

**PARTICIPATION IN THE ANTI-SEXUAL VIOLENCE SILENT PROTEST:  
A SEXUAL CITIZENSHIP PERSPECTIVE**

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## DECLARATION

I, the undersigned Elizabeth Chitiki (student number g14c4667), hereby declare that this dissertation is my original work and it has not been presented at any other University for any other degree award.

Signature.....

Date...../...../.....

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## ABSTRACT

There is a growing body of research on sexual citizenship that focuses attention on gender and which bridges the gap between public and private life in order to rethink citizenship from a feminist perspective. This is in contrast to understandings of citizenship that promote policies of sexual regulation and a heteronormative ideal of citizenship. My research takes the form of a qualitative case study. Using data from two focus group discussions, fifteen personal diaries, as well as social media posts, I analyse participation in the Silent Protest, an annual anti-rape protest, through the lens of sexual citizenship. I look at how participation in the protest promotes or inhibits inclusive and process-based understandings of sexual violence and sexualities issues. Data were analysed using thematic analysis and the results of the analysis are presented into two parts. The first part of the analysis discusses the politics of affect and witnessing as two processes through which allies' understandings of sexual violence are shaped. The second part of analysis shows that the Silent Protest contributes to people's knowledge and understandings of sexual violence in relation to sexualities in a range of ways. Examples of inclusive understandings are: (1) insights about rape in relation to gender and heteronormative inequalities, culture and patriarchal dominance; (2) understanding of critical sexual citizenship in relation to sexual violence; and (3) understanding of politics of recognition (the need for recognition of the importance of safe spaces for formal and informal support for victim-survivors and recognition of victim-survivors' identities). However, some of the understandings are limited to emotion and affect dynamics. In some ways, therefore, the Silent Protest fails to promote understandings significant to inclusive citizenship, including understandings of entitlements to non-discriminatory sexual health care services and legal services.

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## LIST OF ACRONYMS

AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
BPS	British Psychology Society
DNA	Deoxyribonucleic Acid
DSM	Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorder
GAP	Gender Action Project
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
LGBT	Lesbian Gay Bisexual and Transgender
NGOs	Non-governmental Organizations
OCR	Object Character Recognition
PEP	Post Exposure Prophylaxis
PTSD	Post Traumatic Stress Disorder
QDA	Qualitative Data Analysis
RPERC	Research Project and Ethical Review Committee
SAECK	Sexual Assault Evidence Collection Kit
SAPS	South African Police Service
STD	Sexually Transmitted Disease
STIs	Sexually Transmitted Infections
TAC	Treatment Action Campaign
UK	United Kingdom
USA	United States of America

## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Rape and sexual violence are endemic in South Africa. In 2017, these are some of the stories that made news headlines:

Camron Britz, a 14-year-old girl from Simon's town, was called away from a community bonfire by her cousin who said that her father was looking for her. Her cousin led her into some nearby bushes where he raped and strangled her (Evans, 2017);

Shortly after she was reported missing, police found the charred remains of 22-year-old Karabo Mokena in a shallow grave in a veld in the Johannesburg suburb of Lyndhurst. Her boyfriend is on trial for the murder (Pijoos, 2017);

Anelisa Dulaze went missing while celebrating her 21st birthday at a tavern in Khayelitsha. Her body was found buried beneath a concrete slab on a plot of land adjacent to the home of the man who confessed to abducting and murdering her. They went to primary school together and knew each other very well (Etheridge, 2017).

Stories like these make it onto the front pages of newspapers because they are particularly gruesome and because they make sensational news stories. However, the truth is that sexual violence is a widespread phenomenon in South Africa. In South Africa, one in four women has been raped (and half of these women will be raped more than once in their lifetime) (South African Police Services (SAPS), 2014). The SAPS (2014) estimate that only one in 36 rapes (around 2% of all sexual assaults) is reported to the authorities. Of the almost 500 000 sexual offences reported in South Africa between 2011 and 2012, children accounted for 40% of this statistic; women accounted for 48.5% of this statistic; and men accounted for 11.4% of this statistic. In an anonymous survey conducted in 2010, one in three men surveyed admitted to raping at least once (Mail & Guardian, 2010). Intimate partner violence is the leading cause of death for all women in South Africa (one in three women will die this way) (Mail &

Guardian, 2010). These statistics indicate that sexual violence is a gendered issue, and is mostly perpetrated by men against women.

According to Jewkes et al. (2006), sexual violence against women is underpinned by ideas about masculinity that emphasise control of women and that intimate partner rape is an extension of patterns of power and control in intimate relationships to settings in the community, rather than crimes of opportunity. Furthermore, as illustrated in the stories above, men who perpetrate sexual violence are generally known to their victims. According to Thompson and Armato (2012, p. 278), the notion of ‘stranger-danger’ is pervasive in debates on sexual violence, but it is not supported by research. Both adult and child victims of rape and sexual violence are more likely to be attacked by someone whom they know than by a stranger. This is supported by the findings of Madu’s (2001) research examining relationships between victim-survivors<sup>1</sup> and perpetrators of sexual violence among a sample of university students in Limpopo, South Africa. The findings of this research indicated that the perpetrator tended to be a close relative such as a father, uncle, or brother, but was also frequently a family friend or caretaker such as a nanny or teacher (Madu, 2001). These observations challenge the ‘stranger-danger’ phenomenon that often shapes public discourse, and which determines which experiences are validated and which are not.

Systematic sexual violence, which is not only a feature of the social landscape in South Africa but a worldwide phenomenon, has highlighted the need for anti-sexual violence interventions. The Silent Protest at Rhodes University is one such intervention. Background to this intervention is provided in the next section.

