reason behind all things. Yah, I thought that was for a great cause, standing up for all the sexual violence that happens in our country.*

As stated earlier, Mulalo's participation was initially incidental. He speaks about being excited to take part in the protest because he would receive a free t-shirt and have an opportunity to share pictures of his experience. It was only during the course of the protest that he began to understand its message and the symbolism of the taped mouth:

Mulalo: *When I was walking to get my t-shirt... I was excited [laughter] because it seemed like a cool thing to do and get a t-shirt, take a picture, show that you are standing up for all that's happening in our country. So yes, I kinda felt excited and then as time went on, sort of get relaxed and getting to the vibe of what's happening sort of hits you... This is why they are doing that, this is why they are doing that and then when you start reading all the pamphlets that they were giving out, then you see... that is why they are doing this. This is why our mouths are taped. This why we can't speak for the whole day.*

The common thread that runs through these quotes is that before actually participating in the protest, for these participants there had not been much consideration for the issue of violence against women. Mulalo and Mandla described an understanding for the necessity for this type of protest growing only during participation in the protest, which speaks to a common phenomenon among many men: before having a personal experience with someone who has been sexually assaulted that confronts them with the reality of the severity of sexual assault, men often believe that the issue has been grossly exaggerated by feminists. This feeds into the erroneous notion that sexual violence is only a women's issue (Crooks et al., 2007; Piccigallo et al., 2012).

4.2.3. Participation for own interests.

This theme deals with some participants' involvement in the protest initially being motivated by reasons that were in their own interest rather than for the interest of solidarity with survivors of sexual violence. Tau speaks about participating in the protest as a strategy to garner support for his campaign for election to the Student Representative Council the following year:

Tau: *It was still during the election... I was a candidate so I was moving from West Campus to this side and I was walking through this other route from that bridge... I saw this group of students... and I said okay, let me just and of course it was very*

strategic considering that I am a candidate but more than that I think my reason to be there ... it was clear from that point onwards that look this is a valid thing. This is what is happening and therefore, as a male, I too have to play a part, I have to contribute in the whole campaign. So yah that's how I found myself there.

Similarly to Tau, Bongani spoke about wanting to participate in order to experience being unable to speak for a day:

Bongani: *Well, it was actually mainly for experience and for support because they said that it was more like for supporting to get the message out... It was more about experience because I am a very talkative person. I just wanted to know how it feels to be quiet for the whole day. Can you imagine?*

While Bongani's initial motivation to participate was curiosity about the unfamiliar experience of a day of complete silence, his initial excitement changed to experiencing empathy for survivors of sexual violence who have been silenced. He further speaks about imagining if he had been the one who perpetrated the violence and how he might feel knowing that he had caused someone to live with silenced pain:

Bongani: *It was just difficult because I could imagine many things that I wanted to say but couldn't say them... At first, it was just okay... excitement let me just engage into this participation, let me see how it is like but during the course of the day it became something real. It gave me time to think ukuthi [that]... if I were to be in this situation, if I had to be engaged with such things that may happen to me... how was I going to feel?... and most of the people that are violent are men from a man-figure so I thought okay if I am a guy and I am making somebody to feel this way... no, it's not something that I should even think about, even think of doing because I can imagine somebody going through maybe being violated by me and then having to be quiet about the whole thing the whole day... To that person it won't be a whole day, it might be years, months, whatever it is... I don't know, just something in me just said no, let me participate for exposure and get a feel of what it is.*

It appears that for both Tau and Bongani, participating in the protest solely for solidarity with survivors did not provide enough of an incentive to participate. Having reasons that were of personal benefit to them, however, provided enough motivation for them to

participate. However, during the course of their participation, they connected to the importance of this kind of protest. This may point to a lack of investment in efforts to address sexual violence before participants are sensitised to it. While incentivising male participants in order to initially engage them may be effective in the short-term, it is also an incredibly problematic strategy. This would send a message that combating sexual violence is not in fact also the responsibility of every man.

4.2.4. Unexpectedly difficult experience.

This subtheme deals with the participants having an unexpectedly difficult experience at the protest. Contrary to their initial expectations that participation would be a light-hearted experience, some participants found that some difficult feelings were evoked:

Mulalo: *So from there to the march, when I saw those people acting, I was feeling emotional-nyana because they were...showing how people feel when they are sexually harassed.*

Tau: *It was an emotional one and this is the reason why: because I internalized it and that's why it is important to attend such protests so that you internalize it... to the point whereby you say I will never.*

Both Mulalo and Tau speak about having been emotionally affected by the events of the day. Mulalo was particularly moved by the dramatizations that were present along the route of the march. Mulalo's experience is one of experiencing profound empathy because the depiction of the varied painful experiences of survivors of sexual violence brought the experience nearer to him. Tau adds to this sentiment by making a point about the potentially transformative effect of empathy. This finding is in keeping with Piccigallo et al. (2012) regarding sensitizing experiences having a positive impact on motivation for participating in anti-rape events.

Additionally, Mulalo described an experience of feeling isolated during the course of the protest and only finding relief from his isolation when the protesting group was together:

Mulalo: *I went to the lab because I was already late for the class, so I could go late in the class. Eish! I was scared to [go to the class] so I went to the lab. So people*

found me there at the lab. I felt uncomfortable, like people were asking me for help like, "How do I do this? How do I do that?" and... I couldn't respond. It's either... I write it down or when you ask me "what's the time?" I just saw them... So I felt like... I am being mean to other people because of this participation. Even one of my other friends was going...to use the computer that was next to me and he was like, "Ah Mofenyi!" and when I turn he was like, "Ah ah ah! Let me leave you. Let me go and use the other computer"... So we went there to the march and they were telling us the plan of the day but there I felt there were people around me... I felt like now I am fine because I am not alone. We are together.

Mandla further describes initially feeling eager to participate in the protest. His initial excitement changed to sadness and frustration as he was confronted with the difficulty of having his mouth taped shut throughout the day and attempting to imagine how he might feel if he too had been a survivor of sexual violence:

Mandla: *It wasn't a happy feeling, I would say. You would spend...most of your time just thinking about it, trying to put yourself in their shoes, like how they really feel. Though you don't come close to what they feel, but then you get a glimpse of...how they feel everyday they can't speak up... It would be hard for them to trust anyone... It's just really a sad feeling and as time goes on it sort of becomes depressing and not nice.*

The expectation that the protest would be a light-hearted experience and the subsequent unexpected difficulty not only speak to a lack of a thorough understanding of the purpose of the protest but also a minimisation of the issue of sexual violence in our society. This echoes the findings by Crooks et al. (2007), which found that men in tertiary institutions tended to believe that feminists have exaggerated the issue of sexual violence.

4.3. Lack of Knowledge and Understanding of the Purpose of the Protest

This theme arose in response to a particular question in the interview schedule. This theme is an important part of the research as it speaks to one of the factors that have an impact on the participation of men in the protest. The response pattern was generally that the participants either did not know the purpose of the protest or had inaccurate or partial knowledge about the purpose of the protest. The protest proved to be unexpectedly difficult

for some participants, who initially expected the protest to be a light-hearted expression of their support or simply an activity that would earn them a free t-shirt.

