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“My Body-Not Your Crime Scene”:

Challenging Rape Logic in #TheTotalShutDown Protest



By

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A research paper submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts (African Literature) in the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand.

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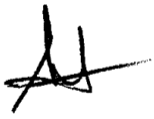
School of Literature, Language and Media

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Dedication

To my son, Ini-Ubong

For challenging me in so many ways

Acknowledgement

I am grateful to God for bringing me this far. Thank you for being my companion on this rocky journey.

To my supervisor; Dr. Mupotsa, thank you for your teachings and guidance. You believed in me when others had doubts. Thank you.

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Abstract

Each year, rape cases becomes so pervasive, yet so many of these incidences go unreported due to the circulation and utilization of rape logic as a tool of justifying rape and silencing the survivor. Rape logic suggests that women are sexually aroused when dominated, certain dress choices or behavioural tendencies and mannerisms are usually considered to be provocative and a way in which women 'ask for it'. These rape myths or as Helen Moffett (2006) calls it, "justificatory remarks", often delegitimizes the rape survivor's experience and report of rape in the sense that societal conditions, patriarchal culture, and the criminal justice system render the rape victim culpable and complicit in the offences committed towards them. These social structural conditions and relations ensure control and maintenance of patriarchal order. In this research, I examine #TheTotalShutDown protest which happened on the 1st of August, 2018 in all provinces of South Africa and the various forms of messaging through, images, slogans on placards and as well as digital life forms of the march and how a community of shared affect was established and also how rape logic was challenged by women used of placards. This research therefore poses salient questions such as; what are the feminist tactics and rhetoric used to tackle normative rape logic? What ways can we read visual images, texts and signs? How does the use of protest placards bearing slogans during #TheTotalShutDown protest, challenge existing rape logic? How does the digital form of the march help in forging a collective of political subjects? What are the afterlives, of these images, slogans and signs? To engage with these questions, I draw conceptually from Judith Butler's Performative Theory of Assemblage which attempts to show how bodies appear in public as forms of resistance; also, Carrie Rentschler's (2014) Response-ability; which entails the capacity to collectively respond to sexual violence and its cultures of racial, gendered and sexuality harassment. This research is feminist in its approach, as such, my positionality and self-reflexivity matters. Drawing from my reflexivity, this research utilizes auto-ethnography as a feminist method

of reading slogans and rhetoric on protest placards used during #TheTotalShutDown protest. I also utilize qualitative content analysis in coding and interpreting themes, images, slogans on placards in which women deployed during the march, in framing their sense of injustice and challenge existing rape logic which acquits the perpetrator and re-traumatizes the survivor. Through auto-ethnographic reading and qualitative content analysis of these protest placards, I argue that these placards and images raise important questions concerning practices deeply rooted in the history of colonialism, slavery and beliefs; and that the use of placards bearing slogans during #TheTotalShutDown protest directly challenges rape logic.

Keywords: Rape logic**,** protests placards, Twitter, #TheTotalShutDown, justice.

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Background to the Study

The background of this research is based upon my involvement and subsequent reflection on an anti-gender based violence workshop organized by the Gender Equity office (GEO) of The University of the Witwatersrand in August, 2018, titled: "SEKWANELE: GBV Response." The discussion featured three panellists: A police officer from South African Police Service (SAPS): Warrant Officer Mafooa, a representative from Legal Aid South Africa, Ms Ayesha, a rape survivor and a staff of the university's gender equity office. This seminar was supposedly organized to sensitize students on rape culture and protection on campus, and to arm students with the right information on how to retain evidence and report a case. Like other attendees, I was keen on listening to the legal definitions of rape, as well as the step-by-step procedures useful to survivors for gathering evidence and reporting. These expectations were met, until the legal representative spoke. I was shocked by the comments (supposedly, 'advice') from the Legal Aid representative such as; "avoid partying at night", "avoid places where you'll get raped" and so on… In this account, instead of giving us a better understanding of the legal system to empower survivors, she instead reiterated rape scripts in a way that shows how the legal system and structures of justice in the state have been complacent in issues regarding sexual violence and other forms of gender-based violence (Gouws, 2016; Hills, 2016; Moreland, 2014). This incident provokes me to think about the many forms in which discourses on gender-based violence take in different spaces, even within activist spaces and how they move certain sets of ideas around. It also moves me to think of the ways in which societies, cultures and even institutions utilize rape logic in dealing with issues of rape and other forms of sexual violence; putting the blame of sexual violence on the survivor and not the perpetrator. Seeing the slogans on the placards used during the march also made me reflect of the rape scripts used by the legal adviser and I realized the use

of these placards was effective in speaking against and challenging rape myths and victim-blaming rape survivors.

In this research, I use the term; 'survivor' as used by Pumla Gqola (2015), to refer to people who, at any point in their lives, have experienced any form of gendered violence. This is so because, as Robyn Dennison (2017) observes, the term 'victim' is often associated with notions of weakness, harm, passivity whereas, 'survivor' is seen to be characterize one who has recovered from experience of gendered violence through acts of "empowerment" and "disclosure".

This research is provoked by the pervasiveness of rape logic in South Africa and the fact that, many rape cases go unreported due to the circulation and utilization of rape logic as a tool of silencing the survivor (Moffett, 2006; Gqola, 2015; Britton, , 2006). Studies on media coverage of incidents of sexual assault are revealing, as a high rate of them circulate rape myths, suggesting that women are sexually aroused when dominated, women need to be talked into or forced (whether physically, psychologically, emotionally or economically) into having sex and also certain dress choice or behavioural tendencies are usually considered to be provocative and a way in which women 'ask for it' (Moffett, 2006; Armstrong, & Mahone, 2016; Graaff, 2017: 86). These rape myths or as Moffett calls it, "justificatory remarks", often delegitimize the survivor's story and report of rape in the sense that the society, patriarchal culture and the criminal justice renders the rape victim(s) culpable and complicit in the offences committed towards her/them and these subsequently leads to silencing of the survivor(s), ensuring control and maintaining the patriarchal order.

Rape logic, then becomes a barrier to reporting (and also getting justice) of sexual violence offences as it undermines the credibility and validity of the survivor's story and experience, provokes feelings of shame, self-blame/pity and self-loath. Survivors are often blamed for the

assault committed upon them (by questioning their innocence and roles/attitude before, during and after the assault so as to place them in a position where they feel complicit in the violence meted on their bodies)and are usually subjected to various forms of restriction and discrimination, threats, and insecurities. Survivors are also usually faced with insensitive attitudes of the police in handling rape cases and archaic criminal justice system which re-victimizes a rape survivor by reiterating certain rape logic such as the ones said by the legal representative at the SEKWANELE GBV response mentioned earlier.

1.2 #TheTotalShutDown Protest

This research is about #TheTotalShutDown: Intersectional Women's March against GBV; a social movement and protest march carried out by women and gender non-conforming people against gender-based violence in South Africa on the 1st of August 2018. #TheTotalShutDown started with a group of 'ordinary' women in a closed Facebook group by calling pervasive rape culture in the country. Upon coming together, these women began mobilizing women and gender non-conforming people from various works of life such as the civil societies, trade unions, legal department, activist organizations, NGOs, gender equity office, students, researchers, girls and women coming together from various province of South Africa to protest against incidences of gender-based violence, Femicide, rape and all forms of sexually-motivated violence. As an intersectional march, #TheTotalShutDown was a space of inclusivity where even women living in the rural communities were afforded an opportunity to join the march; hence the reason for changing from a social media group to an on-ground protest in the different provinces of the country. According to one of the organizers of the march, the aim was to mobilize from the grassroot in other to reach as many as people women even in the rural communities. In the march,

women wore red and black symbolizing blood and mourning of the many women raped and murdered (Moosa, 2018). Fatima Moosa, a journalist and writer who has interviewed one of the organizers of #TheTotalShutDown protest, states that; "The plan was to have a TotalShutDown of economic activities and the country on 1st August 2018 and to have womxn, LGBTIQA+ and GNC persons march, excluding those who identify as men. Marches were to proceed to centres of power nationally. The aim was to send a strong and insistent message to the government that the womxn of / in South Africa have had enough". At the end of the march, a memorandum of demands was handed over to the three pillars of government; the legislature, judiciary and administration, enumerating twenty-four action steps to tackle gender-based violence and to make the country safe for women, children and gender non-conforming people.

According to Mandisa Khanyile, men were not expected on ground as it was a space where women and gender non-conforming people could feel safe. She states that "the aim is not to bring violence to end violence" and that "Men are, however, requested to support the movement by donating money, staying away from work or by standing in for women and GNC people in the workplace".(Politicsweb, 2018)

In this march, women also utilized various protest repertoires such as placards bearing images slogans and rhetoric challenging pervasive rape logic in the country. This movement also used social media forms such as Facebook, Twitter and WhatsApp to bring to mobilize against sexual violence. As a movement which first began on social media, it therefore becomes necessary to look at the digital live form of this protest.

1.3 #TheTotalShutDown and its Life Forms

1.3.1 Digital Life Form

Apart from the placards and the other protest repertoires used during the march, the other lives of the #TheTotalShutDown protest includes its digital presence, such as the website, Twitter handle, and a Facebook and WhatsApp group. The expansive use of the ICTs web 2.0 feature which enables networking sites such as Facebook and Twitter, influences how people interact online on a daily basis. This enables users to easily communicate and interact on these platforms (Castells, 2011). Facebook, launched in 2014 by Mark Zuckerberg, has many features that enables online interaction, communication and sharing of so many kinds. The news feed system exposes users to updates posted by them and other users. Through the news feed, users are able to access information including profile pictures, status updates, upcoming birthdays and events created. (Meyer, 2014). This enables users to like, comment or share updates, statuses, photos or videos posted by other users. Another feature of Facebook is the ability for users to create and/or join groups. Once created, the group creator, called 'admin' can allow/disallow members to post contents including pictures, videos and documents on the group for a wider circulation. Through this method of grouping, a community with shared interest is birth. The group becomes a place where users get access to information and discuss/contribute to topics of interest.

Twitter is a micro-blogging network site developed by Jack Dorsey in 2006 (Weller, et al., 2013). Through this medium, users interact through 'tweets' which consist of a maximum of 140 characters. The visibility of tweets by a user is dependent of the number of other users who 'reweet' the 'tweet'. Twitter uses the hashtag (#) to organize messages through which other users can trace tweets on topic of choice. Users also use the hashtag in order to group messages and encourage shared information and conversation as well as group individuals to discuss topics of common interest (Weller et al., 2013)

The hashtag is a micro-blogging platform used in grouping or categorizing stories and events with the view of making it visible so that people can locate a story or discourse easily using the # symbol. While Chris Messina is credited for being the first to suggest the use of the hashtag for grouping messages, Stowe Boyd, was the first to give the symbol the name; "Hashtag". (Murthy, 2013 in Van den Berg, 2014: 4). Hashtags are widely used in marketing brands, products and also serve as identity markers for political groups and social movements. Zappavigna describes hashtags as "emergent convention for labelling the topic of a micropost and a form of metadata incorporated into posts". She further notes that there are "convention [s] for marking an annotation of the topic of a tweet" and presented without spaces when more than one word is used. (Zappavigna 2012: 36 in Van den Berg, 2014: 3). Hashtags make it possible for a wider audience to locate and identify a trending topic/issue.

In recent history, there has been numerous trending transnational hashtags such as #Feminism, #MeToo and #BringBackOurGirls and a host of others which facilitate and enable sharing of individual as well as collective experiences and identities. Also, being a space in which participants force the government to take action on cases of gender-based violence. Hashtags, therefore, are not only used in grouping information into categories but also opens up possibilities of movement. This makes it a "living human web, underscoring a matrix which is not only relational, but which highlights the very interconnectivity of selfhood" (Van den Berg, 5). This interconnectivity is seen in above mentioned hashtags. Firstly, #Feminism began in 2013 established as a way of categorizing feminist conversations and emerging discourses online. Kitsy Dixon observes that #Feminism became a "virtual space where victims of inequality can coexist together in a space that acknowledges their pain, narrative, and isolation" (2014: 34). She further argues that "hashtag feminism demonstrates an ability to redefine social realities by combining new ways, and ideas,

in forming communities for women who are seeking a place to express their beliefs, globally, with other women who share in their social identity" (39); Thus forming a web of interconnectivity amongst participants.

The #MeToo, first used by Black women in the United States in 2006 and popularized on Twitter by Alyssa Milano in 2017, created a space whereby survivors of sexual violence tell their stories and experiences of sexual harassment. This hashtag also drew visibility and enabled transnational conversation on issues of sexual violence (Clark-Parsons, 2019: 1-2). Similarly, the hashtag #BringBackOurGirls, first created by Ibrahim Abdullahi began to trend globally on various social media platform. The purpose of this online mobilization and connectivity was to pressure the Nigerian government as well as international bodies to rescue the abducted Chibok School girls from the terrorist group, Boko Haram in 2014. Through this hashtag, we see that hashtags are not just stories or group of words circulated just for the purpose of information. Hashtags creates and enables a web of interconnectivity. As Edward and Lang observes; "to call a hashtag a thing is to call out its materiality, relationality, and affectivity…" (2018: 120). This, therefore, shows hashtag's ability to steer a community of political action.

Hashtag #TheTotalShutDown, therefore builds on these transnational archive of interconnectivity. Through this platform, awareness was created, not just about the protest march but also, about the pervasive occurrence of rape and sexual violence in the country. This movement, according to Asanda Benya (2018) started as a Facebook group (#TheTotalShutDown) in June 2018 (a month prior to the march) and their membership strength rose within two weeks to about 40,000 members and then rose to about over a 100,000 members after the march. The Facebook group became and is still a space were women share experiences of sexual abuse in homes, communities and workplaces. In order to reach out to more women and gender non-

conforming people in all provinces, WhatsApp groups were created in different provinces, regions, suburbs and local communities with the intention of creating awareness about sexual violence, getting help and assistance if in trouble, sharing experiences of violence and also a space where women could give and receive advises issues regarding sexual violence (Benya, 2018). This groupings, however small they seem was able to spark a movement, a collective, an assembly of "co-feelers" defined by Sara Ahmed in her book *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (2004); as the ability to feel what other people feel; share in the pain, trauma, and violence in which other people of same group, movement/community feel. Similarly, Benya, observes that, "In these different groups, through the sharing of personal stories, people were recognizing and appreciating their collective strength and power. In the stories shared, known trends were confirmed: that indeed our homes, workplaces and those of worship are not safe spaces, and that our partners, relatives, colleagues and male friends are our perpetrators" (2018: np). This goes to speak to the affective dimension of collective action. In this case, the coming together of these women and gender non-conforming people in this space, created a possibility in which affect sharing occurred and each one was able to recognize as well as feel other's pain as theirs. This was enough to launch them into political action against their status quo.

