WITS UNIVERSITY

Loss, Rage and Laughter: Texturing protest action against sexual violence on the South African campus and its existence online

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A research report submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts degree in Sociology in the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand-Johannesburg by:

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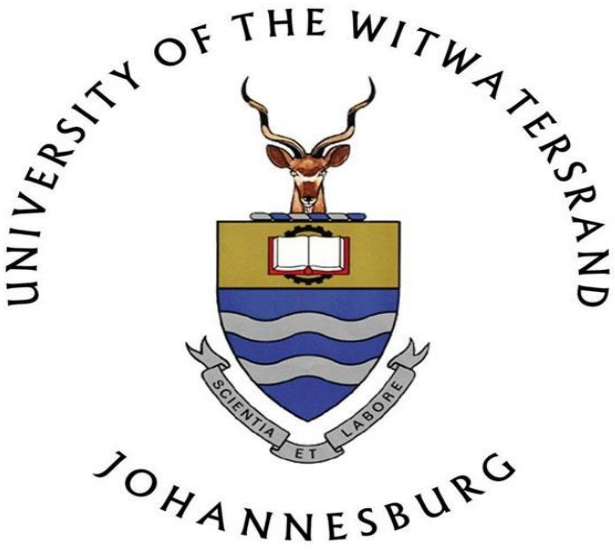

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I hereby declare that this research report, completed in partial fulfillment of the Master of Arts in Sociology, is my own work. I have referenced all intellectual property which is not my own. I have not allowed anyone to borrow my work.

Sign: Mbali Mazibuko
Date: 2018/09/30

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Acknowledgments

Dear God:

Umbhedesho wamaWisile amahle, uthi ‘Siyakudumisa Thixo. Siyakuvuma ukuba unguYehova. Nkosi…Ndithembe Wena. Mandingaze ndidaniswe’. I never would have made it kodwa ithemba lami Nguwe. You know. You know.

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To my mom, Cynthia Mazibuko and my dad, Mandla Mazibuko:

You have been with me through this difficult year. You have seen me laugh, rejoice and cry throughout this process. Thank you for holding me when I could not pull myself towards myself.

To my late grandfather, Bra Tom Msimango, who left us on the 5th of March, 2018 just days before my research submission date:

We spoke about this. It is time. In your last days, you gave me blessings and well wishes for my intellectual journey. Your words have carried me. They will always carry me.

Lastly, to myself:
You are stronger than you think. Keep it moving.

ABSTRACT

This thesis considers the emergence of anti-rape activism within and beyond the bounds of the post-apartheid South African university. It examines the campus contexts of the University Currently Known as Rhodes (UCKAR) and the University of the Witwatersrand-Johannesburg (Wits). These campus contexts function as sites of feminism, naked protest action and anti-rape campaigns that have moved beyond the campus and into other public spaces. This thesis positions the #RememberKwezi silent protest lead by four Black womxn students as a lens in which to make sense of how student-lead activism transcends the boundaries of the university. This thesis also makes sense of these three contexts as offline happenings that extend into online worlds like Twitter. Through textual analysis of tweets and hashtags, this thesis demonstrates how the extension of offline protest action to online worlds like Twitter create a global pool of activism to confront the plight of womxn. This thesis analyzes the uses of rage in the contemporary feminist movement through the emergence of the anti-rape campaign under the hashtag #RUReferenceList from the University Currently Known as Rhodes. It examines laughter as a response to womxn's protest action in the context of Wits University and considers the implications that laughter at womxn's activism has on contemporary processes of building a feminist movement. This thesis asserts that the hashag #RememberKwezi functions as an invitation to reflect on the ways in which womxn's experiences of rape have been treated by society and the justice system. The #RememberKwezi campaign memorializes the difficult life of Fezekile Kuzwayo and a number of other womxn who have been raped. This hashtag also becomes representative of the loss felt as a result of being raped, victim-blamed and failed by the law. Within this context, feeling, sentiments and sensations are understood as deliberate feminist protest repertoires that characterize the current feminist movement building process.

Key words: Feminist; Twitter; Hashtag; South African university; Student-activism; Sexual violence; Anti-rape; Protest action; Emotion

INTRODUCTION

When a feminist is raped
It is the quietest she has ever been

When a feminist is raped
All of her anger
All of her hope is
Useless to her in that moment

Her anger will return after, with force
But not directed at him

He will stay the skeleton in her closet,
in her bed,
Because to even admit that he exists
That THAT happened, to her,
Is to dissolve her completely

Her hope never returns the same way.
It has been smeared with someone else's sweat and
anyway,
Nothing helped her.
Not then

When a feminist is raped
It is the quietest she has ever been.

So.
We need to hold hands and
SCREAM for her, loud and long and hollow and raw,
To hold her anger
To heal her hope

Quiet by Sarah Godsell (2016, 51)

Initially, I simply I wanted to insert the wisdom of Sarah Godsell (2016) and place her words as the introductory text of this research project. I could not have captured the dangers of rape in the ways that Godsell (2016) does. I do not think that I have any better way of articulating the silence and silencing that curses the rape victim-survivor and the tragic death of the hopes of a feminist in the ways that the above poem has. Neither could I have textured a feminist's anger in the

succinct yet powerful way that Godsell (2016) does. Godsell (2016) also makes a call for us to listen to the anger of a feminist, to aid and to stand in solidarity with the methods of survival that she carves out for herself. I frame this project as a companion to Godsell's *Quiet*. This is a project that picks off from where Godsell left off.

This is a dissertation about holding hands and healing the hopes of a feminist as Godsell has called us to do. Through an analysis of protest action against sexual violence at South African universities, I argue that the feminist movement building process in contemporary South Africa is making the voices of womxn[1] louder. Furthermore, the contemporary feminist movement as it unfolds in the university space is committed to ensuring an anti-rape university and society. I arrived at this argument through the following questions: What is it about the university context that makes sexual violence indelible to the experience of being a womxn student? Why is sexual violence normalized? What does it mean to be anti-rape?

Rape, sexual assault and sexual violence are often used interchangeably. The World Health Organization's (WHO) World Report on Sexual Violence (2002, 149) defines sexual violence as:

> Any sexual act, attempt to obtain sexual act, unwanted sexual advances, or acts to traffic, or otherwise directed, against a person's sexuality using coercion, by any person regardless of their relationship to the victim, in any setting, including but not limited to home and work.

[1]Anzio C. Jacobs' (2017) articulation of womxn/womxn as womxn signals a linguistic choice enhancing the literary visibility of transgender, gender non-conforming, gender non-binary and queer womxn. Womxn broadens the category of womxn thus moving far beyond the representation of heterosexual womxn, which is already implied when we speak about womxn. However, it is only relevant among womxn in recent years and I have therefore applied it in contexts only where it is relevant and appropriate to do so. For example, women during the liberation struggle did not refer to themselves as womxn and I have considered this as a time and context sensitive naming project.

Therefore sexual violence refers to a number of ways that womxn's bodies are sexualized and violated. Rape is a specific form of sexual violence. In South Africa, the legal definition of rape according to the Criminal law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act 32 of 2007, is when "any person ('A') who unlawfully and intentionally commits an act of sexual penetration with a complainant ('B'), without the consent of B, is guilty of the offence of rape". This definition of rape includes the oral, anal or vaginal penetration of a person with a genital organ or any other object used to violate a person's body in a sexualized manner.

Rape culture is what makes rape and other forms of sexual violence pervasive. According to Elisabeth Wise (2012) rape culture refers to the myths surrounding who can rape, who can be raped and the circumstances under which one is believed to have been raped. Rape culture refers to the practices and behaviors that normalize violence against womxn. Examples of rape culture include, but are not limited to, the belief that husbands cannot rape, public figures cannot rape, sex workers cannot be raped, womxn enjoy being raped because 'they were asking for it", the idea that certain forms of dress invite rape and the narrative that 'no' actually means 'yes' (Wise 2012). Such rape myths work to victim-blame those who are raped and shift focus away from the perpetrators. Rape myths enable men to exercise their power over womxn. Rape and other forms of sexual violence are an exercise of power and a performance of toxic, violent masculinity (Gqola 2015). Rape is the war waged on the bodies of the most vulnerable (Wise 2012). Therefore, I assert that to be 'anti-rape' is to be against this violent exercise of power on the bodies of womxn, children and vulnerable men (Gqola 2015). To be anti-rape and anti-rape culture is to stand firmly against the sexual violation of womxn's bodies because all forms of sexual violence have the same intent and the same traumatic effect. Therefore, when I refer to anti-rape or sexual violence, I am referring to the act of sexually violating the bodies of others. Recent student-led feminist movements have echoed the call for an anti-rape university and anti-rape society.

In this thesis, I refer to protest action against sexual violence at the University Currently Known as Rhodes (UCKAR) in Grahamstown. The movement became known for its actions against rape culture at the university and was organized under the #RUReferenceList. UCKAR was originally known as Rhodes University, named after the colonialist Cecil John Rhodes. Students from UCKAR are in the process of renaming the institution with the intention of erasing the painful reminder of the colonial experience. Wits University in Johannesburg, which stood in solidarity with the protest action against rape at UCKAR, is the other campus context that is central in this thesis. The naked protest characterizes womxn's protest action at both UCKAR and Wits.

Student-activists and feminists from these institutions are seen elsewhere, extending the site of protest to worlds beyond the university. I made reference to the protest known as #RememberKwezi that took place in Pretoria during former president Jacob Zuma's briefing on the Independent Electoral Results (IEC) in 2016. The #RememberKwezi campaign was a silent protest and it was in the silence that South Africa reflected on the reality of rape across the country. #RUReferenceList, womxn's protest action at Wits and #RememberKwezi present us with important lessons on protest cultures, strategy and mobilization practices. I trace the role of emotions, as catharsis and as a rationale for political mobilization, in these three contexts.

I assert that the emotional lives of womxn are the organizing principle for their protest action against sexual violence. I interrogate feminist rage through UCKAR's #RUReferenceList and loss through #RememberKwezi. I read laughter as a response to womxn's protest action in the context of womxn's protest action at Wits. Prior to looking into the place of rage and loss in protest action against sexual violence, I asked the following question: what do these feelings do? Posing such a question required me to discuss, firstly, what the rage embodied by protesting student activists and feminists revealed. I then address the ways that feeling rage and acknowledging loss as a result of being raped and/or

sexually assaulted can function as an invitation to act. Of concern to this project are the ways in which rage, loss and the grief that befriends loss become characteristic of contemporary anti-rape and rape culture activism. I therefore position emotions as productive of the strengthening of a contemporary South African feminist movement.

Laughter, I position as a response to feminist activism at Wits University and as a way to mark Black womxn's bodies as inferior. In order to position laughter in this way, I have had to ask the question: How is womxn's protest action read by those whom are looking in and occupy the space of spectatorship, especially those who respond to womxn's protest through laughter? This thesis addresses the meanings that laughter (re)produces in relation to the presentation of Black womxn's bodies and Black womxn's activism. I think through laughter as affecting the bodies of womxn and the ongoing feminist movement building process currently underway in South Africa. It is through the laughter directed at Black protesting womxn's bodies that I discuss the racial tensions that exist in the feminist movement that is being built across the different campus contexts.

Lastly, this project asks the question, what makes protest action against sexual violence in the post-apartheid South African landscape so distinct? The moments of protest action in the contexts of UCKAR, Wits University and #RememberKwezi were extended onto online worlds. I am concerned with the extension of this protest action into social media platforms like Twitter. I create a relationship between the offline and the online by looking at how offline protest action in the university and elsewhere travels by way of the hashtag. This thesis shows how the hashtag curates rage, loss and laughter as mobilizing principles and responses to sexual violence and subsequent protest action taken against it. The hashtag organizes discourse on the matter that is being animated by it and has become central to the dissemination of knowledge of an event and/or phenomenon. The hashtag makes room for a number of voices to emerge. For example, the hashtag #MeToo that trended on Twitter in October of 2017

demonstrated the power of social media. #MeToo was formed to encourage womxn to tweet their experience of having been sexually violated, particularly in the workplace. Several celebrities like Gwyneth Paltrow, Uma Thurman and Jennifer Lawrence tweeted under the hashtag #MeToo. In the scope of this research report, I have thought about how social media platforms provide feminist work with a new field in which to increase its stance and draw in a larger pool of allies. The hashtags that this paper is concerned with are #RUReferenceList, #Wits, #RememberKwezi, #EndRapeCulture.

Rage, loss and laughter occupy these social media platforms in ways that assign new meanings to both protest action and the digital. The digital and the hashtag are fast emerging as means through which silences about violence endured by womxn inside and outside of the university can be broken. Silence is an expensive a price to pay when sexual violence continues to intrude on the everyday life of womxn. Broadly speaking, this project sets out to highlight the ways in which womxn in post-apartheid South Africa are finding a new voice for themselves. That voice is distinctly feminist because it lends itself to the lived, everyday experience of womxn navigating different pockets of society. The voice that is emerging through student-led protest action against sexual violence marks a new form of womxn's activism. Emerging feminist voices insist on centering the struggles of womxn alongside the struggles of others. Through the use of social media platforms like Twitter, the voice of womxn leaves the private space and enters the public worlds of those whom have insisted that fighting sexual violence is not everyone's responsibility. Through the widespread proliferation of the hashtag, public memory of contemporary student-lead feminist activism against sexual violence is created. Furthermore, a public history of contemporary anti-rape protest is being continuously and carefully shaped online.

BACKGROUND

South Africa has a long history of violence and inequality. Consequently, South Africa has a rich history of contesting violence and inequality. The National Party whose political ethos was staunch Afrikaner nationalism deployed the principles of segregation and inequality by building a regime based entirely on difference. Difference was asserted along the lines of race, ethnicity, class and gender. The experience of white women, Black women and women of color living in colonial and apartheid South Africa are different. These groups of women were active in contesting colonial and apartheid conditions but the conditions under which they were contesting were dependent on their proximity to the center of power; power being whiteness and maleness.

White women began organizing themselves around gender debates during colonial rule (Meintjies 1996). The Women's Enfranchisement Association of the Union formed in 1911 and the Woman's National Party formed in 1923 were established to advocate for the suffrage of white women (Meintjies 1996). These organizations excluded Black women whose experience of colonialism and apartheid was far worse. Black women and women of color had to face restrictions in terms of their movement because of the pass laws[2] and were subject to police brutality and sexual assault from municipal officials (Meintjies 1996). White women excluded Black women in their activism against the carrying of passes. Having been excluded from white women's political organization, Black women organized campaigns to fight against passes from 1913 (Meintjies 1996). Passes for Black women were carried on well into the apartheid era, therefore calling for the formation of a stronger women's organization that would include women from different racial groups. That organization became the

[2] The Pass Laws act of 1952 was known as an internal passport system that required Black people and people of colour to carry pass books when they were frequenting areas outside of their designated location. See also Welsh, David (2009). The Rise and Fall of Apartheid. Johannesburg and Cape Town: Jonathan Ball Publishers. Accessed on: http://www.lindenwood.edu/files/resources/146-148-2.pdf

Federation of South African Women (FEDSAW) formed in 1953 (Meintjies 1996). FEDSAW was the first attempt to create a broad-based woman's organization that brought together 230 000 womxn from different parts of the country. The vast majority of women in FEDSAW were also members of the African National Congress Women's League (ANCWL) (Magubane 2010).

The ANCWL was formed in 1948 as the women's wing of the African National Congress (ANC). Shireen Hassim (2004) cautions us to think about women's political organizing at the time as heterogeneous and not saturated in the actions of the ANCWL. However, the association of the ANCWL with the ANC, which is the oldest liberation movement on the African continent make it impossible for us to not associate some of the political motives of the ANC with the progress we have made in terms of gendered redress in a post-apartheid context. The ANC, formed in 1912 has garnered the membership and support of the majority of South Africa's Black population. It also brings into its fold a number of people from different races that have worked collectively with the previously disadvantaged to end apartheid and move South Africa towards democracy.

When the ANC was formed in 1912, women could not be members of the party. The ANC was and remains a multicultural political party. The Bantu Woman's League (BWL) under the leadership of Charlotte Maxeke formed in 1931 was recognized as the women's branch of the ANC (Ginwala 1990). Only from 1943 could women gain official membership in the ANC. Soon thereafter, the ANCWL was formed in 1948 and replaced BWL as the woman's branch of the ANC. (Ginwala 1990) The ANCWL played an important role in resisting apartheid. The 1950's held some of the most memorable protest actions lead by women. Women of the ANCWL were actively involved with the Defiance campaign[3] and

[3] The Defiance Campaign was launched by the ANC in 1952 to fight against unjust apartheid laws. The Defiance Campaign was successful as a result of the joint efforts of people of different racial groups and the use of non-violent disruption.

made their mark in the space of political resistance through the 1956 march to the union buildings (Ginwala 1990).

Of course, the ANCWL was not the only women's based organization that fought against the apartheid regime. In 1953, women from various trade unions and organisations came together to form the Federation of South African Women (FSAW) (Gasa 2007). The Coloured People's Congress, the Congress of Democrats, and the Food and Canning Worker's union were some of the affiliates that helped run successful campaigns and protests. The opening conference of FSAW drafted the Women's Charter, which expressed the need for full equality between men and women. The Women's Charter (1954, 1) reads as follows:

> "We, the women of South Africa, wives and mothers, working women and housewives, Africans, Indians, European and Coloured, hereby declare our aim of striving for the removal of all laws, regulations, conventions and customs that discriminate us as women and deprive us and deprive us in any way of our inherent right to the advantages, responsibilities and opportunities that society to any one section of the population…
> We women do not form a society separate from the men. There is only one society and it is made up of both women and men…. within this common society, however, are laws and practices that discriminate against women."

Nomboniso Gasa (2007) cites Julia Wells (1993) who argues that particularly harsh punishment in places like Cape Town began in 1954 when women could no longer receive permits from the authorities to enter urban areas The liberation struggle saw the rise of The Black Sash in the 1950's whose members held public, silent and individual protests against apartheid laws and repression. It was in 1956 when over 20 000 women of different races marched to the union

buildings to demand an end to the pass laws. This is evidence of how the Women's Charter and FSAW foregrounded the mass mobilization of women during an era of racial and gender oppression.

Gasa (2007) offers a critique of FSAW, arguing that for most members of FSAW it was their blackness and not their femaleness that drove their political practice. "Very few members would have described themselves as feminists and the formal commitment to women's emancipation was overshadowed by practices and ideas that could only be described as patriarchal" (Gasa 2007, 214). But Gasa (2007) then also asks, what and who is feminist? Gasa (2007) asks why women should look to the national liberation struggle for their emancipation in the first place. According to Gasa (2007), those whom have studied FSAW and earlier struggles found evidence of how women resisted male domination on their own and outside of the national liberation discourse. Be that as it may, FSAW was not without its own set of problems.

The Federation experienced some difficulties with some of its affiliates (Meintjies 1996). The ANCWL was somewhat wary about FSAW and insisted on organizational rather than individual membership. Coincidentally as Nomboniso Gasa (2007) notes, the membership of the ANC rose significantly during the 1950's. Therefore, the ANCWL's difficulty with FSAW points to the ANCWL's insecurity about potential loss of power, capacity and relevance while shielding itself from being casted out of the ANC. The needs of women increased from the 1950's to the 1980's.

In particular, it was the pass laws and subsequent pass protests in the 1950's that resulted in the banning of political organisations and women leaders in the 1960's (Tshoaedi 2012). The political climate of the 1960's, 70's and 80's required new strategy and forms of resistance. This explains the decline of FSAW from the 1960's. Prominent women leaders like Lilian Ngoyi and Helen Joseph had been detained and others exiled. Affiliates of FSAW like the

Congress of democrats had also been banned. FSAW structures became fractured. There was little political activity in the 1960's because of the fracturing and banning of political parties like the ANC.

From the 1970's student activism and the Black Consciousness Movement stirred up new forms of resistance. Black consciousness brought into focus a politics of black self-care, self-love and self-reliance that was beyond the scope and capacity of FSAW In 1975 a woman's organization inspired by Black Consciousness, the Black Women's Federation, was formed. The Black Women's Federation brought into focus the specific struggles of Black women students studying under difficult conditions on university campuses. Given the increased riots of the 1970's, and particularly the Soweto Uprising of 1976, women played an important role during this period because the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) had been banned. Some women, like Lindiwe Sisulu, even joined the armed wing of the ANC, *Umkhonto Wesizwe*, where they underwent militant training. The commitment of women like Lindiwe Sisulu during this time revived the ANC as integral to the struggle while crafting a particularly militant ANCWL whose objectives became almost inseparable from those of the ANC. During the aftermath of the 1976 student uprising in Soweto, many young people including women like Phumla Williams left the country to join exiled members of the ANC in Swaziland (Cummings and Holmes, 2016). The ANC, and with it the ANCWL, strengthened as a result of the swelling in the camps.