When participants were asked how they had come to know of the protest, half of the participants had only vague notions of the purpose of the protest. One particular participant reported that he initially did not know what the protest is about:

Bongani: *Oh, a friend of mine. I saw it actually on the way into Wits when I was coming to school but it would just slip my mind. I didn't know what is it about and everything so when I get to class - my friend usually arrives around 7 - so we said no guy, let's just go and get a t-shirt because for him it was just a t-shirt. We just... ah there are free t-shirts then we go there and then we get there and they actually explain to me what it means and I became part of it, what it is about and I liked the idea because this thing is happening because most people believe that these things don't happen and then since they don't happen, they just don't care. So the fact that I've met somebody who has been in that same situation so just made me interested. Fine, let me just participate and try to have a view and a clue of what it is to participate or maybe to be in that situation.*

Another participant reported that he and his friends had seen the protest moving on campus the previous year but did not understand what it was about. Moreover, he reported that he and his friends would mock the procession amongst themselves:

Mulalo: *The first time I heard it was last year but I saw people wearing t-shirts, taping their mouth. I didn't know what's going on... We were making fun of them. I didn't think it was something serious but this year when they sending e-mails, I was like, okay.*

While the following participant did not have much to say on his initial thoughts about the protest, it seemed that though he had a vague notion of the purpose of the protest, he was unclear as to the specific meaning of the protest:

Sizwe: *I think it's all about awareness of the women abuse. Yah... women abuse.*

The initial ignorance around the protest was followed by new insights that the participants gained as a result of taking part in the protest. This further highlights the fact that not much thought had been given to the issue before being sensitized by what they heard and saw at the protest:

Mulalo: *I don't think it will stop, but what will reduce it? Eish! If people know how women feel about this... A husband feels... like he is above [his wife], like he can get anything he wants from her... so that mentality. If we could stop that mentality.*

Mandla: *It was an eye-opening experience. As time went on... like die-in... we got to hear the stories, like the one of the speaker there. Her experiences, how it affected her and what she thought and it just impressed upon me that I just thought to myself this wouldn't be something I would wanna do to someone. This is not the way I would want someone to feel about themselves.*

Mandla even went on to speak about having learnt something completely new about a woman's agency when it comes to her sexuality:

Mandla: *When she said females have a right to want to have sex, it's not only the guy who want to make the first move... what I realised is that I didn't know... I thought if a girl wants to have sex with you she is a B-word... but she changed my view when she [said] they have needs... She changed my view on that thing.*

The participants share several new and important insights about women and sexual violence that resulted from their participation in the protest. The first of these is consideration for the patriarchal power dynamics that tend to shape relationships (especially romantic and sexual relationships) between men and women. Mulalo makes a significant point about the root of the issue of sexual violence being the imbalance of power that often leads to men being the dominant partner, placing women in a subordinate (and therefore more vulnerable) position in romantic relationships. When he says, "if people know how women feel about this", he appears to be experiencing a transcendental moment where he attempts to understand a woman's experience of the power dynamics in relationships with men.

Mulalo's insight here is particularly important as it is one that has been at the root of contemporary efforts to address gender-based violence: facilitating men opening themselves up to reflection on the everyday, taken-for-granted practices in relationships that harbour rape-supportive beliefs. While this is only the beginning of reflective thinking for Mulalo, it is the foundation upon which he can develop insight into his own practices and beliefs about gender relations. It is paramount that an understanding of sexual assault be grounded in a critical understanding of the gender dynamics at play in heterosexual courtship practices (Courtenay, 1999; Marshall, 1993; Pollack, 1998).

Mulalo further speaks about learning about women's sexual agency and the idea that women have a right to want sex. His statement regarding his assumption that women exercising their sexual agency are undesirable highlights the problematic dynamic that is woven into heterosexual courtship practices. Mulalo touches on the fact that traditional masculinity dictates that men are the sexual aggressors, initiating sexual contact while women are the gatekeepers of sex and passive participants in this process – the woman withholds and protects sex while it is the man's role to pursue and obtain it (Gavey, 2005). The idea that women have sexual agency is not only novel to Mulalo but has in fact been deemed unacceptable and diminishing of a woman's respectability. This extends to the issue of consent. If women are viewed as not having agency in sexual and romantic relationships, a woman's consent is nullified as the woman is not considered to be a participant in the initiation of sexual contact. This is a deeply problematic belief, making it vital that men who participate in protests be exposed to insights such as these.

The initial ignorance to the above insights is unsurprising, given that studies have found that there is a problematic belief among some men that rape is a women's problem rather than society's problem (Rich et al., 2008). This is a common misconception that is woven into many of the themes and subthemes in this chapter. A study by Scheel et al (2001) on men's perceptions of programmes that combat sexual violence echoes this finding. The study found that men perceive such programmes to only be a priority for women and that they have no relevance to their lives. Many of the responses were that participation in such programmes would require time and energy that they were unable or unwilling to give.

The skewed focus of rape prevention programmes mirrors the problematic belief among many men that rape is only a women's problem. Literature speaks of a general absence of

men in efforts to address the issue of sexual violence. As reviewed in the second chapter of this report, the programmes that have been put in place for the prevention of sexual violence have seldom targeted men and tend to focus on self-defence strategies for women (Crooks et al., 2007; Katz, 2006; Rozee & Koss, 2001). While some feel that there is practical value to giving women the tools to protect themselves as far as possible, many writers have had strong criticisms of this approach. The essence of the criticism is that in this approach placing the onus on the victim to protect themselves, it is sending the unintended message that sexual assault is in fact the victim's fault. In order to prevent rape, it is important that we also target men, not only because they are statistically more likely to be perpetrators of sexual assault, but because their inclusion as allies is far more useful in combating the misconceptions some of this study's participants held before gaining new insights from the Silent Protest (Rich et al., 2010).

4.4. Sexual Violence Happens Only to Women

This theme is at the core of this research as it addresses one of the central issues pertaining to the research questions. It represents the perception held that sexual violence is a female problem rather than a societal issue. This theme includes the following subthemes: *Under-representation of Male Survivors of Sexual Violence*, *the Silent Protest is a Women's Protest*, *Participating in the Protest is Trespassing in a Female Space* as well as *Bearing the Cross for all Men who have Violated Women*.

4.4.1. Under-representation of male survivors of sexual violence.

This theme arose in different areas of the interview, especially where the discussion centred on the proportion of male participants to female participants. There was a general feeling that male survivors of sexual violence were not sufficiently represented in the protest. Though the participants felt that this lack of representation was understandable given the overwhelming statistics of sexual violence in this country, there was a general feeling that it was an important part of the problem that was not being overtly addressed:

Mandla appeared to have an underlying tone of surprise when male victims of rape were mentioned. He spoke about the protest having been a learning experience:

Mandla: *It was really a learning experience... with other guys there, thinking...I am not the only one who's concerned about what's happening here. Most of them, they are also standing in solidarity with us fighting this, what's happening in our country. Yes, trying to break the silence and as time went on, we also realized that men do also get abused. So yes, we basically standing up for everyone that's been sexually abused and all that.*

Jesse and Tau commented on the under-representation of male survivors of sexual violence and the culture of silence around this:

Jesse: *As a white male, actually as a male in itself, we are very under-represented...when it comes to sexual abuse and sexual violence. No one really thinks a man can be raped and if men are raped then we are told to keep quiet about it. We don't talk about it... Since my friends came out to me as well, that's influenced me to make a decision.*

Tau: *It is a problem because even with men they do get raped, they get molested and of course if you are a man and you got raped, you go to the police and you report it, they will laugh at you. We have had instances like that. So it is problematic.... and it's hard to answer such questions...and again this is patriarchy. It's violence towards men because patriarchy is not only violence to women in order to suppress them... it's also to men and Chimamanda explained it very well in her speech... Patriarchy is even affecting such situations so it's problematic... I don't have the answers but from my side it's books. I think it's one of the ways we can reach the audience or maybe dialogues with men. So if already I am conscientized about this, then I should just even when you are chilling with friends and say that guys there is this issue and then say what is it.*

Most of the participants felt that a large part of why male survivors were under-represented in the protest was related to the statistics about men who actually report sexual violence against them. The all-important point around the perceived legitimacy of these incidents was brought forward. Though some men may attempt to report these sexual assaults, they are often met with ridicule from other men, which discourages men from reporting being sexually violated. Jesse, who participated as a survivor for the first time, continued to express strong feelings about this:

Jesse: *They must have heard of some stories about female school teachers raping their male students and they are like "can a man really be raped by a woman?" Because you know that's the biology of things but if you swap the genders around there, you'd hear how... problematic that kind of discussion is and then obviously because I'm sexually attracted to men and I was raped by a man... they decided that because my sexuality matched the gender of the person who raped me that they can start asking questions about what happened and saying, "Well, I mean you do that anyway; how is it different?"*

Jesse makes a very important point in this quote. He speaks about a misattribution regarding sexual orientation and consent in relation to gay men who have been victims of sexual violence. It is a very common and profoundly erroneous social conflation of consensual sex and rape that is further damaging to male victims of sexual assault and often leads to their silence as their experience is often invalidated by friends, family and even health professionals and the police. On the other hand, incidents of rape where the victim is a heterosexual woman who is raped by a man (who is often assumed to be heterosexual) are viewed as valid as it is assumed that a female victim would be more likely to be vulnerable to an attack (Ford, Liwag-McLamb & Foley, 1998; Groth & Burgess, 1980).