Apart from the Facebook group and WhatsApp groups, women were also mobilized through the twitter handle of the movement (@WomenProtestSA). Their Twitter handle currently has about 5,503 followers. Like Facebook and WhatsApp, the Twitter handle forms part of an online community and an assembly of bodies who share affectivities. Similarly, Teresa Brennan's study on crowd psychology examines how, through affect transmission, identity politics are formed and forged. This also enables an understanding of how movements are formed and maintained as well

as how the use of these images and graphics provokes affect sharing among these groups, thereby, promoting a feeling of 'sameness' and unity.

1.3.2 Placards, Slogans, Images

As #TheTotalShutDown became an on-ground protest march, women and gender non-conforming people too to streets to challenge and resist rape and other forms of gendered violence. By deploying various protest repertoires such as placards bearing significant slogans as well as visual texts and images; these women called for an end to sexual violence against women and children and also through these medium, challenge existing rape logic in the country. Examining the efficacy of the use of these images and slogans, grant us the entry to understanding how social movements become alive, as these images animate (bring to life) and transmits affect. Danai Mupotsa, in "A Question of Power", observes that student's deployment of songs and images during the #RhodesMustFall protest, animated "feelings that existed in their bodies and experiences" and how this in turn animated their political movement. (2018:25, 26). These visuals however, provide powerful portfolios in which ideas around gender-based violence are disseminated and rape logic are subverted. Visuals, bodies, graphics and placards bearing slogans such as; "My body-not your crime scene", "we are not ovary-acting", "no means no", "my politeness is not an invitation", "stop violence against women", "my body my rules", "nobody asked what my rapist was wearing", "my dress is not a yes" and so on… during #TheTotalShutDown builds on #RhodesMustFall, #FeesMustFall, #RUReferenceList, and #EndRapeCulture protests and adds to the discussion on the pervasive sexual violence and destructive rape logic in a country where there is either a lack of political will and/or adequate machinery in the state to deal with incidences of sexual violence

This research therefore poses salient questions such as; what are the feminist tactics and rhetoric used to tackle normative rape logic? What ways can we read visual images, texts and signs? How does the use of protest placards bearing slogans during #TheTotalShutDown protest, challenge existing rape logic? How does the digital form of the march help in forging a collective of political subjects? What are the afterlives, of these images, slogans and signs?

In this research, I examine the digital life form of #TheTotalShutDown protest (specifically twitter) and how this become a space in which collective political subjectivity is birth. By examining #TheTotalShutDown protest march, I intend, through this research to establish that through these slogans on placards and other graphics as well as the digital life forms of the march, women and gender non-conforming individuals were challenging existing rape logic and resisting all forms of patriarchy in all its manifestations.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

2.1 Narratives of Rape

In this section, I am interested in the forms of rape narratives, logic or myth that gets circulated in societies, institutions as well as the courts and how these in so many ways delegitimizes the survivor's story, rendering the victim complicit in the violence committed towards her/them. I am interested about the kinds of rape that gets societal attention and that which is regarded as rape and/or worst rape. It is very unsettling to know that there are some forms of rape that are albeit indirectly sanctioned by cultures and societies and there are some that are considered to be bad. This is so because the character, lifestyle of the victim does not conform to societal norms and gender expectations of women. These narratives are often circulated and discussed beliefs which are aimed at blaming and discrediting the victim's story and experience of rape or other form of sexual violence. Narratives of rape are embedded in a people's culture, belief and justice system which seeks to give reasons why or not someone is raped and attempts to reinforce gender norms and roles and also maintain the patriarchal order (Moffett, 2006). These narratives often circulated includes; 'being drunk makes you attract and responsible for the violence committed against you', 'you provoke rape by the way you dress', 'reporting rape is more vengeance seeking than justice seeking', 'it's not rape if victim did not engage in any form of resistance and/or is not injured', 'if not distressed/traumatized, then victim's story is false', 'men cannot control their sexual urge', 'you cannot be raped by intimate partner' 'a woman's 'no' means 'yes', and so on. The most often used of these logics is the one that legitimizes male sexual desires as overwhelming, hence, cannot be controlled. This logic is traceable to patriarchal societies' view of male sexuality as aggressive and the female as passive and also in the objectification of the female body (Hazan and Grobbelaar, 1994). Another commonly used or insinuated rape logic is often that 'good' women do not get raped. As Hazan and Grobbelaar observes, this narrative is intrinsically link to the one that

approves of aggressive male sexuality and women's passiveness. This is so because 'good' women conceal her interest in sex and can only express in subtle ways. This again is rooted in patriarchal gender norms which stipulates certain attributes to different genders. Here, I am referring to heterosexual arrangement whereby strength is tied to men and weakness is tied to women.

Women's dress choice and overall appearance is often described as being provocative and "asking for it" (Moffett, 2006). This is rooted in the 'good' woman myth which societies reinforce to discredit the victim's experience of rape. According to Hill (2016: 24), rape logic is a "discursive and visual ideology that attaches sexual desire to a woman's appearance; how a woman appears is claimed to communicate message that men discern through looking". She further observes that the female body is often regarded as a "forceful signifier of sex", hence, the need for it to be "muted or cloaked" probably by dressing to 'cover' so as not to communicate desire and attract rape. It is following this logic, as Hill observes, that delegitimizes the victim's story of rape and presents her as being the cause or being complicit in the violence meted on her. As said earlier, this logic, reinforces gender norms which states that a 'good' woman must dress to cover up in order not to attract rape. By blaming the victim's appearance, this logic seeks to question women's choice of how they look (appear) but at the same time the fact that looking (seeing) is also men's choice and not an involuntary act. It is by this that women are often told "to adjust their appearance and how they are seen, while men are not routinely told to curb how they see and what they do based on…[what they see]" (Hill, 2016: 27).

One major defining factor of rape is consent. It is by this that most rape cases are dismissed and thrown out of court. The question here is, what is consent? How do we deduce consent? Can a woman's ability to give and refuse consent be emotionally, sexually, psychologically or even economically impacted at any point? During #TheTotalShutDown protest and other women's

protest against gender-based violence, there was a constant shout of 'no means no'. Why do women continually reiterate this phrase in their resistance to rape logic? This phrase is traceable to the logic that women means 'yes' when they say 'no'. This logic "propagates a cultural climate in which a woman's 'direct negative' is translated into an 'indirect affirmative'" (Hill, 2016: 28). This myth suggest that women can give consent albeit passively and it is men's place to make sense of the perceived 'cues' and 'signals' hence, initiate or carry on the sexual activity. In their study on college students' engagement with anti-rape activism on US campuses, Humphrey et al., observe that most literatures about consent define it in three ways; First, "as an internal state of willingness", second, "as an act of explicit agreement to something" and lastly, "as behaviour that someone else interprets as willingness" Humphrey, et al., 2016 in Chengeta, 2018). They, however, highlight key limitations to these definitions which include; the inability to read and know exactly the mind of the 'other', the preference of non-verbal cues during sexual activity and basing consent on assumptions which may not be true (Chengeta, 2018). Chengeta further expands this albeit close-ended definition of content to include the regular "conflation" of the term 'consent' with 'want'. She observes that consent differs from want as it is possible that non-consensual sex can be desired, whereas, consensual sex can be unwanted/undesired (Chengeta, 2018). What then is consent? How can consent be given or deduced? Can consent be psychologically and/or economically affected? By economically, I am thinking about a young girl who has to 'willingly' give in to sexual activity for money. In this case, Chengeta's idea of unweaving 'consent' and 'want' becomes manifest, as the young girl consents to a sexual activity that she does not want.

The issue of consent has been a very problematic and tricky way of deducing or giving judgment on many rape cases. It is at the point of consent that notions about what constitutes rape

or what does not, arises and rape logic gets reproduced. Consent therefore may rest on normative practices/expectations and assumptions which are deeply embedded in patriarchal culture. It is this idea of consent (already defined by patriarchal norms and expectations) that determines what constitutes rape and what doesn't; what is said to be 'real' rape and what is not, and also which rape is to be taken serious and which one is to be dismissed. In her analysis of the 'real' rape mythology and what the society as well as justice system consider as 'real' rape; Chennells (2009) divided the 'real' rape mythology into two categories: descriptive and prescriptive. For the purpose of this research, I will only focus on the descriptive category. According to Chennells, a 'real' rape is often described as happening when "a **virginal** young women, of the most **respectable** standing, is **violently** accosted by **a stranger** either **outside or at home** in the sanctity of her own bedroom. She **resists** but is brutally raped sustaining **multiple, serious, lasting physical injuries**. She runs to **report immediately** (bloody panties in hand) in a **highly emotional** state to the police…" (2009: 25). It is very important that I highlight those keywords as Chennells does because it gives an indebt understanding of what the society sees as 'real' rape and rape logic is reproduced. In the quotation; the words 'virginal' and 'respectable' speaks to notions of respectability and morality which defines a 'good' woman. As such any rape victim who is not a virgin or dress and carry herself 'respectably' (according to societal standards) called for the rape committed on her. The word, 'stranger' suggest that a woman cannot be raped by a known person such as an intimate partner; thereby discrediting a victim raped by a boyfriend or a husband/partner. Also, and I think most visible defining factor of a 'real' rape is that there must be 'multiple, serious, lasting physical injuries' on the victim'. In order words if the victim did not sustain any bodily harm, it means she did not resist and that suggest, it was a consensual sex. This

logic of rape is very to the one experienced by a Rhodes university student who was sexually assaulted and decided to open a case against the perpetrator. She writes that;

> "…the rule in the university disciplinary code smoothes over my [the student's] grievance. In the university's knowledge system, that I [the student] wants to make the violation re-appear, weighs less than a rule which states that access to a particular process of seeking justice dissolves my right to do so. The claim that 'the matter is settled' means that there is no recorded injury…" (Mupotsa, 2018: 4)

This case, as the student states was ruled out by the university on the grounds that no evidence exists because there was no physical, body harm incurred by the victim (Mupotsa, 2018).

From this we see how Chennells' descriptive model of a 'real' rape works to delegitimize the victim's story and experiences. By categorizing rape as that which is 'real'/ 'worst' or not, suggests that which should be taken seriously and given judgment or not. 'real'/ 'worst' rapes must involve injuries (like the case of the UCKAR student there was no injury, hence not a real sexual harassment), there must have been resistance (which of course may have caused injuries), no previous sexual history (with perpetrator cause this discredits the victim – makes her an accomplice), respectable girl being raped (a girl in a tavern, who smoke, keeps late night and wears exposing outfits, called for the rape) that which involves girls described as 'innocent', naïve', and who conform to traditional gender norms and roles at the time of being raped (Chennells 2009: 26 -32). This myth, however, works to reinforce the archetypal 'ideal' rape and by doing so delegitimizes the victim's story and favours the perpetrator.

Rape prevention models/talk are most often avenues through which rape logic are reiterated. It is often aimed at reversal responsibilities of rape from the assailant to the victim by placing women/victims in a defensive position and having to prove the credibility of their story. Hill

(2016), observes that rape prevention talks often stem from certain rape logic and this shows to an extent, ways in which the police as well as criminal justice personnel handle issues of rape and other sexual violence; like the Legal Aid SA representative during the Sekwanele, an anti- GBV response event at Wits University. It also impacts on the way in societies stigmatize the victim and also the judgment the jury makes on such cases.

In this case, it shows the need for women to resist this oppression. It is for this reason that women take to streets to challenge these myths and to deploy various repertoires in framing their sense of injustice (seeing the law has failed). South African women have been for years mobilizing against gender-based violence in all degrees. #TheTotalShutDown movement, is however, a build-up of previous movements against rape and other forms of sexual violence plaguing the South African society. During #TheTotalShutDown protest, it is important to understand that women's deployment of protest placards, bearing images and visual texts as well as forming a collective of political subjectivities through online/digital spaces, these women were exposing, challenging and seeking to subvert rape logic.

2.2 Gender, Sexuality and Women's Social Movement

In this section, I intend to map trends in women's movement in South Africa historically, through transition period and then to post-apartheid/contemporary women's movements. My focus here is not to give a long list of movements that have existed across these periods, rather I am interested in how gender frames movements, the organizational strategies of these movements – how do women organize? And how they mobilize. What repertoires and rhetoric have each moment deployed in their fight against 'women issues' which of course includes patriarchy and sexism? What limitations or giant stride did each encounter? How has terms such as

coloniality/decoloniality, patriarchy, sexism and intersectionality shaped women's movement across time? In engaging with these questions, it is important to understand what movement is and what it does.

As Jennifer Lemon (2001) writes; "A movement…seeks to protect or further the interests of existing members. Movements are characterized by shared beliefs and are concerned with the transformation of public consciousness. One of the main objectives of a movement is to develop and disseminate ideas that challenge the status quo and suggest more satisfactory alternatives" (4). Apart from transforming its public's consciousness, movements also act as social agents produces and circulating ideas and beliefs that shape a community (Cooper, 2011: 358). This leads us to understand how gender consciousness and discourse within women's movements frames their acts of resistance and repertoires deployed to challenge the status quo. The definition also opens up ways in which social movements create or enable gendered citizenship.

By citizenship, I refer, not to a legal status, rather a form of political identity/construction of self (as collective) (Mouffe, 1992: 231). Movements offer us and understanding of citizenship as identity politics other than a legal status. In this case, one can say that through social movements a new political category/citizenship is birth. Here, we understand that through social movements, women become gendered citizens as they form collective subjectivities and mobilize against issues of sexism, rape and other forms of gender-based violence.