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<sup>1</sup>Following West (1999) I use the term ‘victim-survivor’ to signify the dual status of people who have been both victimised and survived sexual violence

## 1.1 THE SILENT PROTEST

The Silent Protest, hosted at Rhodes University, is a programme of events during which participants protest against rape and sexual violence in South Africa. The first protest, in 2006, was initiated to express support for Khwezi<sup>2</sup>, the complainant in a rape trial in which the accused was Jacob Gedleyihlekisa Zuma. Activists at Rhodes University marched alongside members of faith-based organisations, schools, and Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) from the Rhodes University campus to the High Court in the Grahamstown city centre. A group of nine women stood at the front of the crowd, eight with their mouths taped shut to represent, visually, the eight out of every nine women who do not report their rape (this was the accepted statistic at the time). Rhodes University has hosted the Silent Protest annually since then and participation in the protest has grown from 80 participants in its first year to approximately 1500 in recent years. Silent Protests are now held on other university campuses around South Africa and the main objective continues to be drawing attention to and challenging the culture of silence around sexual violence (Barker, 2014). Challenging the silencing of rape and sexual violence is important because, as Jack and Astbury (2014) argue, “[s]ilence gives consent to conditions that are oppressive” and that giving voice to these experiences is essential because it provides “an antidote to the power of domination that survives through silence”. In 2007, women participating in the protest wore tee-shirts with the slogan ‘Sexual Violence = Silence’ and taped their mouths shut for the day of the protest in order to “make visible that silence”, which is a consciousness raising exercise to force people to recognise how sexual violence silences victim-survivors.

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<sup>2</sup> This is the pseudonym given to the complainant in press reports of the rape trial. Her name is Fezekile Ntsukela Kuzwayo.

In 2008 the Silent Protest allowed men to participate in the protest for the first time. Male participants wore tee-shirts with the slogan 'Solidarity' and, rather than having their mouths taped shut, were encouraged to speak about men taking responsibility to end sexual violence. At the end of the day the protestors came together to 'Break the Silence' by removing the tape over their mouths and letting out a scream. In 2009, many more people began to participate in the protest. This was also the first year that participants could choose to wear a 'Rape Survivor' tee-shirt. It was also the first year that staging a 'Die-In' protest on the steps of the university library became a feature of the protest. The Gender Action Project (GAP), a student organisation that had been involved in the protest in previous years, led a 'Take Back the Night' march after the 'Breaking the Silence' ritual at the end of the day.

In 2010 the organisers added a debrief session for rape survivors to better support rape survivors participating in the protest. In 2011, with even larger numbers of protestors taking part in the protest, the 'Breaking the Silence' event moved to a Cathedral in the city centre. In 2012, six years after the first protest, the protest was officially named the Silent Protest and in 2013 men were no longer limited to participating in 'Solidarity' but could also opt to wear 'Rape Survivor' tee-shirts. In 2014, Kim Barker, the then co-ordinator introduced a number of changes to the format of the Silent Protest. These included, firstly, changing the wording and images on the 'Solidarity' tee-shirt to a cycle image with the emphasis on 'Breaking the Cycle' of silence and sexual violence. Secondly, survivors of a sexual violation other than rape survivors could sign up for a 'Survivor' tee-shirt. Thirdly, the organising committee emphasised the impact of sexual violence on both women and men; the committee also invited University staff to participate in the protest (which had previously focused mainly on student involvement) and arranged for the University counselling centre to provide a debrief space both on the day of the protest and the day after.

By 2015, the year in which I participated, the Silent Protest was an official event on the University calendar. The day of the protest began early. At 7am we assembled on campus to collect our tee-shirts and tape our mouths shut. Taping your mouth shut is voluntary but most protestors do it because it is such a powerful visual representation of how rape silences victim-survivors. We then embarked on a silent march in our purple tee-shirts, mouths taped shut and holding posters bearing anti-rape messages, to the main administration building on campus where the organisers addressed us and spoke of the significance of the Silent Protest. According to Lodewijkx, Kersten and Van Zomeren (2008) silent marches are often held in remembrance of innocent victims of cruel and systematic violence. We then dispersed and went on with our normal activities. At midday, we gathered at the library steps where we proceeded to mount a 'Die-In' protest by laying our bodies down like corpses on the ground. For many of the participants in the Silent Protest, this is the most dramatic and difficult of events. Barker (2014) argues that the die-in, like the taping of mouths, is a visual representation of the lives devastated by sexual violence. Die-ins are a theatrical politics that must be understood in the context of pervasive silencing, where 'acting out' is intended to draw the public's attention by making the invisible visible. According to Misri (2011) and Sutton (2007), people use dramatic protests such as die-ins as a tool to bring recognition to issues that many would rather continue to ignore. We gathered in the cathedral that evening to remove the tape from our mouths. We were given food to eat and for some of us this was our first meal of the day. After we ate, some protestors stood up and shared their personal experiences of sexual violence and then we marched back to campus.