Socialisation into traditional masculinity dictates that men be aggressive and invulnerable. This aggressive and invulnerable nature is extended to sexuality, where men are sexually aggressive and women are sexually subservient to men (Gavey, 2005; Groth & Burgess, 1980). When Jesse's friends ask if a man can be raped by a woman, they are subscribing to the myth that men cannot be raped because they are expected to have been able to physically overpower their assailant. Perrot and Webber (1996) conducted a study on attributional differences based on various victim characteristics, including gender, and found that their participants tended to hold female victims of sexual assault responsible for being unable to discern between potentially dangerous people and people who can be trusted, while they held male victims responsible for being unable to defend themselves against their assailant.

Similarly to Jesse, Mulalo expressed that it is difficult for men to report incidents of sexual violence against them. He also touched on the fact that men who are raped by women tend to be victims of derision and their assault does not qualify as rape to other men:

Mulalo: *Showing us how people are affected from this. I learnt like this thing is happening everywhere... One of the actors...the male didn't want to tell anyone. Like, he thought like they will laugh at him like, "You were raped by a woman?" Men view like if you are raped by a woman you should not take it as a rape.*

Mandla echoed Mulalo's sentiments, drawing from the impact that the dramatization had on him:

Mandla: *Though I only I saw the one at the theatre... it was powerful. It really conveyed a powerful message that also men can be sexually abused and it's even worse for them to speak up because they're afraid of what other men would think of them. So yes, the plays they really stood out for me.*

The dramatization brought the experiences of survivors nearer to the participants in order to facilitate better understanding and empathy. Mandla describes just that when he speaks about seeing a depiction of a scenario where a man is sexually violated by a woman. Foubert (2000) found that depictions of male rape victims tended to be more effective in initially engaging and increasing empathy in male participants in anti-rape programs. One of the participants in the study by Piccigallo et al. (2012) stated that seeing men as victims of rape provided men with "the ability to put themselves in the shoes of being a rape survivor" (p. 512).

4.4.2. The Silent Protest is a women's protest.

This theme focuses on the assumption that only those members of society who are directly affected by sexual violence, wrongly presumed to be women only, should show interest and/or be involved in the protest. There appeared to be agreement among some of the participants that a protest of this nature was perceived by many men to not have much personal relevance to their lives or those of men who are not victims or perpetrators of rape. Linked to this assumption of the irrelevance of the protest was the ignorance to the existence of the protest:

Sizwe: *I think they [men] are not aware...the protest... what it is portraying. They are not aware because they were asking a lot of those silly questions. Question like, 'Were your sisters once a victim of abuse?' When I am saying no: 'So why are you...?' They think you should be on the protest...when you were raped or some sort... They were even making those jokes...maybe you were raped there. Like it was funny, though...but just that they're not aware... I was not aware before...I went to the protest.*

Bongani: *I should participate in fighting against, not in joining to do it. That's how it came to me because the message was quite clear. This is something that happens. Because you are a guy, you might see it lightly. You might see it as something lightly.*

Bongani and Sizwe's statements both illustrate that sexual violence tends to not be a priority among some men as it is erroneously assumed to only affect women. Many men, therefore, are not invested in taking part in efforts to address the issue as it feels completely foreign to them. In a study by Rich, Utley, Janke and Moldoveanu (2010) on college men's responses to hypothetical sexual assault prevention programmes, only 5% of the sampled participants felt that a one-day sexual assault prevention programme would be of value and would be attended by male college students. A substantial 51% of the participants felt that they would not be inclined to attend such a programme as they found it to be irrelevant to their lives.

Mandla: *Most guys, they really don't know how it feels to know someone who has been affected by that, so it won't really affect them that much or compel them to want to partake of the protest. As for ladies, some they might know someone who has been affected by that so for them it will be closer to home and then they'll be able to relate with that person. As for guys, it's not really...Though they try but then you can't really get close to know how she feels.*

Sizwe: *For men, we are not...if you were not a victim or you are not close to a victim it's like it doesn't affect you, I don't know the easy way or the good way to attract the men to that protest.*

Quite similarly to the respondents in this study, one of the participants in the aforementioned study by Rich et al. (2010) spoke of finding rape prevention initiatives to

lack relevance to his life: “You probably wouldn’t really see men going to these types of classes because men don’t have to worry about being sexually assaulted. I wouldn’t like it. I think some would attend, not many. If we got paid to go that would be cool. I only think men would go if girlfriends/moms made them go” (Rich et al, 2010, p. 272).

Bongani: *It seems as if this thing is only for women. It seems as if it's only happening to women and to guys, it's not happening. It seems as if it's only affecting women and then only women are only moved to participate... It seems as if guys are ignorant or it doesn't happen to them but at the end of the day, you think that most guys are doing this or are being affected by this, but where are they?...It's like there is no room for them to come in. I don't know how it was and why other guys didn't get it but most of the guys that I know, it was only for the t-shirt.*

The responses in this subtheme mirror what takes place in general society. It is a commonly held belief that sexual violence is a woman’s problem rather than a societal problem that requires all who live in a society to address it. Katz (2006) and Scheel et al. (2001) had similar findings in their studies. They found that most of the men in their studies believed that sexual violence programmes had no relevance to their lives. They believed that the only stakeholders in such programmes are victims of sexual assault and perpetrators of these crimes.

The issue of sexual violence has often fallen into the category of issues that do not directly affect the lives of men, especially in the context of university campuses (Rich et al., 2010). Many campaigns have tended to focus on women avoiding rape by implementing self-defence strategies, remaining vigilant and acting very decisively in the face of potential danger (Scheel, Johnson, Schneider & Smith, 2001). Unfortunately, it is common that most men who attend university do not receive enough opportunities in their academic careers to reflect on gender relations that underlie the power dynamics that perpetuate the victimization of women in society (Kilmartin & Berowitz, 2001).

On the other hand, this implies that only tertiary educated men can thus have any hope of being conscientized and developing a reflexive empathy. Given that not all members of the South African population matriculate or even enrol in tertiary education, a considerable portion of the male population would be left without the possibility to reflect on the

problematic, rape-supportive aspects of gender relations. If this is so, we are surely condemned to continue down the same path that has brought us to this point.

4.4.3. Participating in the protest is trespassing in a female space.

This theme deals with the experience of the protest as being an exclusively female space. Most of the men in this study described feeling unwelcome at the protest and that they were invaders in the space:

Mulalo: *In the morning when I was on my way there at the Flower Hall. When I saw...there were only females outside. I was like, "Hayi [no], I can't be part of this. It's only females here. Let me go." So I saw one of my friends... She is a female and I was like, "Let me go." So when I got there, I saw one of my class mates. It's a guy so I felt encouraged to take part.*

Bongani describes his experience of the protest as a female space and a feeling that though he was physically present at the protest, he could not be a part of it. It was only after spotting a familiar male face at the protest that he felt he could stay:

Bongani: *I had my friend...there because at some point I felt better because he is there with me and then it's the two of us. Whatever they say, it's just me and him but if I was alone... I felt a point where this other time he left me. I felt a point of being out of place because you are only surrounded by females and then...why are you here?*

It seemed crucially important to both Mulalo and Bongani that even one friend participated in the protest with them. Moreover, the friends to whom they refer are both men. This appears to have allowed their participation. Both of them describe experiencing the protest as an exclusively female space where they felt like imposters. The presence of a friend (and a male friend in particular) provided them with a form of social support, mitigating feelings of isolation and not belonging. This is a useful finding as it sheds light on a factor that positively influences the participation of some men. It may, therefore, be useful to encourage that male participants in the Silent Protest take part with a friend.

Jesse expressed that he experienced some of the rhetoric during the protest as antagonistic towards men. While he made it clear that he identifies as gender queer, he reported being aware of his assigned male gender and the discomfort this brought in a predominantly female space:

Jesse: *The woman who spoke before Lebo Mashile, she had a lot of anti-male rhetoric in her speech but I do understand where she is coming from. I get her viewpoint but I did feel marginalized, as if I was invading a sacred space by simply having a penis... It was strange, I felt alienated all over again. I felt very uncomfortable when I was looking around and it felt like all eyes were on me like, 'How dare this man enter our midst?' but I honestly don't think that was the intent of her message... I don't think she is anti-male but that's just the way that she spoke. It might have been just because of the context of the event that I felt very marginalized about that.*

What Jesse describes in this quote is a moment of complete alienation from the participants of the protest. In particular, this was a moment of feeling alienated from survivor participants even as a survivor himself. In that moment, Jesse's experience was that the fact that he is biologically male invalidated his participation as a survivor and positioned him as a potential perpetrator.