Historically, women's movements in South Africa are traced to the 1950s during apartheid, where women took to the streets to protest against the extension of pass to women. The pass was a form of identification document which documented and restricted the movement of black people in South Africa (Kuumba, 2002: 507). It is for this reason that women came together to resist the usage of pass by women. It is important to note that before this period, South African women

participated in the broader liberation movement against Apartheid. For example, Siphokazi Magadla (2015), in her writing on women combatants during the liberation movement in South Africa, theorizes women's positionality as that of guerrilla girls, combative mothers and the in-betweeners. In this piece, Magadla, challenges dominant narratives of the liberation movement which is most often male-centred, stating that women's combative roles during the liberation movement was located at the epicentre of their agency and also was reflective of the "contextual realities of their lives and the ways in which apartheid, as an unconventional war, blurred the distinctions between battlefront and home front" (391). To her, these women, being often located within private spaces, played key, combative roles in the struggle against Apartheid.

The character of women's movement of the liberation movement is inextricably linked with the nationalist movements and civil societies that mobilized against the apartheid regime, seeking for a regime change, end to apartheid and complete decolonization. Though these women mobilized in confronting gendered inequalities, these efforts, although these efforts were masked and perhaps pushed aside under the goals for a collective struggle for national liberation (Lemon, 2011:2). The result of this, rendered women's primary concerns of patriarchy and sexism as secondary to the collective struggle who were mostly leaders of civil organizations like the United Democratic Front (UDF) in which women's organizations affiliated with (Hassim, 2006). Women's organizations such as the ANCWL (African National Congress Women's League), UWO (United Women's Organization), FEDTRAW (The Federation of Transvaal Women) and NOW (Natal Organization of Women); were tied to the struggle against apartheid in their organizational strategies and ideology (Hassim, 2006: 47-48). Though, the national struggle against colonialism and apartheid, masked or rendered secondary issues of inequalities and sexism, this period marked what Hassim (2006) calls; "the emergence of women as a political constituency" and as gendered

citizens. It also marked the introduction of 'gendered' discourse into women's organizing (Mkhize & Mgcotyelwa-Ntoni, 2019) as women began to realize that they are oppressed by not just racism but patriarchy as well. This consciousness led to a significant shift in women's mobilizing strategy during the political transition from apartheid to post-apartheid (de Waal, 2005: 118).

The transition from apartheid to democracy saw leaders of women's movements elected into political office. The resultant effect of this was that women began working in collaboration with the government, rather than in opposition. In other words, becoming allies with a system that still oppressed and marginalizes women (Britton, 2006: 151). This makes one to wonder if women organizing in alliance with the post-apartheid state led to its demobilization as argued by Shireen Hassim and Amanda Gouws (1998). Britton (2006) observes that the women's movements formed during and shortly after the transition maintained a position of an enemy and an ally with the newly formed state. That is to say, while the need to fight to end gender-based violence and inequalities continued, they were also faced with the need to secure state finding for the movements as well as debates on whether or not to work with male comrades in their struggle against gender-based violence. Albeit, being partly antagonistic and partly in alliance with the state, women's organizations made a significant giant stride between 1991-1994 forming a coalition (Women's National Coalition) whereby a formal set of demands (The Women's Charter) which listed institutions and mechanisms needed to fight for and achieve gender equality was presented and passed at the parliament (Hassim and Gouws, 1998: 53).

By moving away from a single discourse of nationalism; which was the struggle against the apartheid government, women's movements demobilized and became fragmented in that it began to organize separately around not just gender-based violence and inequalities but also around issues of poverty, violence and service delivery. (Mkhize and Mgcotyelwa-Ntoni, 2019:12). This

led to the realization of the need for a more inclusive and intersectional strategy of organizing by taking into cognizance other matrix/systems of domination and inequalities beyond racism and patriarchy. Form this context, it became clear that a universal (western) feminist approach cannot be applied as a strategy for organizing in women's movements in the post-apartheid/independent South Africa (Lemon, 2011: 3), hence the need for an all-inclusive, intersectional approach.

One of the movements which in its inception, recognized multiple categories of oppression and was also inclusive in its approach was the One in Nine campaign which was established in 2006 at the beginning of the rape trial of Jacob Zuma, the then deputy president of South Africa. This campaign was established at the time of the trial to stand in solidarity with Khwezi (a pseudo name given to Fezekile Kuzwayo to preserve her identity) who was raped by Zuma, but also to ensure support and solidarity to any survivor of sexual violence. As one of their strategy, this organization partnered with organizations such as People Opposing Women Abuse (POWA), Gender AIDS Forum (GAF), Positive Women's Network (PWN), OUT LGBT Well-being (OUT), AIDS Consortium as well as AIDS Legal Network; to ensure women's rights, sexual rights, body autonomy, the rights of queer people and also the rights and well-being of HIV/AIDS patients (Bennet, 2008). The intersectional approach of this movement was also seen in one of its Terms of Reference which states that;

> The Campaign recognizes that manifold forms of oppression, including but not limited to, sexism, racism, classism and homophobia converge to deny women access to equality and justice. The campaign will incorporate this consciousness into its policy and practice such that it will shape the manner in which we understand and respond to sexual violence against women. (Bennett, 2008)

As observed by Jane Bennett (2008), the recognition of and integration of these multiple forms of oppression faced by women and queer people, foregrounded issues of gender and sexuality at the core of feminist activism and engagements with the democratic state. And this also intersects with

the need to combat the transmission of HIV/AIDS and to ensure the healthcare and sexual rights of girls and women.

In recent times, women's protest (mostly in the form of student's protest) in South Africa has taken a more radical stance as it has stressed the introduction of intersectionality and black radical feminism into its struggle. Amanda Gouws, writing on students' recent protest states that the female students chanted that their "feminism will be intersectional or it will be bullshit" (2017:19). Gouws notes that this provided an 'ontological break' between the older and new generation whereby women took a more radical stance. She observes that Intersectionality as used by the students did not only recognize race and gender as the matrix of domination; but took into cognizance other social categories such as sexuality, sexual orientation, disability, migration status and economic status and how they operate in subjugating the marginalized communities. Similarly, Sandi Ndelu, Simamkele Dlakavu and Barbara Boswell, in their editorial on the contribution of womxn and non-binary activists to #FeesMustFall and #RhodesMustFall, explains that;

> [a]n intersectional approach to our blackness takes into account that we are not only defined by our blackness, but that some of us are also defined by our gender, our sexuality, our ablebodiedness, our mental health, and our class, among other things. We all have certain oppressions and certain privileges and this must inform our organizing so that we do not silence groups among us, and so that no one should have to choose between their struggles. (2017: 2)

They note that these movements were marred with heterosexism, homophobia as well as transphobia and there existed visible discrimination for students who identified as Black, queer feminists. This discrimination, as they observe, led to an adoption of intersectionality as a feminist intervention to recognizing multiple identity categories. Thus, the recognition of queer and

LGBTQI bodies "opened a space for a radically different subject to challenge the normative binary logic of women/men" of the male-dominated, heterosexual society (Gouws, 2017: 24).

Central to the women's/feminist movement in post-apartheid/democratic has been the struggle against sexual violence and other forms of gender motivated violence against women (Britton, 2006; Gqola, 2007) and also the emergence of an intersectional feminist approach that recognizes multiple strands and webs of inequalities and oppression through the process of activism (Lemon, 2011:4). Women have sought to engage with intersectionality in recent protests and movements in South Africa and have defined their feminism as black radical feminism (Gouws, 2017:19). In 2015, various movements and hashtag activism proliferated South African institutions. These movements/protests were marked by the hashtag symbol which showed their online presence as well. Protests like #RhodesMustFall, #FeesMustfall, #OpenStellenbosch, #EndPatriarchy and #EndRapeCulture. #RUReferenceList. These movements, though began with the aim of decolonizing the institution's academic curriculum and in the case of #RhodesMustFall, the removal of Cecil Rhodes' statue, a no fee increase to demand for free education, out of it emerged the issue of normalized sexual violence in institutions leading to the emergence of #EndRapeCulture in 2016 (Gouws, 2018: 3). During the #EndRapeCulture, women students carried out a naked body protest and claimed a radical feminist stance. A stance which was viewed with suspicion by older generation of women as "essentialised identities that mask[ed] white women's experiences as the norm…" (Gouws, 2018: 3). According to Gouws, their feminism emerged "from the vantage point of intersectionality [and] radical African Feminism.

During the #FeesMustFall movement, Simamkele Dlakvu, observes that during the protest, Black women, queer and transwomen claimed space refusing to be silenced and side-lined. She noted that earlier in the protest, male students dominated space by leading in songs and a song

raised by a woman was immediately rejected. Women were also relegated into performing only 'women's' duties; care work such as cooking and feeding everyone who participated in the protest. They will also receive nagging comments from male comrades such as; "why is the food so dry", "when is the food coming" (Dlakavu, 110). This, the women comrades perceived as being derogatory and an extension of the macro patriarchal subjugation and gender expectation. This perceived discrimination and inequality led to the emergence of another movement within the movement called #MbokodoLead. The #MbokodoLead was a hashtag women's online movement created during the #FeesMustFall movement by Black women to circulate images of women involved in #FeesMustFall protest on social media (Dlakavu, 2015b). As observed by Dlakavu, this hashtag took on a life of its own as women students from other universities like Stellenbosch University, University of Cape Town and Rhodes University post images (through the hashtag) of their involvement in the protest from their respective universities. Dlakavu (2015b) observes that this online activism and circulation of affect was "inspiring and affirming for all women fighting a struggle that oppresses… [them] not only for …[their] blackness and class, but for the multiple identities that define Black womanhood including queer and trans-women".

Here, again we see how social media activism in contemporary women's movement aid in capturing a wider audience as well as enabling a community of shared interest. Though I am concerned about the use of the hashtag #MbokodoLead which stems from the word mbokodo; meaning stone/rock, signifying strength. I am concerned that this word, being used to lead a feminist/womxn movement still goes to perpetuate the trope of the strong black African woman.

According to Dlakavu (2015b), the #MbokodoLead was a moment in which black women showed they were "tired of standing on the sidelines and witnessing a game in which they should be participating in". This movement was labelled as being divisive and counter-revolutionary as it

refused to be under the male-dominated central movement and also because of its refusal to recognize the ANC as its symbol. The women students employed various strategies that were impossible within the central movements; they created social media groups and mobilized the women, created task team; legal, logistic and educational teams, wore printed doeks, they sang and most importantly put their naked bodies on the line to send a political message (Dlakavu, 2015). Dlakavu, Black women refused the "invisibilisation within the narration of the #FeesMustFall movement by rendering their struggles, voices, labour and impact visible in our public discourse (Dlakavu, 2017).

Mapping these movements across time and examining #TheTotalShutDown in tandem with older and recent movements before it, raises questions such as how coloniality/patriarchy affect the experiences of women in earlier/historical movements as well as that of women in the 'Fallist' and other contemporary movements? And did the adoption and co-opting of the concept, intersectionality/ recognition of matrix of domination bring about a change of strategy in both movements? Is there any change from previous movements or a build upon old repertoires, strategies and concepts? Also, what has changed between the two episodes of women's struggles? What forms of erasure and male–privilege existed and still does within these movements? What is hashtag activism doing in women/feminist movements and organizing as a whole? Finally, did intergenerational tension between Feminists generations manifest during the protest? And what does this mean to women's mobilizing and movements as a whole? These current protest as stated by Ndelu et al., (2017: 4) "are part of a historical continuum of resistance against racism and colonialism on African university campuses, they simultaneously mark a point of departure. They have, unlike earlier student struggles, brought to the fore a clear and powerful feminist challenge to the cisheteronormative patriarchy".

It is therefore important to note that though #TheTotalShutDown builds upon old as well as recent women's movement before it, however, its organizational strategies differ in few respects with the previous movements in the sense that the organizers began mobilizing through social media and then called for a total shut down of offices, businesses and all forms of work to afford women the space to march. It is for this reason that Reddy (2018), a blogger who describes herself as an Anarchist Feminist, critics the movement on the fact that it did not live up to its claim as an intersectional march. According to Lara Reddy, the protest was organized by middle classed, privilege women and there were no poor nor black woman involved in the organization of the protest. She also observes that the women, especially poor women (who mostly are the financial supporters of their home), were asked not to go to work forgetting the extent to which a day's job's stipends could help in sustaining the home. While I agree with Reddy, that the march was exclusionary in the sense of recognizing differences in socio-economic statuses of all women and gender non-conforming people, I also see the march as a space which recognized other social categories such as race, gender, and sexualities.

Lastly, during the protest, some younger feminist reiterated their stance against the slogan; "you strike a woman, you strike a rock", by refusing the trope of the strong black woman. This, as Gouws (2017: 19) calls an "ontological break" where younger women take a different stance form the older generation of women in the same movement and the impact of this to women's movement against issues of gender-based violence is why I think the issue of intergenerational tension, especially within feminist movements should be the focus of feminist research on social movements.

2.3 Intergenerational Feminism/Conflict

Tracing feminist waves and generations, particularly in the African context, opens up the tension that exists therein. This tension often called 'mother-daughter' conflict (Sigel, & Reynolds, 1979; Henry, 2004; Hassim, 2006; Winch et al, 2016; Gouws, 2017; Poltera, 2019); which is rooted in assumptions about familial relationships between mothers and daughters; the fact that most times mothers do not get along with their daughters and vice versa. Henry observes that the wave metaphor (periodizing and categorizing women's movement) impacts negatively on women's movements as it perpetuates notions of entitlement, superiority and hierarchy. It is this air of superiority, experience and sense of entitlement on the part of the older generation of feminists and a sense of 'wokeness'/youthfulness on the part of the younger feminist that bring, most often, the tension and conflict within feminist movements. Also, this conflict among different wave or generation of feminist/sm usually signals an erasure of the recognition of difference and diversity as well as convergences that exists within feminist movements (Winch, et al., 2016). And as Winch, et al., observe, this "mother-daughter" metaphor has been widely critiqued in debates on feminist theory. Similarly, Loubna Skalli-Hanna (2013), notes that tension is common in women's movements between the 'senior' and 'junior' feminists, even when both are propagating the language of inclusivity, diversity and participation. To Skalli-Hanna, this tension arises from the "struggles over power, recognition, and (re)definition of priority [where] struggles over power are produced not simply by age differences among activists but by subjecting activism to a hierarchical value system[s] where the longer the experience the more legitimate are the privileges and entitlement[s] that come with seniority". This practice, usually perceived as exclusionary by younger feminists is what Skally-Hanna describes as "hegemonic seniority" which as Henry

(2004), also states, comes with a feeling of entitlement and power to steer the course of the movement.