Although political organisations remained banned in the 1980s, others formed such as the Natal Organisation for Women and the United Women's Organisation (UWO). UWO's members were former FSAW and ANCWL members like Dorothy Nyembe and Mildred Lesia whom had cut ties with trade unions and the ANC (Meintjies 1996). Membership for the UWO was on an individual basis allowing for progressive women to join on condition that the women did not belong to other women's organisations (Meintjies 1996). Soon after the unbanning of political parties in 1990, the ANCWL lobbied all women's

organisations to set up a coalition that would center women's issues during the negotiation process and transition to democracy.

The Malibongwe conference held in January 1990 held in Amsterdam brought together women activists and those who had been in exile to debate the 'woman question'. The Malibongwe conference was aimed at uniting women for a unitary, non-racial South Africa (Meintjies 1996). Sheila Meintjies (1996, 48) quotes FEDTRAW member, Leila Patel who at the Malibongwe Conference, recognized that "the struggle must be waged simultaneously at all three levels (race, class and gender). The question of the emancipation of women is therefore integral to our national democratic struggle". This perspective suggested that women's point of departure be a more self-conscious understanding of the material conditions within which women lived their lives. In Shireen Hassim's (2005) Turning Gender Rights into Entitlements: Women and Welfare Provision in Post-apartheid South Africa, she argues that women mobilized to negotiate a new political system that would be accessible to women's participation. Women's participation in a democratic South Africa was imagined through policy formulation concerns. For example, it was the Women's National Coalition that argued for greater representation of women in elected political bodies (Hassim 2005).

Meintjies (1996) points out that the Women's National Coalition that was formed in 1992 emerged out of an initiative of the ANCWL in September 1991. The Women's National Coalition comprised of four regional coalitions and approximately 60 national women's organizations. The coalition was formed to debate what was termed the 'woman question' as South Africa prepared to transition to a democratic country from 1990 (Meintjies 1996). Some of the most notable women's organisations that were part of the coalition includes the Federation of Transvaal Women (FEDTRAW) which pushed a feminist agenda during the period of the transition to democracy.

While there is evidence of women's organizations that were often non-racial and advocated for the equality of all, we cannot ignore the pressure put on women's organizations to fight for the rights of those oppressed by apartheid. Feminists like Shireen Hassim (2014) go as far as to criticize organizations such as the ANCWL for not being feminist because they placed national liberation as the primary objective of their activism. One could sympathize with ANCWL for being less active in foregrounding the experiences of women and making them national concern both in the past and present when we consider the ways that the ANCWL came into formation. The fact that women were locked out of the ANC at its inception and later included through the formation of BWL (that later became the ANCWL) only tells us that men have always been conceived of as the leaders and bearers of political will. The ANC as a space predefined by men before the entry of women made liberation politics a very masculine space.

Many women, who supported the African National Congress, even if they were not directly involved with the ANCWL, prioritized the struggle for liberation over the struggle for women's emancipation (Magubane 2010). Zine Magubane (2010) argues that women's activism during apartheid thought of national liberation as paramount for their personal liberation. Magubane (2010) further suggests that attitudes towards feminism by women in the liberation movement teaches us that gender concerns were understood as private matters that were irrelevant to the broader objectives of the struggle for freedom. Moreover, many women's political organisations that were formed during apartheid like FEDSAW thought of equality between men and women in terms of the professional and legal status of women. The focus was on the implications that gender had on citizenship and worker rights (Magubane 2010).

Therefore, women's inclusion in the struggle against apartheid was nationalist in scope and devalued the social and cultural norms that continue to affect women (Hassim 2004). As a result, during the negotiations of the 1990's in which a number of interest groups debated the future of South Africa, gender equality

was to be measured by the establishment of policies that would 'advance and ensure the emancipation of women' (ANC 1990). These negotiations were dominated by the political impetus of the ANC and the ANCWL. It was also the ANC that went on to win the first democratic elections of 1994.

> "The ANC constitution articulated non-sexist policies that have indeed influenced the current Constitution of a free and democratic South Africa. Accordingly, the ANC constitution and the country's constitution (1996), recognize women as equal citizens, with equal rights and responsibilities. Furthermore, the ANC has been at the forefront of women's struggles, by putting forward a vision for a non-sexist society by institutionalizing gender equality and women's empowerment through its policies, its institutional arrangements and intervention measures" (ANC Gender Policy Document, 2012)

Redi Tlhabi (2017) argues that there is ongoing debate about political and economic inequality but sexual violence against women and children receives much less attention both in the context of apartheid and in its aftermath. Tlhabi (2017) argues that the militancy of women during the liberation struggle overshadowed the reality of sexual violence perpetrated by fellow comrades during the time. This is further evidence of how the fight was more about ending apartheid than it was about ensuring the social and cultural freedom and safety of women.

Tlhabi (2017: 41) speaks of 'unspoken apartheid-era abuses' in relation to the confrontation of sexual violence. The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC)[4] did not have a category for gender-based violence. The TRC was sanctioned to investigate gross human violations owed to the apartheid

[4] The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was established in 1996 to afford victims of apartheid abuses to come forward and for perpetrators of those abuses to request/receive amnesty from perpetrators of said apartheid abuses.

regime. Beth Goldbatt and Sheila Meintjies (1997, 7) argue that while the TRC afforded many people in South Africa the opportunity to come forward to tell their stories and share their pain, “violence against women is one of the hidden sides to the stories of our past”. Human violations included killing, abduction, torture and ‘severe ill-treatment’. Goldbatt and Meintjies (1997) argue that the TRC’s consideration of ‘severe ill-treatment’ did not include the violence that women have had to endure. Women’s organizations and women’s forums had to put pressure on the TRC to have women’s only TRC hearings where women could share their experiences of the past. This would create a safe environment for women to open up about their experiences, as many of them felt ashamed of having gone through certain things like rape. However, very few women gave testimonies and evidence of their sexual assault. Goldbatt and Meintjies (1997) argue that the low rate of testimonials of sexual violence by women was due to the fact that women did not see their experiences as serious and as human rights violations (Goldbatt and Meintjies 1997). Women were also socialized to keep their private experiences out of the political realm. Publicizing a private violation would also threaten the social status of womxn considering the fact that womxn were already marked as fragile.

Almost paradoxically, Nthabiseng Motsemme (2004) argues that when women do speak about their traumatic pasts, they often place their narratives within everyday lived experiences of having to maintain their homes and relationships. Motsemme (2004) argues that remembering everyday violence shows us the way apartheid intruded on the everyday life of women. “Apartheid violence and violations came to be incorporated into the meaning and feeling structures in relationships between wives and husbands; between mothers and sons and between women themselves” (Motsemme 2004, 909). The everyday horrors faced by women during apartheid can be read in the silences around them. Motsemme (2004) suggests that we read the silences as texts that can reveal hidden meanings regarding women’s struggles under apartheid. She suggests that silence is also a language.

Questions of rape and other forms of sexual violence have been continuously left out of public debate. The silence around the violence women have had to endure become testimony of a collective narrative that is less about nation and more about 'a wholeness of self, body, the family, the home that had been breached in ways that left victims bereft of something precious' (Bozzoli 1998,181). Motsemme suggests that we read silence as a language of pain and grief therefore pointing to how 'the mute always speak'.

Where women's experiences have entered the public worlds that women now frequent, they have been met with great hostility that protects men while shaming and vilifying women. Helen Moffet (2008) argues that sexual violence prevails because of violent practices rooted in apartheid. Apartheid legitimized violence by a dominant group against people labeled as inferior in political in social and domestic spaces (Moffet 2008). Those positioned closest to whiteness and masculinity were afforded higher social and economic status. With greater status was greater power, which rape and sexual violence is an exercise of. And rape and sexual violence are an exercise of power that goes unchecked in the new South Africa. Due to the silence about rape and sexual violence, those of us that come from the 'Born Free' generation remain enslaved by the fear of being raped and/or sexually violated. However, having taking into consideration Motsemme's (2004) suggested uses and productivity of silence, the silence about the myth of reconciliation that is animated by the rainbow and the notion of the born free reveals an uncomfortable truth about post-apartheid South Africa.

Eleanor du Plooy (2017) offers us a definition of concept of the Born Free as a label that has been imposed on South African's born post-1994. To be Born Free is to be born into freedom. This notion of freedom is also found in the embrace of the South Africa we have come to know as the 'Rainbow Nation'. Marking South Africa as the Rainbow Nation from 1994 onwards has meant embracing difference and acknowledging that we live in a transformed country. The rainbow is representative of the multi-racial and multi-cultural South African society. But

even in the representation of South Africa as a Rainbow Nation, the meanings of the rainbow operate solely on the register of race and cultural diversity. The ways that the Rainbow Nation is imagined erases the gendered nature of South Africa's history of colonialism and apartheid. As many young feminist activists today have made visible, we are not truly Born Free because the construction of the Rainbow Nation closes down our right to reflect on the ways that system and society continue to inflict violence upon womxn's bodies. Although post-apartheid South Africa has been re-modeled to represent various types of people, we are not Born Free because of the ways in which spaces continue to make life difficult for womxn. It is in these spaces that were previously exclusively white that we are reminded of our Blackness and our gender. This is the uncomfortable truth about post-apartheid South Africa.

Universities like the University of Cape Town (UCT), Wits and UCKAR are historically white, liberal institutions. Contrary to its name, the Extension of University Act of 1959 barred Black people access to these institutions (Reddy 2004). The South African Native College, now known as Fort Hare, was the first university established for Africans in the continent in 1916. The University of the Western Cape (UWC) was established for coloreds in 1959 and Durban-Westville, which is now one of the campuses for the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN), for indians in 1972. From the 1990's, universities like UCT, UCKAR and Wits led the way in defying apartheid policies like the Extension of University Act by quietly accepting Black students and students of color. Post-1994 South Africa enjoys a more diverse university demographic.

The university is but one place that is often figured as the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow. In post-apartheid South Africa, universities have been re-shaped to bring together a number of histories, races, genders, and sexes (Sherwan, 2017). Therefore, the university functions as a microcosm of society (Sherwan, 2017). However, "South Africa's 'Rainbow Nation' is a myth that students need to unlearn" (Mukoya, 2016). We need to unlearn this myth because over twenty-four

years into our democracy, universities remain invested in colonial discourses and financially exclude Black students and womxn. Black students have faced financial exclusion in universities. Black workers in the university have been kept in precarious positions through outsourcing. The curriculum and pedagogy has been anti-Black. Because of the hetero-patriarchal society in which we live, rape and rape culture is as endemic in academic culture as in any other institution. Protest action against the above-mentioned issues is as a result of these issues not having been adequately addressed two decades into democracy. The contemporary activism of womxn in the university foregrounds the experiences of womxn within the context of other structural issues like financial access to the university.

The FeesMustFall (FMF) movement that emerged in 2015 functioned as a melting pot for all the issues that have been silenced by the idea a Rainbow Nation. Garnering the support of universities across the country and gaining international attention, FMF managed to bring attention to unjust fee increases, the mistreatment of university workers and the erasure of womxn in protest action like FMF itself. Following from the FMF movement of 2015, UCKAR came into the spotlight because of student-led protest action against rape and rape culture in April of 2016. This moment cemented the issue of gender into the broader FMF movement. The solidarity Wits showed to UCKAR and the #RememberKwezi silent protest action in Pretoria further increased the importance of addressing sexual violence against womxn inside and outside of the university.

At Wits, the naked protest characterized the anti-rape protests of womxn in the university. There is a history of womxn's naked protest action in the context of the broader African context and in South Africa in specific. Maryam Kazeem (2013) argues that of the most notable naked women's protest in Africa over the past century is the naked protest during the Women's war in Eastern Nigeria in 1929. This naked protest was a form of resistance to colonial authority. Kazeem

(2013) argues that as recently as 2013, the naked protest has emerged in West, East and Southern Africa. In 2016, Dr. Stella Nyanzi, a lecturer at Makerere University, stripped after being locked out of her campus office. The director of the Makerere Institute of Social Research (MISR), Prof. Mahmood Mamdani, locked Dr. Nyanzi out of her office. Mamdani argued that Nyanzi was not attending to her responsibilities at MISR and was rather investing time in private work. Nyanzi's naked protest was a performance of vulnerability and desperation, as she wanted to reclaim her position in the university and her office space.

Sheila Meintjies (1994) writes about the naked protest action of women in Dobsonville, South Africa in 1990. Women built shacks on a piece of vacant land in Dobsonville because they had not yet received the government houses promised to them. These womxn were homeless. Also, these women had grown tired of being exploited by landlords who offered them backyard rooms at expensive rates. These women built shacks on vacant land in Dobsonville to deliberately draw attention to the reality of the homeless in Soweto. On the 12th of July in 1990, approximately two weeks after shacks were built on open land in Dobsonville, the women living there were confronted with the South African Police Service's (SAPS) tear gas, stun grenades and bulldozers that were to be used to demolish their corrugated iron homes on the 12th of July in 1990. When the police began bulldozing their shacks, the women began to strip and staged an intimate public. It was mostly young women shack dwellers that stripped naked in the face of bulldozers (Meintjies 1994). The naked protesting women sang, ululated and held up placards demanding homes and security of tenure. During this time, the bulldozing was paused and Meintjies (1994) argues that this is owed to the defiant naked bodies of women that stood in front of the SAPS. The naked woman's body has therefore been positioned as a political tool and is a political tool that students in contemporary South Africa have also been using to challenge rape culture. Although the naked protest has emerged as a way to bring attention to the material needs of women, it is also effective in bringing attention to the rape crisis in South Africa.

METHODOLOGY

My research design is qualitative, and employs a conversation style approach to textual and sentiment analysis. Social media platforms such as Twitter are my field site. I have conceptualized conversation style to mean the circulation of knowledge in diverse, alternative but connected ways. Kovach (2010) argues that the conversation style method is often consistent with specific paradigms. She speaks of the use of this method in the case of indigenous knowledge and research. However, the conversation method is not unique to indigenous knowledge systems (Kovach 2010). The conversation method also refers to knowing by way of story-telling, oral history, re-storying and remembering (Kovach 2010). I think of storytelling, re-storying and remembering as the things that happen during the translation of offline happenings to online spaces. My methodology is one that addresses the conversation on sexual violence and subsequent protest action as it moves outwards from the offline context in which it arises.

The conversation style methodology I am using lends itself to feminist methodology. In my analysis of hashtags concerned in this paper (#RUREferenceList, #RememberKwezi, #EndRapeCulture), I move away from the notion of research methodologies as requiring the researcher's objectivity. Gwendolyn Beetham and Justina Demetriades (2007) argue that the more traditional methodologies, like the quantitative research methodology, are not at all objective. From a gender perspective, traditional methodologies only ignore the experiences and perspectives of womxn. Patricia Hill Collins (1986) in her important work *Black Feminist Thought* does away with the idea of the 'knowers', being the researcher, and those who are simply subjects of the social world. Because black women experience what is known as the interlocking nature of oppression, it is almost impossible to uncover women's truths outside of a personal connection with these truths. Collins (1989) suggests that those of us who make claims also need to have moral and ethical connections to the claims

that we make. There are moments where doing research on women requires us to maintain a level of objectivity so we can hear what is being said because research is also about listening. Feminist methodology argues that it is necessary to problematise the binary of objective/subjective and private/public because women's experiences and making sense of these experiences traverse knowledge production and knowledge possession. The research process is therefore a making of a story and a conversation.

Bishop (1999) thinks of collaborative storying. Collaborative storying is when a research project has a relational dynamic where you also become a participant. I have personally been involved in many protests against sexual violence. My participation in and commitment to interventions made by womxn has made it impossible to position myself as an objective researcher. Feminist thinkers and writers such as hooks (1991) argue that our activism, pain, frustration, curiosity and experience of the world should be used as the source of our theorizing. Therefore, my research ethic is feeling. To me, a research ethic refers to the principles or standards of research to be adhered to. An ethic is a moral and political consideration that one is called to take seriously. Mine is feeling. Danai Mupotsa (2008) thinks about rage as ethic. Mupotsa (2008) advocates for a research ethic that is inspired by a politics of rage. She makes this argument after discussing the ways in which researching gender is met with hostility. Those of us working to speak and write gender into academic language are critiqued as not intellectual because we insist on methods that emphasize the collective nature of research. Therefore we are in our full rights to be enraged by conventional academic culture. Borrowing from Mupotsa's (2008) suggestion of using rage as ethic, I think of feeling as my methodological ethic. Yes I am enraged by academic practices but I am also enraged by the fact that rape and rape culture still persists. But I also identify with the feeling of loss that comes as a result of being sexually violated and being failed by society and the justice system. I conduct this research on these grounds because they are collective and require theoretical attention. These shared experiences should also be used

to check and balance theory since we know that women have been written out of conventional narratives.

Social Media: Twitter and/or Facebook

I analyzed hashtags as they appeared on Twitter rather than Facebook. Twitter messages that circulate between people are known as tweets. Facebook messages that circulate between people on Facebook are known as Facebook posts. When I began this project, I typed in the relevant hashtags in the search engines of both social media platforms. I realized that Facebook posts are often delayed in comparison to tweets. Twitter activity is quick, spreading immediately across space and time and in real time. It is also important to note that many Facebook users have connected their profiles with their Twitter profiles. This allows for one's tweets to appear on Facebook at the same time that they were put out on Twitter. The vast majority of these social media users post via tweets, not only because it is faster, but also because of the character limit of 280 that forces one to reach their point quicker than what they would on Facebook where there is unlimited character allowance. These factors influenced my decision to extract hashtag material from Twitter. However, Facebook was useful in so far as it supported claims made about certain affects circulating as a result of womxn's protest action in the university. This is particularly true in my discussion of laughter as a response to womxn's protest action at Wits. The collective laughter of men is written of in a number of online blogs that were shared widely across Facebook. On Twitter, the laughter was documented in the format of tweets connected to the hashtag #RUReferenceList or #Wits or #EndRapeCulture and some others that emerged in connection with womxn's protest action.

I also reference YouTube videos that have documented some of the events that are central in this paper. The audio-visual aesthetic of YouTube has been particularly useful to draw on in order to paint a more vivid picture of some of the events I discuss. Since some moments have passed, YouTube has made it

possible to relive and remember protest action that took place offline. I also rely on memory because I have also been a participant in protest action against sexual violence, particularly at Wits. As Gqola (2015) argues, memory isn't always reliable but the memory of a moment that you are a part of exists nonetheless and therefore counts as important.

Textual analysis of hashtags on Twitter

I have spent time typing in the hashtags on the search engines of Twitter and Facebook. I have spent months analyzing the results of the searches and observing some trends in the content that is stitched with a hashtag. Bonilla and Rosa (2015) have written extensively on hashtag ethnography, digital protest and politics. In their work, they are concerned with the discourse surrounding the hashtag #Ferguson. Some of the arguments they make with regards to textual analysis on online material were useful in helping me make some decisions in terms of the design and method of this project. While Bonilla and Rosa (2015) make use of quantitative research where they express numerically the number of times the #Ferguson appeared on Twitter, I could not retrieve the data history of the hashtags I am concerned with. I wanted to use the numbers as a way to reflect on and analyze the performance of the hashtags over time. I wanted the numbers to tell the story. However, this was not possible because Twitter pushes out older content over time as they lose their trending status. To retrieve quantified data history of content on Twitter, one has to pay for it. I elected to use Social Mention, which is a software program that quantifies and analyses social media content. Having typed in the hashtags in question, I only received numbers for the performance of the hashtags spanning a period of ten days. Retrieving the data history would have been easier since these software programs are also created to stratify the numbers you asked for into categories.

Moving forward, I realized that I would have to search each hashtag individually and see what comes up. In some instances, instead of searching the specific

hashtag, I had to search the moment connected to the hashtag. For example, I would search ‘Rhodes’ instead of #RUReferenceList or ‘naked protest’. When I searched in this way, the Twitter results were those of the hashtag connected to that particular event or phenomenon. Twitter generated relatively large results for each search. The results page for the searches I made ordered the tweets from the latest to the oldest. I do not know how many I went through exactly, as it was difficult to quantify manually. This is a limitation because there may have been things that I missed. However the fact that each of these hashtags were Twitter trends suggests that thousands of tweets went out under these hashtags.