Silent Protests are not new to the political strategies of social movements. In 1913, 5,000 members of the National American Woman Suffrage Association silently marched on Washington DC for the right to vote. In 1917, 10,000 African Americans marched down Fifth Avenue in New York City to protest racial violence and white supremacy in America. In

1930, Mahatma Ghandi led a peaceful protest against a British imposed law dictating that Indians could not collect or sell salt in their own country. In 1955, Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat on a bus to a white person. At the summer Olympics in 1968, African American athletes raised their fists in a black power salute during the medal ceremony to protest against discriminatory race politics. In 1978 protestors wanting to stop deforestation in the Pureora Forest in New Zealand built tree houses and refused to leave them. In 1989, people gathered in Tiananmen Square in Beijing to protest against the authoritarian Chinese government. In Turkey, in 2013, hundreds of anti-government demonstrators copied a silent protest performance by artist Erdem Gunduz that spread rapidly from one city to another. While each of these events protested specific issues they all aimed to critique exploitative and unjust social systems. A similarity between the Silent Protest at Rhodes University and the other silent protests discussed above is the identification of a social problem and a commitment to advocate for social change.

### **1.1.1 THE IMPACT OF ANTI-SEXUAL VIOLENCE PROTESTS**

Protests are strategies in the fight against injustices. Although protests can take different forms their shared goal is to raise awareness and to bring about progressive change. In the context of the Silent Protest at Rhodes University, the goal is to break the silence around rape and sexual violence and to advocate for the better treatment of victim-survivors of sexual violence.

According to Klandermans and Staggenborg (2002), when social movements embark on marches and protests they articulate messages on critical issues that are directed at the public at large but also to decision-makers and other people in power. Protests are utilized to draw the attention of these people and to make demands and to have people's grievances heard and

attended to. As such, protests are designed to have socio-cultural and institutional effects. Furthermore, while some of these effects are anticipated in advance they can also be unanticipated and indirect (Giugni, 1998; Klandermans & Staggenborg, 2002). The effects of protests can be both positive and negative. We should also be careful in assuming causal relationships between social movement actions and changes in society. Gurr (1980) and Giugni (1998) have argued that there is little evidence to support claims regarding the efficacy of social movement protests and this is largely as a result of the methodological limitations of such studies. Nevertheless, it appears that social movements do have some influence over the political order. According to Giugni (1998), mass actions and street demonstrations in Eastern Europe – in Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland and Romania – played a significant role in ending communist regimes. Positive social impacts of social movements include change in social policy (Giugni, 1998). For example, protests against violence against women managed to impact on legislation in South Africa. Hence, the Sexual Offences Act was amended as well as the Domestic Violence Act that aims at protecting married women from abuses perpetrated by their spouses.

## **1.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

This study is informed by a sexual citizenship framework in which the notion of citizenship is extended to include sexualities issues such as the expansion of sexual rights, non-regulation of ethical sexual behaviour and sexual relationships, and the provision of equal sexual health and legal services to diverse groups of people. My discussion of this theoretical framework will provide a background how social justice ally's participation in the Silent Protest promotes understanding and discussion of sexual rights alongside notions of recognition, self-determination, ethical sexual expression and solidarity. This framework is useful for this

study because it speaks directly to the issues associated with the violation of sexual rights, denial of self-determination, and ethical sexual expression. These theoretical points are discussed below.

### **1.2.1 CONTESTING TRADITIONAL CONCEPTUALIZATIONS OF CITIZENSHIP**

According to Kabeer (2005), citizenship has largely been defined in terms of membership and belonging. Thus, to be the ‘rightful citizen’ means that one has to be part of a certain group, community or nation. Membership entitles us to sets of political, economic, social, and legal rights which contribute to individual as well as group or social wellbeing. However, many institutions deny certain groups the opportunity to participate fully as citizens. Examples include restricting same-sex marriage and prohibiting gay men and lesbians from serving in the military (Kabeer, 2005). Although some have argued that marriage is a private contract between citizens and should not be the state's business (NYP, 2002), denying same-sex couples the ability to marry where other couples are allowed institutes exclusion based on sexual orientation (Lister, Smith & Middleton, 2003). In relation to sexual violence, denial of justice or support for victim-survivors undermines their ability to recover from the trauma and enjoy equal citizenship.

This study will not dwell much on the concept of citizenship as membership. However, it is crucial to pinpoint that issues of membership (who belongs and who does not belong) is significant when considering sexual citizenship (Seidman, 1992). By so doing, we critically challenge discrimination and exclusions based on sexualities as a useful foundation for understanding inclusive citizenship. For example, as evidenced in the literature chapter, appropriate healthcare services are limited and difficult for victim-survivors of sexual violence to access.

According to Macleod and Vincent (2014), the last three decades have seen increased interest in sexual citizenship theory in the social sciences. Weeks (1998) defines sexual citizenship as a theoretical perspective that aims to bridge the gap between public and private life. This kind of citizenship theorisation opens new avenues to address previously segregated sexualities, and to understand issues related to sexualities in a new way.

### **1.2.2 CONCEPTUALISING SEXUAL CITIZENSHIP**

Evans (1993) argues that studies within social sciences that use the concept of sexual citizenship draws on social constructionist theories of sexuality that foreground the material foundation of sexualities (Evans, 1993, Bell & Binnie, 2006, Weeks, 1998; Richardson, 2002). Evans (1993) defines sexual citizenship as a feminist approach to fighting for sexual rights and challenging the political, legal and economic conceptualisation of sexualities through patriarchal and heteronormative principles and processes. Therefore, sexual citizenship is a new approach in the political and cultural arena. Weeks (1998) argues that sexual citizenship is concerned with cultural and social transformation and with new possibilities for the self and identity. Thus, as Richardson (2000) notes, despite an almost exclusive focus on the public sphere in previous considerations of citizenship, the everyday practices of individuals are increasingly becoming the focus of contemporary scholarship on citizenship. Consequently, sexual citizenship is not only associated with the ideas of participation, belonging, rights, responsibility and equity as sexual subjects but also about highlighting processes of exclusion in these areas. Therefore, sexual citizenship is a process of becoming recognized sexual subjects and about the practices of inclusion and recognition of the previously marginalized sexual identities, and of the effects of sexual violence premised on patriarchal and heteronormative practices. Much of the critical work in sexual

citizenship attempts to reinvent citizenship as an inclusive framework (Bell, 1995; Siedman 1992). Many theorists have written in the area of citizenship and there are varying underlying conceptualisations of sexual citizenship. In this study, I discuss sexual citizenship by drawing on feminist theories of citizenship.