However, Jesse also describes a contrasting experience in the next quote, where he felt camaraderie with the other female participants:

Jesse: *You know, walking around with so many women, I thought that I would feel...what's the word? I don't wanna use 'marginalized' too much. I thought that the women in the march would look at me with distrust but I didn't get that from the participants at all. It was weird because even though we were all speaking the same thing we were still...in our own little world. We are forced to introspection during the march because it's a silent protest; there's not a lot of interaction between us.*

Jesse's experience is unique because by being a male survivor, his body occupies two polar opposite subject positions in the context of the protest. By being a survivor, he becomes an ally and a comrade. By being in a male body, he is sometimes positioned as a potential perpetrator and therefore potentially dangerous. This switching between positions, as is

illustrated in Jesse's contrasting experiences as described above, results in a conflictual relationship with his participation in the protest as he simultaneously feels embraced and rejected.

4.4.4. Bearing the cross for all men who have violated women.

This theme is one that is important to the research as it speaks to one of the key experiences of men in the protest. Many of the interviewed men described experiencing a keen awareness of the fact that they are biologically male in a predominantly female protest. This specifically related to the fact that statistics on sexual violence in South Africa reflect that the majority of perpetrators of reported incidents of sexual violence are male. There appeared to be a general feeling that by virtue of being men, they represented all perpetrators:

Mandla: *Well, my thoughts...just show to me that it's mostly women that get affected by this...and men, in most cases, they're the perpetrators... It's mostly women that are affected.*

Mandla further spoke about a feeling of being compelled to take part in the protest that some men may experience because of the statistics on male perpetrators of sexual violence and that it is the responsibility of men to create change in this regard:

Mandla: *Actually showing the other people that men do get affected by this and in most cases men are actually the perpetrators... Some men will be compelled to take part after showing them that mostly, it's men that are the cause and we must try change our ways.*

Much of earlier research shows that men who participate in sexual violence prevention programmes feel that they tend to be forced into the subject position of perpetrator, which they experience as an attack and as unfair (Rich et al., 2010). Rich et al. (2010) found in their study that men felt that they would be personally offended if they were to be compelled to attend a day long workshop dealing with sexual violence as they perceive men who violate women sexually to only be 'disrespectful' men.

Though Jesse's experience of participating as a survivor varies from the experiences of the other participants in some respects, he also had at least one experience of feeling like he was labelled as a potential perpetrator and looked upon with suspicion:

Jesse: *I thought I was gonna be seen as predator. I thought I was gonna be infringing on their sacred space but no, I didn't experience that at all. It was only during the first speech that I experienced that.*

Jesse went on to speak about his own experience of expecting and fearing being labelled as a potential perpetrator and being unwelcome at the protest despite the intention to support its cause and participating as a survivor:

Jesse: *Well, because like I said, my perpetrator was a man and you are walking with a majority of people who I think have experienced sexual abuse or who know somebody who has, they tend to be weary around men. I mean, that's just the way we are programmed. If I get hit by a car, I'm going to be nervous around cars... I was nervous around men after what happened to me. It took me a very long time to start considering a love-life again. So I did expect women to see me as a potential threat, just as a gut reaction... I just focused on smoking my cigarette and looking at the ground. I didn't want to look at anybody until I actually got to the hall because I knew that if one person looked at me and said, 'What the hell are you doing here?' I wouldn't have participated. So I didn't focus on anybody on my way to the hall to get the shirts.*

Jesse's particular experience is one of potentially not belonging anywhere. Firstly, Jesse is a man among women who are protesting sexual violence that is mainly perpetrated by men. Though he is a survivor, that he is male separates him from the female survivors, who dominate the protest in their numbers. Secondly, as a rape survivor and identifying as gender queer, he is unlikely to feel a sense of belonging to the group of men who participated in the protest. This may also become a double stigmatisation of Jesse: stigmatised for being male in the protest and stigmatised again for being a man who has been a victim of rape.

Similarly to this study, there appears to be a feeling among male participants of almost being violated themselves as the role of perpetrator is imposed on them and forcefully

woven into their identities as men. This creates a tug-of-war within the men. On one hand, it is socially desirable for men to be allies and advocates for the prevention of violence against women and this behaviour is encouraged. On the other hand, men feel that their male bodies are automatically labelled as potentially dangerous and that they are to be feared. These subject positions oppose one another, making the identity of a man participating in the protest (and protests similar to these that are predominantly populated by women) a site of conflict. Participating in the Silent Protest, therefore, became a process of identifying and dis-identifying with both these opposing identities for the men in this study.

Studies have suggested that the manner in which men are positioned in campaigns against sexual violence influences how the message is received and can be very alienating (Masters, 2010; Piccigallo et al., 2012; Rich et al., 2010). Men tend to have a more positive response and more receptive attitude when they are approached as potential allies rather than potential perpetrators of sexual assault (Masters, 2010; Rich et al., 2010; Piccigallo et al., 2012 & Scheel et al., 2012). A quote from a participant in the study by Rich et al (2010) reinforces this idea: “I would be outraged because it stereotypes men as the perpetrator.” (p. 273). This is linked to men beginning to consider themselves as stakeholders in the fight against sexual violence rather than rejected bystanders who are unaffected by the epidemic (Piccigallo et al., 2012).

4.5. Negotiating one’s Sense of Masculinity in the Silent Protest

This theme deals with the perceived relationship between the participants’ sense of masculinity and their participation in the protest. This theme has a number of layers that are discussed under each of these three subthemes: *Concerns about the Perceptions of Other Men*, *Participating in the Protest is Feminizing*, and *Silence as a Method of Protest*.

4.5.1. Concern about the perceptions of other men.

This theme deals with the participants’ concerns about how their participation in the protest might influence other men’s opinions of them. Participants spoke of an expectation that men should generally have a nonchalant attitude and a general demeanour of being impervious to the social ills or difficulties of the world. Participating in the protest would

be seen as an act of weakness both as a survivor and as an ally as it is perceived to be a break in the impervious mask of manhood:

Mulalo: *Eish! You know guys like to know why. They like arguments. So they don't want to be part of something they think that will make them look...like they care what people think about them. Even though some wanted to join, they wouldn't want to join...So I don't know how women think but I think like they are free. They do what they think.*

It is interesting that Mulalo seems to perceive women to be less influenced or burdened by social pressure when making decisions. This assumption is erroneous as women face a multitude of social pressures but these pressures tend to be very different from those experienced by men. His belief that women are 'free' to make decisions without consideration for social expectations is perhaps reflective of the performative nature of the expectations placed on men by society.

Jesse spoke about his experience of disclosing his sexual assault to his friends. He stated that there is fear associated with disclosing sexual assault as a man to other men:

Jesse: *My male friends... they had a few cuts to make because, to be fair as well, it was the first time I came out to them as a survivor and most of them didn't know how to respond. But some of them made slight comments and so that discourages us from participating. We are also terrified of what if somebody sees us, because there is a lot of rivalry between men and we are programmed that way...not programmed but society encourages men...to compete for things. So I think at some primal level they were thinking what if our rival sees us marching as a survivor? Otherwise, we think we'll be lessened in their eyes. It will show weakness because for men compassion is a weakness.*

Jesse makes an important point about competition in traditional masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity is rigid in its definition of masculinity as aggressive, strong and domineering. Men are even less likely than women to disclose having been sexually violated owing to the perception by other men that this will mean they are weak. A competitive nature is part of stereotypical masculinity, as Jesse mentions, as men are socialised to be conquerors of not only women, but other men as well. In so doing, they prove their masculinity and their

power. Given the common and erroneous rape myth that a man should be able to physically overpower an attacker and defend themselves successfully, sexual violation would be considered a display of weakness unbefitting of a 'real' man (Butler, 1990; Kimmel, 1986).