In terms of the content of the tweets with the hashtags I am concerned with, I had to find ways to analyze the text. I paid special attention to certain keywords that were abound in the hashtag results on Twitter. For the data analysis stage, I make use of both content and map analysis. Content analysis refers to the analysis of texts based on isolated concepts found within it. Map analysis refers to the extraction of situated concepts, the relationship they form and the meanings they produce. I could not ignore the tweets that did not necessarily suggest rage, loss or laughter. Sometimes the tweets I came across articulated feelings and ideas other than rage, loss and laughter. I include these tweets in my analytical chapters of the protest action in the contexts of UCKAR, Wits and #RememberKwezi. I included them because if they did not necessarily tell me about the place of loss, rage or laughter, they revealed something else about feminist movement building, the university in which protest action takes places and attitudes about rape and rape culture.

To look at the articulation of rage, loss and laughter, I had to decide what the indicators of each affect were. On the first level, evidence of each feeling and affect was literal in that the tweets professed rage, or loss or laughter. In the case of rage, the tweets I analyzed explicitly spoke of rage as important. On the second level, indicators of rage, loss and laughter were provided by the emoticons that some of those tweeting under hashtags used. An example of this

would be the use of the emoticon of a broken heart tweeted under the #RememberKwezi which to me, speaks to pain and feeling/expressing loss. On the third level, I also considered the ways that some affects, like laughter, were made visible through tweets by mimicking the literal action of laughter. ‘Lol’ which is a social media code translating as ‘laughing out loud’ or the writing of ‘haha’ appeared as indicators of laughter.

Ethical considerations

I have not done any interviews or followed the experiences or voices of specific women. I understand that the political moments in this thesis have many power and leadership dynamics. However, I felt that following specific and individual dominant voices would move the paper’s focus away from collective strategy and experience. Bonilla and Rosa (2015) argue that researchers doing social media based research should take privacy and consent seriously. Consent is of an ambiguous nature when it comes to social media based research. I reconcile with this ethical concern by making the argument that attaching a post to a hashtag is akin to attaching yourself to a public conversation. The hashtag is used as a retrieval and filling mechanism (Bonilla and Rosa 2015). It also provides an interpretive frame where knowledge around the subject matter that is animated by the hashtag is made more accessible to other social media users. Therefore, I did not make the twitter users whose tweets are connected to hashtags anonymous. I have wedged tweets in between the three core chapters of this thesis as evidence of the claims made therein. I have also attached an appendix of the screengrabs of the tweets referenced in this research report for the reader’s reference. Furthermore, I have provided a few other screengrabs of tweets so that they too function as a microcosm of the feelings and conversation about sexual violence and womxn’s protest actions that circulate online.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Feminist literature asserts that gender inequality is the root of rape culture (Rohland 2009). Nicole Rohland (2009) argues that feminist anti-rape discourse is one that emphasizes conventional gender roles and power as the driving force of rape. Elaine Salo (2005) argues that cultural norms and gender expectations are at the heart of rape and rape culture. Conventional gender roles stipulate that men are the custodians of womxn therefore making womxn's bodies the property of men. Therefore sexual abuse becomes an exercise of the power of men that limits the movement and agency of womxn. It has also been argued that rape cements the power relations between men because the ability to rape is evidence of masculinity (Rholand 2009). Radical feminist scholar, Susan Brownmiller (1975, 15) offers a definition of rape as 'a conscious process of intimidation by which all men keep all women in a state of fear'. Brownmiller (1975) writes about rape from a feminist perspective and emphasizes that rape is an exercise of power that keeps womxn in a perpetual state of fear. Pumla Gqola (2015) also argues that rape is an exercise of power. Gqola (2015) further argues that rape is not a moment because it is an exercise of power that has its roots in a male-dominated society.

Helen Moffet (2008) writes of the ways that activism against sexual violence in post-apartheid South Africa has taken shape. Moffet (2008) refers to a short educational broadcast on gender-based violence that first aired in 1999. In the broadcast, Hollywood actress Charlize Theron asks 'Hey, all you South African men, here's a question for you-have you ever raped a woman?' Moffet (2008) asserts that she was impressed by this advert because it was the first time she had seen those responsible for rape confronted in such explicit ways. Rapists and potential rapists had never before been confronted through a South African educational media campaign. Moffet's (2008) analysis of this advert is useful in so far as it has helped me to situate the role of the digital world, of which the media is an integral part, in disseminating feminist ideas. The advert that Moffet

(2008) refers to is a form of protest against sexual violence. The advert's accessibility to the general public by way of television also revealed a number of things. The advert was banned following complaints from South Africans who felt it produced stereotypes of men as rapists or as being complacent about rape. Such a claim only reveals the unwillingness of men to work towards a rape-free society. Furthermore, as Moffet (2008) argues, the timing of the broadcast was too soon after the demise of apartheid. Those who scripted the broadcast made the assumption that a newly democratic South Africa would be receptive to the ideal of a rape-free society. Anti-rape protests and responses to them are multi-layered.

Srila Roy (2016) argues that anti-rape protests are internally diverse and heterogeneous thus defying the label of 'movement'. Deleuze (1987) suggests that the heterogeneity and multiplicity of protest action is captured more accurately by the concept of assemblage. An assemblage is a collective of diverse agents dispersed across space and time who make use of diverse protest repertoires that work towards a common goal. Charles Tilly (2010) argues that protest repertoires are the body or means of protest that vary from one context to another. Although protest repertoires may vary they often remain connected to a struggle shared by people in different contexts. Knudsen and Stage (2014) argue that making use of Internet technologies to mediate protest action is protest assemblage.

The framing of feminist anti-rape protest action as assemblage forces us to think about the emergence of various emotional geographies, spatio-temporal contexts, diverse actors and the relationships that exist between them. The role of emotions, social media and hashtag activism, the racial difference between womxn and the different campus contexts in which they belong form part of the assemblage formed through student-lead protest action against sexual violence. The theory of assemblage has been indelible to this project because it captures the ways in which protest action is made possible by a number of factors.

Furthermore, assemblages also force us to think about the role of each factor forming part of the assemblage.

Between feeling/s and affect

Christine Auer (n.d) argues that until recently, thinking about the role of feelings in political protest was unpopular. This unpopularity is owed to the association of feelings with irrationality and incoherence. As a result, protest action was delegitimized if it was found that protestors were mobilizing as a result of shared feelings about that which they contested. Auer (n.d) further argues that it was only in the 1990's that scholars began looking into the multifaceted nature of protest by studying emotions. Peggy Thoits (1989) argues that the sociology of emotions often treats emotions as a dependent variable. The sociology of emotions is relatively new and often makes the assumption that emotions cannot play an intervening, independent role in shaping the social world (Thoits 1989). Scholars in the field of sociology have recently approached scholarship on the work of emotions as necessary because emotions provide insight into sociological concerns like socialization practices, identity formations and collective action. Feeling is indeed thinking as Nigel Thrift (2004) argues.

As mentioned, thinking of protest assemblages has proven appropriate for the production of this research. However, literature on the character of social movements has also been useful and perhaps should be thought of in lieu of protest assemblages. Donatella della Porta (2008) speaks to the value of consensus in social movements arguing that conflict has often been studied as the organizational value of social movements but that not much attention has been given to consensus. The European tradition of the study of social movements has often considered the ways that new social movements potentially act as carriers of an emerging central conflict. Even the resource mobilization theory of social movements in the American tradition stresses "conflicts as pathologies" (della Porta 2008, 2). Social movement theorists like

Anthony Oberschall (1973), Michael Lipsky (1967) and Charles Tilly (1978) have consistently linked the two concepts of social movements and conflicts (della Porta 2008). della Porta and Diani (2006, 21) argue that,

> "In fact, a widely accepted definition of social movements introduced conflicts as a central element for their conceptualization: Social movement actors are engaged in political and/or cultural conflicts, meant to oppose social change. By conflict, we mean an oppositional relationship between actors who seek control of the same stake-be it political, economic, or cultural power."

In the context of this dissertation, the conflict of concern exists between womxn's bodies and the institutional power of the university. For example, in the conflict between the womxn students at the University Currently Known as Rhodes, rapists on campus and university management played an important internal role in mobilizing the students for an anti-rape movement. As della Porta (2008) notes, the conflict component of social movement action cannot be denied but she wishes to move our attention from conflict to consensus in social movements. Spaces where power is contested also function as spaces for consensus building (della Porta 2008). Consensus requires quality communication among a society and produces consent rather than coercion. This view of consensus invites respect for others and the acceptance of strangers (della Porta 2008). This literature invites me to think about the feelings of rage, loss and laughter as based on consent and as stitched by communities of strangers on social media platforms like Twitter. Womxn's communities that feel rage and loss and invite them as organizational values of anti-rape movements prove that consensus is as central and productive as conflict. By this, I mean that feelings and articulations of rage in the context of the #RUReferenceList, for instance, are built on an internal consensus that moves outwards and beyond the campus context. Feeling is therefore situated as an

important organizational role in social movement formations like the student lead anti-rape movement.

Scholars like Brian Massumi (1995) make a rigid distinction between feelings, emotion and affect. Massumi (1995) argues that feelings are biographical and personal whereas emotions are social projections of feelings that can be read through facial expressions and gestures (Massumi 1995). For Massumi (1995), emotions are therefore visible and conscious. Affect, according to Massumi (1995), is different from emotions as it refers to the non-conscious. Massumi further asserts that affect is the space of potential relationships between people that are formed by the unconscious. Jennifer Nash (2013) proposes that affect is the organization and/or assemblage of emotions, senses and sentiments that circulate and move between bodies, objects and the world. Nash (2013) draws on Sarah Ahmed's (2004) work on *Affective Economies* where she discusses affect as a project that invites us to ask how emotions move between bodies. Affect refers to those intensities, longings, desires, and frustrations that move around bodies and between bodies across space and time. I borrow from Nash in this regard but I do not agree that affect is limited to the organization and meaning-making potential of emotions. Ideas, experiences, social conventions and social codes also circulate and organize in ways that can be affective. This suggests that affect is also a process of life and vitality that circulates and passes between bodies. When I make mention of emotion in relation to affect, I remain cognizant of many other embodiments and processes that can be affective and affected.

I do not think that aspects of social life connected with the conscious, like emotion and affect, are mutually exclusive. Like Auer (n.d), I too prefer to think about affect and emotion as interwoven. Arguing that affect is only non-conscious and non-reflective neglects the ways that people craft out emotional codes for themselves and their communities (Auer n.d). Barbara Rosenwein (2006) refers

to explicit and/or visible systems of feeling as emotional communities. Systems of feelings are:

> "What these communities (and the individuals within them) define and assess as valuable or harmful to them; the evaluations that they make about others emotions; the nature of the affective bonds between people that they recognize; and the models of emotional expression that they expect, encourage, tolerate and deplore" (Rosenwein 2006, 842).

Therefore, people can consciously and rationally affect, and are affected by, bodies and non-bodies. Womxn students in South African universities are an example of an emotional community. The ways that rage and loss are articulated through protest action against sexual violence inside and outside of the campus context suggests a shared, consensual and intentional sense of things. It has been particularly useful to think of the ways in which womxn's bodies engaged in activism deliberately work to affect how institutions and society deal with rape. Affect theory can work to recover womxn as active agents who recognize the source of their feelings and use those feelings to expose how rape victim-survivors are treated within particular contexts. Approaching affect then, as that which also considers the conscious mobilization of feelings like rage, recovers feelings as a thinking practice central to the strategic thought behind protest action. Like Massumi, I agree with the argument that affect has become increasingly important for the analyses of power and politics. Borrowing from Spinoza, Massumi thinks that affect is a supply of creativity that may surpass traditional ideology and should thus be taken seriously in political engagements.

Patricia Clough (2008) suggests that what she terms the biomediated body or the New Body take precedence of the body-as-organism. The body-as-organism is the biological body that is open to energy but closed off from its environment. What Clough (2008) suggests is that the environment is matter; the non-living

and the non-human. The New Body is the body that is made of relations between the living and non-living, self and other, within and outside. The biomediated body demonstrates the ways that affect participates at all levels and scales of matter. Thus, the biomediated body is never only clearly human but is rather an arrangement of differing relationships between bodies and things. In proposing the New Body, Clough works to show how the human is displaced in affective relations. She suggests that the immaterial is as affective as the living and that the immaterial can expand the body's potential. The biomediated body is also the body that is morphed into more than its original materiality. Therefore thinking about the body means thinking about more than the physiological, neurological and biological. Thinking about the body also means thinking about how it is articulated in new ways beyond its biological materiality. Clough (2008) then suggests that the body can be read as virtual. This implies that digital spaces can work as extensions of persons, structures and affects and/or create new bodies all together. These technologies enable the body to travel beyond the boundaries of skin. Clough (2008) asserts that the biomediated body is not a body that is closed and localized.

The digital refers to a range of technologies that facilitate communication by way of social artefacts like the cellphone, laptop and Internet that can connect people through the Internet and social media apps. Social media apps like Twitter are digital platforms. Guobin Yang and Rosemary Clark (2015) argue that social media removes the barriers required to coordinate protest action in offline worlds. Similarly, Sarah Helen Chiumbu and Dina Ligaga (2013) assert that Information and Communication Technologies (ICT's) enable the construction of new publics. Hester Baer (2016, 18) suggests that digital platforms have the potential to "broadly disseminate feminist ideas, shaping new modes of discourse about gender and sexism, connecting to different constituencies, and allowing different modes of protest to emerge". The role of the digital is also to expand on the everyday. Piotr Sztompka (2008, 9) thinks of the everyday as "the observable manifestation of social existence and therefore, it always includes relationships

with other people". Sztompka (2008) further argues that the everyday is not confined to that which happens in the private sphere. The everyday includes both public and private life. Things that happen in the public domain are also part and parcel the everyday. Through social media, the private status given to womxn's experience of sexual violence is transgressed. Womxn have been socialized to treat our experience of sexual violence as private and social media has presented an opportunity for us to emphasize the public nature and everyday nature of sexual violence. Therefore womxn's bodies transgress their biological materiality and are biomediated by way of morphing themselves into the digital. The role of the hashtag is to digitally animate the life and everyday experiences of womxn who also use the hashtag to assert that sexual violence is everyone's problem.

The hashtag is a digital accessory that is used to extend the assemblages of protest action into social media. The hashtag is a stitch that sews together the lives of those contesting and disrupting violent spaces. Therefore the hashtag functions as a way of archiving content which will remain in public memory and form part of public history. Zukolwenkosi Zikalala a beloved colleague, friend and Masters Candidate in the Department of African literature at Wits University has done some profound thinking on the stitch. Zikakala's (2016) unpublished thesis titled 'Black Queers Must Play" refers to the stitch as the thread that is used to patch a surface that has been opened. Torn fabrics and bodies are patched up by the stitch. The hashtag emerges as a stitch. The hashtag is the stitch that brings the pieces of the torn body together. The torn body is society and the ways in which it remains deeply divided rather than united when it comes to gender based violence. The hashtag as a stitch further signals the expansion of the biological body as a virtual body. I have used the hashtag as way to investigate how affects move between offline and online worlds. Furthermore, the hashtag has proven to be a useful conceptual tool to help trace discourses, differential relationships between people and affects organized around anti-rape protest action.

In conclusion, the literature that foregrounds this research is representational of the complexity of protest action against sexual violence. This project is an embodiment of the assemblage of anti-rape protest action. Thinking of the activist work of womxn in the academy as an assemblage demonstrates the complex lives of womxn. Affect makes us think of the body as text. The body can be read and can also read its environment. The body as text disrupts the conventions of studying protest action because it introduces us to the ways that bodies assign meaning to the world.

DISRUPT

"Why aren't we angry? Why aren't we fed up with rape like we are with plagiarism?"[5]

This provocation reminded me of Pumla Dineo Gqola's (2015) work on rape as a "South African Nightmare" where she argues that there is no consequence for those who rape. We need to do better. We need to get angrier and to paraphrase Audre Lorde (1981: 280), we need to learn how to use that anger because it is productive. We are not angry or perhaps we are not angry enough about rape. We should be enraged by it. Rage is an intensification of anger. Reabetsoe Ralethe, a student activist from the university currently known as Rhodes (UCKAR) opens with this sentiment of rage in the documentary called *Disrupt*[6]*. Disrupt* captures the experience of students and staff of UCKAR fighting against sexual violence, the complacency of university management and society. UCKAR is a South African university located in the small town of Grahamstown.

The fight against sexual violence at UCKAR is animated by the hashtag #ReferenceList following from the release of an actual reference list. On the 17th of April 2016, a list known as the reference list with the names of 11 men who had raped womxn from UCKAR circulated online[7]. The existence of the reference list is a reflection of the lack of faith that womxn have in the law when it comes to rape. The list exposes a failed justice system that makes it impossible for rape victim-survivors to report the incident, follow through with the charges and live in absence of the fear of rape. Days after the release of the #RUReferenceList,

[5] These are the words of student activist from Rhodes University, Reabetsoe Ralethe. She is filmed saying these words in *Disrupt*, the documentary on the #ReferenceList.

[6] *Disrupt* is a feature-length documentary put together by Activate Online which is UCKAR's Independent Student News Source. It can be accessed on: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YZqQdMhitgY&t=818s

[7] See tweet number 1 for the names of the eleven men named on the reference list in the section titled "Disrupt" in the appendix.

womxn at UCKAR held a naked protest as a way of calling more attention to the rape crisis at universities. The rape crisis in universities is a reflection of the rape crisis in the world.

There are important feminist lessons to learn from UCKAR's #ReferenceList and the nature of womxn's organizing under this movement. There are a number of lessons that we can take from UCKAR but I wish to focus on two in this chapter. The first lesson we learn is one that has its roots in past forms of women's organizing. When Gqola (2017) writes about feminist rage in her book *Reflecting Rogue: Inside the Mind of a Feminist*, she reflects on the women's march to the union buildings on the 9th of August in 1956. Over 20 000 women of different races marched to the Union Buildings in Pretoria. These women delivered a petition to the then Prime-Minister JG Strijdom against the carrying of passes.[8] Although not all women were subject to the carrying of passes, women of different races rallied in solidarity with those wanting to see an end to the pass laws. Solidarity among women of different races in this instance was indicative of the importance placed on improving the lives of women across all intersections. Gqola (2017) argues that it is never a question of how movements can transcend internal differences and reconcile the intersections that materialize and form identity. It is always about what is important which makes this kind of solidarity possible. The importance of a political moment is a lesson that we first learn through the women's movement during the apartheid era.

This is also a lesson that is seen in the ways that womxn of all races are documented, in *Disrupt,* as active participants in the #RUReferenceList. White womxn occupy space and take up leadership positions alongside Black womxn. White womxn's naked bodies are also lined up alongside Black womxn's naked bodies. However, through a discussion on the responses to Black womxn

[8] The march was led by four womxn: Lillian Ngoyi, Helen Joseph, Rahima Moosa and Sophia Williams De Bruyn. These four womxn represent the racial demographics of the womxn present. Ngoyi being Black, Joseph being white, Moosa being Indian and De Bruyn being colored.

involved in the #RUReferenceList, I also show how this solidarity was fragile and fractured. Two of the Black womxn involved in the protest action that ensued under the hashtag #RUReferenceList were expelled from the university for life for their involvement in the #RUReferenceList. The harsh response to these womxn has been animated under the hashtag #RhodesWar and has received a noticeable amount of media attention.

The other lesson we learn is about the important role that social media plays in curating responses and attitudes towards rape, rape culture and protest against these. Platforms such as Twitter and Facebook have been integral to the shaping of discourse around #ReferenceList in particular and rape culture in general. In this chapter, I focus on the ways that rage was attached to the hashtag #ReferenceList and to #RhodesWar on Twitter. In the case of the hashtag #RhodesWar, rage was directed towards the university's decision to expel the womxn involved with #RUReferenceList. The university clamped down on womxn working against rape culture instead of the perpetrators of rape. The hashtag also communicated the fact that the university was enraged by the activism of womxn at the university under the #RUReferenceList. Social media played a crucial role in revealing, at greater lengths, the force used to suppress to womxn's activism.