### **1.2.3 SEXUAL CITIZENSHIP AS A FEMINIST THEORY**

Sexual citizenship draws attention to the political aspects of the erotic. Lister (2002, p.191) argues that our experiences of, and relationship to citizenship, are “not lived in neat, separate compartments labelled ‘gender’, ‘sexuality’, ‘race’, ‘disability’ and so forth”. For this reason, many feminist scholars (e.g. Isin & Wood, 1999; Lister, 1997, 2002; Mouffe, 1992; Yuval-Davis, 1997; Young, 1990, 2000) writing in the area of sexual citizenship have argued that “it needs to be theorized as one element of a wider differentiated, pluralist, citizenship, which embraces diversity and addresses socio-structural divisions” (Lister, 2002, p. 191).

McClain and Grossman (2009) observe that sexualities scholarship has been largely conducted through the lens of feminist theory and primarily in terms of gender. Gender inequalities within society are one of many forms of oppression that results in violence against women. According to Yodanis (2004), the more unequal women are compared to men, the more victimised they become. These inequalities are constituted by the beliefs, values and norms about the status of women within society, allowing men to dominate social institutions (Oden & Clay-Warner, 1998; Funk, 1993). For example, the traditionally gendered and heteronormative construction of citizenship positioned men as head of the household and women as docile subordinates (Johnson, 2002). Yodanis (2004) argues that inequalities within the social, economic and political arena give men power to control family, and the workplace, as well as policies and practices of these institutions. Male power is,

therefore, considered right and 'natural' throughout society. As a result, feminist theory advocates for women's access to, and positions within, social, economic and political spheres that allow equal participation of women and unlock the doors for women's emancipation and empowerment (Leuze & Straub, 2014). For example, political status gives women a chance to access power and representation in the state (e.g. enhancing sexual health policies for diverse sexual identities) whereas social status allows women to have access to education and to become sexual subjects, for instance, by alleviating women's fear tied to their perceived vulnerability to sexual violence at the same time weakening male monopoly over women's sexualities. According to Johnson (2002), historically, sexual expressions were regarded as private issues and natural phenomena. Brown (2006, p. 875) argues, "[t]he sexual citizen's freedom to be sexual is curtailed by a heteronormative and homophobic society".

The feminist movement addresses these forms of injustice rooted in hegemonic cultural definitions, which deny full personhood to certain groups. For instance, the recognition of LGBT community, their representation, for instance, in the media or politics and their rights and place in the state are emphasized. McDermott (2011) argues that it is reasonable to speculate that LGBT people are likely to experience this social transformation differently depending on class resources (and gender, ethnicity, age and geography and so on). For example, in her study of young LGBT people's post-compulsory schooling choices in the UK, McDermott (2011) found that young LGBT people from working-class backgrounds were more likely to leave school earlier than their counterparts from middle-class families due to financial concerns.

The private/public dichotomy also has implications in relation to sexual violence, in particular in reporting rape and speaking about sexual violence experiences, which are silenced in mainstream society (Ahrens, 2006; O'Leary & Barber, 2008). Prevailing thoughts

of what kind of behaviour and sexual expressions are permissible in the public sphere evokes fears of becoming visible by talking about such experiences. We see this, for instance, in the fear of victim-survivors of sexual violence in reporting and disclosing rape due to the stigma and victim blame associated with sexual violence. Feminist theories seek to challenge dichotomies regarding, for example, natural/nature and public/private. Instead, feminist contributions to sexual citizenship scholarship stitch together the private and the public, showing how the public and the private are intricately interlinked. Sexual citizenship is a sensitising concept that encourages understanding of all dimensions of citizenship as inflected with sexuality because a citizen is always a sexual being in actions, desire or by cultural forces (Brown, 2006).

Richardson (2000) makes a distinction between analyses of sexual citizenship that place greater emphasis on the discussion on rights and struggles for rights acquisition, and those that are concerned with the wider social and theoretical implications of access to or exclusion from certain rights on the grounds of sexualities. Therefore, sexual citizenship may refer specifically to the sexual rights granted or denied to various social groups. In this sense, like Evans (1993), sexual citizenship may be, firstly, conceptualized in terms of different ways of access to a set of rights to sexual expression and consumption. Secondly, sexual citizenship maybe conceptualized in a much broader sense in terms of access to various forms of citizenship status dependent upon a sexual identity. In this study, following Macleod and Vincent (2014), sexual rights are framed discursively in relation to notions of self-determination, recognition and free ethical sexual expression. I discuss each of these issues in the sub-sections below.

### *1.2.3.1 Self-determination*

Self-determination refers to a person's ability to exercise some form of control over their lives – rights to promote the capacity for self-determination. Kabeer (2005) argues that “[i]t is the right to self-determination that is the object of the struggle”. In this regard, I discuss self-determination in relation to conduct-based rights, identity-based rights, and relationship-based rights.