Jesse went on to make a significant point about the role played by other men in the performance of one's masculinity:

Jesse: *As much as men like to paint themselves... as islands, we are just as social as everybody else and we do worry a lot about what other people think. That's the reason why the stereotypical man... if you slept with a lot of girls, you tell everybody about it...all of his male friends...because... you haven't gotten your masculinity unless somebody knows about it.*

The above quotes from the participants highlight the nature of masculinity in that it needs to be proven regularly or one finds that the status of their masculinity becomes precarious. Judith Butler (2006) writes that gender is an enactment, rather than dictated by biology. Each gender has a set of non-negotiable norms that each actor must perform as prescribed in order to be recognized as that gender (Butler, 2006). Taking this point even further is Bongani's quote below, which illustrates that one of the non-negotiable characteristics of masculinity is remaining silent if one has been a victim of sexual violence in order to maintain one's masculine status. This endorses Jesse's earlier statement about male competitiveness and social pressures. In addition to concern about how his friends' opinions of him may be altered if they were to see him in the protest, Bongani was adamant that if he had suffered sexual assault, he would never speak of it:

Bongani: *I just did it and then if maybe I had thought about it, then I don't think I would have done it because of the [stereo]types... I'm the only guy. What are my friends gonna think? ... People, when they see you doing [the Silent Protest]... because most guys have got pride, I wouldn't say... That's the truth, they've got pride because when they're involved in that thing, they'll say maybe you have been in the situation, that's why you are doing it. But the truth of the matter, if I was in that situation, there's no way I was gonna do the speech... Why would I do it? I've got pride.*

Mandla echoes Bongani's statement about the expectation that men remain silent about sexual violence in order to maintain their masculinity:

Mandla: *I would think it's generally more girls there than boys... Men really don't speak much about the sexual abuse that happens and they really don't get affected by it that much. So some people... might think that this guy is gay or something.*

One of the participants quite clearly expressed his fear of being ridiculed by his friends for his participation in the protest:

Mulalo: *I thought they were gonna... make fun of me.*

What is illustrated in the above quotes is that hegemonic masculinity does more than silencing women; it silences men as well as other forms of masculinity. While other masculinities do exist, the values held in hegemonic masculinity have the greatest level of legitimacy and social currency, imbuing those who have adopted it with privilege and power. The adoption of this culturally exalted form of masculinity prescribes how one should behave in ways that are consistent with the values embodied by 'real men' (Mac & Ghail, 1994). Behaviours that are outside the scope of values of hegemonic masculinity are therefore, considered to be illegitimate and unrecognisable. This contravention of established norms of masculinity puts one at risk of persecution – what Butler refers to as a state of precarity (Butler, 2006).

The social currency gained by performing one's masculinity in socially acceptable ways provides one with the safety of remaining within the fraternity of men. Forbes, Adams-Curtis, Pakalka and White (2006) describe college campuses as providing rich soil for hyper-masculinity to flourish. Various elements of the institution that are predominantly male spaces combine with "hostile masculinity" to perpetuate the objectification and marginalisation of women by normalising "emotional detachment, competition, and the sexual objectification of women" (Bird, 1996, p. 122). Schwartz and DeKeseredy (1997) describe a phenomenon called "male peer support", where men take part in the perpetuation of the victimisation of women because they believe that their male peers subscribe to or support these behaviours (Gage, 2008). This is done in an attempt to preserve the credibility of their masculine status in the eyes of their male peers because not

doing so might mean that they are viewed as weak, which would cast doubt on their masculinity and put them at risk of becoming outcasts among other men (Carlson, 2008).

4.5.2. Participating in the Silent Protest is feminizing.

This theme deals with a topic that was common among all the interviews: equating participating in the protest with being feminine in some way, which intertwines with fears of being thought to be gay and being ridiculed by one's heterosexual, traditionally masculine peers:

Mulalo: *There is this thing when you join things that they don't approve or something like that. Maybe like you acting like a...eish! I don't want to curse the B word. 'You are acting like a bitch'... something like that. So they don't want something like that. You know men don't want to be in that situation. When I was in the lab with that mouth-taped they were like, "What is this now? You see what Wits do to people? Look at him now. Let's go, let's go." They don't want that.*

As is evident above, Mulalo hesitated to use what he believed to be profane language in the interview. The gender dynamic between a female interviewer and a male interviewee came to the fore in this moment. Traditional masculinity suggests that men use 'clean' language when speaking to women, as women are viewed to be fragile and in need of protection from things that might harm or offend them. In the case of Mulalo, communicating the extent of the disapproval of his male peers was an uncomfortable experience where he needed some reassurance that his candidness when speaking to a woman did not break the masculine code of conduct.

At this point, a number of responses were evoked within me. I became particularly aware of my femininity at this point and worried that it might be a hindrance, and I found myself wondering how I could subtly make myself appear to be less feminine. While my primary concern was that my womanhood might compromise the findings of the study, I also became aware of personal feelings of frustration that my womanhood even entered the room. Despite my efforts to be as professional and neutral as possible, the fact that I am a woman seemed to be primary to some of the participants. Managing this frustration was necessary in order any defensiveness that might have had a negative impact on the rapport that had been created between myself and Mulalo.

Participating in the Silent Protest appears to be in direct opposition to traditional forms of masculinity and is a direct threat to male participants' masculine status in the eyes of other men. Mulalo describes being mocked and then rejected by his friends for participating in the protest, which is a method by which behaviour outside the strict boundaries of traditional hegemonic masculinity is pruned (Connell, 1995). Kimmel (1987) notes that: "Homophobia (which I understand as more than fear of homosexual men) keeps men exaggerating their adherence to traditional norms, so that no other men will get the idea that we might really be that most dreaded person: the sissy" (p. 127). This instils in men a complete avoidance of any behaviour that could be construed as feminine as hegemonic masculinity must be non-feminine at its core.

This complete avoidance of any behaviours that could be perceived to be feminine is instilled from childhood when boys are rebuked for crying or showing in any way that they experience pain. Phrases such as 'sissy' or 'wuss' are used by sports coaches, for instance, when reprimanding boys in their teams for below par performance. Those boys who participate in sports that have been traditionally and historically been associated with girls or women are ridiculed and called 'fags' or 'queers' because homosexuality has very wrongly been associated with femininity. When these boys become older, they police one another by calling any man who strays from the strict confines of masculinity by participating in the Silent Protest a 'bitch', as Mulalo stated above.

This fear and avoidance of behaviours or activities associated with femininity manifests itself as homophobic attitudes, as is demonstrated by the ridicule described by Mulalo. Men who are seen to be choosing to embrace roles that have traditionally been reserved for women are seen as a threat to traditional forms of masculinity - and that threat must be eradicated (Connell, 1995).

Sizwe and Mandla echo this point as they also speak about the fear of other men thinking you are gay or feminine in some way and how this ties in with being ridiculed:

Sizwe: *Like...gayish... One of my friends said I must read the message on my t-shirt and I read it: "Women"... Then he was like, "Are you a woman?" No, I said I am supporting my sisters, my mothers, my...female friends. They think it's gayish...Those who are from, you know, rural backgrounds.*

Mandla: *Some are saying purple is the colour of [the] sexually frustrated, so they'll make joke of so you are sexually frustrated or something like that... They'll think maybe you [are] gay or something like that, taking part in in something like this... I am not quite sure but that's what I think other people would think.*

Beattie (2004) observes that homophobic attitudes are widespread in contemporary male youth culture as a result of the belief that they need to reject behaviours that could be perceived to be feminine or in contravention of traditional masculine stereotypes. This cultural acceptance of homophobic attitudes is contended to be the result of a need to reject any behaviours or ideologies that could be interpreted as feminine in an attempt to maintain the validity of their masculinity (Beattie, 2004). Harland's (2009) study observes that young men disparaged the idea of fellow men exhibiting characteristics that they perceived to be feminine characteristics. Pejorative terms such as "queers" and "fruits" tended to be used in response to this, which speaks to a contempt for and prejudiced attitude towards effeminate traits. This is linked to the immense pressure that they feel to adhere strictly to the ideals of masculinity (Harland, 2009).

4.5.3. Silence is a feminine method of protest.

This theme deals with perceptions of silence as a method of protest. Half of the participants alluded to silence being perceived to be a feminine method of protest, which renders it ineffective. On the other hand, masculine methods of protesting would involve some kind of display of masculine prowess.