Online engagements with #RUReferenceList suggested that being enraged by rape was also evidence of being committed to ending the war waged on womxn's bodies. Rage was often posited as the principle that should motivate activism against sexual violence. Rage was a project of calling others into the fold of fighting against sexual violence. I argue that apart from feeling individual rage, its collective nature is important for the building of a feminist movement. I then think of feminist rage as a collective experience of rage towards systems of oppression that hindered the liberation of womxn. The performance of feminist rage that is captured in *Disrupt* is further extended into the digital spaces that can also be considered sites of protest action. I use *Disrupt* as a primary source that

describes UCKAR and the events connected with #RUReferenceList as they unfolded at the time. The aforementioned arguments are presented in the way that I map out the progression of the #RUReferenceList as documented in *Disrupt.*

Disrupt

To disrupt something is to drastically alter or destroy a structure. Causing a disruption is the process of interrupting something by causing a disturbance or a problem. The Reference List presents as a problem to the hetero-patriarchal system that governs our society. The list interrupts the power that men have to rape and the power they acquire each time that they get away with it. The list disrupts the silence that is cultivated as a response to those who have been raped. The list breaks the silence about who does the raping. By naming and shaming those who rape, a consequence fit for the crime emerges.

In *Disrupt*, we also learn that the reference list first published on the SRC Facebook page did not reveal what those named on the list had done. However, students gathered that night, in support of the reference list because they claimed that they knew exactly what all those listed had in common and it was now time to take action. Students from UCKAR documented in *Disrupt* argued that when it comes to rape, rapists should be "guilty until proven innocent" (@OnicahTyolo 2016, 22 April)[9] so as to shift the blame and shame from victim-survivor to perpetrator.

The debates documented on *Disrupt* are representative of the ways rape is dealt with in our society. Dr. Lindsay Kelland who is an employee of the Allan Gray

[9] In *Disrupt,* student activists are filmed on camera agreeing to the notion that rapists should be charged as guilty until proven innocent. This sentiment is also expressed in a tweet. See tweet number 2 under the section titled 'Disrupt' in the appendix.

Centre for Leadership Ethics[10] and senior lecturer at UCKAR argues on *Disrupt* that the reported rape statistics in the university are perfectly consistent with the reported rape statistics of the South African Police Service (SAPS). In her diary camera session on the documentary, Kelland highlights that the reported rape statistics under the SAPS point out that for every 27 womxn that are raped, only one womxn reports the rape. At UCKAR, only one of 22 rape experiences is reported (Kelland 2016). The lack of reporting is owed to the ill treatment of rape victim-survivors and the stigma attached to being a rape victim-survivor. Womxn are asked to prove that they have been raped based on the type of clothing that they were wearing at the time, the level of their sobriety and the nature of the relationship they had with their rapist, if any at all. Rape myths are formed around these themes. Failing to prove that one was dressed appropriately, sober and not in any way intimate with ones rapist frequently results in the dismissal of the rape case. Therefore the process that a rape victim-survivor has to go through during a rape trial is dehumanizing. South Africa's judicial system and court of public opinion is infamous for the acquittal of rapists. Some rapists have gone on to occupy positions of power such as the former president of the African National Conference, Jacob Zuma. The public court of opinion regarding the #RUReferenceList is one mediated through popular social media platforms like Twitter. Many people in support of the social ousting of rapists by way of a #RUReferenceList argued that the ways that these womxn were going about addressing rape at UCKAR was valid. Twitter users like @lildarlingdudu (2016, 22 April) argue that "#RUReferenceList- A violent response to a violent act"[11]. "#RUReferenceList-desperate times call for desperate measures" (@Jennym_morgan 2016, 22 April)[12].

[10] The Allan Gray Centre for Leadership Ethics does work focused on rape and sexual violence, ethical agency and authenticity in post-colonial, post-apartheid South Africa, and social epistemology

[11] Tweet number 3 in appendix under the section titled 'Disrupt'.

[12] Tweet number 3a under the section titled 'Disrupt' in the appendix.

Students from UCKAR also expressed their dissatisfaction with how the university protected the men named on the Reference List. The men on the list were students at UCKAR. The frustration of students in this regard is also captured on *Disrupt*. Two of the men named on the list were kept in the drama department of UCKAR throughout the first night of the release of the list to shield them from womxn who were now being labeled as an angry, irrational mob. Some of the other men on the list were later moved to safe houses. The lengths that the university went to protect men suggests that the womxn activists at UCKAR were being read as a threat. The labeling of womxn as threats to men reminds me of the gendered stereotype of womxn as witches[13]. Womxn who transgress the boundaries set by patriarchy, womxn in power and womxn reclaiming power have been historically called witches (Rosen 2017). The image of the witch is used to reinforce gender inequalities and marginalize womxn who actively fight against patriarchy (Rosen 2017). These womxn are punished through witch-hunts. A witch-hunt happened in the context of UCKAR when university management argued that there would be legal implications for the release of the Reference List since no legal charges against the men on the list were laid. Despite these threats, students continued to mobilize around the #RUReferenceList.

On Disrupt/ing 'business as usual'

On the 18th of April, 2016, a day after the release of the #RUReferencelist, students at UCKAR decided to disrupt classes and tutorials to force the university to take rape seriously. Nike Mes, one of the student activists who is a white womxn from UCKAR is captured in *Disrupt* as one of the leaders of the movement. She is seen, on many occasions, addressing students, providing direction as to what should happen next and generally providing her thoughts on how protest action at UCKAR was unfolding at the time. In one of the scenes,

[13] See also Rosen, Maggie (2017). "A Feminist Perspective on the History of Womxn as Witches" in Dissenting Voices: Vol.6 : Issue 1, Article 5.

she is seen walking into an ongoing lecture and asking students to stop the class and show solidarity with the #RUReferenceList. The way that this interaction is shot on screen positions Mes as a leader and active participant in the #RUReferenceList movement. Students in the lecture retort by asking whether education is less important than the #RUReferenceList. The lecturer who is a white man engages Mes. He argues that education, too, is central to raising awareness on rape. Mes then replies by arguing that if anything is deemed more important than the violence that womxn face then it calls for disruption. She further states that 'this is not a negotiation'. Mes goes on to call on the other protesters with the words 'come, guys', summoning them to further disrupt the space in song and dance. A group of Black womxn enter the lecture venue singing a song with the lyrics 'Bayangena abantwana bami" which in isiZulu is translated into 'my children are coming in/entering the space'. The timing of this song is significant because it signals the arrival of Black womxn and their commitment to disrupting rape culture.

The entrance of womxn with this song is also a significant moment that draws our attention to the solidarity between womxn of different race groups. It is particularly significant, in a Post-apartheid South Africa where many white people remain absent from protest action to see white womxn centered and given space. It is significant for a student, Black feminist and activist from a different institution like Wits University because we have not enjoyed such solidarity. I elaborate this in the next chapter on the nature of feminist organising at Wits University because it is one of the central themes in the larger scope of this paper. The leadership and positioning of Mes can be read in many ways. Firstly, I do not think that it is fair to assume that her presence and active participation is evidence of the lack of leadership skills of Black womxn and womxn of color. It may be covertly strategic to place a white womxn at the center of disruption because raging white womxn are read differently from raging Black womxn. This is a historical fact.

Because of the colonial legacy of racism that has marked Blackness with animalism and savagery, Black bodies continue to be read in this way even when our rage is the result of our experience of racism and sexism. Blackness is marked as inherently violent thus threatening the livelihood of white people. The fear of Black people is known as 'Die Swart Gevaar" (Kunene 2016). Swart Gevaar is Afrikaans for 'black danger' (Kunene 2016). The swart gevaar is an apartheid idea that conceptualises Black people as dangerous and violent thus needing to be micro-managed by apartheid legislation (Kunene 2016). Internationally, we have seen how this particular narrative has played out. For example, The United States is renowned for the increasing violence against unarmed Black people at the hands of their police force. The police have killed black people because they were perceived as dangerous. Many of us are familiar with the following names: Eric Garner, Michael Brown, Laquan McDonald, Tamir Rice, Eric Harris, Philando Castile and Freddie Grat among many others. These are the names of Black men killed by white police officers while unarmed[14]. Kendra James, Sandra Bland, Meagan Hockaday, Gabriella Nevarez, Rekia Boyd, Alexi Christian, Michelle Cusseaux, Mya Hall, Janisha Fonville and Aura Rosser are some of the names of Black womxn that have lost their lives to police brutality in recent years. Many of us have not heard of some of these names because news of police brutality receives mass attention when men are the ones affected. The #SayHerName campaign that began in February 2015 emerged as a platform to memorialize the lived experiences of Black womxn who had been killed by white policemen (Chatelain and Asoka 2015)[15]. Black Womxn are correspondingly read as a threat to the system and are met with the same, if not more, aggression as Black men are.

[14] The Black Lives Matter movement began in the United States as a result of the deaths of Black people at the hands of the US police force. It is often cited as a masculine space because Black men are often centered as the ones with the experience of police brutality.

[15] See also Chateleain, Marcia and Asoka, Kaavya (2015). "Womxn and Black Lives Matter: An Interview with Marchia Chatelain" in *Dissent Magazine.* Accessed on: https://www.dissentmagazine.org/article/womxn-black-lives-matter-interview-with-marcia-chatelain

The marking of white people as the standard and epitome of civilization results is white privilege. White privilege is the power to give and take life. It is the power to legitimize and delegitimize Black people, our experiences and the emotional life of our experiences. White privilege allows for raging white womxn to disrupt space and to legitimize that disruption. Because whiteness is located as the space of rationality and civilization, when it presents itself as disturbed and enraged by something the assumption is that the disruption must then come from a legitimate, well thought out place.

White womxn activists at the forefront of the #RUReferenceList like Mes have bargaining power. Being able to have dialogue with a white male lecturer, without that interaction escalating into a violent one, is one of the ways that white womxn negotiate their protest action safely. Mes was not posing a threat because white femininity is imagined as fragile and harmless. Another way that white womxn's bargaining power manifests is in the way that they depend on Black protest cultures like song and dance. How Mes calls Black womxn into the space to sing and dance depends on her knowledge of the ways that Black people have traditionally disrupted space. Knowledge of Black protest cultures is phenomenological. It is knowledge that is embodied through lessons of our history and the act of looking in at Black people's protest action, particularly through the struggle for liberation under apartheid. The struggle for liberation was one of both violence and non-violence on the part of those fighting for freedom. Central to both forms of protest has been struggle songs that continue to characterize protest action in Post-apartheid South Africa. When Black people sing during protest, we communicate our pain, our desires and our experience of the system that we are contesting. Collective singing also signals solidarity. When the joint efforts of white, Black and womxn of color students disrupt classes at UCKAR a number of histories mesh together.

Following on the class disruptions, *Disrupt* then films a large number of students moving towards a meeting venue on the campus. There is a noticeable presence

of Black men and some white men. This is yet another unfamiliar image to some of us who have been navigating different university spaces as Black womxn and feminists. The image is unfamiliar because it is presented to us to suggest men's commitment to ending rape culture. The image of Black and white men walking together further suggests that men are following rather than leading as per the norms of masculinity. I do not want to spend too much time on this because I feel that while it may have its own implications for feminist movement building, it is a conversation that requires its own paper. However, it is important to note that the ways in which Black and white men are shot in *Disrupt* deliberately positions them as standing behind womxn rather than being placed at the center. Of course, their positioning as followers is equally problematic in so far as it suggests that men still need to be told what to do instead of putting in the work themselves. Also, not all men from UCKAR were invested in the anti-rape protest action on the campus at the time. Some men, like @viccyQ (2016, 27 April) tweeted "Lol got blocked by at least one crazy #feminist tonight. People are complete slaves to their feelings boy I'll tell ya #RUReferenceList"[16]. Such tweets indicate a dismissal of the plight of womxn and protest action taken against it. Placing a hashtag in front of 'feminist' also works to archive the dismissal on social media so that it remains open and accessible to everyone. But as mentioned, the conversation in this chapter is less concerned with men and their position. Womxn are in the front, womxn are seen providing direction and womxn are at the center. After the first day's disruptions, womxn at UCKAR agrees that UCKAR should be shut down following the Vice-Chancellors address.

UCKAR's Vice-Chancellor Dr. Sizwe Mabizela addresses students later on the first day of class disruptions. In his speech, he emphasizes UCKAR's commitment to ending rape and . Dr. Mabizela condemns rape culture and proposes that UCKAR set up a task team to investigate the procedures involved for reporting rape at the university. The task team is also said to investigate the

[16] Tweet number 4 in the section titled 'Disrupt' in the appendix.

ways that university management responds to rape victim-survivors. Students convene by themselves after being addressed by the VC. Womxn are heard singing:

Ngakunika isandla, ngakunika ingalo, ngakunika amabele, kodwa awuyazi oyifunayo[17]

The meaning of this song and moment that it was sung is noteworthy. It is representative of the womxn at UCKAR having done everything to draw attention to the rape crisis. Having given their hand, their arm, and their breasts is symbolic of having tried to appeal peacefully to university management without the university reciprocating their efforts accordingly. The part of the song that says 'awuyazi oyifunayo', meaning 'you don't know what you want' is both a reflection of the complacency of the university management and a threat. These lyrics and the moment that they are sung are suggestive of a more drastic protest strategy. The students decide to shut down UCKAR.

This is an announcement made by a white womxn student who addresses the students the night of the first day of class disruptions. This womxn is unnamed in *Disrupt*. She is seemingly speaking on behalf of all the womxn at UCKAR when she says that they are not impressed with the VC's decision to set up a task team. This student goes on to announce that a shutdown of the campus would commence as of the following morning, the 19th of April.

Spatially, UCKAR has no clear demarcation of where it begins or starts thus bleeding into the rest of the small town of Grahamstown. This is why barricades had to be put up to effectively block access into the university. Dr. Mabizela

[17] A struggle song in Nguni with its roots in womxn's leadership and participation in the struggle for liberation during the apartheid era. Translated, it means: 'I gave you a hand, I gave you my arm, I gave you my breasts, you don't know what you want' which can also be interpreted as 'what more do you want?'. The song is also an articulation of the English saying, "Give them a hand they will take the whole arm"

wakes up to these barricades in the morning and requests that they be removed. He goes as far as manhandling Black womxn using their own bodies as barricades. The South African Police Service is deployed to UCKAR to disperse the students and discontinue the university shut down. The police officers on site argued that the students were not only hindering academic activity but were also disrupting the flow of movement and business throughout the town. Given the fact that Grahamstown is already a small town and UCKAR being located in the center with no walls separating it from the town, the shutdown became an inconvenience for the rest of the town.

The #RUReferenceList shutdown at UCKAR destabilized the dualism of public and private worlds. In the context of the shutdown of UCKAR for the #RUReferenceList, the university is read as the private whereas the rest of Grahamstown is the public. When the police demands that students remove the barricades, they do so because the flow of business in the town is affected. Such an argument suggests that whatever issues arise in the university should be exclusive to that space. At the same time, this argument also suggests that issues arising in the university move beyond the private space of it. We also cannot ignore the fact that spaces given the status of private are often associated with femininity (Bock 1991). Traditionally, womxn's issues have been locked in the private sphere whereas the public is the hetero-patriarchal masculinized space (Bock 1991). Insisting that the shutdown and protest action end re-enforces the notion of the private as the place where womxn and our politics belong. However, "This 'business as usual' must end" as we have heard from a Black womxn caught on the camera of *Disrupt*, where she courageously shouts these words to one of the white policemen. The shutdown of UCKAR disrupts the binary between public and private spheres by insisting that worlds beyond the university pay attention to rape and the plight of womxn. Rape is everyone's problem and we will do what we must to make sure that the world takes it as seriously as we do. The voices captured in *Disrupt* maintain that the naked

protest was a last resort to get management to confront perpetrators with more vigor.

Naked Disruption

> "I think…[pause] it got to that point where we had to become naked so we can be listened to"- Reabetsoe Ralethe

Womxn of all races stripped down into a naked protest on Tuesday, the 19th of April, the same day as the UCKAR shutdown. As discussed previously, SAPS along with Dr. Mabizela, had already taken issue with the blockade. At this point in the day policemen argued that the womxn were not only blocking public roads but were now also presenting themselves as indecent through the naked disruption. The labelling of womxn's naked bodies as indecent is violent and sexist. It is sexist because the same critique does not apply when men are naked. Evidence of this is seen when male students from UCKAR also begin to strip and write the words "Is this public indecency?" across their chests. Womxn's bodies are read as indecent because they belong to the private sphere, which is evidence of how society continues to reproduce into the narrative of private and public worlds. Men, irrespective of how they present, move seamlessly between both private and public worlds and that demonstrates the patriarchal imagination of a womxn's place in a man's world. Arguing that naked womxn's bodies are indecent implies that they belong 'elsewhere'. Elsewhere refers to the home where womxn are expected to perform the normative gender role of femininity by being domesticated and serving the needs of their husbands (Bock 1991).

Benhabib (1993) argues that violence can and in fact does happen in both public and private life but because it is essentially private, it is a language of pain. Womxn's struggles need to be understood as a language of pain, endured and exacerbated in private but resurfacing publicly through spectacular forms of violence like rape. The shame that womxn experience when expressing political

concerns and everyday experiences in public spaces is connected to the shame that is taught and internalized privately. The private space and our confinement to it is accompanied with a politics of shame. Sara Ahmed (2004) argues that shame turns the self against itself and attributes what is said to be bad or useless about it to itself. When the policemen deployed to UCKAR's naked protest say that womxn are indecent, he is shaming them. He is trying to make them feel bad about their protest as if there was something else they could have done in the place of their nakedness. But the naked protest challenges that very shame that womxn are forced to embody. The naked protest refuses to position womxn as ashamed of themselves and their experiences.

Christine Mungai (2016) argues that in many societies, especially African societies, womxn are invisibilised and masked through a number of institutions. Speaking of the Nigerian university context, Bibi Bakare-Yusuf (2009) argues that the university in particular, has become obsessed with the fashion and clothing choices of women. The social and moral decay in society is attributed to womxn's choice of clothing that has resulted in the policing of and debates about young womxn's fashion choices. In Nigeria, for example, there has been a call to ban womxn's clothing choices in an attempt to protect them from male terror that results from 'provocative' clothing or otherwise nudity (Bakare-Yusuf 2009). Some universities in Nigeria have already banned womxn from wearing trousers, spaghetti tops, short skirts and any other clothing that reveals female flesh (Bakare-Yusuf 2009). Womxn are subjects of literal and metaphoric invisibility (Mungai 2016). Social insecurities and existential anxieties are projected on womxn's bodies which then results in the need to invisibilise or 'make decent' the womxn's body (Bakare-Yusuf 2009).

Womxn's invisibility exists in the form of high walls, curfews, codes for appropriate dressing and aesthetic. The act of taking off our clothes in public symbolises the shedding of our invisibility (Mungai 2016). The naked body also communicates our lack of peace, safety and security. We have nothing left to

lose but have everything to gain. Naked protest action is a way of reclaiming power. Rape is a performance of power. When men rape they prove that they have the privilege to make us insubordinate. Because masculinity is fragile and fed by violence, when a womxn is raped she is reminded of her disposability in the world (Gqola 2015). Her body does not belong to herself and is designed to serve toxic masculinities. But a body can be re-signified and moved away from its sexual significance.

Naked womxn's bodies are consumed as sexual commodities, making the presentation of womxn's naked bodies as political tools jarring, forcing the eye to move away from the imagery as sexual (Mungai 2016). Laura Mulvey (1975) further draws our attention to the fact that the world is ordered by a sexual imbalance where womxn are an image of the erotic that the male gaze projects its fantasy on. Nudity, as Mulvey (1975) argues, is coded as a "to-be-looked-at-ness" and becomes an erotic spectacle. The male gaze then signifies a male desire. Men are the ones who have the power to see while womxn are the image that can only be looked upon (Mulvey 1975). Bakare-Yusuf (2009) asserts that womxns sartorial agency is assumed to be directed at men and therefore consumed by men as an erotic initiation which often leads to unwanted consequences like rape. Parvin Sultana (2013) suggests that the male gaze ceases to exist because of the power and agency in the voluntary and strategic shedding of clothes resulting in the split between the eye and the (male) gaze. The split happens when men look at naked protest and are jarred by a site that is intended to force into their consciousness the reality of womxn's struggles. They therefore see with the eye rather than through the male gaze. Naked protest action is inconvenient to men's desires hence the need for it to be stopped as displayed at UCKAR.