From this, it becomes necessary to ask; does the mother-daughter metaphor impart negatively on movement? Did the younger feminist consciousness resonate with the older feminist generation? Whether or not, the mother-daughter conflict impact on movements, is something worth investigating and engaging with by feminist as well as social movement scholars. During #TheTotalShutDown protest, younger women feminist occupied a different ideological stance with older women. Younger women tend to conceptualize their understanding of feminism differently from the older generation. Gouws observes that women students during the recent protests in South African universities adopt a radical, intersectional approach in protesting against rape and other forms of GBV which was rare in the older generation of feminists. (2017: 19). Similarly, Jude Clark, et al. (2019), explores deeply the intergenerational tension and shifts they witnessed during the #TheTotalShutDown march in August 2018; where a group of younger women responded defiantly to the women leaders call of "Wathinta Abafazi". Usually, this call is followed by a response; "wathint' imbokodo"; but the young women, according to Clark, et al., responded defiantly; "we are not rocks! We are not rocks!". (2019: 1). The slogan has its origin from the South African women's freedom song (which women sang while marching to Pretoria in 1956, protesting against pass laws and other repressive laws of the Apartheid regime) which goes; "Wathint' abafazi, strijdom! Wathint' abafai, wathint' imbokodo, uza kufa!" meaning; "[when] you strike the women, you strike a rock, you will be crushed [you will die]!" (Clark, et al., 2019: 3).

This slogan/song raises questions of vulnerability recognized by younger generation of feminists which was negated by older feminists as they continually perpetuate the trope of the

strong African woman. As Clark et al., observes that the younger feminists' rejection of the slogan was a way of rejecting the objectification of woman as rock (possessing strength that can't be broken) and is not vulnerable to the experiences of violence. Judging from the high rate of femicide in the country, it makes sense that women reject this rock metaphor and the pretence of strength in a period of intense vulnerability and violence against women. However, this rejection by younger feminist during #TheTotalShutDown protest, did not seem to go down well with the older feminists around them, such as Clark, et al., who felt that the younger feminists of the Fallist movement may "be detached from a historical thread of what it means to be a 'rock'" (4).

Clark et al. (2019), also observe that this moment of detachment or rupture (between these generations of feminist movements) was also necessary and enlightening as it "was, in retrospect a recognition of an emergence of an emancipatory discourse…[which] represents a critical reflection of praxis, an articulation of convergences and divergence within and between different generations of feminist and feminisms…" (1&5). Finally, they argue that if the rejection of the rock metaphor by the younger women shows this tension as well as reflecting what needs to be let go and that which is to be carried forward, then this stance, is necessary for the growth of a collective feminist/womxn's movements (Clark, et al.,). This imply that they recognize the need to have a feminist movement which is all inclusive and affords everyone a fair playing ground. This inclusion and fair representation (which is at the centre of all feminist struggles) will promote and keep alive our feminisms (Bassily, 2015). As stated by Skalli-Hanna (2013), this inclusiveness alongside the recognition and willingness to relinquish certain misconceptions about the other generation will enable an effectual collaboration to mobilize around common interest.

Chapter Three: Conceptual Framework

3.1 Performativity Theory of Assembly

In this research, I utilize Judith Butler's concept of Performative Theory of Assembly as it examines the politics and power of bodies in public assembly. This theory becomes useful in the understanding of Crowd Psychology as well as an understanding of how political subjectivities are birth through movements and also how bodies appear in public spaces. Just like gender is performative, public assembly (of bodies) are also performative as they are both forms of bodily performances. She goes further to assert that assemblies of bodies is not only about "a performative enactment of bodies", but that these (assemblies) of bodies speaks "in response to the neoliberal production of precarity [and by]…speaking, the assembly of bodies go[es] beyond its mere 'theatrical' performativity and becomes theoretical (or self-reflective): it explains itself to itself by relating itself to its other (Menke, 2016). In other words, when bodies are assembled in public like in the case of collective action and social movement, the place of assembly (be it on the streets or digital spaces), becomes a space in which these bodies do not just enact collective subjectivities but a space in which these (often violated) bodies speak in relation to each other's experiences and also speak in resistance to the systems of oppression and violence. Therefore, "…the nature of bodies being together and how that togetherness is itself a form of politics" shows how these "bodies together are a form of alliance" (Martel, 2018: 381).

This concept explains the nature of #TheTotalShutDown march which was an assembly of bodies in alliance; bodies that speaks in relation to each (through a knowledge of shared feelings and experiences of gender-based violence). It was also an assembly of bodies that together speaks against and in resistance to systems of oppression and patriarchy. Through online spaces like Facebook, WhatsApp and Twitter, #TheTotalShutDown movement became an (online) assembly

of bodies that continually enact collective subjectivities. Through this assembly of bodies in public, affect is shared, and identity politics is forged (Brennan, 2004). This also enables an understanding of how movements are formed and maintained as well as how the appearance of women in public as a collective provokes affect sharing among these groups, thereby, promoting a feeling of 'sameness' and unity; what Ahmed (2004) describes as a community/group of 'co-feelers'. For Ahmed, the notion of 'co-feelers' implies the ability to feel what other people feel; share in the pain, trauma, and violence in which other people of same group, movement/community feel. #TheTotalShutDown march provided a space in which a collective of bodies in pain appeared and assembled in public.

3.2 Feminist Response-Ability

In this research, I also utilize Rentschler's concept of response-ability which means the capacity to respond. Rentschler culled from Kelly Oliver's book; *Witnessing: Beyond Recognition* (2001), where she states that "subjectivity is grounded in the capacity to respond and be responded to'' (Rentschler, 2014: 68). For Rentschler, "Response-ability signifies the capacity to collectively respond to sexual violence and its cultures of racial, gendered and sexuality harassment. It is an activist engagement of subjectivity based in networks of media production and distribution" (2014: 68). In her research on how young feminists respond to rape culture through online feminist networks, Rentschler examines how they express their capacity to respond through social media by first naming rape culture, exposing its various communicative signals and then building tactics to curb the menace (2014: 68). By using social media forms, these young women and feminists are not only able to respond to systems and cultures of sexual violence but are also building

networks of ‘co-feelers’ who share in the same experiences of sexual violence and cultures of sexualized intimidation.

This concept is useful to my research as it explains how in recent movements against rape culture and violence against women in South Africa and particularly in #TheTotalShutDown, women deployed not just online strategies to respond to rape culture and rape logic; but also took to the streets and all provinces of the country with images, visuals and placards with texts that responds directly to narratives of rape. Mupotsa (2018) observes that student’s deployment of songs and images during #RhodesMustFall protest, animated “feelings that existed in their bodies and experiences” and how this in turn animated their political movement (25, 26). Similarly, for Clark, et al. (2019), these slogans are political slogans which possess the performative function of conveniently transmitting “political ideas, concepts and positions” and “capture in an instant the essence of a message or position and have the power to mobilize a group. Particularly in a call-and– response format, they are able to generate emotion and catalyse action…like all signifiers, [they] are subject to interpretation and appropriation, depending on the motives of their users and can be discursively mobilized to different political ends in service of different ideological agendas” (2019: 3). These placards, slogans and visuals however, provide powerful portfolio which ideas around gender-based violence are disseminated and rape logic is subverted. Placards bearing slogans such as; “My body-not your crime scene”, “we are not ovary-acting”, “no means no”, “my politeness is not an invitation”, “stop violence against women”, “my body my rules”, “nobody asked what my rapist was wearing”, “my dress is not a yes” and so on… during #TheTotalShutDown protest, shows women’s capacity to respond to and against pervasive culture of sexual violence and destructive rape logic in South Africa.

Chapter Four: Methodology

4.1 Auto-ethnographic Reading: Towards Meaning Making

This research begins with a feeling of unease and my personal reflection and experience towards #TheTotalShutDown and anti-GBV workshops. I utilize auto-ethnography as a feminist method of reading visual texts and signs used during the #TheTotalShutDown protest to make sense of the various feminist tactics and languages women deploy to challenge rape logic that permeates the South African society. Auto-ethnography is a self-reflexive qualitative research inquiry which foregrounds the researcher's subjectivity, experience and viewpoint. This method of qualitative inquiry affords the researcher the space to tap from the resources and wealth of experience in an attempt to understand and make meaning of a particular cultural phenomenon. As a qualitative research, auto-ethnography involves the personal in an understanding of the cultural in that it connects the writer's self-reflexivity and personal experiences to the broader cultural experiences for meaning-making.

Carolyn Ellis (2004), one of the major proponents of auto-ethnography defines this method as "research, writing, story, and method that connect the autobiographical and personal to the cultural, social, and political" (xix). Auto-ethnography then involves a retrospective writing that is predicated upon and made possible by "being part of a culture and/or by possessing a particular cultural identity". In addition to telling of experiences, auto-ethnography requires writers to analyse their experiences in line with a more general, social, political and cultural experiences and conventions. (Ellis, Adams and Bochner, 2011). Auto-ethnography as method, "enables both an examination of the grounds upon which claims to know the social world are based and an exploration of the strengths and limitations of forms of knowledge" (May & Perry, 2013: 1). This approach to research which recognizes the researcher's experiences, opinion and meaning-making

becomes a useful data through which researchers can harness as tools to answer their research questions.

In this research, auto-ethnography is used as a methodological tool in framing my critical reflections, understanding and interpretation of the visual text, and slogans on the protest placard used during #TheTotalShutDown protest. This research, thus, draws on my reflexivity in understanding and making sense of the forms of rape logic that circulates and how being in these activist spaces help my reading of various images, visual texts deployed to subvert rape logic.

4.2 Qualitative Content Analysis

In this research, I also apply a qualitative content analysis as method to examine the content of #TheTotalShutDown Twitter webpage in order to carry out a frequency analysis of the tweets and retweets on the page over a set period of time. Also, I apply this method to code themes and discourses that get circulate in this space which is able to bring people of like interest together in an online community.

Content analysis is a research method used in analysing written, verbal or visual data (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). It is "a systematic and objective means of describing and quantifying phenomena" (Krippendorff 1980; Downe-Wamboldt 1992; Sandelowski, 1995; cited in Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). Content analysis can be qualitative or quantitative; and may also be applied deductively or inductively in analysing a research data and this method makes it possible for the researcher to categorize data into fewer words and phrases (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). In this research, I am applying a qualitative content analysis in capturing the content of #TheTotalShutDown Twitter web page and analysing ways in which messages (tweets and retweets) circulate on their timeline as well as deducing the themes that emerge from their post. Also, by using qualitative content analysis, I seek

to read and interpret visual as well as textual content embedded in the placards women used during the #TheTotalShutDown protest.

Qualitative content analysis "goes beyond merely counting words to examining language intensely for the purpose of classifying large amounts of text into an efficient number of categories that represent similar meanings" (Weber, 1990; in Hsiu-Fang and Shannon, 2005). This method "helps with reducing the amount of material. It requires the researcher to focus on selected aspect of meaning, namely those aspect related to the overall research question..." (Schreier, 2013). This approach helped me to visualize through the content of #TheTotalShutDown Twitter page to see when tweets and retweets were posted the more and how this guides my interpretation of the way in which a community was forged through the larger amounts of tweets and retweets that circulate mostly within a specific period. Through a qualitative content analysis of the placards used during the protest, meaning and communication was created. By analysing the written content of these placards, I was able to categorize the meanings and interpretation on each image into themes related to topic of discourse. That is to say, this method enabled me to carry out a frequency analysis (of tweets and retweets as well as themes from the hashtag) of the web content of #TheTotalShutDown twitter page as well as categorize/code the selected protest placards according to their emerging themes.

4.3 Data Gathering

To carry out a frequency analysis of tweets/retweets and auto-coded themes which emerge from the web page of the hashtag, #TheTotalShutDown , I extracted data, first by using a qualitative data analytical software called; Nvivo 12 plus which made it easier through its auto-code and auto-

query features used in coding and querying social media data. Nvivo 12 plus is a qualitative data analysis system used in retrieving and analysing social media web content.

The frequency analysis of tweets and retweets was done by first, capturing #TheTotalShutDown Twitter web page using Nvivo's extension add-on called NCapture for Chrome. Through, the NCapture, I captured the web contents of #TheTotalShutDown as datasets which I drew data from to analyse using the Nvivo 12 plus visualization, coding, query and chart tool.

For the purpose of this research, I choose only the Twitter handle of #TheTotalShutDown to get data and not their Facebook page. This is because Twitter and Facebook datasets are currently auto-coded differently in Nvivo. There is currently no Facebook-specific auto-coding feature but Twitter data can currently be auto-coded in Nvivo for each username, hashtag, mention, tweet type as well as map location. Also, in the process of collecting data from #TheTotalShutDown's Facebook page, I met with so many limitations like inconsistent dataset (NCapture captured content as 186 posts at first and trying again, it captured only 50 posts) and also receiving a NCapture progress report which says a group admin of the Facebook page must first of all add the "NCapture for Nvivo" app in the group setting. The inability to access full web page data from Facebook became a limitation in this regard because, for research ethical reasons as well consistency (in dataset imported), it became useless to analyse its web Facebook web content alongside Twitter. So, I chose to work with Twitter instead.