#### *Conduct-based rights*

Conduct-based rights claims are particularly evident within feminist discourses, which have interpreted sexual rights in terms, not only of the right to sexual pleasure and agency, but also the right to control and safety (Richardson, 2000). Thus, in relation to sexual violence, this speaks to the right of individuals to agree or disagree to sexual encounters and to have their wishes respected.

According to Richardson (2000) the concept of rights is linked, historically, with the concept of need. Thus, rights claims may be shaped in relation to physical and emotional needs related to sexuality. This is commonly referred to as an essentialist perspective in which sex is conceptualized as an innate sexual drive which needs to be satisfied (Weeks, 1990). In contrast, conduct-based rights claims move the debate into the social sphere. Here an individual's agency is recognized as the right to give or deny consent and to have that respected. This approach foregrounds the right to engage in sexual activity free of fear and with the expectation of pleasure. Sexual citizenship, therefore, includes sexual conduct-based rights including the right to choose an intimate partner, and the right to relationships and sexual practices that do not perpetuate previous oppressions.

### *Identity-based rights*

The issue of having control over one's own life and decisions also relates to identity-based rights claims. At the most basic level, identity-based sexual rights claims include the right to sexual self-definition and the development of individual sexual identities (Richardson, 2000). Identity-based rights claims have been most vociferously claimed by LGBT communities. The policing of gay and lesbian sexual identities inhibits the LGBT community from embracing their sexualities. Seidman (2009) argues that the heteronormative order remains dominant in society. Hence, the LGBT movement has supported the rights of the LGBT community and a politics of inclusive citizenship by trying to include gays and lesbians in the equal distribution of rights and citizenship through the normalization of gay identities, for instance, through the reconstruction of lesbian and gay identities as part of the national constituency, establishing policies that do not discriminate people based on sexual orientation. In South Africa, for example, identity-based rights are recognised in the Bill of Rights (1996) in which it is stated that there can be “no discrimination against any person based on his or her sexual orientation” – hence, everyone has an equal right to health care, education and housing. Although these stated rights are not yet practical in many circumstances, they do have a positive impact in terms of alleviating discrimination and stigmatization. For instance, in their paper on gay men in the police, Rumens and Broomfield (2012) examined identity disclosures of twenty American gay police officers and found that it is possible to manage gay police identities, openly, and value these identities as organisational assets. Therefore, given the history of LGBT sexuality being constructed as “unfit” and “an embarrassment” in the military and police, the change in policy marked a stepping-stone to achieving inclusive citizenship.

In respect of sexual violence, identity-based rights allow for people to identify with a specific sexual violence experience. For example, in relation to male sexual violence, male survivors of rape have been silenced through male rape myth acceptance (Struckman-Johnson & Struckman-Johnson, 1992). Traditionally, coming out as a male rape survivor raises questions regarding one's masculinity (Chapleau, Oswald, & Russell, 2008). As a result, men have been afraid to speak out and acknowledge rape experiences and identify as rape survivors. Similarly, married women encounter victim blame, stigmatisation, and judgement when they speak about marital rape and, thus, may struggle to identify as victims (Arata & Lindman, 2002; Bennice & Resick, 2003). Identity-based rights claims, therefore, pave the way for people who have experienced sexual violence to self-identify, for example, as victims, as survivors and as activists.

#### *Relationships-based rights*

Self-determination within relationship-based rights speaks to the notion of consent. Relationship-based rights are rights that refer to different forms of (ethical) sexual practices in personal relationships (e.g. in marriages, when dating). With regard to sexual violence, the right of consent to sexual conduct is of key issue (Muehlenhard, Humphreys, Jozkowski & Peterson, 2016). Richardson (2000) argues that the age of consent legislation defines the age at which individuals can legitimately become sexual citizens with the right to engage in sexual conduct in personal relationships. However, age of consent laws might be problematic given that the legal capability for a child to give consent differs from country to country and is gendered and sexualised in some countries (Abel, Becker, & Cunningham-Rathner, 1984; Garfinkle, 2003). For instance, in African countries like Zimbabwe, South Africa, and Zambia, the age of consent is sixteen for both males and females whereas in Botswana it is sixteen for females and fourteen for males. Age of consent in other countries is even lower.

For example, in the Netherlands and Angola at the age of twelve a child can give sexual consent. The issue of consent and the breach of it within or outside of a sexual relationship, therefore, determine the violation of such rights in the context of sexual violence (James, 2009).

Apart from the right to consent to sexual activity, self-determination also applies to the right of individuals to choose their sexual partners. When discussing the right to choose one's partner, Richardson (2000) argues that such recognition does not guarantee the right to engage in consensual sexual relations with individuals of one's choosing. For example, historically, in South Africa and other places around the world (for example in the USA), interracial marriages were not permitted. During the apartheid era, for example, the prohibitions of the Mixed Marriages Act and section 16 of the Immorality Act sought to prevent miscegenation (Weeks, 1986, cited in Richardson, 2000).

Historically, in some countries such as Zimbabwe, South Africa, and India, arranged marriages were practiced (Larson, 1989) in which parents choose marriage partners for their children. In some cultures the age for arranged marriages is at or even before the onset of puberty. Other arranged marriages would sometimes be organised as a form of political alliances between countries. In contrast to this, self-determination means individuals have a right to choose their sexual partners despite their race, class gender status (Luke & Munshi, 2006).