In the following quote, Mandla speaks about the impetus for male participation in a protest being that it appears to affirm one's masculinity with very explicit displays of power and aggression. Any less than this would not be of interest to some men:

Mandla: *Most guys...I don't think it would be exciting for them to take part in a march or protest unless they're singing and dancing but, then you can see it was a chilled. We were not even talking.*

In addition to not being of interest to some men, silence as a method of protest is considered to be ineffective as it is perceived to lack masculine power. Mulalo illustrates this below:

Mulalo: *Because taping of mouth...before I go, I asked my friends let's go there and they'd be like, "Why should we go there?"... "Why would taping of mouth solve everything?"*

Bongani expressed similar sentiments when he spoke about the Silent Protest being feminine in its method of protest. He contrasted this with how violent protest is perceived to be masculine:

Bongani: *They will say that [the Silent Protest] is more like a feminist thing. It's not a manly thing but if there was a violent... maybe a toyi-toyi or something like that, they might participate because that is more manly... if you were to get what I am saying.*

Mandla and Bongani's statements corroborate Connell's contention that hegemonic masculinity is glorified over all forms of masculinity and that its characteristics are those of being heterosexual, abrasive, authoritative, valiant, competitive, robust and self-assured (Connell, 1995). Connell (1995) has put forward a widely accepted definition of hegemonic masculinity: "[Hegemonic masculinity] is the form of masculinity which is dominant in society. This is not a question of head counts, but a "question of relations of cultural domination" (p. 607-608). This provides an explanation for the imbalance in gender power relations where men and boys have been and continue to be elevated above women and girls.

The above description of what a traditionally masculine man should be is contrasted by what a traditionally feminine woman is expected to be, which is heterosexual, quiet, subservient and meek. It is, therefore, not surprising that a protest that is completely silent and dominated by women would be considered outside the realm of traditional masculinity and in keeping with traditional ideas about femininity. Participating in the Silent Protest would be considered a contravention of the masculine contract, meaning that male participants would be in that precarious position of having to balance embracing their participation and proving their masculinity throughout their participation in the protest.

The difficulty in the stringent nature of male gender roles is their exclusion of characteristics that are widely regarded as part of normal human behaviour, which leads to what Pleck (1981) referred to as gender role strain. He argued that gender role norms are

incongruous and unreliable, making it difficult to monitor one's adherence to them. Despite this difficulty, one is expected to comply as non-compliance with these gender role norms could have negative psychological implications and lead to censure by fellow men. This makes participation in the Silent Protest ever more difficult as this type of behaviour challenges the very limited masculine identity.

4.6. More Male Faces Needed in the Protest

This final theme was in response to a specific question in the interview and covers suggestions that the participants had to assist in increasing the number of male participants as well as improving the experiences of men in the protest. The prevailing theme regarding this was the need for more male support of the protest. While participants reported seeing some male representation, it was apparent that the vast majority of participants were women. Most of this study's participants felt that it would be encouraging to see a man in a speaking role in the protest. It was felt that this would draw more men to the protest, support those men already participating as well as demonstrating that there are men who find this to be an important cause.

Tau vehemently expressed that he believes it is vital that men participate in the Silent Protest because they are the main perpetrators of sexual assault in South Africa:

Tau: *I found out that men are a problem in this country. They are a problem and they are refusing to be part of the solution. So it's like on one end, you play the part...the role of being violent... raping, killing and so on, and then on the other side, you are refusing to partake in this. Whether or not you are a perpetrator wabona [you see] ...to me it doesn't make sense when posters are there and the male students don't come. It doesn't make sense to me.*

Bongani stated that it is important that more men participate in order to change the perception that the Silent Protest is a women-only space. He suggested that it may help men to become more invested in the protest:

Bongani: *Maybe if you at least put one male speaker... to show that it's not only a female thing but it's also a male thing. It's not something that should be kept only in females but also it should be part of male because it looked as if it was more women*

than men... We should eliminate that and make sure that each and every person is present because if you notice that there are only few guys and then more women...it seems as if it's something that is only for women. And then the guys that are doing it are doing it for fun.

Mandla suggested that more male faces be at the forefront of the Silent Protest:

Mandla: *Yes, even in the speeches it would be eye-opening to all of us if a male was to speak up about his experience and how he got help. So that would be something that...if possible, to consider in the future protests.*

Mandla's suggestion that a male speaker be involved on the day of the protest echoes findings by Piccigallo et al. (2012) regarding the positive influence of men in influential positions on male participation in anti-rape programmes. Additionally, a male speaker could bring the experience closer to men as they might be better able to put themselves in the shoes of someone similar to them, making it easier to experience empathy. Additionally, Piccigallo et al. (2012) found that men tend to be more trusting of information delivered by men than that delivered by women. Participants in the study attributed this to traditionally sexist notions of the authority of men over women (Piccigallo et al., 2012).

Jesse spoke about the importance of having university leadership demonstrating their support by making an appearance at the protest. He also expressed his disappointment at the absence of the vice-chancellor:

Jesse: *I suppose, in a way, to fight this stereotypes that are helping absolutely nobody because it's male dominated/male-centric, I suppose specifically it is a heterosexual male dominated world that contributes to rape culture and if we can get a representative from that world... As far as I know, Habib is cis-gendered and heterosexual. So that's how he presents and most people think of him that way. If he participated, it would show a very important element of patriarchy breaking the stereotype, because having a black woman lead the march...start the march and participate, that's following the stereotype... A lot of people, when they think of rape they think of the victim as a black female and so there's no surprise that a black woman is leading the march. And that's wrong. Yes, black women are raped. Yes, the*

majority of cases of victims are black women but we are not going to change any minds by simply following stereotypes. That's what angered me about Habib not showing up... Actually, now that I have spoken at length about Habib, I think having a male speaker at the end just before the die-in, if we include a male speaker it would make a whole difference. I can't really think of anything else apart from having people with penises a little bit more involved.

Bongani had similar sentiments to Jesse. He spoke about the need to include male figures who are admired opinion leaders and how seeing these faces can influence other men by setting an example:

Bongani: *It's finding a role model that most guys look up to, making him participate in that Silent Protest... That would say to guys okay, if this guy is doing [it] then fine, because also guys think tough guys don't do such. If I am Brian Habana, I don't participate in Silent Protest. So why would I wanna participate in such if Brian Habana doesn't participate in such? So those are things that you can improve.*

Piccigallo et al. (2012) as well as Audery, Holliday and Campbell (2006) echo Jesse and Bongani's statements in their research findings. They found that men were even more likely to be influenced by men that they considered to be of a high status (such as the vice chancellor, as mentioned by Jesse). This is owing to the fact that a male who is considered to be of a high status is an admirable opinion leader and his message may be received as one that is aspirational. Unfortunately, university leadership tends not to be present at such protests, as protests against sexual violence may not necessarily be a priority when campus assaults are not considered a crisis.

While efforts to address the issue of sexual violence on university campuses (especially in South African universities) need to be a priority, university administration may tend to avoid candidly discussing prevention programmes for fear of inadvertently suggesting to students, parents/guardians and alumni that there is a campus problem (Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997). Prioritization of such programmes tends to be a crisis response rather than a consistent effort. Schwartz and DeKeseredy (1997) contend that in male dominated university administrations, there tends to be insufficient sensitivity to issues that primarily affect women owing to discomfort or apathy towards creating policies that address such issues on campuses.

Tau suggested that male residences should be targeted when recruiting men to participate in the protest:

Tau: *The target should be the male [residences], even the mixed [residences]... You can call the whole house but throughout the presentation you should... deliberately... say men this side, women this side. I am not sure what are the pros and cons of that but I know there are more pros. To say look guys, please we need to do this because as it stands men are the perpetrators. Violently so and on the other hand they are not part of the solution.*

Sizwe spoke about how he believes that men recruiting men may be a more effective method of drawing more men to the protest:

Sizwe: *For men... if you were not a victim or you are not close to a victim, it's like it doesn't affect you. I don't know the easy way or the good way to attract the men to that protest. I think we as guys who participated before, I think we should talk to the guys...because if a girl come to you with this thing, I will say maybe she was a victim but if a guy...believes that guys are not always the victim of abuse, I think if guys can be used to campaign before... I think that would be a better way to use the men to get other men to the organisation.*

The point that Sizwe makes in the above statement regarding men talking to men about sexual violence is one that has been iterated in other studies. Piccigallo et al. (2012) and Audrey et al. (2006) found that the involvement of men as presenters was most effective in reaching men who took part in rape prevention programmes. It was found that men were more receptive to messages delivered by other men because of a number of reasons. Participants in the Piccigallo et al. (2012) study stated that they felt more comfortable being open and honest with other men. Participants felt that women tended to approach men in an accusatory manner, while other men used inclusive language like 'us' and 'we' (Audrey et al., 2006; Piccigallo et al., 2012). Once again, a more problematic reason that reflects male privilege was that they tended to trust information given by men more than information delivered by women (Piccigallo et al., 2012).