Using Twitter as dataset is popular in most studies especially in examining social movements (Weller, et. al., 2013). Twitter is a text-based microblogging network which "permits approximately 555 million users to generate over 340 million tweets of 140 or fewer characters, a day" ("Statistic Brain", 2013 In Papacharissi, 2014) and research shows that Twitter is a "platform

that potentially affords visibility to points of view that may be marginalized elsewhere" (Papacharissi, 2014b)

4.4 Data Coding

The coding of data for this research was carried out in three different and relevant ways. Firstly, by visualizing and carrying out a frequency analysis (which include tweets and retweets) of the timeline of #TheTotalShutDown Twitter page; secondly, by querying the dataset to get auto-coded themes relevant to see the top discourses that gets circulated in this online space and lastly, by manually importing pictures of placards (gotten from web sources) used on ground during the protest to manually code through the Nvivo nodes and coding tool with the aim of clearly categorizing the data for discussion in chapter five.

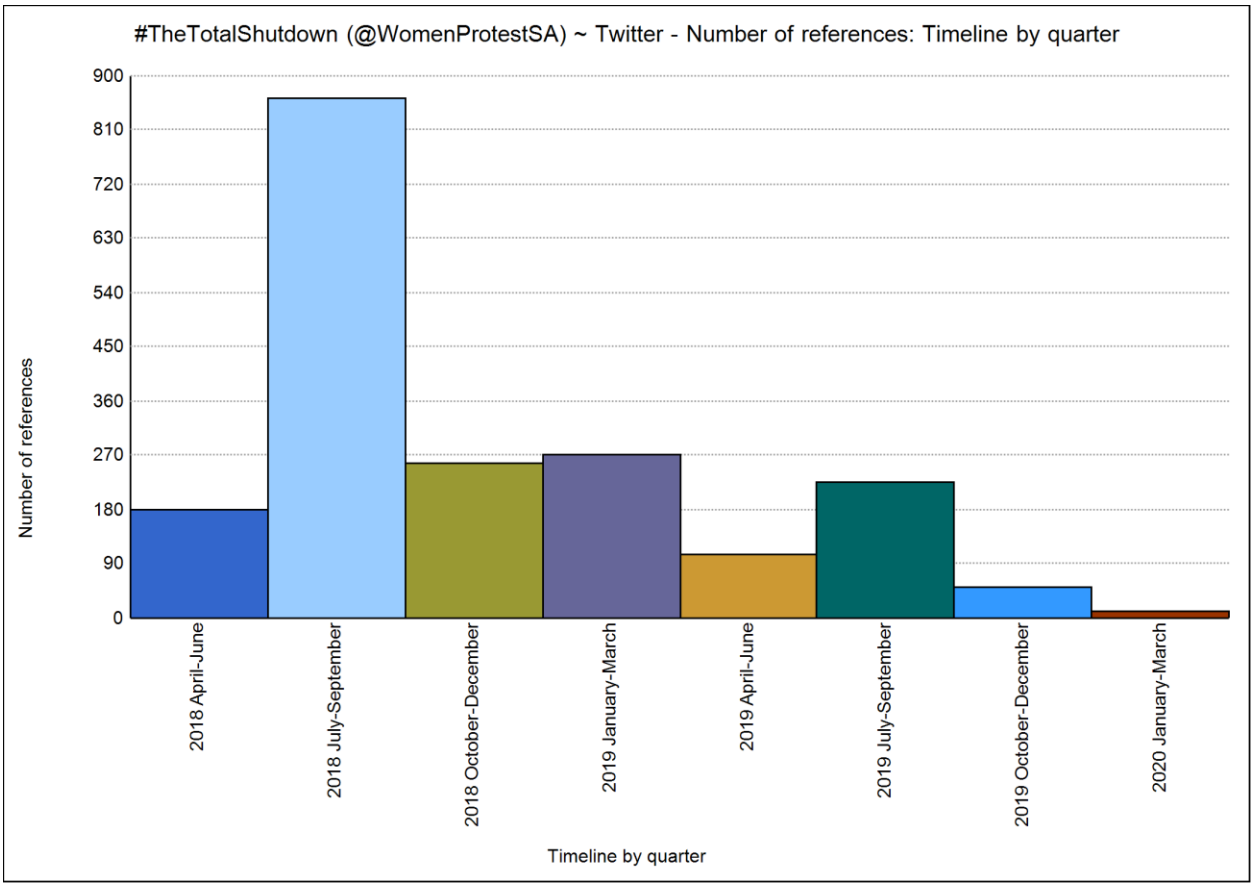


Figure 1: Frequency Chart of #TheTotalShutDown Twitter page timeline.

The above chart shows frequency analysis of #TheTotalShutDown Twitter page timeline per quarter since its inception. This chart shows the frequency of tweets/retweets during and around the period of the protest was more compared to other periods. This frequency chart was done by charting the dataset (web content on the web page). Through the chart option, I selected the "select data option', which showed various option on what and how to chart the data. On the X-axis of the dataset option, I selected "timeline by quarter" and selected "Number of Reference" on The Y-axis of the chart option to derive the frequency chart.

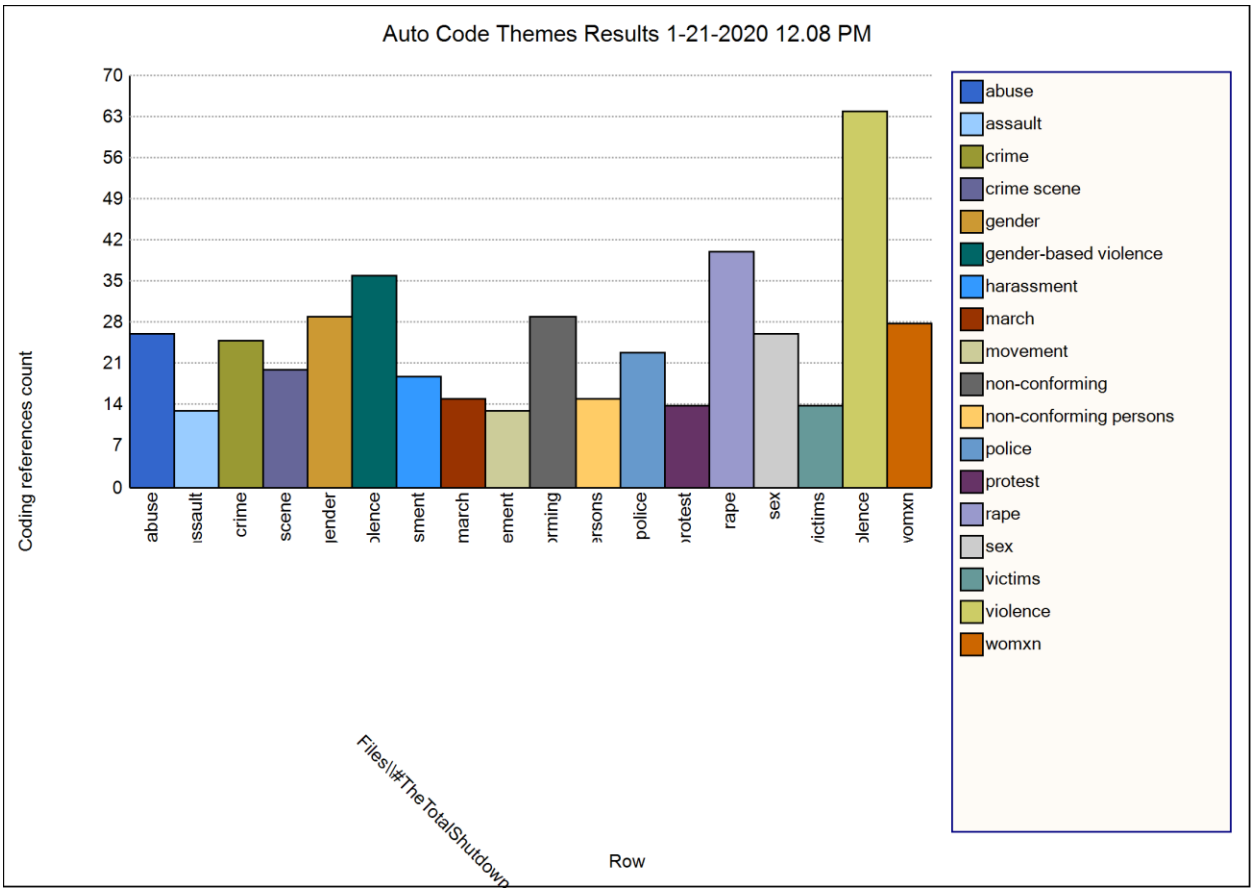


Figure 2: Auto-Coded Themes from #TheTotalShutDown Twitter page timeline.

The second chart shows auto-coded themes which emerged from visualizing #TheTotalShutDown Twitter timeline. These are some of the themes (selected or relevance) coded

through the use of Nvivo auto-code query tool. This tool searches the web content of the Twitter account and presents in a chart, words that are coded on that platform. This chart is useful to this research as it shows the nature of discourse circulates in this platform and how these forge a collective of people with shared experiences (as in the case of 'violence and rape).

Node	Text on Image	Code
1	"My Body – Not Your Crime Scene"	Body Autonomy: Female Body as Property
2	"Why Does Alcohol Excuse his actions but condemns mine"	Male Entitlement
2	"Why Does Alcohol Excuse his actions but condemns mine"	Female Respectability
2	"Why Does Alcohol Excuse his actions but condemns mine"	Notions of Morality
3	"Women are human not rocks, if you strike me I will bleed":	Trope of the Strong Woman
4	"My dress is not a yes"	Dress and Seduction
5	"My Politeness is not an Invitation"	Notions of Desire and Consent

Table 1: Manually coded themes from protest placards used during #TheTotalShutDown March

The table above shows that a total of six images/placards was manually imported into the Nvivo through Nvivo file import and manually coded through nodes according to the themes. Each image manually imported into the software for coding as a node. A number of themes emerged while I reflected on these placards. Through an auto-ethnographic lens, meaning was created from these placards and various themes that emerged was used in categorizing the images for further analysis and discussion in the following chapter. These include; Body autonomy: Female body as property, Male entitlement, female respectability, notions of morality, trope of the strong woman, dress and

seduction, notions of desire and consent. Each theme was captured as a node which will be discussed in chapter five.

4.5 Discussion

In this section, I discuss the findings obtained from the charts and the table. These charts and table are all integral to the general objectives of the research. Figure 1 as discussed earlier shows a frequency analysis of all the tweets and retweets of #TheTotalShutDown Twitter web page. This chart shows that the frequency of communication and women's interactiveness in this online space was highest between July and September 2018. To recall, this is shortly before and after the march took place. My interest here, is in the level of interactiveness that this online space enabled in which women and queer people used the medium to communicate. Through this medium, a community of 'co-feelers' was enabled and people were able to communicate through tweets/retweets, their experiences/other people's experiences of sexual violence as well as the willingness to engage in the street protest.

Figure 2, is relevant in understanding the forms of discourses that gets circulated in this space. Figure 2 shows a chart which shows the themes that emerge from the tweets and retweets of #TheTotalShutDown Twitter web page. From this chart, we see that the most tweeted/retweeted theme is 'violence', amidst other themes relevant to the topic of discourse. Here, we see the discourse that shapes the (online) community in which the movement assumes. Through this chart, we see that this space, became for women and gender non-conforming people, a space where they could share feelings, experiences as well as come as a collective political subject to talk and march against rape and rape logic.

The table shows an auto-coded themes which emerges from my meaning-making of the slogans and images on the placards used by women and queer people during the march. These slogans were speaking directly against the usually invoked rape logic and it these meanings that I intend to discuss in the next chapter. By analysing these images in the following chapter, I intend to examine how, women's use of protest placards with slogans opened up various narratives that represented rape logic and their matching out to protest and subvert it. These images opened up various narratives of not just gender-based violence but also shows an intent targeted at subverting normalized rape logic in the country.

Chapter Five: Mapping Trends

5.1 #TheTotalShutDown: Challenging Rape Narratives

In his chapter, I am interested in the kinds of narratives that get circulated through use of placards and images. This chapter discusses what emerge from each of the images and how they continually add to ongoing discussions around issues of sexual violence and rape myths as well as an ongoing discussions on violence and gender. Though the primary focus here is to discuss the themes that merge from these images, it is also of utmost importance to read the image alongside that of the person holding the image. The relationship between the woman with the placards and the slogans themselves is both a media image and an activist image; as such, the performative goes beyond the media image to enabling discussions as to how bodies assemble in the public sphere and how this makes up a repertoire in movements. Butler (2015), in her theory of performative assembly notes that the expression of performativity moves beyond speech to the very congregation /assembly of physical bodies in public. These assembly makes visible bodies that fights for basic rights and consistently resists precarious conditions. She observes that;

> Although the bodies on the street are vocalizing their opposition to the legitimacy of the state, they are also, by virtue of occupying and persisting in that space without protection, posing their challenge in corporeal terms, which means that when the body "speaks" politically, it is not only in vocal or written language. The persistence of the body in its exposure calls that legitimacy into question and does so precisely through a specific performativity of the body. Both action and gesture signify and speak, both as action and claim; the one is not finally extricable from the other (2015: 83).

This means that the very presence of these bodies in this space is political and speaks a language of resistance and resilience. The focus on the person with the image becomes useful in our understanding of the sentiments around the slogans on the placards. Its performativity goes beyond speech to understanding and analysing repertoires and strategies of social movements.

However, the scope of this research is limited to the placards and the discourses which emerge from the slogans written on them. That said, in this section, the images with the slogans; “My

body-not your crime scene", "Why does alcohol excuse his actions but condemn mine", "You strike a woman, you strike a rock", "women are human not rocks, if you strike me I will bleed", "My dress is not a yes", "My politeness is not an invitation" will be discussed in line with the narrative that emerge within these discusses (as seen in table 1).

5.1.1 Body Autonomy: Female Body as Property



Image 1: "My Body-Not Your Crime Scene" (Photo Source: Dailymaveick.co.za)

In this image, I read the text "My body-not your crime scene" to resonate with narratives of the female body as property (as 'owned' by men) and subject to be regulated by patriarchal institutions, culture as well as colonialism and how, through this text, women challenged this form of control over their bodies, asserting body autonomy and control over their bodies. I also read the text as directly responding to the legal framework through investigations and prosecution systems which produces negative stereotype of the black female body. Through this slogan, women were re-

asserting their stance on complete ownership of their bodies and what they want to be done or not done on their bodies; hence they refused to be victims of rape and other forms of violence.