### ***1.2.3.2 Politics of recognition***

According to Lister (2005), citizenship is increasingly becoming a politics of recognition. Citizenship has recently been expanded to include the issues of intimacy and sexuality

(McClain & Grossman, 2009). Relationship-based rights are also concerned with the right to have these relationships publicly recognized by different institutions. For instance, gay and lesbian movements seek to extend social legitimacy and support of their relationships in institutions such as the church, and to have same sex marriages and families (Richardson, 2000). Therefore, politics of recognition is concerned with recognising sexual rights (conduct-based rights, relationship-based rights and identity-based rights) and realizing new sexual respectability based on the inclusion of sexual 'others' (Isin & Ruppert 2015). For instance, a politics of recognition recognizes sexual violence and harassment as deeply gendered injustices as well as recognising issues of consent within sexual relationships. According to Quinlivan, Allen and Rasmussen (2013), identity-based rights claims speaks to the right to public and social recognition of specific sexual identities and the realization of sexual diversity through access to cultural, social and economic conditions that allow all sexual identities to exist as part of the cultural landscape.

According to Nyamnjoh (2004), the politics of recognition refers to the grievances which minority groups bring up in the public realm concerning lack of recognition. Thus, this demand for recognition by many disempowered groups for the recognition of the intrinsic worth of all human beings and recognition of and respect for their differences. From a feminist perspective, unfair power distribution positions women in a disadvantaged position when it comes to equal participation in political, economic and social institutions.

In the context of sexual violence, recognition implies foregrounding the harms created through any form of sexual violence – thus the need for communities, families, institutions including the legislation and church to acknowledge the harm, pain and hurt experiences of survivors of sexual violence not only to the individual identity-based rights but also in terms of the relationships s/he is in (relationship-based rights). Furthermore, acknowledgement of

gender, heteronormative and sexualities inequities within societies that contribute to sexual violence is significant to the notions of recognition in order to establish interventions that address gender, heteronormative and sexualities inequities issues. As a result, recognition of the harms of sexual violence contributes to changes in policies and legislation that seek to protect women and the LGBT community from sexual violation. Examples include implementing severe punishment of sexual violence perpetrators, establishing policies that seek to address women's issues and rights in the work place, at home and in the state. In terms of same-sex sexual identities, politics of recognition contributes to the changes in policy for gay and lesbian families – marriage and parental rights as well as the recognition of the LGBT community in the provision of sexual health services (Sanchez, Hubbard, & Kalet, 2006).

In the 1970s and 1980s in the USA and Europe, a change in emphasis occurred in the discourse of sexual rights, in particular the ways in which a person's identity played a role in conduct-based claims (Richardson, 2000). For instance, there was recognition of the different sexual health needs of survivors in the aftermath of sexual violence and a need for representation in legal service in terms of perpetrator conviction. Victim-survivors' rights to psychological care, entitlement to legal services, legal protection and social support were emphasised. Moreover, fighting other forms of discrimination and hate were foregrounded, such as challenging homophobia (Reddy, Potgieter, & Mkhize, 2007). As a result there is now greater acknowledgement of the personal, interpersonal, and social factors contributing to sexual violence and the importance of having programmes in place to counter rape culture. Furthermore, even in countries that have a criminal justice system that provides strong actions against rape perpetrators, there may still be disparities resulting in survivors struggling to obtain services to help them to heal from the harms of sexual violence (Kabeer, 2005). Such disparities also include secondary victimization during the process of attaining

justice. Consequently, Hannah (1986) cited in Kabeer, (2005, p. 4) calls for recognition of “the right to have rights” respect and dignity.

### ***1.2.3.3 Free and ethical sexual practices and expression***

A careful explanation of conduct-based rights claims needs to be considered in order to prevent sexual expressions that are harmful to vulnerable populations. For example, paedophilia is one illustration of unethical sexual expression. Therefore, in this study, conduct-based rights and free sexual expression are seen as limited to ethical sexual practices that individuals practice within personal relationships. Conduct-based rights include facilitation of healthy sexual expressions without overlooking the boundaries of this free sexual expression (Marietta, 1996). The boundaries of ethical and unethical sexual practices need to be recognized (e.g. cases such as paedophilia, rape and sexual violence).

Marietta (1996) argues that in relation to gay and lesbian identities what is seen as ethical/unethical sexual behaviour is problematic with regard to traditional and societal norms that perceive homosexuality as “immoral”. It is, thus, important to interrogate the basis on which ethical judgements are made. For example, women who act on their sexual desires are often accused of being sexual adventurers or opportunists (Wingwood & DiClemente, 2013). Hence, Bauer (2009, p. 310) argues, “[t]he desire for sexual expression in a freely chosen union has been a luxury many women still cannot afford”. These are culturally constructed gender stereotypes that define male sexualities as impersonal while women are denied freedom to feel ethical sexual expression (Shefer & Foster, 2001). Therefore, women’s ethical and free sexual expression not only emancipates them from the oppression of pleasure, desire and love, but also gives them autonomy and self-determination over their

own body. As Bauer (2009) asserts, democratisation of ethical sex gives women a chance to be free sexual citizens.

In surveying the available literature on sexual rights it is evident that much of the research on sexual citizenship has largely focused on the LGBT community's social, political and sexual rights in public and private spheres. These include the fight for free and ethical expression of sexualities, the legalisation of same-sex marriage and adoption rights for same-sex parents (Kabeer, 2005; Johnson, 2002). However, not much has been researched on sexual citizenship in the context of sexual violence. Therefore, this study adds to the body of knowledge on sexual citizenship by analysing how participation in public protest against sexual violence enhances understandings of sexual citizenship. I argue that this approach is significant in debunking misconceptions about sex, in addressing rape myths, and responding to sexualities and gender inequalities, and well as for advocating for an inclusive understanding of citizenship.