Extended sites of protest, extended sites of feeling:

The release of the Reference List resulted in a social media frenzy. The hashtag #RUReferenceList was conceived of simultaneously with the release of the list itself. The day after the release of the list, #RUReferenceList was ranked number three on trending hashtags on Twitter. @ActivateOnline (2016, 26 April), UCKAR's Independent News Source tweeted that "Social media is one of the few places that students can still be vocal thus we take this responsibility seriously #RUReferenceList"[18]. Social media broadened the space in which students could develop the discourse of protest action and activism. Social media becomes an extended site of protest. It was important for the world to know what was happening at UCKAR. It was important for the world to see womxn leading and disrupting space. It was important for the world to make rape its problem.

While I discuss rage here, I cannot speak about it in isolation from other emotions that have been connected to the Reference List and the naked protest. The presence of rage is not the absence of emotions such as joy. We have seen, even in *Disrupt*, womxn speaking of the joy they have found in solidarity[19]. Womxn attach the hashtag #RUReferenceList to feelings of hope and a sense of needing to learn how to treat each other's wounds. "'We are learning to wipe each other's tears. Treat each other's wounds. And give each other hope"- Nqobile Nzimande'" (@Kalorato).[20] Other Twitter users tweeted under the #RUReferenceList saying that #RUReferenceList has been "triggering" (@Nandijkj 2017, 11 December)[21] and serves as a reminder of other people's experience with rape.

[18] Tweet number 5 under section titled 'Disrupt" in the appendix.

[19] In Disrupt, Nike Mes also speaks to how empowering the #RUReferenceList is. She expresses how proud she is of everyone who has been an active participant.

[20] Tweet number 6 under section titled 'Disrupt' in the appendix.

[21] Tweet number 7 under section titled 'Disrupt' in the appendix. The tweets numbered 7a and 7b also express feelings of being triggered but also point to the fact that #RUReferenceList also brought with it an opportunity for womxn to feel a sense of relief (tweet 7b).

#RUReferenceList enjoys online longevity as a constant call for us to remember, to reflect, to probe and to demand updates on how the oppression of womxn is being dealt with. The hashtag #RUReferenceList remains a social media trend even to this very day. It maintains social media currency because it is connected with the ways in which the university has proceeded to respond to the womxn protestors between 2016 and 2017. The #RhodesWar is the hashtag that mobilises responses to the expulsion of two Black womxn involved in #RUReferenceList

In December of 2017, a year after the release of the #RUReferenceList and the naked protest at UCKAR, news of the expulsion of two womxn activists from UCKAR broke out. The number of womxn expelled from UCKAR has since increased to seven. These students were expelled for their 'conduct beyond lawful boundaries' (Smit 2017). These students pulled four of the men that appeared on the Reference List out of their dorm rooms. They were found guilty of kidnapping, defamation of character and insubordination (Smit 2017). As a result they have been expelled and are not permitted to complete their studies. A massive outcry over the verdict has been sparked on social media under the hashtag #RhodesWar. Those engaged with the university's verdict are enraged by the hostility shown towards student-activists. Moreover, we are enraged by the fact that those two students happen to be Black womxn. The hostility shown to these two womxn should be the same hostility shown to those who rape. @NalediChirwa (2017, 11 December) tweeted that "A rapist (Jason) WHO WAS FOUND GUILTY OF SEXUAL ASSAULT GRADUATED AT RHODES. Black womxn who protest against rape DID NOT GRADUATE NOR CAN THEY CONTINUE THEIR STUDIES ANYWHERE ELSE. This is war. #RhodesWar"[22]. The expulsion of these students is evidence of how the university is enraged by

[22] Tweet number 8 under section titled 'Disrupt' in the appendix. The tweets numbered 8a, 8b, 8c in the appendix express similar ideas to the tweet numbered 8.

the protest action of womxn. The retaliation of the university is beyond the boundaries of anger.

Patricia Potter-Effron and Ronald Potter-Effron (1995) define anger as an emotion that is expressed in moderation without loss of control. Anger is thus understood as an emotion that can be justified in ways that others can understand. Kimberley Flemke and Katherine Allen (2008) place rage in binary opposition to anger. They define rage as a feeling that exceeds anger. Rage overpowers normal brain functioning because it loses the rational component found within anger (Flemke and Allen 2008). A person full of rage feels out of control and seeks to hurt others (Flemke and Allen 2008). I argue that one should refrain from defining rage and anger in such rigid ways. Firstly, I do not think that rage is only a subjectively felt emotion that an individual can feel. I think that rage is also embodied by institutions, structures and ideas. Institutions like the university can be enraged by the subversive actions of its constituents. @ABGqomo (2017, 12 December) argues, "Rhodes University hates women. It especially hates black, vocal, activist women. It hates the disruption of white and male power"[23]. Because universities are often a microcosm of society as I have already mentioned in the introduction, they are also vanguards of the status quo of the society in which they exist. A hetero-patriarchal society like South Africa is also maintained by hetero-patriarchal structures like UCKAR. A hetero-patriarchal society depends on the policing and punishment of womxn at institutions such as UCKAR. Rage is as productive as it is harmful. Rage is productive because it made the #RUReferenceList possible. Rage can also be harmful as is the case with what has been termed the #RhodesWar.

To animate the university's response to student activists of the #RUReferenceList as the #RhodesWar signifies the force that is used as a response to anti-rape activists. UCKAR's decision to expel student activists is

[23] Tweet number 8a) under the section titled 'Disrupt' in the appendix. The tweets numbered 8b and 8c are tweets echoing the same ideas in tweets 8 and 8a.

forceful and harmful to the ways in which we think about protesting against violence. The severity of repression employed by UCKAR serves as a reminder to those of us intending to protest that such action will be punished. The university's rage has the potential to hurt the feminist movement building process by showing us what consequences exist for defiant womxn. The rage of the institution that is UCKAR is also harmful because it reproduces the cycle of rape by criminalising those who stand up against it while protecting those guilty of rape. By waging war on UCKAR's student-activists, UCKAR continues to violate the bodies of womxn.

The university's decision to expel students does not come from a well-thought out and rational place. If the university is at all invested in condemning rape culture, as per Dr. Mabizela utterances, it would have thought more carefully about the ways it responded to student activists. So we are able to see how rage can overpower rationality as per Flemke and Allen's (2008) argument. However, I argue that rage can also manifest itself as a controlled emotion. @ViccyQ (2016, 27 April) argues that 'People are complete slaves to their feelings"[24] but I think that people and structures are also active agents. To position rage as only an out-of-body experience denies womxn activists of their agency. We may argue that the university is out of its senses because of the rage that it displays towards activists. However, the university also actively manipulates that rage to instill fear and preserve its reputation. The same applies for rage as it is used by womxn protesting against rape. Online engagements with the hashtags #RUReferenceList and #RhodesWar suggest that to be enraged about rape and the force used to respond to those protesting against it is to be in solidarity with womxn.

Online engagements with #RUReference suggest that to be enraged by rape is to show a commitment to a rape-free world. To be enraged by rape is evidence

[24] This is still tweet number 4 under the section titled 'Disrupt' in the appendix.

of being affected by it, whether or not you have been raped yourself. To be enraged by rape is to stand in solidarity with protest action against rape. To be enraged by rape is to be enraged by the responses to rape victim-survivors. Rage as it functions online is a imagined as the place of possibility. It is the principle upon which we can mobilize to end rape and rape culture hence the emergence of the hashtag #EndRapeCulture. Rage also affords us an opportunity to reflect on our experiences that have lead up to the moment where we are no longer apologetic about our rage. “It is time for womxn to stop being politely angry’ (@AfricanGourmet 2016, 4 May)[25]. As feminists, we maintain that rage is a legitimate response to rape further supported by how womxn’s struggles of sexual violence were once shelved in favor of a national liberation during apartheid.

I have observed that tweets attached to the #RUReferenceList and the #RhodesWar ask “where was the rage from our black brothers during #RUReferenceList?” (@ThatVibe 2016, 10 May)[26]. This suggests that the lack of rage from men is evidence of their indifference towards womxn’s struggles. This indifference is also a source of our rage. Womxn have also been enraged by the ways that naked protest action is being read online. The naked protest was mocked and dismissed as unnecessary and ineffective. @Ndilu_Lonwabo (2016, 26 April) expresses this through a tweet where she writes about the offline conversations surrounding protest against rape between men.

“Man A: Oh look, Wits is also having a ‘rape’ protest

Man B: hahahaha

Azba yintoni ehlekisayo”[27]

This is a tweet that highlights the mockery directed towards womxn protesting against rape culture in different university spaces like UCKAR and Wits. At the

[25] Tweet number 9 under the section titled ‘Disrupt’ in the appendix.

[26] Tweet number 10 in the section titled ‘Disrupt’ in the appendix.

[27] Tweet number 11 in the section titled ‘Disrupt’ in the appendix.

end of the tweet, the Twitter user uses a phrase written in isiXhosa, which means 'I don't get the joke'. Ridiculing womxn's bodies instead of paying attention to what the naked protest communicates distracts us from the real problem. Ridiculing womxn's protest action is also a way of belittling womxn's rage. The rage of womxn in #RUReference has been dismissed for lacking coherence and the potential to change the structures womxn activists contest. It is very jarring to see how the rage we circulate online and attach to this hashtag has also been met with rage. In addition to the rage embodied by UCKAR's decision to expel student activists, men have labeled us as 'whores that deserve to be raped #RUReferenceList" (@NontohGumede 2016, 19 April)[28]. Black men in particular have come out in numbers, rallying behind the viewpoint that the #RUReferenceList was an attack on Black men which is not true because there were white and indian men named on the list too. Black men "seem fixated on race" (@Clint_ZA 2017, 13 December).[29] Womxn have maintained that rape is everybody's problem because any many can rape. Womxn's rage has been labeled as unnecessary, divisive, and harmful and counterproductive. Womxn's rage is read as unnecessary also because it is attached with feminism. As already mentioned by @ViccyQ (2016, 27 April), we are 'crazy feminists'[30]. Given the marking of feminism as sensational (Ahmed 2017) and therefore an exaggeration of reality, it comes as no surprise when we are labeled as crazy. The labeling of womxn's activism against sexual violence as crazy further feeds into the notion of rage as an irrational, uncontrollable emotion.

Conclusion

To conclude this chapter, I assert that rage is productive and manifests itself in ways that are both dangerous to and enabling for womxn engaged in activist work. Rage functions as a project of calling in a larger collective body, exposing the courage of womxn and the importance of confronting our struggles. While

[28] Tweet number 12 in the section titled 'Disrupt' in the appendix.
[29] Tweet number 13 in the section titled 'Disrupt' in the appendix.
[30] Tweet number 4 in the section titled 'Disrupt' in the appendix.

rage can be an emotion that is out of the range of what is considered rational behavior, it is also a justifiable and logical consequence of violence. Rage has the power to assign different meanings to womxn's activism. By disrupting the status quo of the insubordination of womxn, rage affects the space that womxn disrupt. Performing and endorsing feminist rage in both offline and online worlds subverts womxn's status as passive in that it exposes both the physical and structural violence that womxn endure. Womxn's embodiment of rage in both offline and online worlds forces us to recognize how the university maintains patriarchal domination. Whether or not we have control over our rage, it has become evident that it reveals a number of prejudices against womxn. Among those prejudices is the notion of womxn as belonging to the private sphere shown through the negation of naked protest action. Another prejudice against womxn is connected to how the #RUReferenceList is a feminist intervention. Because feminism is inconvenient for a patriarchal society it is responded to with aggression. This aggression requires of us to meet it with rage in order to disrupt its power to silence womxn's experiences. The ways in which feminist interventions into rape culture come from a place of rage and are met with rage shows how rage is both harmful and productive.

NGITHI JOINA MZABALAZO![31]

This is a chapter about the solidarity shown to UCKAR and the #RUReferenceList. The description of the title of this chapter echoes the call to solidarity so appropriately. In this chapter I present an in-depth discussion on the ways that Black womxn from Wits stood in solidarity with UCKAR and the #RUReferenceList through a naked protest of their own. It is important to make mention of the fact solidarity has been shown by other universities such as Stellenbosch University, Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (NMMU), the University of Pretoria (otherwise known as TUKS) and the University of Cape Town. [32] Analyzing the different political and historical contexts of these universities also reveals the multidimensionality within the process of feminist movement building in contemporary South Africa. I situate Wits as one of the other places where we might come to make sense of feminism in specific spaces like the university and how it interacts, whether overtly or covertly, with different articulations of feminism in other places like UCKAR.

Understanding the nature of feminist activism at Wits also cannot happen outside of understanding the issues and politics that emerged through the Fees Must Fall (FMF) movement of 2015-2016. The quick response to the call to stand in solidarity with UCKAR shown by Black feminists at Wits is connected with our involvement with FMF. The FMF student movement at UCKAR emerged and developed differently from Wits. The differences in the emergence and development of FMF at Wits and UCKAR account for the nature of feminist

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31 A song in isiZulu. When translated, it means, 'come and join the protest/revolution". It is a call to others to stand in solidarity with a movement. The BLK JKS, a South African all-star all-boy musical group released this single in their 5 track album titled *Zol!* IN 2010. This song is nostalgic of the anti-apartheid street protests that intensified in the 1980'sIt has since made its way to the stages of protest action as in the case of recent student activism.

32 The solidarity shown to UCKAR and the #RUReferenceList became national and is further animated by the hashtag #EndRapeCulture. The tweets number 1 to 1d under the section titled 'Ngithi Joina Mzabalazo' in the appendix highlight the solidarity shown by various South African universities to #RUReferenceList.

activism at these institutions. This is not say that FMF dictated the forms of protest action that would grow out from FMF under a feminist agenda. However, it would be negligent of me to ignore the extent to which FMF, particularly at Wits, played a role in shaping a Black feminist political space that is less visible in the context of UCKAR. Wits is also often accredited for leading the FMF movement whereas institutions like UCKAR are positioned as joining the FMF movement rather than leading it. The leadership status given to Wits in relation to FMF is also owed to the fact that Wits feminists pushed womxn into the center during FMF. The deliberate move towards centering womxn, especially Black womxn, in the political public that became known as #FMF has been influential in the form and character of solidarity shown to the #RUReferenceList. It is also through Wits and the activism of womxn here, that we can pick up on the ways the voices and bodies of Black womxn are read, especially when they present as Black feminism.

I use laughter, as it appears on social media, as the analytical tool in which to gain insight into the meanings assigned to womxn's protest action, womxn's bodies and the implications that these meanings have for feminist movement building. Laughter at womxn's naked protest action under the banner of #RUReferenceList was condemned because "rape is a very sensitive issue, stop being insensitive about it" (@MpumeMF 2016, 19 April)[33]. At Wits, the naked protest emerges a second time during FMF in 2016 when Black womxn decided to strip as a way of challenging the militarization of the campus during the student movement in 2016. Black womxn from Wits took a risk and 'put their bodies on the line to save masses' (@Kiblor 2016, 9 October)[34]. Men and some womxn responded to naked protest action in this context with laughter because some 'don't think being naked is the way to protest #Wits' (@Thembi_Ngcai

[33] See full tweet numbered 2 under the section of the appendix titled 'Ngithi Joina Mzabalazo'
[34] See full tweet numbered 3 under the section of the appendix titled 'Ngithi Joina Mzabalazo'

2016, 4 October)[35]. I argue that laughter directed against feminist interventions at Wits is connected to the complex relationship between race and gender. There are traditions of amusement that stem from and are inherited from colonial conditions and slave memory. I speak here about the type of body, specifically the Black naked womxn's body that is received with laughter and the implications this has for the contemporary feminist movement at large.

Historically, the Black womxn's body, like that of Sarah Baartman, has been spectacle and the subject of laughter. Thinking through the representation of Baartman's body, I argue that the weight of images of Black naked womxn and white naked womxn is different and offers a different way to understand the necessity of a Black feminist framework. This point emerges as a result of the fact that white students at UCKAR partook in naked protest alongside Black students whereas white womxn at Wits refrained from partaking in naked protest action. Although it is important that we organise across intersections, with the understanding that the struggles of womxn are important and therefore require our joint attention, we must be careful not to simply shelve and erase the various intersections that exist. Recognising intersections allows us to recognise the ways that our experiences are connected, similar but are also distinguished by various categories of identity such as what Patricia Hill Collins (1986) has termed the interlocking nature of race, class and gender.

Between #FeesMustFall, Feminism and Decolonization: Between Wits and UCKAR

On Wednesday, the 14th of October 2015, students from Wits brought all academic activities to a halt when we blocked all entrances into the university and disrupted ongoing lectures and meetings taking place on campus. This shut down was in response to the announcement of the 10.5 percent fee increase for

[35] See full tweet numbered 3a under the section of the appendix titled 'Ngithi Joina Mzabalazo'.

the 2016 academic year (Ndlovu 2017). This day is often marked as iconic because it is symbolic of a new student movement in post-apartheid South Africa. The social and political currency attached to historically white institutions like Wits makes it possible for us to think of political action in these spaces as spectacular and worthy of our time and attention. Institutions like Wits are also not expected to experience such protest action because they are secured and monitored by whiteness. Given the Rainbow Nation discourse, it is also expected that Black students enrolled in these prestigious universities would simply assimilate to the standard that is whiteness rather than contest it. However, post-apartheid student activism did not begin in 2015 and is certainly not solely owed to the mobilisation of students and workers within elite institutions such as Wits or UCT.

Historically Black Universities (HBUs) and poorer institutions such as Tshwane University of Technology (TUT), Fort Hare University and Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT) have been protesting routinely against fee hikes since 1994 (Davids and Waghid 2006). We cannot ignore the fact that the participation of historically advantaged institutions in a national social movement such as FMF legitimises protest action against fee increases. As a result of the Wits shutdown in October of 2015, at least 17 other universities followed suit with a shutdown of their own (Davids and Waghid 2006). For these reasons FMF emerges as iconic and also served as the melting pot for a number of other issues regarding university practices.

Issues raised by students during FMF included the call for universities to end the outsourcing of its workers and to decolonize the physical and intellectual architecture of the university. FMF was later critiqued as failing to address and take more seriously the reality of sexual violence on our campuses at the hands of private security, the police and even fellow comrades. FMF then began to understand their activism as also about increasing the visibility of marginalized

persons, like Black womxn, hence campaigns such as #MbokodoLead[36] that grew out from the FMF movement at Wits (Dlakavu 2017). Wits pioneered the campaigning of womxn's leadership within FMF. By introducing and disrupting the space with feminist debates, we also witnessed a rise in the iconography of womxn such as Shaeera Khalla, the outgoing president of the Wits Student Representative Council (SRC) at the time, and Nompendulo Mkhatshwa, the incoming president of the SRC[37]. Mkhatshwa later appeared on the front cover of Destiny Magazine with an ANC head wrap, an aesthetic many Black womxn took ownership of[38]. She was celebrated and compared to the likes of Lillian Ngoyi, an anti-apartheid activist and the first womxn elected to the committee of the African National Congress. However, the support given to Mkhatshwa by Black womxn was soon compromised for reasons that I do not have the time or space to discuss here but have been discussed by other writers elsewhere[39].

Simamkele Dlakavu (2017) writes about Black feminism at Wits and how it manifested among many of the Black womxn involved in FMF in 2015. Often times, we were called out as divisive and as a 'break' or a faction that was unnecessary because FMF was a student struggle divorced from gender politics. This is the same rhetoric that existed during the struggle for liberation and deafened the feminist voice in womxn's political organizing at the time

[36] A popular slogan in isiZulu, which directly translated means: Rock, Lead. In South Africa, the strength of womxn has been likened to that of rock: solid, resilient, unbreakable. Many have critiqued this metaphor as problematic because it can be read as placing unreasonable expectations on womxn to move beyond their circumstances of which are often attributed to patriarchal governance. Nonetheless, to be labeled as imbokodo is often a way in which to recognize the strength, leadership and capability of womxn. #MbokodoLead, then, became a campaign for Black womxn to mobilize and assume leadership in an otherwise masculinized protest space, i.e. #FeesMustFall

[37] Khalla served her term as president of the SRC for 2014/2015 while Mkhatshwa was incoming SRC president for 2015/2016.

[38] The headwrap is a common aesthetic for African womxn. It is also known as iduku in isiZulu, dhuku in Shona, duku in Chichewa and gele in Yoruba. While headrwaps were imposed on Black womxn as a way to show their status as slaves it has come to signal a sense of community and resistance. It is therefore worn proudly and often likened to wearing a crown. See Nhlapo, Zongile (2017). "The evolution of the headwrap in Africa: It's more than a Beauty Statement.