The very essence of woman as property is summarized in Simone de Beauvoir's phenomenal book; *The Second Sex*, where she states that "woman…is a womb, an ovary." (1949: 1). In other words, an object, a thing, a property to be owned, and dominated my man. She, the woman, is just a womb (a thing), validated or made human by man, hence 'woman' because "humanity is male, and man defines woman, not in herself, but in relation to himself; she is not considered an autonomous being" but that which is owned, regulated and controlled. On the flipside, "A man's body has meaning by itself, disregarding the body of the woman" (de Beauvoir, 1949: 26). It is this notion of ownership and control of the female body that women, during the protest sought to challenge; thus, subverting the notion that as, property, the female body is owned by their male counterpart and they can do what they deem fit.

The Black female body as property is rooted in rooted in history of slavery whereby Black female bodies were owned and commodified by their white slave masters. It is this form of commodification of the Black female body that precedes the sexual objectification of female slaves during the eighteenth century (Cooper, 2015). As Iman Cooper, notes, Valerie Smith in the preface of *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*, stated that the slave codes laid out for the females were similar to the master's property rights as such white slave masters owned black female bodies and could do as they please. This means that they were subjected to variegated forms of sexual violence and lacked full control and autonomy of their bodies and sexuality as their bodies were for the white master's pleasure. In this case, their bodies were disciplined not only to extract labour but also to fulfil the sexual desire of their master(s).

Gqola (2010), observes that slavery in the Cape was gendered and how feminist historians have challenged the forced invisibility and erasure of the experiences of women slaves. By retelling these experiences through a feminist lens, Gqola, observes that; female slave bodies where coded as "deviant, contagious and shameful" (13). For example, the experience of Sara Bartmann, a slave Khoi woman from the Cape whose body was displayed and pathologized in France in the nineteenth century. She further notes that women's bodies and specifically the genitalia was "central to the development of scientific racist discourses" which ties Khoi women's bodies to scientific racist language; 'the Hottentot apron' (Abrahams, 1997 in Gqola, 2010: 13). 'The Hottentot apron' means an elongated labium; an excessive development of the labia minora which is said to characterize the genitals of Khoi women in the Cape. This representation of the Khoi slave bodies, became the basis for which women's bodies were inscribed during slavery in South Africa by the British and Dutch (Gqola, 2010). Slave women's bodies were objectified, pathologized shamed and hypersexualized in a way that women's bodies were deviant, hypersexed, shameful and contagious.

The construction of and objectification of women's bodies during colonialism in South Africa, as well as the 'demonization' of black male sexuality is tied to the colonial project of sexual exploitation which renders black female bodies as 'unrapeable' (Gqola, 2015). As stated by Gqola, (2015), the construction of black female bodies as unrapeable is rooted in the notion that black women are hypersexed and also in the notion of black male sexual aggression; as such black women were already raped (by black men). Similarly, Yvette Abrahams (1996), states that it was unlikely for a slave woman to be raped. She says that slave women were deemed unrapeable as she was property, an object for the master's use as such; legally, could not be raped.

In colonial/postcolonial discourses, women's bodies have also been rendered a spectacle through the colonial gaze and have been sexualized (Oyěwumi, 1997; McFadden, 2003; Coly, 2015,). According to Onyeronke Oyěwumi, the body in its physical form can be read. And it is how the body is read that informs the order of things in the world. She notes that western discourses of African woman is often through a gaze (which is not only racialized but gendered as well) and that these discourses renders the female (Black) body as an object and that this gaze (a male one), constructs and defines the female body and inscribes upon it what it should or not be or do. (Oyěwumi, 1997). The Black female body is then sexed in such a way that promotes discourses of 'thingification' and ownership of the female body. It is these notions that places women at risk of rape and other forms of violence in the society, as men see women as objects to be owned, controlled and kept in check. Also, by reading the African female body as an emblem or signifier for Africa does not only offer "it for grab as a rhetorical element of colonial discourses about Africa" but also led to "a postcolonial angst over the female body and subsequently sealed the fate of the African female body as a rhetorical element of African postcolonial discourses" (Coly, 2015: 13).

African culture and tradition have been a site through which the female body is constructed and defined to fit under the male gaze and control. The female body is to be regulated and is constantly reminded that their bodies are "chattels of men in our societies" (McFadden, 2003: 5) deserving, of rape and other forms of sexual violence. The idea that the female body is constructed for male gaze and patriarchal control have proliferated feminist discourses, hence, the need to challenge, even through protest repertoires, the structures of power that controls and ascribes meanings to women's bodies. The struggle over control of the female body is locked in patriarchal political economy of patrilinealogy; where women's bodies were regulated for purposes of childbirth and

an extension on paternity and genealogy (Balogun, 2019). Balogun observes that men's control over the female body was to ensure and identify paternity of children (born by the woman) as well as accumulation of wealth as more children translated to more wealth and social standing in African communities. The commodification of the female body for the purpose of enterprise, thus robs women of their individuality in ways in which what they do, wear or appear becomes dictated by this political economy of ownership.

Women's sexuality has been highly policed in colonial and postcolonial African societies to conform to patriarchal notions of female respectability and for ensuring male control (Coly, 2015; Mama, 1997; Tamale, 2008 in Bawa & Ogunyankin, 2018). Similarly, Dina Ligaga, in her writing about media construction of certain women as 'good time' girls in Kenyan (together with narratives of morality and respectability) states that: "Popular representations of gender and sexuality in Africa are locked within colonial, religious, and/or traditional patriarchal narratives in an attempt to control how women's sexualities are presented publicly[…] surveillance and control of women's bodies is one of the ways in which public policing takes place in order to produce desired behaviour." (Ligaga, 2014: 252). These forms of policing (and representation through the media), shows forms of control and entitlement of women's bodes whereby a woman's body suffers dictation of what it does, should do and/or how it appears in public, As observed by Bawa and Ogunyankin, women are continually reclaiming their bodies from oppression and violence and expressing their sexualities against set norms and standards laid for them in the society. Drawing from this, I argue that one of the ways in which women reclaim their bodies and claim ownership of it, is through protest (especially nude protest) and by the use of placards with slogans that speaks directly to their oppression/oppressor. The protest is one of the ways in which women define their

bodies by themselves and claim agency. Through #TheTotalShutDown protest, women (personally and collectively) reclaimed their bodies and used it as a tool of resistance to oppression.

Bodies in assembly as in the case of a protest (like #TheTotalShutDown), is a body in resistance to oppression (Butler, 1990; O'Keefe, 2006 in O'keefe, 2014). The body, especially the naked body in protest, is considered women's height of claiming autonomy of their bodies, refusing to be owned, inscribed upon or dictated for. On women's naked protest in Trinidad, Alexandre (2006), posits that women's nude bodies becomes a means of expression as well as tool for liberation (Qtd in O'Keefe, 2014). Also, the SlutWalk movement that began in Toronto, began a wave of movement towards reclaiming the female body from violence and oppression and gaining agency. It became a space in which women challenged existing rape logic that attaches sexual violence to dress choice and other behavioural tendencies as well as uses sexual violence as a tool of control (Hill, 2016). Using the body as a tool of resistance in this sense, refracts it as property and thing, rather locates it as a site of power because as protesters strip naked (either partly or fully), they give meaning to their need and demand an end to pervasive rape culture (Mathebula, 2018). By putting their bodies on the line, women claim ownership of their bodies, hence are able to decide if they want their bodies to be used as a site of violence/crime scene or not.

While the focus of m research is on #TheTotalShutDown protest that happened in South Africa in 2018, it makes sense to constantly draw parallels with other recent feminist movements especially in South Africa because these issues always filter through and across movement (By this, I mean the issue of body autonomy). In South Africa, there has been (as had earlier mentioned), various protests march which have foregrounded issues of gendered violence and rape myths and also where women students (especially women in the #EndRapeCulture protest), used their bodies as tool of resistance and getting authorities to listen to their complaints. In my writings

above, I had mentioned #FeesMustFall activist Dlakavu, who was involved in the protest and had written about how they had to put their (naked) bodies on the line to draw the Wits authorities to not only eradication of fees but also pervasive rape culture in the university. Like Dlakavu, Hlengiwe Ndlovu, another #FeesMustFall activist writes about her involvement in the protest and how they used their bodies as a tool to obtain a ceasefire form the contracted Wits police (Ndlovu, 2017). Albeit, Ndlovu, observes that their deployment of the nude protest, achieved its bid, but however, diverted the conversation from the fight for academic inclusion to that of body shaming whereby narratives of morality and respectability emerged within media spaces and in society at large (Ndlovu, 2017). The questioning of the female students' morality and respectability status is rooted in traditional/patriarchal notions of the female body as property, thing/object owned, therefore should not be 'exposed' for 'public' consumption. However, through these acts, these women students draw attention to their plights as students and also challenged sexist formations even within the movement (with their male comrades). In resisting patriarchal scripting or inscribing of their bodies, Ndlovu asserts that reading women's bodies put on the line during #FeesMustFall protest, retrieves the body from erasure and from patriarchal construction of weakness, rather positions it as a site of power, constructing in a manner that defies conventional norms and expectation of patriarchy.

Currently, women are claiming spaces and reclaiming their bodies from property status but constantly meet with various brick walls against their success. McFadden (2003) observes that because African women are increasingly gaining autonomy of their bodies through the ability to make their choices regarding issues of abortion rights, reproductive health and sexual pleasure, contraception, safe sex as well as safe motherhood, various discourses characterizing female body as 'filthy', 'immoral', 'bad' begin to proliferate. This as she observes is done in a bid to perpetually

police the female; example through the discourse of HIV/AIDS. This brings to mind how the female body infected by HIV seems to be represented as more dangerous and morally corrupt and promiscuous body; whereas the male counterpart does not suffer similar fate; in fact, if possible, is hidden from public knowledge. The stigmas circulating around HIV is used as a tool of policing and disciplining the female body to moral and respectable statuses but not that of their male counterpart.

During #TheTotalShutDown protest, women were screaming; 'my body my choice', 'my body-not your crime scene', 'my body, your sex toy', 'my body not your play thing' and all these discourses that speaks to ad against the commoditization of the female body that enables rape and other forms of sexual violence to be meted on them. Through the protest, women clamour for the right to own their bodies and sexuality. Again, just like McFadden, I am weary of the clamour for 'rights' (demands) that is locked within the parameters of cultural norms of expectations about what a 'woman can and can't do' with her body in certain spaces. The case of Gugu Ncube arrested for performing nude protest at the South African Union building comes to mind here (Nqola, 2019: np).

5.1.2 Male Entitlement

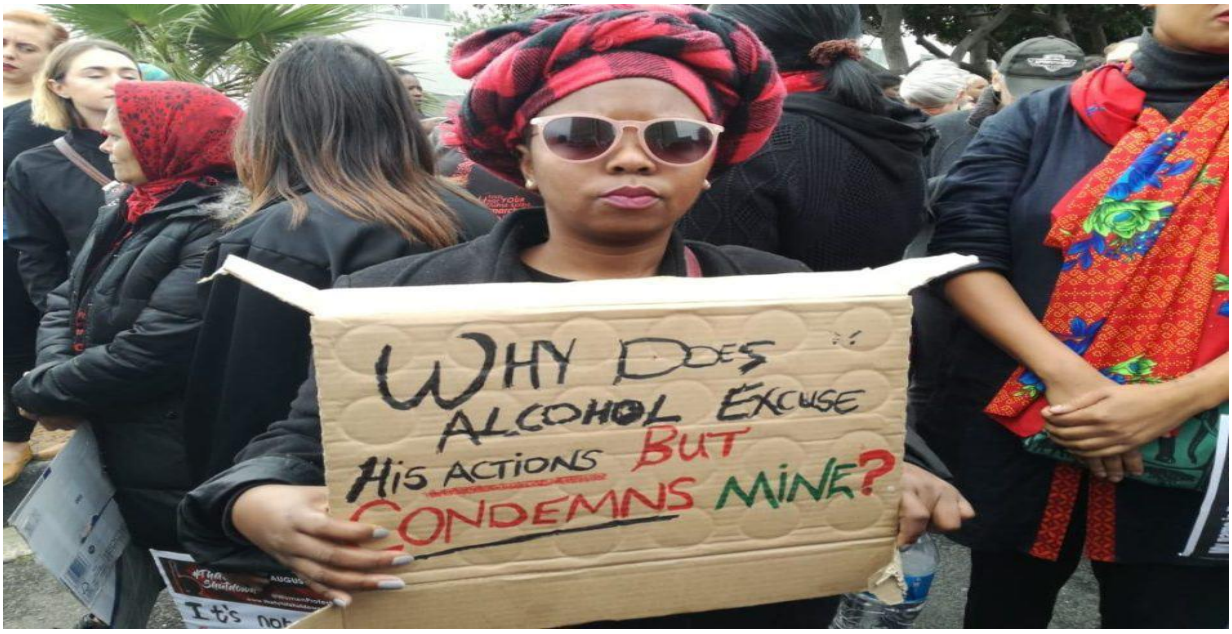


Image 2: "Why Does Alcohol Excuse His Action But Condemn Mine?" (Photo Source: iol.co.za)

In this section, I am interested in how the intake of alcohol is gendered in the sense that it is permissible for men to take it but not for women. This male entitlement as well as female respectability and notions of morality as I will be discussing later. This image bears slogan that speaks to narratives of rape that defines alcohol intake (especially in excess) to notions of promiscuity. During the rape trial of Zuma as stated earlier, his lawyer referred to Khwezi, the rape survivor, as sexually promiscuous as such 'unrapeable'. This shows how alcohol consumption was intrinsically linked to notions of promiscuity and legal codes which define the female body as unrapeable. In order words, only loose women drink. On the flipside, consumption of alcohol is most often used to excuse and validate man's violence on the female. By this I mean that the society's treatment of both female and male drunk is different. While the female is treated with scorn, morally degraded and deserving any form of sexual violence; the male drunk's promiscuity

is explained away in the very state of drunkenness. I title this part of my research 'male entitlement' because I am thinking of what a man is entitled to because he is a man. Male privilege is therefore a notion which suggest that men access certain normalized rights, and advantages in the society just because they are men. These rights are ingrained in the culture wherein it becomes most often a normal way of life. In African societies, male entitlement ranges from larger issues of ownership of women's bodies, properties, lands and houses and the avenue through which the family name and generation is sustained; down to seemingly subtle issues such as alcohol consumption, bare-bodiedness, sexually aggressive or one who must initiate a consensual sex before it is deemed okay.