Overall, these findings have shed some light on some of the experiences of men who participate in the Silent Protest. It appears that the issue of sexual violence is often thought

by male participants to be a women's issue and that they are unwelcome at the Silent Protest. The men in this study often felt that they have been unfairly painted as potential perpetrators and struggle to reconcile this position with that of an ally. Importantly, participation in the Silent Protest appears to be in direct contravention of the ideals of traditional hegemonic masculinity, making participation in the protest a risk to participants' masculine status and troubling for their identities as masculine men. Armed with this knowledge, we can begin to think about the ways in which male participation in the Silent Protest can be improved.

Chapter 5: Conclusion, Limitations and Recommendations

5.1. Conclusion

This research aimed to understand the reported experiences, thoughts and meaning-making of men who participated in the Silent Protest against sexual violence at the University of the Witwatersrand in August 2015. It also aimed to understand the feelings that were evoked in male participants on the day of the protest. The study further aimed to understand how participating in the Silent Protest made male participants feel as men. Finally, the study aimed to explore the views of the participants on how the protest can improve the experiences of male supporter participants in order to improve male participation.

This study is an exploratory study that made use of a qualitative research design in the interpretive-phenomenological tradition to answer the research questions. Six males who participated in the protest were interviewed. Though the initial sample was to only include male supporter participants, the sample was widened to include all male participants. One of the participants (who has been called Jesse) had a different reason for participating in the Silent Protest in that he participated as a survivor and also represented the gender queer community. Participants were recruited on the day of the protest and shortly afterwards, and data was collected using semi-structured in-depth interviews.

Five major themes were derived from the interviews: *Personal Reasons for Participating in the Protest*; *Lack of Knowledge and Understanding of the Purpose of the Protest*; *Sexual Violence Happens only to Women*; *Negotiating one's Sense of Masculinity in the Silent Protest*; and *More Male Faces Needed in the Protest*. These themes illuminated three major findings in this study: The first of these findings is that the issue of sexual violence is thought by some of the participants to be a women's issue. The second is that participants often feel that they are unfairly painted as potential perpetrators of sexual assault in the Silent Protest. The third is that participation in the Silent Protest appears to be in direct contravention of the ideals of traditional, hegemonic masculinity. These three major factors interact and become a negative influence on the participation of men in the Silent Protest. This study's findings thus provide what can perhaps be a starting point in thinking about how the Silent Protest can reach more men.

The findings of this study illuminate a number of issues that need to be addressed if we are to make real strides in reducing sexual violence in our society. Given that the statistics regarding male perpetration of sexual assault are overwhelming, it stands to reason that some of the most important parts of combating this epidemic lie in efforts to address sexual violence engaging with males in our society. As was discussed in the literature review as well as the findings chapter, traditional hegemonic masculinity possesses very rigid, problematic characteristics and values that must be critically examined in order to unpack rape supportive behaviours and ideologies. In order to gain traction in this movement, alternative masculinities that are also allies in feminist activism need to be developed (Hooks, 2000). It is only through this critical engagement with men about men that the process of developing feminist masculinities that have the ability to engage with ally behaviour can begin. By so doing, we can make meaningful changes that address sexual violence at the level of prevention and connect with women as well as feminism (Hooks, 2000).

One of the striking findings of this study was that many of the interviewees in this study felt alien to the movement against sexual violence, making it impossible for them to consider themselves to be one of its stakeholders. What appears to be lost in translation is the very important feminist assertion that the movement against sexual violence is not intrinsically anti-male but is rather against a system of gender relations that perpetuates the victimisation of women and children in society. Perhaps the involvement of more male figures (especially males who are admired or in positions of influence) in the recruitment of participants in the Silent Protest is a way that this issue can be bridged. Taking this even further may be including forums for men that run throughout the academic year to critically engage with their role in preventing sexual violence and the pressures described by this study's participants that many men feel to conform to hegemonic masculinity. Morell, Jewkes and Lindegger (2012) are in agreement with this strategy, suggesting that what should be one of the priorities of preventing sexual violence is gender work for men that focuses on introspection and organizational work for women with the aim of creating gender alliances because an important part of creating gender alliances is identifying and analysing the forms of power that men have over women.

5.2. Limitations of the Study

A limitation of this study is its research design. As discussed in chapter 3 of this report, the phenomenological-interpretivist framework and qualitative methods used in this research were most appropriate for gathering the data that was required to answer the research questions. That being said, it is important to consider criticisms of the framework and methods employed in this study. The interpretivist framework has been criticised by its positivist counterpart for falling short in terms of empirical rigor because of its vulnerability to unintended influence by researchers. Though rich results are contained in this study, they cannot be generalised.

It is important to note that this study is based on the assumption that there is a relationship between sex (being male) and gender (masculinity) and how one makes sense of their participation in the Silent Protest. In some ways, this may have led the interviews in a specific direction. However, the open-ended questions contained in the interview schedule allowed the respondents to express themselves in their own words.

As a woman interviewing men about sexual violence and masculinity – both topics that are difficult to discuss openly – the gender dynamics between the female researcher and the male participants needed to be considered. As was explicit in one of the interviews, discussing this topic with a woman was an uncomfortable task for at least one of the men. While it is not possible to generalise the experience of one participant, it is worth bearing in mind that men who identify as masculine (which was most of the participants) might have difficulty being open about this topic as traditional masculinity would not allow for this level of openness with a woman. Thus, it is possible that some of the participants provided a sanitised version of their thoughts and experiences. Participants were, however, encouraged throughout the interviews to be as open as possible.

The sample of six men who were interviewed is limited in terms of its small size and diversity. A more diverse sample may have provided more diverse experiences of the protest that could have painted a richer picture of the phenomenon that is the focus of this study.

5.3. Recommendations for Future Research

The sample used in this study is a small exploratory sample. Conducting this study on a larger scale may be of interest for future research. This could include extending the sample to include other universities that hold the Silent Protest, as well as extending it beyond university populations and including other anti-rape events.

It may also be interesting to conduct a quantitative version of this study.

It may be valuable to conduct a study such as this one with a male interviewer. As has been mentioned earlier in this report, being interviewed by a woman caused hesitation in some of the participants. While my efforts to maintain neutrality and professionalism may have mitigated some of the unease in regard to being open about their feelings with a woman researcher, some of the participants remained somewhat reticent when discussing some of the ways in which the traditional ideals of masculinity have an impact on their experiences of the Silent Protest. Discussing this topic with a male researcher may put participants at ease and this may yield slightly different findings.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Participant Information Sheet



Psychology

School of
Human &
Community
Development

University of
Witwatersrand

Private Bag 3,
Johannesburg, 2050

Telephone: 011 717
503 Fax:
011 717 4559



Good day,

My name is Viwe Dweba and I am conducting research for the purposes of obtaining a Masters degree in Clinical Psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand. The area of research focus is on male supporter participants' experience of the Silent Protest Day as well as the meaning they make of their participation in the protest, and I would like to formally invite you to participate.

My research focuses on hearing from male voices in the fight against sexual violence, and your voice is important. The purpose of the research is to find out how males who participate in the Silent Protest make meaning of their participation, as well as how they

experience the protest. In order to be able to participate, you should be over the age of 18 and you should be participating as a supporter in the protest (wearing the 'Solidarity' shirt). Participation will entail a face-to-face interview as soon as possible after the protest at Emthonjeni Centre, on a date and time we agree upon. The interview will take between an hour and 2 hours, and refreshments will be provided.

The interviews will be audio recorded and these digital files will be kept confidential. Only I and my supervisor will have access to these files. As participation is completely voluntary, you may withdraw from the research at any time during the interview and thereafter, provided it is before the writing of the research report. Once the research has come to an end, I will email you the results of the research.

If you have any questions about any aspect of participation or would like feedback on the progress of the research, please feel free to email me using the details provided below.

Thank you for considering participating in this research. Please detach this sheet and keep it for future reference.