[39] See Whittles, Govan (2016). 'The rise and fall of Nompendulo Mkhatshwa, the Wits SRC President" in *Mail and Guardian*

(Magubane 2010). But FMF at Wits owes much of its success and character to the commitment and tireless work of Black womxn (Dlakavu 2017). Dlakavu (2017) reminds us of Black womxn's work during FMF. For example, it was Black womxn who remained outside Luthuli House[40] to continue to put pressure on the leading party, the ANC, to commit to free education. It was also Black womxn who continued to work towards the insourcing of workers at Wits even after the announcement of a 0%fee increase for the 2016 academic year. This was the announcement that resulted in students returning to class and studying towards their examinations. This is particularly significant because the #EndOutsourcing movement that was officiated on 6 October 2015, days before what became known as #FMF, and is remembered for its strong student-worker solidarity, is the fuel that gave strength to a national student-worker movement (Dlakavu 2017). It was then expected that while student demands of free education were met, with the short-term solution of no fee increase for the following academic year, the needs of workers still needed to be addressed. But as Dlakavu (2017) so aptly points out, the number of students that FMF at Wits started out with decreased drastically after the victory of 0% fee increases. However it was Black womxn like Thobile Ndimande, Ayabulela Mhlahlo, Lebogang Shikwambane, Anele Nzimande[41] and many others who remained committed to making sure that outsourcing ended alongside the fall of patriarchy, misogyny, racism et al (Dlakavu 2017).

Dlakavu (2017) suggests that because we are feminist, it becomes possible to stand in solidarity with those who experience oppression in ways other than racism and classism. Dlakavu (2017) then advocates for a politics of intersectionality that she defines as the destruction of multiple forms of

[40] Luthuli House is the headquarter of the African National Congress and is located in the Johannesburg CBD. Students marched here, days in the national university shutdown under the banner of #FMF, to demand the ANC commit to free education.

[41] These are the black womxn student-activists and feminists named in Dlakavu, Simamakele (2017) 'Black womxn, Building a movement and refusal to be erased' in *Rioting and writing: diaries of Wits Fallists.* Wits University Press

oppression simultaneously. The FMF movement gave rise to the notion of fallism that Anzio Jacobs (2017) defines as an articulation of intersectionality in the context of student-activism in contemporary South Africa. It becomes evident then, that even within the student movement, solidarity only materializes is so far as it is convenient for everyone. Gender struggles and gender politics are not convenient for everyone. The experience of being discriminated against because of your gender is not shared by everyone involved in a movement like FMF that further reduces womxn's struggles as the sole responsibility of womxn.

The FMF movement also reached UCKAR. The student movement in this context emerged and developed differently from Wits. On the 21st of October, UCKAR joined the nationwide FMF movement. As mentioned in the previous chapter, UCKAR has no clear physical boundaries of where the university starts and ends. Barricades were created to limit access to the university. FMF at Rhodes was concerned more with what they call the Minimum Initial Payment (MIP) (Prinsloo 2015). The MIP functions as what many other institutions refer to as the registration fee. At UCKAR, the MIP is 50% of a student's tuition fee, failing which a student would not be allowed to register for the academic year (Prinsloo 2015). Oliver Meth (2017) argues that FMF at UCKAR in 2015 was relatively peaceful and focused more on the issue of financial exclusion and how it would affect Black students from poorer backgrounds. The positionality of womxn in the movement at UCKAR was not a major focus as it was in FMF at Wits. The SRC at UCKAR did not lead the FMF movement there. It was PASMA (Pan-Africanist Student Movement of Azania), the South African Students Congress (SASCO) and non-partisan students who lead the FMF movement at UCKAR (Prinsloo 2015). Wits, on the other hand, was led by the SRC which is Progressive Youth Alliance (PYA) based along with the Economic Freedom Fighter Student Command (EFFSC). The dynamism of FMF at Wits further exposed the cracks in Rainbowism. The absence of white students cannot be ignored. Only a few white students could be spotted in the sea of Black students. Black womxn remain consistent with their participation and leadership even in FMF's second

year. We have seen this with how Black womxn staged a naked protest in defence of students that were being shot at and teargassed at Wits University in October 2016.

Naked protest action at Wits

"Revolt", 'Still not asking for it", "Nix Mapha"[42] are the words painted on naked Black womxn/womxn's bodies as we stood in solidarity with UCKAR's #ReferenceList. On the 26th of April 2016, FMF feminists from Wits held a naked protest in solidarity with the #RUReferenceList. Wits University's main campus in Johannesburg, Braamfontein, was the meeting place for the naked protest action. Along with the presentation of naked Black womxn's body was the sjambok, a heavy leather whip, carried by many of the womxn demonstrators[43].

The whip symbolized a desire to punish rapists and all gatekeepers of patriarchy. The sjambok is a representation of apartheid violence wherein it was used to discipline and punish Black people. The whip also represents a tendency to respond to violence with violence. Fanon (1961) introduces the notion of revolutionary violence as using violence to fight against a violent regime. Fanon (1961) argues that because colonialism and other articulations of it like apartheid are built on a language of violence, it is the same language that those contesting such regimes can use for revolution. I think the image of the whip, as a promise to discipline and punish is problematic because it makes the assumption that the body is the source of the problem rather than an internalized set of ideas and attitudes about womxn. The whip also triggers slave memory and trauma because it pushes into consciousness the experience of being disciplined and punished with the whip used by colonial masters. It is interesting, then, that given the fact that Wits womxn's organising is of a tradition of Black feminism, that the whip would be part of the naked protest aesthetic. But we should also take note

[42] isiZulu slang meaning: Not giving/not for consumption/not for you or simply, no.
[43] See tweet number 2 in the section titled 'Ngithi Joina Mzabalazo" in the appendix

that the presence of the whip alongside a naked protest oriented towards the ending of rape and rape culture instills a sense of fear. I read the presence of the sjambok as a way to deter men from raping. I also read it as a way of feeling powerful. The whip can also be read as subversive to the colonial and violent tradition it comes from. However I am of the sense that the stakes are much higher when we invoke such collective traumas and it is a lesson I hope that Black feminists take seriously. Naked Black womxn carrying whips is specific to the experience of race and racism that spans centuries. This protest aesthetic at Wits communicates historical experiences with violence that affected Black lives in very distinct ways. The presence of the whip has the potential to move other Black people away from the space of protest action against sexual violence because our experience of the sjambok is not a good one. But at the same time, we should not simply read other people's lack of activism for gendered struggles behind the fear of the whip. The incentive is a rape-free society rather than the fear of the traditional uses of the sjambok. This protest aesthetic also animates the solidarity womxn at Wits showed as necessarily linked to a history of Black pain.

The mobilization of Black womxn is indicative of the necessity of Black womxn to confront multiple and interlocking forms of oppression (Dlakavu 2017). The multiplicity of oppressions requires that we look and work from far beyond a single-category analysis of gender hence the move away from labeling our work as simply feminist. We are Black and feminist. We are Black, feminist, queer, able-bodied, disabled and a number of other things. Part of the dominance and almost exclusive presence of Black womxn in such protest action is owed to the demographics at Wits. The majority of the student population is Black, making up close to 70% of the university (Wits University website). But rape is not a Black problem. Rape is everyone's problem, which makes it difficult for me to make sense of the complicity of white people, particularly white womxn students at Wits. Unlike in UCKAR where white womxn were active participants in protest action against sexual violence, Wits did not and does not enjoy the same

solidarity between womxn of different races. This lack of solidarity is owed, in part, to the character of the FMF movement at Wits that became about and for Black students expanding on issues of race, class and gender. Black feminists from Wits standing in solidarity did so also as an articulation of the politics of intersectionality. The ways that naked protest action at Wits has been responded to prove the importance of Black feminism as a model upon which to organise. In the next section, I will speak to online responses to naked protest action at Wits in two ways. I discuss responses to the naked protest at Wits that reflected solidarity with #RUReferenceList. I then discuss responses to the naked protest at Wits by Black womxn students during FMF in October of 2016. The two moments offer interesting insights into how Black womxn's bodies are read and how they move from being legible to illegible in the two different contexts in which they arise.

The Digitization of Solidarity and Responses to the Wits naked protest in solidarity with #RUReferenceList

When news of the #RUReference broke out regarding rape and rape culture in universities, many people sent out tweets and Facebook posts attached to the hashtag expressing their thoughts on the movement. The mass dissemination of tweets with this particular hashtag resulted in #RUReferenceList trending as one of the most tweeted issues on Twitter at the time. Connecting hashtags emerged alongside the #RUReferenceList[44]. These additional hashtags are symbolic of the increasing discourse on rape and increasing importance placed on the need to contest it. Connecting hashtags are a performance of solidarity in the digital space. The naked protest at Wits was animated by the #Wits, #RUReferenceList, #EndRapeCulture, among others such as #RememberKwezi and #Iam1in3 which I address extensively in the next chapter. The naked protest at Wits was captured in a number of short videos and circulated on both Twitter and

[44] See tweet number 3 under the section titled 'Ngithi Joina Mzabalazo' in the appendix

Facebook[45]. It also made headlines capturing the attention of a number of news outlets. A number of responses are curated under the hashtags #Wits, #RUReferenceList and #EndRapeculture at the time of the solidarity naked protest. In this instance where naked protest action became an act of solidarity, much of the online conversation indicates a general sense of importance regarding the contestation of rape and rape culture. Many online engagements point to the need for solidarity. These online engagements also celebrate and praise those who have organized in solidarity with UCKAR. "I swear the class of 76' is chanting 'amandla' from where they are. #RUReferenceList #NakedProtest #UFS #FeesMustFall #UCT #UP #Wits (@_Khauhelo 2016, 19 April)[46]. This particular tweet alludes to the student uprisings in Soweto in 1976 and compares that moment with the new student movement in democratic South Africa. The commitment to ending unjust education practices by students in 1976 are likened to the commitment to ending the forms of oppression that exist in the university in democratic South Africa. Hashtagging universities like University of Free State (UFS), UCT, the University of Pretoria and Wits functions as a signpost for where student activism can be seen in contemporary South Africa.

Talks about solidarity with UCKAR during this time are also somewhat owed to the solidarity shown between universities during institution-based movements like the University of Cape Town's Rhodes Must Fall (RMF) Movement[47] and UCKAR's Black Student Movement (BSM)[48]. The latter was also a response to

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[45] A video of naked protest action at Wits on the following link: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WixVpZUJXjE&has_verified=1

[46] See tweet number 4 under the section titled 'Ngithi Joina Mzabalazo' in the appendix

[47] On the 9th of March 2015, students from the University of Cape Town started a protest movement originally directed towards the removal of the statue of Cecile John Rhodes. The movement grew into a broader movement to decolonize the university and is often marked as the beginning stages of the current student movement in South Africa. See Mfikeni, Lwandile (2016). Ruth First lecture titled "Protest, art and the aesthetics of rage: Social solidarity and the shaping of a post-rainbow South Africa" also accessible on witsvuvzela.com

[48] The Black students movement at UCKAR lead a movement in March of 2015, alongside RMF, about transformation issues in the university. They demanded an increase in Black academics, curriculum and teaching method changes that would be conducive to Black students in the university. See Meth, Oliver (2017). "#FeesMustFall at Rhodes University: Exploring the dynamics of student protests and

RMF and formed as a means to stand in solidarity with RMF. The Fees Must Fall movement gives national currency to the issues raised by these institution-based movements hence it is also animated by a hashtag and connected to #RUReferenceList online.

Laughter at anti-rape protest action

Laughter is often seen as a positive, joyous and welcome response (Kyrola 2014). It can also be a sign of discomfort, embarrassment or way of dismissing and assigning shame to something. Laughter is also a coping mechanism. Katariina Kyrola (2014) defines laughter as a physical reaction and corporeal actualization of a thought. This may be true but I also read laughter as a text. By this I mean that laughter can be digitized and read in a form other than its physical manifestation. On social media, indicators of laughter are often in the form of acronyms like "LOL" which stands for laughing out loud. Laughter can also appear in the written form by mimicking the actual corporeal movement and sound of laughter through the written expressions 'hahaha' or 'hehehe'. We have seen these representations of laughter on social media platforms like Twitter. "Anokhuza amadoda enu, dey LOL @ everything #NakedProtests #RUReferenceList" (@MpumeMF 2016, 19 April)[49]. The first phrase of this tweet is written in isiXhosa and when translated it means that people must warn men about laughing at anti-rape naked protest action. It seems that those doing the laughing are laughing at an action but the naked protest is not one textured by humour. It does not even present as comedic because the intention is to perform a sense of desperation that comes from the reality of rape on university campuses. Here, I argue that laughter as it appears as a response to naked protest under #RUReferenceList is evidence of discomfort and embarrassment in men.

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manifestations of violence" in *#Hashtag: An Analysis of the #FeesMustFall Movement at South African Universities*

[49] See tweet number 5 in the section titled 'Joina Mzabalazo' in the appendix.

It is uncomfortable to look at naked womxn's bodies that aren't presented in the erotic and therefor lack sexual appeal for men. But it is also uncomfortable for men because the reality of rape has been forcefully shifted to their consciousness. The interpretation of laughter is thus two-fold. First, laughter is used to remind womxn where they belong. Laughter asserts that the public sphere would still disregard naked womxn's bodies as making a political statement because they belong in the private domain in the first place. Secondly, laughter at the naked protest is actually directed inwards. Society is in disbelief when it comes to womxn's experience of rape. That disbelief is rooted in the ways we have traditionally responded to rape victims-survivors. Because many rape cases go unreported and shame is attached to the victim-survivor as opposed to the perpetrator, it has become common to assume that the number of womxn raped is an exaggeration. The act of stripping as a means of protest is the act of removing the shame that has been attached to being a womxn and a rape victim-survivor. It becomes to difficult to accept, even through the desperate measures taken by womxn, that rape is a real crisis and complete nightmare.

Laughter at Black womxn's naked protest action and the implications it has on contemporary feminist movement building in South Africa and beyond

Naked protest as a protest repertoire of womxn's activism has also surfaced in response to the militarisation of campuses during the second year of the FMF movement. Wits held a second naked protest in the same year as the second naked protest held in solidarity with UCKAR's #RUReferenceList. In the second year of the FMF movement in 2016, students were met with heavy police force. Stun grenades, tear gas, rubber bullets and arrests characterized this second year. Black womxn student-activists and feminists from Wits took off their clothes in the face of police weaponry in an attempt to persuade the police to cease fire. It was these Black womxn who independently and bravely put their lives on the line for a broader student population. The laughter directed at naked Black

womxn during FMF is telling of the ways in which Black womxn's bodies are read when they stand alone. I speak of Black womxn standing alone because the second naked protest at Wits was not directly connected with the national outcry about sexual violence at UCKAR and in other universities. Although this is a thesis about protest action against sexual violence in South Africa, it is also a project on contemporary feminist movement building within the university. Therefore, making reference to naked protest action in the context of the FMF movement at Wits helps us understand the place of race in the broader feminist movement building process. Racial and gendered prejudices are expressed by laughter directed at naked Black womxn. Laughter at Black womxn making use of the naked protest during FMF is also telling of societies attitudes about students demand for free, decolonized, quality education.

The first year of FMF received widespread support from wider society as many argued that the movement was legitimate because it was peaceful and non-violent. Non-violence on the part of protestors is often received positively because it is understood as 'civilized'. Violence and aggression, even as a response to the violence and aggression shown by the police force, is attributed to blackness and consequently, savagery. The FMF movement of 2016 was critiqued as unnecessary. FMF was delegitimised because it was argued that free higher education was not feasible. The violence that ensued during FMF in 2016 also contributed to society's despondence towards the movement. Whereas Black womxn's activism was celebrated in the first year of FMF, the naked protest action lead by Black womxn during FMF in 2016 also seemed illegitimate because FMF 2016 was being written off as unnecessary. Black womxn's connection with the FMF movement at Wits in 2016 contributed to the ways that men on social media ridiculed their bodies. The history of Black womxn's bodies as hyper-sexualized and as spectacle also contributed to the emergence of laughter as a response to naked protest action. A popular comedian and Kaya FM radio presenter by the name of Skhumba Hlophe (2016)

released a podcast that went viral, quickly circulating online. Skhumba body shamed the Black womxn who demonstrated topless during FMF:

> "Please don't show your boobs. When a boob shows, it should look like a tennis ball. These females are showing hanging boobs that look like wet all-stars without shoelaces. Others have big tummies with silver stripes" [50]

> "Wits cleaners bare their boobs and bums to the police calling on them to stop. This isn't comedy! Skhumba behave!" (@MoLesetja 2016, 11 October)[51]

'Hands off our Black female bodies" (@watsupafrica 2016, 7 October)[52]

Skhumba's joke is heavily loaded with historical and collective traumas that remind us of the low value of Black womxn. It is telling that while laughter did exist as a response to naked protest action against sexual violence (#RUReferenceList), the commentary about Black womxn's naked bodies did not arise in a way that occupied the attention of social media users. Skhumba's joke is also connected to a long-standing history of the representation of the bodies of Black womxn. Laughter is connected to social and cultural histories (Kyrola 2014). One such history is that of the woman we have known as the Hottentot Venus, Saartjie or Sarah Baartman[53]. Baartman was born in South Africa in 1789 and shipped off to England in 1810 where she was paraded as an exotic,

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[50] This is quoted from Skhumba Hlophe's podcast on the FMF naked protest. The podcast can be accessed on: https://hny-mp3.download/mp3/comedian-skhumba-on-feesmustfall-naked-protest.html

[51] See tweet number 6 under the section titled 'Ngithi Joina Mzabalazo' in the appendix

[52] See tweet number 7 under section titled 'Ngithi Joina Mzabalazo' in the appendix

[53] There has been no agreement to her name and her given name is unknown. See Willis, Deborah (2010). 'Introduction: The notion of Venus" in *Black Venus 2010: The called her 'Hottentot'*. Temple University Press: Philadelphia

animalistic and unique woman (Willis 2010). Baartman had large buttocks and a long labia that fascinated, and made curious, the colonial context Baartman was now in. Remembering Sarah Baartman means remembering slavery and the violent system of slavery. Itumeleng Mothoagae (2016) argues that the marking of bodies as either inferior or superior is racist. Black people's bodies have been marked as inferior. However, the bodies of Black womxn that are stereotyped as hyper-sexual in nature because of their supposed different anatomy, are subjugated in ways beyond what men can understand. Even during the slave trade, Black womxn's naked bodies were put on display for the purposes of humiliation and ridicule. Because Black womxn are the epicenter of pornography, because they have been marked as hyper-sexual in the colonial imagination, the ways that Black womxn's bodies look are also policed. Because the role of Black womxn's bodies has been to be accessible to male sexual desires both in the past and present, men like Skhumba exercise their power to decide what body is attractive. Those protecting Skhumba because he "makes fun at everyone. Hands off @skhumba" (@haruki_masana 2016, 7 October) give him and other men power to decide what Black womxn's bodies should look like. Furthermore, the fact that Skhumba is a comedian does not mean that his jokes are devoid of misogyny. Describing the kind of body that should be used as spectacle during naked protest action is making a comment on the type of womxn's body that is attractive and of good quality to the consumers. Paying attention only to the form of the naked Black womxn's bodies also serves to dismiss the intent of the naked protest action.

Laughter shifts the focus from the violence of the state to Black womxn's bodies as something that must provide men with satisfaction. Thus, when men like Skhumba mock the bodies of naked Black womxn, they remind us of the trauma that women like Sarah Baartman have lived through. These men remind us that as Black womxn, we will only be taken seriously in as far as we are made sexually readily available to men. These men also remind us of the ways that white womxn's bodies are read.

I have discussed in detail, the role that white womxn played during the protest action against sexual violence at UCKAR in the chapter titled *Disrupt*. Because UCKAR is often cited as the starting point of anti-rape protests in the contemporary South African university (through #RUReferenceList), the constituents and the form of protest that they used became significant. UCKAR's anti-rape protests were characterized by the activism of womxn across racial divides. The involvement of white womxn in #RUReferenceList and subsequent naked protest action made the protest more palpable. White womxn's bodies symbolise fragility, innocence and purity. These are traits that restrict laughter against white womxn's bodies. Thus there is a very clear place for the theorisation of race in relation to gender and the protest repertoires used to confront gender struggles. For as long as there are colonial histories that are constantly manipulated by some members of society as a performance of their power, we might face difficulties in building a feminist movement that is intersectional.