This very entitlement, to be noted, most often rubs women of their individuality, personhood and autonomy. It is to be noted that this sense of entitlement, rooted in a society's culture makes men feel entitled to women's bodies; hence they can violate it whenever feasible. "Why Does Alcohol Excuse his actions but condemns mine" speaks to the rape logic that states that 'good girls don't drink' and one who does, more so, getting drunk, is inviting rape or asking for it. But same alcohol consumption will acquit a rapist on the grounds that he was drunk and was not himself. The society backs him up; that he is a man. The favourite 'catch phrase'; 'Boys will always be boys'. Ahmed (2017) calls this "gender fatalism" According to Ahmed;

> Gender fatalism rests on ideas about nature as well as time: what "will be" is decided by "what is." This is what boys are like; girls, too. But likeness becomes not only an explanation (he is being such boy; what a boy he is being) but an expectation. The "will be" in "boys will be boys" acquires the force of prediction. A prediction becomes a command. You will be boy. When you have fulfilled that command, you are agreeable; you have lived up to an expectation (Ahmed, 2017: 25).

It is a way in which a boy's unruliness, aggression and violence is explained away by adults with a nod or tone of forgiveness (Ahmed, 2017). This brings to mind, how women in my family, who drink a lot are seen as unfit and unruly, hence will struggle to be married whereas men drink as a

form of entitlement like only their gene was originally configured and entitled to drink alcohol. Male entitlement as Ahmed, notes, is located in the 'beingness' of men, the aggressive tendencies that comes with the phrase 'boys will be boys'; whereas,

> Being girl is a way of being taught what it is to have a body: you are being told; you will receive my advances; you are object; thing, nothing. To become girl is to learn to expect such advances, to modify your behaviour in accordance; to become girl as becoming wary of being in public space; becoming wary of being at all. Indeed, if you do not modify your behaviour in accordance, if you are not careful and cautious, you can be made responsible for the violence directed toward you (look at what you were drinking, look at what you wearing, look at where you were, look look)… (Ahmed, 2017: 26).

While consumption of alcohol places him at a position of privilege and exhibits what Helman & Ratele (2016) call; "societal expectations of manly behaviour" (2); it also becomes one of the ways in which women are blamed for the violence they experience.

Male privilege is so engrained in our society yet some writers, especially those engaged in masculinity studies have argued that male privilege does not exist, and that all sexes suffer forms of marginalization and inequality a time in their lives. In *The Myth of Male Power*, Farrell (1993), challenged existing stereotype and assumptions of masculinity as possessing any form of entitlement by carrying out statistical analysis of men's (across ages, educational levels, ethnicity and race) health, death rate as well as life expectancy. Her findings showed that the idea of male privilege is only a myth and that men are also systematically disadvantaged in many ways and suffer various forms of inequality and discrimination (Christy, 2019).. This being so because the society has been structured in such a way in which it systematically spews women out and/keep them perpetually at the margin and out of the scheme of things. As Khan observes that; "…as a function of being or presenting s male, certain opportunities, activities and resources are made more accessible to you than others" (Khan, 2009: 27 in Christy, 2019). The very fact that one is male, opens access to various advantages that would not have been feasible for the 'other' sex.

The society is structured in such a way whereby systems of hierarchy are put in place and men occupy the high positions of this ladders. Butler (1999), argues that a hierarchy is created at birth when a child is born. One sexual organ (the penis) is preferred and placed on the top of the ladder over the other (the vagina). The vagina being designed for exploitation and a site of violence.

Moffett (2006), observes that in South Africa, this hierarchy is rooted and traceable to Apartheid's oppressive and repressive laws. To her, the construction of hegemonic masculinities, embedded within most societies as well the variegated hierarchical structures instituted by the apartheid government had and still continues "to have profound implications for women and their experience of gender-based and sexual violence (131). She further argues that;

> Sexual violence in post-1994 South Africa is fuelled by justificatory narratives rooted in apartheid discourses. At the same time, discourses of race, including accusations of racism, have stifled open scrutiny of the function of rape as a source of patriarchal control. Under apartheid, the dominant group used methods of regulating blacks and reminding them of their subordinate status that permeated not just public and political spaces, but also private and domestic spaces. Today it is gender rankings that are maintained and women that are regulated. This is largely done through sexual violence, in a national project in which it is quite possible that many men are buying into the notion that in enacting intimate violence on women, they are performing a necessary work of social stabilisation. (Moffett, 2006: 132)

Moffett's argument that women's experiences of violence is traceable to established racial as well as gendered hierarchies engrained into the South African society during apartheid makes sense to consider in this section how drunkenness is defined differently for both sexes. Similarly, Buiten and Naidoo (2006), observe that women's experiences of violence is facilitated by patriarchal structures that makes women's bodies subordinate to men's. These structures aimed at keeping women perpetually under control and compliant with social norms that regulate and define what a woman can do or cannot. In the context of alcohol consumption, women are expected to embody morality and respectability as such should not drink alcohol more so, get drunk; if she gets raped

or suffers any form of violence, the society attributes this violence to her consumption of alcohol; something that a man should do. Whereas a man's intake of alcohol, more so, getting drunk at it, qualifies him as a man; a 'real' man.

During #TheTotalShutDown protest, women matched to negate these hierarchies and regulation of the female body as well as challenged existing male entitlements which constructs hegemonic masculinities and renders women vulnerable and susceptible for rape and other forms of gendered violence. Through this placard, women were saying 'no' to rape logic and victim blaming on the grounds of alcohol consumption.

5.1.3 Female Respectability

This section is closely tied to the previous one in the sense that alcohol (excess) consumption is tied to notions of female respectability; where a woman who drinks excess alcohol is termed unrespectable. In other words, does not conform to societal standards of what a respectable woman should do and behave. But the question is, what is respectability? Who gets to decide what is respectable and what is not? And to whom does it apply? Here, I am interested in the construction of a respectable female emanate from consumption of alcohol. Before I proceed, it is best to understand what respectability means. Respectability is a set of practices which governs every aspect of people's life, defining acceptable modes of attitudes and morals for both sexes (Davidoff & Hall, 2002). For Davidoff and Hall, these sets of practices are different for both women and men and defines social order. Tracing their observation to the Victorian age, they observe that men's respectability was defined by their ability to own properties, own business and off charitable services where necessary. Whereas for the woman respectability meant being locked in domestic spaces and repressing their sexuality, observing defined dress codes, language, behaviour and how one is seen. In America, These set of behaviours and codes which "describe how early 20th century

Black women presented themselves as polite, sexually pure, and thrifty to reject stereotypes of them as immoral, childlike, and unworthy of respect and protection" (Harris, 2003) and by being or presenting counter narrative to negative stereotype of the Black woman, at the same time reproduced hegemonic norms and behaviour which perpetually places Black women as subordinate entities. Respectability was also defined through dress choice, moral conduct, and organizational affiliation which was embodied by middle class White men for which Black Americans as well as other marginalized communities aspire (Pitcan, Marwick & Boyd, 2018).

In Africa, modes and forms of respectability was deep rooted in the tradition of the society. Women were deemed respectful when they keep up with moral standards and behaviours that convey gentility and modesty and also exhibiting virtue and self-contentment. Women thus had to conform to these standards so as to maintain their status as respectable women. These, respectable standards, being rooted in patriarchal cultures, polices the female body, forcing it into control and compliance with the standards of respectability in the community (Mama, 1997; Tamale, 2008; Coly, 2015; in Bawa and Ogunyankin, 2018). According to Elaine Salo, notions of respectability in Manenberg was tied to access to social welfare grants, dress and hair type. She states that women were considered respectable if they had access to the government's social grant and also if they dressed properly and their hair was modestly covered, braided or applying chemicals to straighten the coils. She observes that series of exclusions were possible through hair as those whose hair types were tightly coiled were regarded as a 'darkie'. She further explored how these meanings shaped the life of Coloured people in Manenberg and how it defines who is deemed respectable and who is not.

In her reading of Salo's "Good Daughters: Incorporating Young Women into Respectable Personhood", Mupotsa (2007), observes that Elaine Salo's findings states that the performance of

female respectability in Manenberg, township in Cape Town, South Africa; was done through dress, comportment and the space in which they were allowed to occupy. In other words, the space in which one occupied determined if one would be regarded as respectable or not. This means that women who were located within or inside the shebeen or bear parlours were termed 'irrespectable', thus, a candidate for rape. By being in such locations, these women were already branded to be looking for 'it' by drinking in excess, some would get sneered by men; ' she wants to drink like man' and will be taught a lesson (by being raped or sexually assaulted) for daring to do what men do or what a man should do. Rape myth that defends rape on the ground of respectability gives credibility to the rape of woman located within a space which is seen as man's and also is consuming what only a man is meant to. This shows how narratives of logic are constructed and how they stem from pre-existing patriarchal notions of femaleness and respectability.

Still on alcohol, space and respectability, Chipo Hungwe (2006), writes about notions of respectability and unrespectability as defining attributes of women in pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial Zimbabwe. She states that the meaning of respectability has shifted across these different temporalities and the construction of female respectability keeps changing due to social and economic implications of tradition, colonialism and neocolonialism. She talks about the way in which women were restricted to rural/private spaces but as time went on women began to flock into urban spaces mainly for economic purpose. My interest, in this piece is the way in which women who brew local bear (and will bed drinker most often) were seen by the society as unrespectable.; First, for their audacity of mobility into urban spaces and secondly, for brewing as well as drinking a drink termed 'illegal' by the colonial government and seen as a taboo for women by the African culture. When a woman moves into the public, either through her dress, political assertions, agency and by consuming alcohol, she is deemed unrespectable, hence, the need to 'put

her in her place' or she becomes responsible for the violence meted on her. According to Hungwe (2006), 'respectability' translates to 'marriageability'; in other words, women who drink alcohol, are unrespectable, hence, not marriageable candidates.

This explains why the credibility of a victim's rape story is doubted when victims get judged for not embodying a certain level of ascribed/acceptable form of respectability. The victim is blamed for going out of the confines dictated by patriarchy and is seen as defiant, hence, justifying the rape and other forms of violence she experiences. By consumption of alcohol, especially, in excess to point of drunkenness, women get branded 'unrespectable' and 'defiant' and being causal to the violence they experience. By using the placards with the slogan, "Why does alcohol excuse his actions but condemns mine", women were challenging the tradition that regulates what they consume or not and also challenging rape myth that 'okays' a rape case on the fact that the victim was 'asking for it' by consuming excess alcohol to stupor.

5.1.4 Notions of Morality

The phrase 'only bad girls get raped' suggests morality and the construction of womanhood. Just as the notion of respectability is fluid, the notion of morality also changes over time and across space. Morality is based upon certain codes and conducts in the society and most often, it is used to regulate the female behaviour. Ok Nwosu, (2004), defines morality as "a public system of rules that all rational persons advocate and adopt. It is concerned with the behaviour of people in so fast as that behaviour affects others and institutions" (208). Morality is what defines the character of the female as women are considered the moral bearers of societies (Welch, 1997). For instance, a woman gets drunk, is considered morally defiant whereas, the same does not apply to man. This because she is seen as not embodying femininity and sexuality in a way the society subscribes. Bawa and Ogunyankin (2018), observe that, colonialism, brought with it the policing and

disciplining of women's sexuality and forces upon colonized subjects, modes of European morality and purity. But the question this raises is was there no form of moral code in Africa, especially that which is intended to regulate the female body, sexuality and space? Like respectability, space can define one as either moral or not. The consumption of alcohol, especially in a public space can cause women to be branded as immoral, hence asking for a rape.

In her study on barriers to implementing the Choice on Termination of Pregnancy Act (CTOP), passed in the South African parliament in 1996, Phyllida Cox's (2007), data showed that that men regarded women who flirt and socialize in a particular as promiscuous, dangerous and immoral. She states that one of the male interview participants believed that 90% of women who drink and socialize in that beer parlour must have had abortion. Here, it is not only the case that they drink alcohol that defines the women's morality status but also the fact that they have had abortion as well. But it seems not to add up why the society condemns a woman who has abortion and sees her as morally defiant but does not accord the same immoral status to men who asks women to abort a pregnancy for one reason or the other. Here, we also see that the men in the bar are not condemn as morally defiant for drinking in that space and/or even being responsible for any of the abortion cases.

The notion of morality as used to discredit a rape survivor can also be traced in the state vs. Zuma rape trial which I mentioned earlier. Although the discourse on alcohol and morals did not explicitly feature in this case, I am interested still, in how notions of morality (of dress choice, comportment and sexual history and orientation) was invoked in ways that discredited the story of the rape survivor Khwezi. The fact that she was dressed in a kanga, a short traditional skirt and did not comport herself in the way she sat (sitting 'like a man' according to Zuma) was translated to

mean that she was not only immoral in how she appeared but was also 'asking for it' (Hassim, 2009).

Also, her sexual life and sexuality was invoked to justify the violence on her body. As Hassim states, that;

> 'The law has historically told judges to approach the evidence of the complainant in a rape trial with caution, based on the stereotype that women (like children) cannot be trusted to tell the truth. And that if a woman "sleeps around" or exercises any degree of sexual agency outside of traditionally acceptable sexual relations, not only is he likely to have slept with the complainant but she is inherently more likely to have "loose" morals and more likely to be a liar'(2009: 69).

Here, the fact that she had many sexual partners, have been raped three times in her life (when she was five, thirteen and fourteen respectively) and by sexual orientation is bisexual; was used against her in the court and the 'good' girl narrative was raised to place doubt that the case was that of rape (Hassim, 2009). From her sexual history, conclusions were drawn that she was not rape but was sexually promiscuous; hence, the phrase, 'only bad girls get raped'. On this ground, the case was struck out of court and the issue of Zuma's infidelity and sexual history was never raised to invalidate his claim that it was a consensual sex. Why? Because he is male and males have no business with morals and morality. Morality and moral codes are for the female, to keep her in perpetual oppression.