### **1.3 THE CURRENT STUDY**

The aim of my research is to examine how participation in protest action against sexual violence promotes critical citizenship understandings of sexualities in relation to sexual violence. I do this by grounding my research in a case study of the Silent Protest at Rhodes University. In relation to the aim of this study am interested to explore the following questions:

- (i) How does participation in the Silent Protest promote allies' understandings of sexual violence?

- (ii) How does participation in the Silent Protest promote allies' understandings of gendered, heteronormative, and class-based inequities in relation to sexual violence?
- (iii) How does participation in the Silent Protest promote allies' understandings of conduct, identity, and relation-based sexual rights?
- (iv) How does participation in the Silent Protest promote allies' understandings of entitlement to non-discriminatory sexual health and legal services?

The objectives of the study are to explore the benefits to allies of participating in collective protest against sexual violence and to explore the contribution of the Silent Protest towards the promotion of inclusive citizenship. These research objectives are informed by the literature on sexual citizenship. Adopting a sexual citizenship approach, I investigate one social movement's contribution towards allies' understandings of sexualities and sexual violence issues. Results of this research are essential for weighing strategies to enhance understandings of sexualities and cultures of sexual violence.

#### **1.4 OVERVIEW OF THE CHAPTERS**

The purpose of this chapter was to briefly introduce my research. Therefore, I provided a detailed account of the Silent Protest as one anti-sexual violence intervention at Rhodes University. I outlined the role of social movements against sexual violence and I discussed the usefulness of sexual citizenship as a theoretical lens for this research. In Chapter Two I review the literature on sexual violence in the South African context and give consideration to the ways in which sexual violence is conceptualised. I also discuss the physical and psychological effects of trauma resulting from sexual violence, and provide an overview of the literature on the causes and harms of rape. I conclude Chapter Two with a discussion of

the role played by social justice allies in anti-rape protests focusing on therapeutic benefits of authoring a narrative and the political utility of bearing witness to victim-survivor narratives of experiences of sexual violence.

In Chapter Three I describe my research design and provide the rationale for methodological choices regarding sampling strategy as well as procedures for data collection and analysis. I also consider ethics concerns arising in the conduct of this research.

I present the findings of my research in two parts. Chapter Four details two aspects of the Silent Protest that play an important role in shaping allies' understandings of sexual violence. These are the politics of affect and bearing witness. The analysis presented in this chapter addresses the 'how' aspect of my research question, i.e. *how* participation promotes critical citizenship understandings. In Chapter Five I discuss the themes which emerged in the process of analysing the data and which address my research questions. These include: rape is a contested concept; rape is a loaded concept; understanding sexual citizenship; silences, absences and omissions; and safe spaces. In Chapter Six I present a summary of the findings of my research as well as key insights and important conclusions. I conclude my thesis with a discussion of the limitations of the research and recommendations for further research on allies' involvement in anti-sexual violence protests.

## **CHAPTER 2: SEXUAL VIOLENCE**

In the previous chapter I located the current study in the context of contemporary debate and concern over what is often referred to as a ‘culture of sexual violence’ in South Africa and the consequent need for interventions to address it. I also described the Silent Protest at Rhodes University as one strategy developed to address sexual violence. Public protests highlight the importance of societal responses to sexual violence and its harms. Therefore, interrogation of, firstly, the harms of sexual violence and, secondly, the factors that allow sexual violence to occur in the first place is significant in informing societal responses.

The conversation in this chapter is divided into four parts. The first part is a discussion of the legal definitions of rape and sexual violence and the implications of these definitions in the context of a dominant retributive justice response to sexual violence. The second part focuses on harms resulting from rape and sexual violence. The third part looks at responses aimed at factors seen as ‘causing’ sexual violence and the fourth part focuses on responses that address the harm caused by rape and sexual violence. I conclude the chapter with a comparison of retributive justice with reparative and restorative justice responses to sexual violence.

### **2.1 DEFINING RAPE AND SEXUAL VIOLENCE**

Legal definitions of rape have changed over time and vary from one country to another. South Africa, for example, recognises the rape of men and boys while India and Singapore do not. Furthermore, while South Africa has criminalised marital rape since 1993, many other countries, including neighbouring states such as Botswana, Zambia, and Malawi have not

criminalised it. In Jordan and Lebanon, where marital rape has also not been criminalised, rapists can escape punishment by marrying their victims. In some parts of the United States, children of any age are allowed to marry without parental consent if the couple is pregnant, and this too has become a loophole for avoiding prosecution. It appears, therefore, that the way in which rape and sexual violence is defined is important because definitions play a role in determining what is acceptable and what is not.

In South Africa, the Sexual Offences Amendment Act (Act 32 of 2007) defines sexual acts as ‘sexual offences’ (i.e. as crimes) if they are committed without the consent (i.e. permission) of one of the people involved in the sexual act. The Act defines ‘rape’, a particular category of sexual offence, as occurring when any person intentionally commits an act of sexual penetration with another person without consent. The Act defines ‘sexual penetration’ to include oral or anal penetration by the genital organs of a person or animal, as well as penetration with an object. The Act also identifies an offence called ‘compelled rape’, which occurs when one person forces another to commit these acts on somebody else. In addition to defining rape, the Act also recognises a broad range of other types of sexual abuse and exploitation, which it terms ‘sexual assault’. Sexual assault refers to unwanted sexual contact or threats. Sexual assault occurs when someone touches any part of another person's body in a sexual way (e.g. touching a woman's breasts or buttocks) without their consent. Sexual assault incorporates a number of sexual acts (e.g. kissing), including any genital contact, that does not amount to penetration (e.g. forcing someone to masturbate themselves) that is designed to cause sexual arousal. Threats of sexual violation are included in the definition of sexual assault. Thus as Brown, Thurman, Bloem and Kendal (2006, p. 269) argue, sexual violence refers “to a continuum of non-consensual sex experience that range from the use of threats and intimidation to unwanted touching and forced sex”. The Sexual Offences Amendment Act (Act 32 of 2007) also recognises that children and people with mental

disabilities are particularly vulnerable to sexual exploitation because they are less likely to understand the implications of a sexual act. On the other hand, they may understand but are unable to make a proper decision about it, or are unable to resist, or unable to communicate that they do not consent.