Conclusion

A strong Black feminist collective grew out from the Wits FMF in 2015. This is not to say that it did not already exist. However the leadership position of womxn in student movements like FMF at Wits was questioned and dealt with in ways that gave voice to Black womxn at Wits. Other universities such as UCKAR interpreted this question in terms of the involvement of their SRC and other student political parties. However, feminists at Wits had not only questioned the legitimacy of the SRC but also questioned the patriarchal nature of FMF. Although there were debates about who should lead among the political parties at Wits, womxn also asked why they could not lead. Womxn at Wits pushed themselves and feminist to the center. Given the time lag between the 2015 FMF movement up until the Wits naked protest in April 2016, one can make an argument regarding the readiness of feminists to stand in solidarity with #RU. Other universities and the general public expected FMF Black feminists to stand

in active solidarity with UCKAR because of the role that they played in gendering FMF. The solidarity between students and members of society not in the university during FMF in 2015, which was its first year, decreased drastically in its second year in October of 2016. The second year was read as an exaggeration and Black students in particular were labeled as entitled. We were accused of being ungrateful for the previous year's announcement of a 0% fee increase by now demanding no-fee education. Interventions lead by Black womxn during the FMF of 2016 would suffer the same fate as the broader FMF movement. Black womxn's naked demonstration during the violence of FMF was met with laughter because it was deemed as illegitimate as FMF itself. Moreover, naked protest action during FMF was met by laughter because naked Black womxn's bodies stood defiantly and as a means to shield the broader student population that was active in FMF. It became a matter of, "we understand the naked protest as it unfolded in the case of #RUReference but not in the name of FMF". Laughter at Black womxn is connected with the failure to see how naked protest is relevant in the fight for free education when free education is not possible in this economy. It is thus important for us to look at how politics of Black life are also infused with issues of gender, class and sexuality. The history of Black people's activism, moreover the lives of Black womxn, reveal a lot about how far we still have to go not only as a society but as the broader feminist movement. Laughter, as I have shown, affects this space of feminist organising by pushing into the playing field the different experiences of race. Laughter at Black womxn reproduces colonial meanings of inferiority to Black womxn's bodies. As much as laughter has revealed men's embarrassment of the reality of rape that calls for womxn to participate in naked protest, it cannot be ignored that this embarrassment is absent when it is Black womxn using the naked protest for causes other than sexual violence.

Towards Resolving Grief: #Remember/ingKwezi

In the latter part of 2005, the then deputy president Jacob Zuma made headlines when the woman we have come to know as Kwezi was raped by Zuma and laid a rape charge against him. The rape trial came under public scrutiny because a male public figure was implicated in a heinous crime. Furthermore, Zuma was a prominent figure in the country's leading party, the African National Congress (ANC) that lead South Africa to democracy. Zuma's affiliation with, and position in, the ANC increased his support structure throughout the rape trial. In 2006, the court found him not guilty and Zuma was acquitted. Zuma also became the president of South Africa from 2009 and served two terms until February of 2018. Kwezi was a 31-year-old HIV-positive woman and family friend to Zuma prior to and at the time of her rape. The fact that she was HIV-positive reproduced the stereotype of HIV-positive womxn as contracting the disease as a result of their promiscuity. Such stereotypes mark some womxn as unrapeable (Gqola 2015). As a result Kwezi's past relationships were constantly called into question during the rape trial. This line of questioning was designed to prove that it was consensual sex rather than rape. Feminist activists stood in solidarity with Kwezi by writing her narrative in opposition to how the court and the public were working to discredit her experience. The One in Nine Campaign was founded during Kwezi's rape trial to show solidarity with her and many other victim-survivors of sexual violence.[54]

A timeline of the rape trial published in the *Mail and Guardian* and written by Jenni Evans and Riaan Wolmarans (2006) provided details of how Fezekile was shamed during her rape trial. 'How much did they pay you, Nondindwa [bitch]?" asked Zuma's camp of supporters. Pictures of Kwezi were also released to the

[54] "The One in Nine Campaign is a network of organizations and individuals driven by feminist principles and the desire to live in a society where womxn are agents of their own lives, including their sexual lives"(Mission Statement of the One in Nine Campaign accessed on https://oneinnine.org.za)

media and were burnt outside of the court during the trial proceedings. There was a public national divide between staunch ANC supporters, vanguards of patriarchy like women of the African National Congress Women's League (ANCWL) and between feminist activists. The ANC and the ANCWL actively partook in victim-blaming Kwezi and threatened her safety. It became necessary for Fezekile Kuzwayo's identity to be protected because of the threats made by those protecting Zuma. She was then renamed Kwezi.

The public and metaphoric death that Kwezi faced forced her to live in exile in the Netherlands following the acquittal of her rapist. Fezekile remained veiled by the name Kwezi until her literal death in October of 2016. Fezekile died 10 years after her rape. Shortly before her death, a silent protest lead by four womxn students from different South African universities was held and was known as the #RememberKwezi campaign. #RememberKwezi surfaced in 2016, a decade after the rape trial and in August which is womxn's month. Womxn's month commemorates the womxn's march to the union building on the 9th of August in 1956. I have spoken about this march in the *Disrupt* chapter and in the chapter on Wits feminist activism. I argue that the fact that the silent protest under the banner of #RememberKwezi emerges on the 10th anniversary of Kwezi's rape and in the month where womxn are celebrated reveals a number of things that have not been resolved in a post-apartheid South Africa.

I suggest that the rape of Kwezi and the ways that her rape was dealt with by the court and the general public of South Africa a few years into our democracy shows how South Africa has no firm grip over what justice looks like. Redi Tlhabi (2017) makes a similar argument in her book *Khwezi: The remarkable story of Fezekile Ntsukela Kuzwayo.* Tlhabi (2017) posits that despite South Africa's history of violence and the subsequent contestation of that violence through the liberation struggle under apartheid, this country is still complicit with the struggles of womxn and children. As Zine Magubane (2010) argues, womxn living in the apartheid-era expected that national liberation would result in the liberation of womxn. This is particularly true of the ANCWL that has come under scrutiny for

betraying the needs of womxn in favor of the advancement of the masculinist space that is the ANC. In the Background chapter, I have already mapped out how the ANCWL consistently left the woman's agenda to save the ANC and its patriarchal ethos.

I therefore argue that the campaign #RememberKwezi emerges as an unhealed wound. It is the kind of wound that spans decades and is kept open by the continued silencing and erasure of womxn's experience of rape. It is a wound that is left unhealed because what should have been the stitch, the ANCWL, did not support Kwezi and consequentially, all victim-survivors of rape. The #RememberKwezi campaign mobilized the experience of one womxn to articulate the experiences of many other womxn. Thinking about Kwezi means thinking about more than an individual that was publicly shamed and disposed of. The specific experience of one womxn transcends the particular time-space that her experience is located. The act of remembering Kwezi is an act of remembering collective and individual past, present and everyday experiences and traumas that have been unresolved in a post-apartheid South Africa. I do not think that the #RUReferenceList and subsequent performances of solidarity were not articulating grief. Of course they were. However, given the public nature of the Kwezi-Zuma rape trial, #RememberKwezi becomes a national response to a rape case that was of national concern because it implicated a leader of the ANC while also holding high expectations of the ANCWL. #RememberKwezi is a national call to confront our losses.

Loss as a concept

I think of loss as the removal of something. Loss is the experience of having a person, an object, an idea, a promise and experience removed and made absent from us. Rosine Perelberg (2017) suggests that when we do not mourn the lost object, the thing that has been lost is persevered in an invisible, melancholic way. Srila Roy (2009) argues that melancholic mourning has often been the response

to dealing with the loss of feminism's potential. Melancholia is the ambivalent relationship and conflict between removing an attachment and maintaining it. Like Freud (1917), I argue that melancholia is the unfinished process of grieving or mourning. So when we think about melancholic mourning, we think about the partial mourning of the object. The partiality is owed to a failure to recognize that things we were once attached to have been lost. In this chapter, I assert that the #RememberKwezi campaign functioned as a way to realize the loss that womxn have been subject to in the domain of sexual violence and responses to victim-survivors of this violence.

In this chapter, I think about the historical, temporal, legal and literal losses that are embodied in the #RememberKwezi campaign. The historical losses refer to the ways sites of womxn's activism like the ANCWL failed to advance the specific struggles and needs of womxn therefore not living up to the potential of womxn's political organizations. This results in the melancholic mourning of the potential of womxn's activism. The political losses refer to the ways that the violation of womxn's bodies and subsequent protest action has been presented as having implications for party-politics rather than for hetero-patriarchy. Temporal losses refer to the time that has passed since the dawn of democracy but which has yielded no true power of autonomy and freedom for womxn. The literal loss refers to the death of Kwezi shortly after the #RememberKwezi campaign. Kwezi died twice over without seeing justice for her rape.

It was the students from universities active in the #RhodesMustFall, #FeesMustFall and #RUReferenceList that were in the forefront of the #RememberKwezi campaign. Therefore the contemporary feminist movement moves beyond the boundaries of the universities. It reflects the ways in which rape is experienced in the same ways by students in universities and by womxn like Kwezi and others not positioned in the university landscape. The vehicle used to move the discourse from the offline worlds in which it occurs has been social media as has been mentioned throughout this thesis. I use Twitter to

source the responses to #RememberKwezi and its connection with the loss of womxn living in post-apartheid South Africa.

#RememberKwezi protest

On the 6th of August 2016 four brave Black young womxn student activists and members of the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) political party held a silent protest during former President Jacob Zuma's speech at the Independent Electoral Briefing on the election results in Pretoria. This moment was televised live across the country. Zuma continued to deliver his speech despite the silent protestors that stood in front of him.

Image by Leon Sadiki and sourced from City Press Online. Accessed on: https://city-press.news24.com/Voices/khwezi-protest-we-came-out-as-4-but-stood-as-10-000-20160814

Student activist Lebogang Nyiko Shikwambane (far left) held up a placard with a hashtag drawn in red. Amanda Mavuso (next to Shikwambane) held a placard with the words "10 years later", Naledi Chirwa (center) had hers with the words "Khanga" and Simamkele Dlakavu (far right) had hers with the words "RememberKhwezi"[55]. The visual representation of the silent protest is significant in a number of ways. Let us pay attention to the sequence of the placards used during the #RememberKwezi silent protest. The first is a placard with the hashtag

[55] The spelling of Kwezi/Khwezi with or without the 'h' is dependent on the Nguni language that the name is used in. A Zulu-speaking person would spell it differently from a Xhosa speaking person.

on it. It is positioned as the 'X' that marks the spot. The hashtag is bold in announcing the presence of an important political moment. It screams: I am here. The placard of the hashtag also preempts a conversation on Kwezi. The hashtag is strategic of the four womxn silent protestors because it encourages an extended conversation on Kwezi and rape culture in South Africa. Shikwambane's placard insists that Kwezi and rape be foregrounded in social media activity since social media has become the platform for raising and discussing diverse political and social concerns.

The second placard with the words "10 years later" and the next one with the word "Khanga" speak to the time that has passed since Kwezi's rape and the preservation of rape myths. The words '10 years later' indicate a temporal loss. For 10 years, we have wasted time trying to prove that Kwezi was raped instead of dealing with the perpetrator. For Kwezi, It had been 10 years of being robbed of living an ordinary life. A khanga is an East African fabric with coloured designs that womxn in Africa wrap around their bodies and use to wrap babies in[56]. Kwezi was wearing a khanga the day that she was raped by Zuma. During the rape trial, Zuma gave the khanga new meaning. He argued that the khanga Kwezi wore on the fateful day of her rape was a sexual invitation. 10 years later, womxn are still subjected to questions about their form of dress when reporting a rape incident. The last placard "Remember Khwezi" draws our attention to the fact that a womxn who was raped by the man who was serving as president of South Africa still saw no justice. Instead, her rapist went on to occupy the highest position of power in the country while Kwezi lived her life in exile.

The #RememberKwezi silent protest could not have emerged at a better time. 2015 saw the rise of student-lead activism through the Rhodes Must Fall and Fees Must Fall Movements. The centering of womxn leaders like Nompendulo

[56] See also Pather, Ra'eesa (2016). 'The kanga, womanhood and how Zuma's 2006 rape trial changed the meaning of the fabric' in the Mail and Guardian. Accessed on: https://mg.co.za/article/2016-08-10-the-khanga-womxnhood-and-how-zumas-2006-rape-trial-changed-its-meaning

Mkhatshwa and Shaeera Kalla during student activism were iconic moments for the feminist movement growing out from universities. Moreover, the activism of womxn students who pioneered the #RUReferenceList at UCKAR of which garnered solidarity from other institutions highlighted the presence of a budding feminist movement. There were many other moments were womxn from various universities did important feminist work which fell under the hashtag #PatriarchyMustFall.[57] Feminists from the academy had made their mark in the political landscape of South Africa in 2016. @chimurengapapi (2016, 1 August) tweeted "The womxn of 2016! I'm in tears. We will not be silenced. Patriarchy will be dismantled[58]" echoing the ways in which womxn had become relentless in our fight for the liberation of womxn. Broadly speaking, student activism in a post-apartheid South Africa had gained momentum and media outlets were ready to give their attention to any student lead protest action. Additionally 2016 was the year that South Africa had its local elections of which fell on womxn's month. Zuma was serving his second term as the president of South Africa at the time.

Things said in silence

@NdivhuwoMukhovh (2016, 6 August) tweeted 'That silent protest was the loudest I have ever seen #RememberKwezi'[59]. The unspoken truths of womxn living in South Africa are nuanced through the #RememberKwezi silent protest. Dlakavu (2016) also argues that although they came out as four womxn, they stood as 10 0000. While online engagements with the hashtag do not explicitly make connections between #RememberKwezi and the general historical erasure

[57] The hashtag #PatriarchyMustFall follows from the rape of a student activist of the FMF movement at the University of Cape Town (UCT's). A fellow FMF comrade at UCT's Azania Hall raped the womxn. The hashtag formed in response to the rape was #RapeAtAzania followed by protest action at UCT. #PatriarchyMustFall articulates the broader feminist movement that addresses issues of rape, sexual violence and other forms of violence that womxn are confronted with on and off campus. See also Mugo, Kaguro (2015). 'When comrades rape comrades' in Mail and Guardian. Accessed on: https://mg.co.za/article/2015-11-29-when-comrades-rape-comrades

[58] Tweet number 1 under the section titled '#Remember/ingKwezi' in the appendix

[59] See tweet number 2 under section titled '#Remember/ingKwezi' in the appendix.

of womxn, the hashtag calls attention to it and the very destructive role of the ANCWL. Mnanaledi Mataboge (2014) argues that womxn of the ANCWL breathed life into the Setswana idiom “Mmangwana o tshwara thipa ka fo bogaleng’ which can be translated as ‘A mother holds a knife by its sharpest part, the blade’. This idiom suggests that womxn will do any possible thing to shield their children from danger (Mataboge 2014). It is no wonder that women of the ANCWL are often called mothers of the nation, keeping their children’s interest close to their chests. I would like us think about whom the ANCWL’s children are, taking into consideration their organisational politics during apartheid that I discussed in background chapter.

Tlhabi (2017) recalls the Politics of the Armed Struggle conference held at Wits University in November of 2016. The dialogue on the gender struggle at this conference is one that shied away from women’s experience of sexual violence during the liberation struggle. The failure to recognize women’s struggles under apartheid by women is a historical loss.

> ‘Senior womxn who now hold positions in government denounced arguments that rape had been rampant in ANC camps. Judy Seidman, a cultural worker and visual artist, insisted that it had happened to shouts of “where, where? We were there, where did these rapes happen?”…Thenjiwe Mtintso said, “I had a gun. I knew how to use it. No man would dare rape me”’. (Tlhabi 2017, 44)

Women in the forefront of the struggle of liberation have been active agents in pacifying women who had been raped during this period. Womxn’s experience of rape was denied which is a historical loss. When womxn like Mtintso, who was an anti-apartheid activist and prominent member of the ANC, placed the gun as a preventative weapon, they only bought into the notion that womxn should protect themsleves instead of believing that men should not rape at all. Rape prevention is made the responsibility of womxn. Gasa (2007) mentions how Lauretta

Ngcobo's (1990) novel *And The Didn't Die* takes us on a journey that places emphasis on the militancy of women's protest. It is most likely then that women like Mtintso womxn would shame womxn who have been raped. This likeliness played out when the African National Congress Women's League (ANCWL) showed its solidarity with Jacob Zuma instead of Kwezi during the rape trial. The ANCWL partook in the shaming of Kwezi through slogans such as 'Burn the bitch' accompanied by the literal burning of an enlarged image of Kwezi outside the court where Zuma was trialed for rape (Evans and Wolmarans 2006). Hostility has also been shown to womxn showing their solidarity with Kwezi. Moments after Zuma's speech at the IEC where the #RememberKwezi silent protest took place the security on site manhandled and battered these womxn out of the venue. @ndPants_onFire (2016, 6 August) tweeted 'And here we see a representation of how rape culture is addressed in South Africa in 2016 #RememberKwezi #1in3'[60] in response to a video shared on twitter showing the ways these womxn were harassed. The ANCWL stood in firm support of Zuma, chanting and protesting for womxn to get their "Hands off Zuma!" I make sense of the ANCWL's action as mothers protecting their children and their children being men in the ANC.

Actions speak louder than words/Words speak louder than actions

The fact that the four Black womxn that lead the #RememberKwezi silent protest are members of the EFF also explains the ill-treatment of the protestors. In addition to the fact that rape has never been taken seriously, the anti-rape protest action was also read as a political threat. South African political culture is rooted in partisan politics. As a result, the political affiliation of an individual or group is often the basis upon which an analysis of their actions is made. The South African Minister of Women in the Presidency and leader of the ANCWL Bathabile Dlamini was quoted on twitter having said that 'it was a pity that young

[60] See tweet number 3 under the section titled '#Remember/ingKwezi' in the appendix.

womxn in the EFF are being used to advance and fight the battles of patriarchy' (@Power987News, 2016).

The EFF was formed in 2013 by former president of the ANC Youth League (ANCYL), Julius Malema. The political ethos of the EFF is one of radical economic transformation through the appropriation of land without compensation (Constitution of the EFF, 2013). The EFF has often presented as controversial and performative in its political stance. Sporting red regalia representative of a commitment to socialism and mimicking the aesthetic of domestic workers, mine workers and gardeners in South Africa, the EFF has received support from a number of South Africans looking to escape the class struggle. Because of the increasing popularity of the EFF, it has been positioned as a threat to the status of the ANC as the leading party of South Africa. The ANC's performance in the local government elections was also its poorest since 1994. The ANC's decrease in voter base is owed to the emergence of the EFF and the strengthened support of the official opposition party the Democratic Alliance (DA). However, the labelling of the #RememberKwezi silent protest as politically motivated by the EFF detracts from womxn's experience of rape. Likewise, during Malema's leadership of the African National Congress' Youth League, he formed part of the coterie of Zuma rape apologists. In 2009, Malema argued that Kwezi enjoyed having sex with Zuma thus nullifying her as a rape victim-survivor (Pillay 2009)[61].

Arguing that 'the #RememberKwezi #silent protest is a political move. And attack on Zuma' (@Thulani_Mbonani 2016, 6 August)[62] is problematic for a number of reasons. First, it makes no sense to argue that the four womxn held the #RememberKwezi campaign to show allegiance with the EFF whose president partook in the shaming of Kwezi. Furthermore, to make such feminist interventions is not easy because it requires that we reflect deeply in order to

[61] See also Pillay, Verashni (2009). 'Malema rape comments slammed' in News24. Accessed on: https://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/Politics/Malema-rape-comments-slammed-20090123
[62] See tweet number 4 under the section titled '#Remember/ingKwezi' in the appendix.

muster up the courage to disrupt space. It is a grueling process because as @Julie_Nxadi argues, 'as happy as I was to see the protest it reminded me what filthy games are played and how much we watch #rememberkwezi'[63]. When we are called to remember we are called to think about the ways that politics happen across the bodies of womxn. We are reminded of how the activism of womxn is almost always read as a threat to the state but never to the greater benefit of womxn living under the state. South Africa fails to consider womxn's commitment to fighting as feminists. It is a political loss to womxn to take away womxn's political consciousness that is expressed through feminism.

Shikwambane, Mavuso, Chirwa and Dlakavu are feminists with a proven track record of doing activist work. Pumla Gqola (2017) memorializes each of their activist and academic work in her book *Reflecting Rogue: Inside the Mind of a Feminist.* Each of these womxn have been active in the #FeesMustFall, #EndOutsourcing and #RUReferenceList. These womxn are also members of the One in Nine Campaign. It does not make any sense to overlook the activist work that these womxn have put in and argue that #RememberKwezi emerges with the intention of putting the ANC in disrepute. Zuma put the ANC in disrepute when he raped Kwezi. ANC loyalists, Zuma rape-apologists and those actively anti-Kwezi put South Africa into disrepute. If anyone has used Kwezi's experience as a cheap political tactic, it has been the ANCWL.