Kind regards,

Researcher: Viwe Dweba

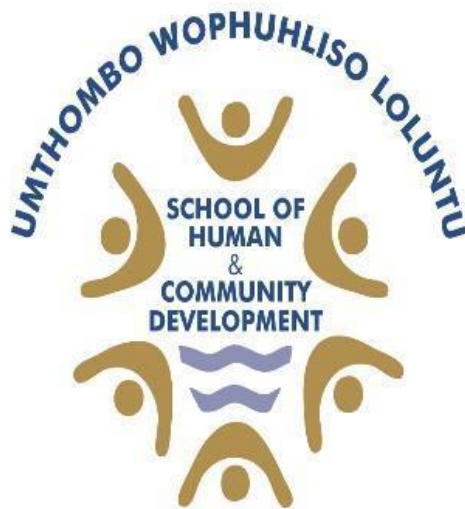
E-mail address: dwebavp@gmail.com

Cell phone number: 0786698054

Supervisor: Dr Yael Kadish

E-mail address: rael.kadish@wits.ac.za

Appendix 2: Interview Participation Sheet



Psychology

School of
Human &
Community
Development

University of

Witwatersrand

Private Bag 3,
Johannesburg, 2050

Telephone: 011 717

503 Fax: 011 717 4559



Good day,

My name is Viwe Dweba and I am conducting research for the purposes of obtaining a Masters degree in Clinical Psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand. The area of research focus is on male supporter participants' experience of the Silent Protest Day. Hence, this interview seeks to gain your view, and I would like to formally invite you to participate.

Participation in this research will entail a 1 to 2 hour face-to-face interview that will be digitally audio recorded. All interviews will be strictly confidential. Only the researcher and the supervisor will have access to the interview material. Both the digital recordings and transcripts of the interviews will be kept in a password protected file in the computers of the researcher and supervisor. Participation is completely voluntary, and you will not be advantaged or disadvantaged in any way for choosing to participate or not participate in the

study. Given the qualitative nature of the study, your participation will be confidential. You may refuse to answer questions that you would prefer not to, and you may choose to withdraw from the study at any point during the interview and afterwards. The findings of this study will be reported in a research report, which will be submitted to the Psychology department of the University of the Witwatersrand, and will then be made electronically available over the university's library database. The findings of this study may also be published in a research journal. A summary of the research findings will be made available to you once the research process has come to an end.

If you experience any distress as a result of your participation in the study, contact details for relevant and free counselling services have been provided on this form. Assistance will also be provided in contacting these services and you will be given a referral letter.

Your participation in this study will be greatly appreciated. Whilst there are no direct benefits to you from participating in this study, this research will contribute to knowledge about male involvement in the movement against sexual violence and improvement of the Silent Protest.

Kind regards,

Researcher: Viwe Dweba

E-mail address: dwebavp@gmail.com

Cell phone number: 0786698054

Supervisor: Dr Yael Kadish

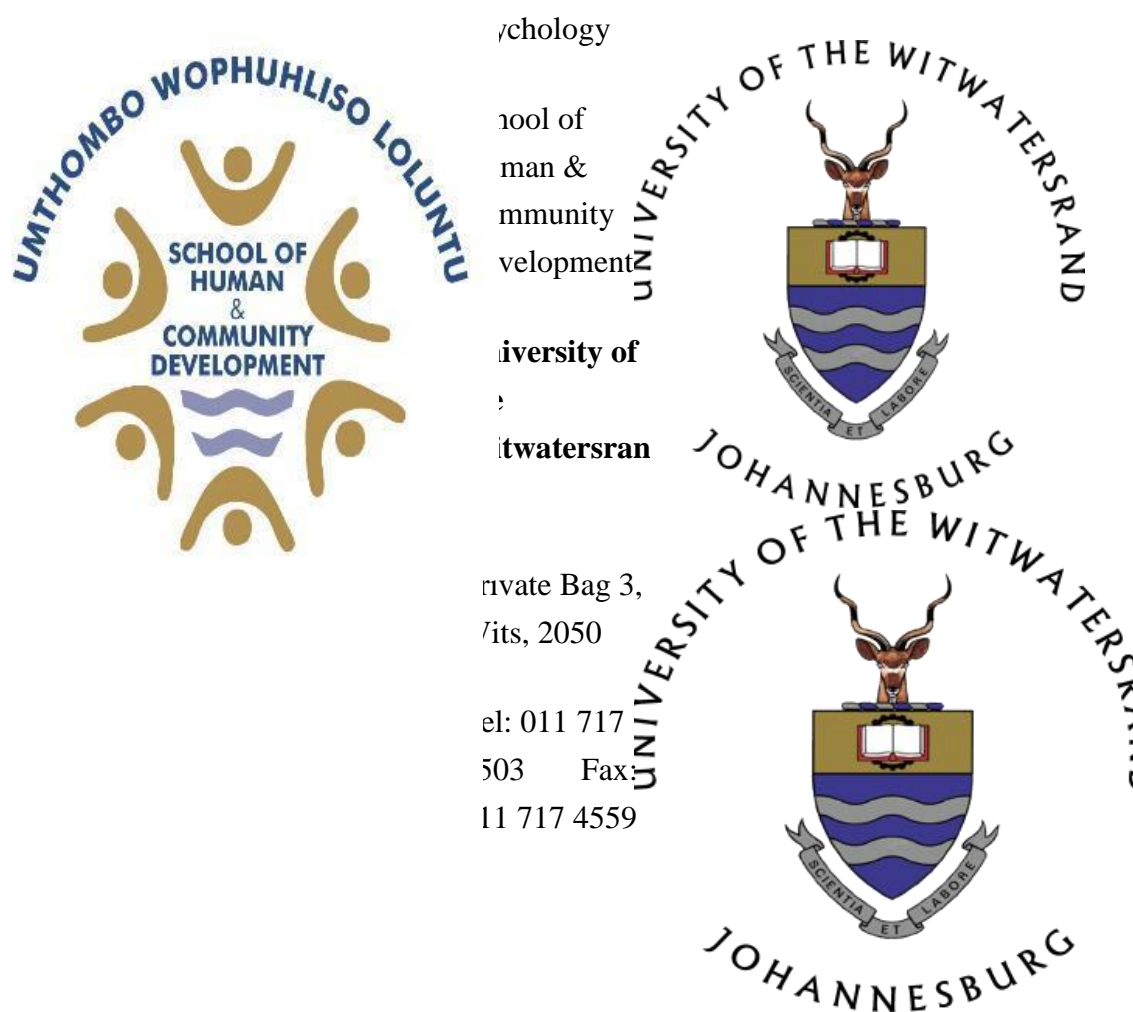
E-mail address: rael.kadish@wits.ac.za

Free counselling services:

Career Counselling and Development Unit – 011 717 9999

Lifeline – 086 132 2322

Appendix 3: Face-to-face Interview Informed Consent to Participate and be Audio-Recorded



Psychology

School of
Human &
Community
Development

University of
Witwatersrand

Private Bag 3,
Johannesburg, 2050

tel: 011 717
503 Fax:
011 717 4559

I, _____, hereby confirm that I have read the participant information sheet and am fully aware of what participation in this study entails, and that it is voluntary. I hereby give my consent to participate in this research project. Furthermore, I am aware that I will be interviewed, and that this interview will be audio-recorded for future transcription.

Additionally, I understand that

- I may refuse to answer any questions with which I am not comfortable.
- I may stop the interview process at any time.

- I may withdraw at any time during the research process before the writing of the research report.
- I will be required to verbally answer a number of questions.
- This interview may take between an hour and 2 hours.
- I am free to say anything I so desire that is related to the interview questions and research.
- The researcher may use direct quotes of my words spoken.
- I will receive an information sheet reporting the research results if I request them.
- I will be debriefed after the interview if I wish to be.
- I will be put in contact with necessary counselling help if the research has caused me distress. The contact details of free services have been provided for me in any case.
- The digital recordings and transcripts will only be heard and seen by the researcher and her research supervisor, and will only be processed by the researcher.
- All digital recordings and transcripts will be kept in a password encrypted folder on the researcher's and supervisor's laptop/computer, which only the researcher and her supervisor will have access to. Both the researcher and supervisor will have their own passwords to the files.
- All recordings will be kept in a password protected file in the laptops/computers of the researcher and her supervisor once the research is complete.
- No identifying information will be used in the transcripts or the research report.

By signing this form I am giving my consent to participate and to have my words and interview audiotaped.

Signed by _____ on (date) _____ at
(place) _____

Participant signature_____