By protesting against the issues of sexual violence, women were also resisting narratives of rape that entangles the lives of women with the notions of morality. They were question why not just alcohol consumption, but dress, sexual history and experience as well as sexual orientation should define women's morality status and not that of man. They were saying 'no' to oppressive, confining notions of morality and the invocation of it to permit rape and violence on women's bodies.

5.1.5 Trope of the Strong Woman



Image 3: "Women are Human not Rocks if you Strike me I Will Bleed" (Photo Source: Thedailyvox.co.za)

In this section, I am interested in how women's bodies are constantly invoked as embodying strength to endure all forms of violence on her body; and even within the same spaces of feminist activism like #TheTotalShutDown protest, these set of discourse (like "if you strike a woman you strike a rock), refuses to recognize women's vulnerability and susceptibility to sexual violence and reproduces normative, traditional notions of the female body that embodies supper strength, as such can put up with any form of violence meted on her body. In the image above, I am interested in the placard that says; "women are human not rocks if you strike me I will bleed" and how these becomes not only as a challenge to rape logic (that invokes the strength narrative as causal to violence) but also as antagonistic to the popular women's slogan in South Africa which says; "Wathint' abafazi, strijdom! Wathint' abafai, wathint' imbokodo, uza kufa!" meaning; "[when] you strike the women, you strike a rock, you will be crushed [you will die]!" (Clark, et al., 2019:

3). This trope of the female body as rock, even though appealing can at the same time be very problematic in the sense that it speaks to the trope of strength which is usually invoked as a myth to support rape claim or other forms of violence on the female body.

The strong woman trope is often used to describe to Black women as embodying strength; one who is a caretaker, nurturer, resilient and able to survive despite…she is one who is not vulnerable, does not complain, does not cry and is not broken. According to Cailyn, (2017), this stereotype of the Black woman as strong is traceable to the period of slavery where Black women's experiences of sexual violence by their white masters was justified on the grounds that the Black female body is strong and hypersexual. She states that "the idea that Black female slaves were strong enough to endure any pain and keep on going justified slave owners' abuses, including rape: the Black woman's mythic 'strength becomes a convenient justification for every atrocity committed on her" (Wyatt, 2008: 60 in Cailyn, 2017: 34). This trope of the black woman as strong also took upon the stereotype of the 'mammy' during slavery in the United States. (Carter & Rossi, 2019). The 'mammy' image was one who cares for the white household she works for and at the same time struggling to take care of her family, one who is "physically strong, resists vulnerability, and suppresses emotion in order to survive (Woods-Giscombe, 2010; Wyatt, 2008, in Cater & Rossi, 2019: 289-291). It was the image of an enslaved black woman created by the white oppressor (Carter & Rossi, 2019).

In South Africa, the 'mammy' image presented in the Black women who worked as maids for the white masters under apartheid (cock, 1980 in Magadla, 2013). According to Magadla, by playing the role of 'mammy' or 'mavis', Black women domestic workers endured harsh conditions of racism, economic exploitation as well as gender oppression. For her, this image is also captured in the lives of women guerrilla fighters during apartheid who were burdened with the responsibility

of marriage, family, childbirth and care alongside the national responsibility of fighting for the freedom of the Black people from apartheid. Magadla, argues that this image of a strong Black woman; "obscures the day to day suffering of black woman against structural poverty and discrimination" (2013: 587). By positioning herself within this discourse of the strong Black woman, Magadla identifies her mother and some other Black women she knows who are made to embody the image of the strong woman (by experience, positionality and placement) but asserts that "theirs was a life of seeming perpetual domestic crisis" as such she does not want to be like them (2013: 589). Being a strong Black woman entails the rejection of neediness, emotions and vulnerability.

It is this notion of strength that women sort to challenge during the protest. Even though this presented a conflict; an intergenerational conflict in which younger feminist took negated the regular call and response slogan; "Wathint' abafazi," by reiterating that they are human and vulnerable and if raped, violated, they will bleed, suffer from trauma or even die as a result. Women dying as a resultant of sexual violence in South Africa is commonplace. The recent case of Khensani Maseko, a Rhodes University student who committed suicide in August, 2018 three months after being raped.

The deployment of the trope of strength has constantly been used against Black women as a justificatory narrative supporting sexual violence against women. By rejecting this stereotype, women were saying; we are vulnerable, we are humans and we reject any form of violence on our bodies'.

5.1.6 Dress and Seduction



Image 4: "My Dress is not a Yes" (Photo Source: timeslive.co.za)

The most circulated rape logic has been that which ties dress with notions of seduction and sexual provocation. Many survivors have been blamed for the violence committed on them while the perpetrator goes unpunished because the society polices women's way of dressing and claims that women who wear short, revealing dresses as 'sexually active' 'and asking for it' (Moffett,2006 Moor, 2010; Armstrong and Mahone, 2016; Hill, 2016). In this section, I am interested in the rape logic that blames victim's experience of violence on the dress they wore of that they were not well covered in order word seduced the perpetrator into rape. The image with the slogan; ''my dress is not a yes" speaks to the pervasive rape myth that blames survivor's dress as seductive and causal to rape. As previously written, the Zuma rape case is on of such case where a woman's dress is used as a tool to circulate rape myths. Zuma's statement stated that Khwezi was on a traditional attire which is usually short and revealing. So because she kept her legs open 'like a man', he got a message that she was sexually aroused and wanted 'it'(Robins, 2008; Hassim, 2009).

In response to the backlash she received for calling out Zuma, Khwezi wrote a poem about the Kanga, saying;

> "I am Kanga
> I wrap myself around the curvaceous bodies of women all over Africa
> I am the perfect nightdress on those hot African nights
> The ideal attire for household chores
> I secure babies happily on their mother's backs
> Am the perfect gift for new bride and new mother alike
> Armed with proverbs, I am vehicle for communication between women
> I exist for the comfort and convenience of a woman
> But no no no make no mistake…
> I am not here to please a man
> And I certainly am not a seductress
> Please don't use me as an excuse to rape
> Don't hide behind me when you choose to abuse… (Qtd in Pather, 2016).

Raeesa Pather (2006), traces the history of kanga to the Swahili culture in East Africa where the dress is used for multi-purposes; from carrying babies, using as a head scarf and also a means of communication. It can also be used indoors or outdoors. She recounts that during the trial, one of the placards used by women as a form of protest read; "This kanga is not an invitation [to sex]".

According to Steven Robins, the use of the traditional dress; kanga, which before now was defined female modesty and respectability; was immediately sexualized and presented as an object of seduction. By this argument, Zuma's defence counsel argued that this was a deliberate act of seduction. This case presents a real case of linking sexual aggression and promiscuity to the victim's dress. It goes further from acquitting the rapist to blaming the survivor for appearing in a manner that was provocative.

This is rooted in the notion of female sexual passivity whereby a woman can only express sexual urge or desire passively; and one of the 'passive' ways is by wearing revealing clothes for the seduction; to send a message across to the one who will look and deduce that the female is sexually aroused and like a 'redeemer', he 'corners' her and does not stop even to the word, 'no'.

Moor (2010), observes that; "men's perception of women's sexual intent must be examined in a social context…[tied to the] practice of sexual objectification… [which] constructs women as objects for the viewing pleasure, sexual lust and desire of men …[portraying women] a little more than their exposed body parts, seductive appearance, and tempting behaviour…" (116). This means that the objectification of the female body presents it as a sexual object that arouses, excites and stimulates male desires through revealing wears.

'My dress is not a yes', thus speaks to and challenges rape logic which is a "discursive tool" that ties sexual desire and seduction to dress and/or mode of appearance ad how this appearance is believed to send across messages of desire to men which they deduce by looking.(Hill, 2016). In her research into the sexual violence experienced by South African women, especially in townships, Sindi Kwenaite & Ariana Heerden, (2011), observe that in townships, women experience sexual harassment for their dress choice. Dress becomes a rape myth used to justify men's raping and sexually assaulting women in these rural communities (also occurs in the urban areas). They relayed an incident of rape justified by dress choice which occurred in Noord Street Taxi rank in Johannesburg CBD, where a girl named; Nwabisa Ngcukana was sexually assaulted by taxi drivers for being dressed on a mini skirt. Also, reference the Zuma/Khwezi rape case was made by this drive through songs, as it points to the same revealing dress in which Khwezi wore to seduce Zuma into sleeping with her (Kwenaite & Heerden, 2011). It is also to be noted that this form of sexual harassment is also used as a tool of 'correction', hence, Nwabisa was assaulted, not only because she 'wore to seduce'; nor, because the men were already sexually aroused but also to send a note of 'correction' to her and to embody female 'morality'. Most women in South Africa, especially those in the townships are susceptible to experiencing 'corrective' rape because of what they put on. This idea of 'corrective' rape, is again, ingrained in a culture that objectifies the female

body and claims it as property. So, the use of rape as 'corrective' is a way of disciplining the female body to conform to normative standards set for women. It becomes a tool of control to ensure compliance to models of 'morality' and 'respectability' constructed by patriarchy to place the female body in perpetual subjection to the male's.

Kwenaite & Heerden, argue that;

> The nudity of the female body troubled the settlers and missionaries (Doy, 1996: 17) and this attitude to the exposure of the female body seems to be perpetuated in contemporary Africa (Frenkel, 2008: 3). African women were especially viewed as hypersexual, which led to the surveillance and repression of their sexuality (McFadden, 2003). This suggests that African female sexuality was constantly monitored. New scripts, reflecting these moralistic and anti-sexual edicts, were inscribed and continue to be inscribed on the bodies of African women, along with elaborate systems of control […] sexuality is a key site through which women's subordination is maintained and enforced in postcolonial Africa" (Tamale, 2005: 11). The argument is thus that female sexuality is controlled so as to keep women subordinate to men, especially in patriarchal societies (2011: 148).

On this ground, women who wear body revealing dress have been termed; 'promiscuous', 'immoral', flirts and 'unrespectable' in the community. This becomes rendered credible when these forms of rape myths are reinforced and reiterated my public officials like judges, police officers and public prosecutors just like the case of the LegalAid SA representative which I had mentioned earlier in this writing. Therefore, the perception of nudity, also works in tandem with notions of morality and respectability to justify women's experiences of rape. Therefore, the phrase; 'my dress is not a yes', dismantles the logic that women's dress and appearance are causal to their experiences of rape and other forms of sexually motivated violence.

5.1.7 Notions of Desire and Consent



Image 5: "My Politeness is not an Invitation" (Photo Source: DailyMaverick.co.za)

Before I get to the nitty gritty of the text on this placard and how it challenges rape logic, I want to draw attention to the word "My", which is an intention by the writer to reclaim her body and claim space. "My" suggests; my body, my attitude, by dress, my embodiment, my sexuality and many other "My"s that had before now been either regulated or silenced. In this image, the slogan; "My politeness is not an invitation" speaks mainly about attitudes, manners, behaviours and ways in which they can communicate messages whether positively or negatively. Politeness, in this sense suggests, a mode of comportment; a set of attitude and behaviour in which individuals are expected to enact to be seen as noble personalities in the society. Politeness can be in form of mannerism; ways of speaking, eating, sitting or walking and communicating with and in one's world. In this research, I am concerned about the ways in which politeness (as mannerisms above), are perceived as communicating desire and consent. Just as dress is said to communicate sexual desire, ways in which a woman walks, talks, sits, turns her waist, brushes her hair (whether

knowingly or unknowingly), could be interpreted as a message of desire and consent. I argue in this section, that certain rape myths are based upon certain mannerisms a woman portrays because it is translated to meaning that she desires (or want) to have sex and also, she consents to the sexual activity. It is not my intention to conflate these two words together (desire and consent) as they could mean separate things in some sexual scenario. Chengeta complicates the definition of consent further as that which does not in all cases determine desired ("wanted") or undesired ("unwanted") sex (Chengeta, 2018). She argues that consent can be given but that does not necessarily mean that the sex is desired or wanted. On the flip side, sex can be desired, but does not consented to. This is where mannerisms feature in; as in sometimes an indication of desire but that does not in any way translate to consent. This is where many rapists get it wrong when they interpret a woman's politeness (mannerisms) as consent whereas, it was just a pure show (and may not necessarily be) of desire but not consent. It is from this understanding that the slogan in image five makes so much sense. 'My politeness is not a yes'! mannerisms can be provoked by a feeling of desire, but it does not translate to a 'yes, I agree to have sex with you'. This, as with Chengeta (2018), complicates the binary representation of the definition of rape as consensual or non-consensual, suggesting that a broad spectrum be examined by scholars in this field and mostly public prosecutors, to enable them better deal with cases of rape and rape logic.

Conclusion

This research is motivated by my experience of being positioned in an activist space whereby rape logic is constantly reiterated to re-traumatize a victim. In this research, I have examined #TheTotalShutDown protest; its digital (online) life forms and how they become avenues through which bodies enact assemblage and resistance; a space through which a community of political subjects are forged by the circulation of discourses (themes) on violence, rape, rape logic as well as crime. Through the use of a software tool called; Nvivo, I have generated data from the #TheTotalShutDown webpage by capturing its web page, importing into Nvivo to conduct a frequency analysis of the movement as well as retrieved auto-coded themes which has violence as the highest degree. This shows how discourses of violence, rape and crime circulate in these online spaces and becomes the basis through which communities of political subjectivities are forged.

Also, in this research I have looked at images of women's use of protest placards to challenge pervasive rape culture and rape logic. I have examined seven discourses that emerge from the various rape scripts that is often invoked to silence a victim and discredit her story of rape.; I have examined; The female body as property, male entitlement, female respectability, notions of morality, the trope of the strong woman, dress and seduction, desire and consent. I have argued that through these narratives, women are consistently being made to take the blame for being raped or sexuality assaulted. I have also argued that these set of discourses and practices are deeply rooted in not only our history of colonialism and slavery but also rooted in African traditional set of practices and believes.

I argue that during #TheTotalShutDown protest, the use of placards bearing slogans that directly challenge rape logic, were deployed by women. Through that space, women reclaimed their bodies from negative stereotype, confinement and oppression.

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