The ANC embarked on its presidential elections in 2017. Lindiwe Sisulu, a member of the ANC who has occupied a number of ministerial positions for the ANC ran for the position of the presidency of the ANC. In radio interview with Eusebius McKaiser on 702 FM, Lindiwe Sisulu said of Kwezi 'I believe she believes she was raped'[64]. Sisulu went on to argue that she didn't know if she had enough evidence to be able to make a decision on Kwezi's rape. Sisulu's

[63] See tweet number 5 under the section titled '#Remember/ingKwezi' in the appendix

[64] Podcast (2017). 'In conversation with Lindiwe Sisulu' on the Eusebius McKaiser Show. Accessed on: http://life.primedia.co.za/podcasts/125/episode/33400

utterances on Kwezi's rape is the real political tactic. Sisulu capitalizes on Kwezi's rape to gain the support of womxn and the South African public. 'She only believes #Kwezi now because she wants to be the President. She was part of the ANCWL that took JZ side. Lomama unamanga ahlaza. Sies' (@AdvNgcukaitobi 2017, 26 October)[65]. The last part of the tweet can be translated as 'this woman is telling disgusting lies'. At the same time, the ambiguity in Sisulu's statement that does not fully articulate her support of Kwezi is one that secures her place in the ANC. But during the rape trial, Sisulu said nothing and did nothing to show support to Kwezi. Rather, as touched on in the background chapter, Sisulu is one of the women of the ANCWL who could quickly abandon the women's agenda in favor of the needs of the national liberation struggle, and in essence the ANC. Sisulu is complicit with the gendered forms of violence and fails to understand that the lives of womxn are not political pawns. Twitter users like @ReloSoulful (9 November 2016) argued that 'Womxn don't support womxn. Look what #ANCWL did about #RememberKwezi issue" further gesturing to the ANCWL's betrayal of the womxn and feminist principles. Therefore it is a major oversight and a careless mistake to assume that the #RememberKwezi silent-protestors would be motivated by their loyalty to the EFF in the same ways that those protecting Zuma are motivated by their loyalty to the ANC. As Gqola (2017) suggests, making such linear connections overlooks the complex lives of womxn.

> "Reducing womxn to mere pawns is looking away. Pretending womxn cannot choose political actions is looking away and refusing to listen" (Gqola 2017, 39)

In failing to listen, 'South Africa has failed too many womxn…#RememberKwezi' (@Nqaba_TheRapper 2017, 4 September)[66]. We #RememberKwezi because

[65] See tweet number 6 under the section titled '#Remember/ingKwezi' in the appendix.
[66] See tweet number 7 under the section titled '#Remember/ingKwezi' in the appendix

'the normalization of patriarchy in S.A has made being a rape survivor more shameful than it is to be a rapist' (@Chimurengs 2016, 17 October)[67]. #RememberKwezi because the judicial system is one of power not justice" (@TheMoor_Za 2016 17 October)[68]. Losing the rape case and the acquittal of Zuma has functioned as a way to silence us because rape was not proved in the court of law. Legal outcomes are falsely tokenised as just. As @SikeeDlanga (2016, 10 October) tweeted, we are 'heartbroken. We are heartbroken by our silence. #RIPKwezi Fezeka. Silenced yet you died like a martyr. Your death is loud in Jacobs ear.[69]' This tweet speaks to the loss of Fezekile. At the time of her death in October of 2016, the South African public tweeted under the hashtag #Kwezi and #Fezekile/#Fezeka because 'she had a name. She existed' (@blaqdayimane 2016, 9 October)[70] rather than calling her 'Zuma's accuser'. These hashtags recognise the literal loss of a womxn whom was failed by other womxn like those in the ANCWL and the justice system. By tweeting under #Kwezi or #Fezekile we deliberately separate #RememberKwezi the campaign from the person whose life is the subject of that campaign. A return to Kwezi's birth name, Fezekile suggests that the womxn we have come to know as Kwezi will finally live in peace in her death. @NalediChirwa (2016, 9 October) bid Fezeka farewell with the words 'may the last of your many deaths u've died restore the peace and dignity you've toiled for ur life on this earth. We didn't deserve you Fezeka'[71].

Fezekile experienced loss when she could no longer self-define outside of being known as the woman who 'falsely accused' Zuma of rape. The hashtag #RememberKwezi brought to our attention that fact that the rape crisis is much bigger than the Jacob Zuma rape trial. #RememberKwezi opens up a necessary

[67] See tweet number 8 under the section titled '#Remember/ingKwezi' in the appendix
[68] See tweet number 9 under the section titled '#Remember/ingKwezi' in the appendix
[69] See tweet number 10 under the section titled '#Remember/ingKwezi' in the appendix
[70] See tweet number 11 under the section titled '#Remember/ingKwezi' in the appendix
[71] See tweet number 12 under the section titled '#Remember/ingKwezi' in the appendix

can of worms for womxn living in post-apartheid South Africa. The can of worms is symbolic of the historical, temporal, legal and literal losses incurred by Fezekile and other womxn with experiences of sexual violence. That can of worms forces us to begin thinking about a time when society is not built at the expense of the livelihood and safety of womxn. Womxn are yet to enjoy democracy in the same ways that men do. We are yet to come to terms with the loss of the promise of freedom made to us at the dawn of democracy. We experienced losing the legal battle. Losing Kwezi. Losing Fezekile Khuzwayo. Losing a Black womxn.

Conclusion

I do not know if the #RememberKwezi campaign is one that is representative of feminist mourning of the losses we have incurred. Mourning would imply that we have come to terms with the fact that womxn have been political losers in South Africa. I do not think we can ever come to terms with how Fezekile's rape case was dealt with. I do not think that we can come to terms with the death of Fezekile. I do not think we can mourn the promise of freedom because we are fighting to gain that freedom. I think that in recognizing our losses through #RememberKwezi and #Fezekile, we are able to begin imagining what a democratic South Africa looks like. Acknowledging grief is on the conveyor belt that leads up to the production of resolved grief. Looking at the #RememberKwezi campaign, I conclude that it emerges as a moment that allows South Africans to reflect on the injustices of the past and present that effect womxn disproportionately in comparison to men. South Africa is forced to think specifically about the failure of the justice system to protect rape victim-survivors like Fezekile. South Africa also had to come to terms with the fact that men like Zuma, who became the president of South Africa, are the reason why South Africa is known as the rape capital of the world. The hashtag has once again played a central role in consolidating the society's thoughts and feelings about Fezekile's rape case, the role of the ANCWL in advancing the needs of womxn and the silent protest itself. The silence of the protest action of Shikwambane, Mavuso, Chirwa and Dlakavu was necessary for womxn to find the words for the

pain and the loss that is as a result of being raped, victim-blamed, exiled and forgotten like Fezekile was. Furthermore the fact that these four womxn were students in universities in South Africa and active in feminist protest action like #RUReferenceList teaches us that student activism in post-apartheid South Africa is lending itself to fighting across the divide between private (the university) and public worlds (structural politics characterised by elections). The blurring of this divide by pushing womxn's struggles into the political public is one of the goals of feminism. Therefore the #RememberKwezi campaign also represented the building of a contemporary feminist movement that is further anchored by the activism of womxn from institutions of higher learning.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

I have always struggled with writing an ending because I have always felt that a conversation never really ends. We enter and exit discourses that will continue even long after we have left. Sometimes we will return to the same conversation in which case we start again. So I am writing an ending by going back to the beginning. In retrospect, the title *Loss, Rage and Laughter: Texturing Protest against Sexual Violence on the South African campus and its existence online* provides clues on the arguments and findings therein. I use the title as my point of entry for this concluding chapter.

I have framed this project as one that textures protest action against sexual violence on the South African campus and in online worlds. Texture refers to the feel, appearance or consistency of a surface. I have thought about what textures us, our ideas, politics and our activism. In the context of this thesis, the surfaces I have thought through are three-fold. The university, feminist activism, social media and hashtag activism have been the surfaces that have been textured by rage, laughter and loss. UCKAR's #RUReferenceList, the ways in which Wits feminists showed solidarity with #RUReferenceList and continued to mobilise through naked protest action during FMF, and the transference of student activists to other sites of contestation as has been the case with #RememberKwezi are evidence of a feminist movement building process in a post-apartheid South Africa. Although I have paired rage with UCKAR, laughter with Wits and loss with #RememberKwezi, these affects appear in all three contexts. Situating rage, laughter and loss in specific contexts has been necessary to reveal the ways that they texture space, movements and bodies. I draw my conclusion based on the ways that rage, laughter and loss function in each context but also the implications that they have for the feminist movement building process in contemporary South Africa.

On UCKAR:

Disrupt functioned as an important primary source that documented the experiences of student activists challenging rape culture at UCKAR. The rage of UCKAR's student activists that was captured in *Disrupt* has been representational of the rage of womxn outside of UCKAR's context. Evidence of this has been seen in the ways that the online discourse on #RUReferenceList and the #RhodesWar has been attached to rage. Rage is positioned as necessary and as the praxis under which we must mobilise. Rage then becomes a project of calling other people into the fold of doing activist work against sexual violence. Being enraged by those who rape, those who mock womxn's protest action against sexual violence, the complicity of university management and the expulsion of students involved in the #RUReferenceList shows solidarity with womxn and the contemporary feminist movement. Furthermore, the university's response to feminist rage have exposed legacies of gendered and racial violence.

The naked protest of the #RUReferenceList is one of the ways that we are exposed to gendered violence. The labelling of naked womxn as publicly indecent reminds us of the rigid private and public divide. We are reminded that womxn's bodies are only visible in private spaces and are expected to remain there. However, the feminist rage that is also embodied by the naked protest disrupts this binary by forcing into consciousness the reality of womxn's struggles and our commitment to ending those struggles. Naked protest action also has the power to re-signify womxn's bodies as political and as agentic.

UCKAR's decision to expel two Black student activists for their involvement in the #RUReferenceList is reflective of a hetero-patriarchal society's intolerance with defiant Black womxn. Although the student activists involved with #RUReferenceList were womxn belonging to different racial groups, Black womxn were criminalized following from histories of the oppressive and interlocking nature of race and gender. Therefore Black womxn's experiences, which are exceptional in comparison to that of white womxn, have implications

for feminist movement building. The #RhodesWar also reveals the ways that structures such as the university exert their power to punish womxn and to remind the rest of us of the consequences of causing feminist disruptions. Furthermore, #RhodesWar animates UCKAR as a structure enraged by the defiance and mobilization of Black womxn. Therefore, rage moves far beyond the boundaries of the individual. Individuals, collective groups and institutions such as UCKAR embody rage to exert their power and mark themselves in specific ways. Wits is yet another institution that has recently come under fire for acting in the interests of white capital monopoly and patriarchal rule. The ways that Black womxn surface as activists at Wits is linked to their contestation of the university along the intersections of race, class and gender. This contestation is stitched into the movement and subsequent hashtag, #FMF.

On Wits:

Feminists at Wits were labeled as FMF feminists because of the ways that the FMF movement at Wits was challenged by feminist politics underpinned by the theory of intersectionality. The FMF movement at Wits was about more than challenging fee hikes. Wits feminists inserted Black womxn's experiences of the institution alongside the fee crisis, the #EndOutsourcing movement and the quest to decolonize the curriculum. The strong population of Black students, who advocate for FMF to happen along the register of race rather than gender, further legitimises Black feminism. It is problematic to make the conclusion that Black feminism at Wits emerged only as a result of the FMF movement of 2015. Rather, we can argue that Black feminism found an opportunity to publicly challenge the masculinisation of politics and spaces like FMF. Therefore the ways that FMF unfolded at Wits have been influential to the nature of Black feminist organising at Wits. Labeling the womxn at Wits as FMF feminist's further signals the current student movement's commitment to ending oppression on all levels thus drawing on the theory of intersectionality. The activism of Black womxn during FMF at Wits has much to do with the readiness of Wits feminists

to stand in solidarity with UCKAR. Wits FMF feminists responded to the call to stand in solidarity with UCKAR's #RUReferenceList through a naked protest that took place on the main campus of Wits. In effect, Wits FMF feminists responded to the call to be enraged by rape and rape culture. There were a few notable distinctions between the naked protest action at Wits and the naked protest action at UCKAR as discussed in the chapter, *Ngithi Joina Mzabalazo.*

In addition to a Black feminist ethic, the carrying of whips aestheticised the solidarity naked protest at Wits. Because of the work Black womxn put in to move womxn from the margins to the center of FMF, it was expected that Black womxn would rise to the occasion in support of UCKAR. Responses to this naked protest were celebratory of Wits feminists. However laughter from men and some womxn was a response to naked womxn's protest during the FMF movement of 2016. I argue in the chapter *Ngithi Joina Mzabalazo* that the ways that laughter at naked Black womxn surfaces is directed at the shaming and ridiculing of Black womxn in particular. While the naked protest under FMF was not necessarily about sexual violence, it remains important to think about the ways that feminist solidarity is fractured by the ways in which different bodies are received. Black womxn's bodies were ridiculed and shamed. In so doing, the laughter of men at Black naked womxn reminds us womxn like Sarah Baartman whom endured a life of being made spectacle and subject of male desire. Therefore laughter at Black womxn's activism also functions as yet another stark reminder of the representational and political disparities between Black and white womxn.

As we embark on a feminist movement building process in a post-apartheid South Africa, it is important to recognize the ways that race plays out in feminist activist spaces. The ways that protest action at UCKAR and protest action at Wits unfolded encourages us to think seriously about difference within a movement. Thinking about difference requires that we think intersectionally. Intersectionality is the deliberate intrusion made into single-category analyses and insists on the recognition and destruction of multiple forms of oppression.

Through this research, I can conclude that we are allowed to claim specific struggles as important to us without trivializing the struggles of others that may be different from our own. A Black feminist ethic is not in opposition to other feminisms and should not be read this way. Rather, a Black feminist ethic is an opportunity for us to see how South Africa's history of racism and preservation of violent masculinities continue to interlock in contemporary South Africa.

The experiences of Black womxn are disproportionately violent in comparison to the experiences of white womxn. I have shown this in the ways that Black womxn's bodies have been shamed and ridiculed during naked protest action and through the expulsion of Black womxn due to their involvement with the #RUReferenceList. I have also shown the violence that Black womxn are subjected to by teasing out the ways that white womxn negotiate their activism and disruption safely, a privilege that is rooted in histories of the presentation of white femininity as civilized, fragile, pure and innocent. I argue that we must come to terms with the fact that the weight of our bodies and the kind of politics we attach to them are still being received along the lines of race and gender which instills divisions among womxn within the feminist movement. Black feminism subverts the violent meanings that have been attached to Blackness and femininity by claiming Black womxnhood as a distinct experience that is a source of both struggle and solidarity. Black feminists can come to the table and sit with feminists of different orientations with the understanding that the agenda is important and requires everyone's attention. However, in so doing, the Black feminist framework is also one sensitive to power dynamics that play out at the table. The Black feminist is sensitive to the ways that Black womxn's experiences may be taken for granted simply because solidarity is forged between feminists of different races. I imagine an intersectional feminist movement in post-apartheid South Africa as one that recognizes how even the call for us to be enraged and stand in solidarity with one another also invites ridicule and shame that applies to Black womxn while other womxn remain protected by their whiteness. Responses to the gathering of womxn in general and Black womxn in

particular are triggering to Black womxn. This is because we are forced to remember a lot about the past and find ways to come to terms with it through feminist activism.

On #Remember/ingKwezi:

The appearance of the words #RememberKwezi both offline and online serves as a reminder of the ways womxn's experiences have been erased historically. It is significant that #RememberKwezi appears as a social media trend in August of every year. August is the month that is dedicated to commemorating the activism of the womxn that marched to the union buildings on the 9th of August, 1956. While it is important to memorialize the work of womxn contesting a brutal system such as apartheid, a younger generation of feminists continues to remind the world that we still have much to mourn. #RememberKwezi reminds us of the unresolved grief of rape victim-survivors and womxn living in South Africa. This particular hashtag pushes into public memory the difficult life of Fezekile Kuzwayo, whom we have known as Kwezi. #RememberKwezi is a heavily loaded hashtag that reminds us of a womxn who was raped by the former president of South Africa, Jacob Zuma as detailed in the chapter *Towards Resolving Grief: #Remember/ingKwezi.* #RememberKwezi reminds us that shame and victimization are the consequences that womxn face for reporting rapists. #RememberKwezi reminds us that the law does not recognize womxn's experiences as facts. #RememberKwezi reminds us of womxn's trauma that spans decades but was shelved in favor of national liberation. #RememberKwezi reminds us of all that we have lost on the road to democracy. #RememberKwezi reminds us that the ANCWL's commitment to gender equality and womxn's rights remains limited. The women, who have been called mothers of the nation, have lost their opportunity to nurture and heal the hopes of a child, of a woman and of a feminist. Younger feminists in South Africa have lost an opportunity to join hands with women activists of the apartheid era and that is a loss that requires

our attention as we try to heal and to build a feminist movement that operates intersectionally.

Attaching the hashtags #RUReferenceList, #Wits, #EndRapeCulture and #RememberKwezi signals the fact that womxn living in South Africa have for too long silently carried the scars of being violated. #RememberKwezi is an embodiment of feminist rage and feminist solidarity. Even though #RememberKwezi carries feminist loss, it also representational of feminist mourning. Through the life of Kwezi and the need to remember her, we remember ourselves and how rapists, the law and history have violated us. #RememberKwezi is the consistently emerging wound that makes way for us to mourn the unresolved grief that results from our experiences as womxn. Social media has played an important role in showing the source of womxn's unresolved grief through hashtags such as #RememberKwezi that remain attached to the #RUReferenceList, #EndRapeCulture, #Wits and many others.

On Social Media:

Social media platforms like Twitter function as extended sites of protest and extended sites of feeling that are animated by hashtags. Social media has also functioned as a way in which to archive important political moments and the discourses that grow out from them as discussed in the chapter *Disrupt*. The hashtag is created as a way of centralising knowledge on a topic, event or phenomenon in one place so that it is easily accessible to anyone at any moment. The hashtag then also functions as a tool that can texture social media platforms in specific ways. When #RUReferenceList emerges, it emerges from a place of rage and as discussed, rage is an invitation to take action. Labelling womxn that engaged with the #RUReferenceList as angry feminists is evidence of social media having been textured by feminist rage. For some time, Twitter was either the place to go to or the place to avoid going to because of the feminist rage that was centralised under #RUReferenceList. The same applies

for the ways that laughter was seen as a response to naked protest action at Wits. The public outcry connected to #RememberKwezi also marked social media with a deep sense of loss that was either avoided or celebrated on social media.

The movement of offline protest action to online worlds disrupts the binary made between public and private spheres. Looking at rage, laughter and loss has meant pushing into public consciousness the ways in which rape strips womxn of their dignity and self-ownership. At the same time, thinking about the ways that rage emerges from those working to #EndRapeCulture also means thinking about the ways that womxn are active agents. Rage, laughter and loss have proven to be productive in helping us understand what motivates feminist activism and the protest repertoires mobilised within feminist protest action. Apart from being subjectively felt emotions, these affects enable our bodies to act in ways they may not have without the mobilisation of certain emotions such as rage and loss. Womxn's bodies have become bio-mediated because they transcend the offline space of their activism. Therefore womxn protesting against sexual violence are able to texture worlds beyond the offline with their rage and loss. Consequently, womxn's bodies are also textured by affects like laughter from men. The hashtag has been central to mobilising these affective forces and uncovering them as productive for the feminist movement building process.

Concluding remarks on lessons to take with:

I think that the important thing to remember is the ways that rage, laughter and loss have marked feminist activism in a democratic South Africa in offline and online spheres. We will always remember how these hashtags organised rage, laughter and loss. Rage, laughter and loss are affective meaning-making projects. Feminist rage concretises the relationship between violent masculinity and rape culture. Patriarchal laughter re-produces Black femininity as hyper-sexual and white femininity as the standard. Loss teases out the relationship

between society, the structures therein and rape victim-survivors. In mourning, we remember the ways that womxn lose their dignity when raped, lose to their rapists in the legal court and the court of public opinion. Therefore rage, laughter and loss as collective affective forces have assigned meaning to structures such as patriarchy, phenomena such as rape, and activism that is feminist in very particular ways.

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