### **2.1.1 IMPLICATIONS OF FOREGROUNDING PENETRATION**

The Sexual Offences Amendment Act (Act 32 of 2007) provides an expanded definition of rape by making it applicable to all forms of sexual penetration without consent, irrespective of gender. Prior to this the definition of rape focused exclusively on penile-vaginal penetration. This, by definition, excluded the rape of men by other men, the rape of men by women, or the rape of a woman by other woman. It also excluded penetration by means of objects rather than sexual organs. However, while the current Sexual Offences Amendment Act (Act 32 of 2007) recognises a broader range of sexual violence, sexual penetration is still prominent in this legislation. It is, after all, what defines rape as a particular category of sexual violence that can be distinguished from other types of sexual violence.

Arguably, conceptualising rape as a particular category of sexual offence in relation to sexual assault, suggests that sexual violence occurs on a continuum (i.e. from forced sexual penetration to actions that are less severe such as kissing or petting). Mulenhard, Powch, Phelps and Giusti (1992) argue that thinking of sexual violence as occurring on a continuum implies “a sexual script in which kissing comes first and intercourse comes last” and in which “penile-vaginal intercourse is the most important sexual act; it is ‘real sex’ and everything else is devalued as foreplay” (p.29). One consequence of this phallogentric bias is the assumption that ‘real’ sexual violence involves penile-vaginal penetration. This diminishes the harm of other types of sexual violence (sometimes making it difficult to even recognise

these other actions as constituting sexual assault), and it also makes it difficult to recognise that men can be victim-survivors and women can be perpetrators (Muehlenhard, Powch, Phelps & Giusti, 1992).

Although women experience sexual violence far more often than men, the proportion of male victims compared to female victims may be skewed because of gender differences in reporting rates. The results of recent research in the USA and in the UK suggest that, although the rate of sexual violence reporting is low for women (e.g. Zinzow & Thompson, 2011), that it is significantly lower for male victims of sexual violence (Lowe & Rogers, 2017). Reasons suggested for this under-reporting are related to beliefs about rape. In research conducted by Smith, Pine and Hawley (1988) participants perceived a male victim of a female-perpetrated assault as more likely to have encouraged the assault, enjoyed the encounter, and thus experienced little trauma.

### **2.1.2 IMPLICATIONS OF FOREGROUNDING NON-CONSENT**

The Sexual Offences Amendment Act (Act 32 of 2007) defines rape and sexual assault as occurring without the victim's<sup>3</sup> consent. The Act defines consent as voluntary or un-coerced agreement.

Consent, broadly understood, must be the rational, informed, and un-coerced willingness of an individual to participate in sexual behaviour of some sort. An individual is rational in the sense of being of sound mind, mature age, and fully conscious; informed in the sense of understanding the implications, consequences, and intentions of engaging in the sexual act; un-coerced by physical force, deceit, prior-agreement, or any other manipulations; and willing, given the previous conditions, to engage in sexual behaviour. Consent may be withdrawn at any point,

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<sup>3</sup>In my discussion of criminal law as it pertains to sexual violence I use the term 'victim' rather than victim-survivor in order to reference the signifier that is appropriated in the legal terminology.

and is not a once-off agreement or commitment an individual can be held to (Louw, 2013).

In the above definition, consent is determined in terms of a victim's state of mind. The problem with this definition is that another person's internal state of mind is private and not directly knowable by others and while a victim may know their state of mind (i.e. whether certain sexual behaviour is or is not wanted) the perpetrator must infer willingness. Related to this problem, the results of a number of studies in the USA indicate that there are gender differences in perceptions of sexual intent (Haselton, 2003; Lindgren, Parkhill, George, & Hendershot, 2008), with men found to be more likely than their female peers to misinterpret behaviour as sexual (Farris, Treat, Viken, & McFall, 2008a, 2008b). Likewise, even if a perpetrator did not misinterpret the victim's lack of willingness, they can always claim that they did, and for precisely the same reason – because the perpetrator's thoughts are private and not directly knowable by others. Consequently, discussion of consent (or lack thereof) tends to shift the focus onto the victim's behaviour. According to South African criminal law, if a:

...victim had offered physical resistance or loudly proclaimed his or her opposition (or both) to the proposed intercourse, there is, of course, no problem in holding that the act of sexual penetration took place without consent (Snyman, 2008, p. 363).

While such examples reduce the amount of inference required to evaluate the victim's willingness, it disadvantages victims by suggesting that an absence of strong resistance by the victim implies that they had in fact consented. This fails to recognise that rape resistance can be both dangerous and futile (Roze, 2000). It also does not acknowledge a growing body of psychological research indicating that involuntary immobility (i.e. being scared stiff) is a common reaction during rape (e.g. Fusé, Forsyth, Marx, Gallup, & Weaver, 2007; Galliano, Noble, Puechl, & Travis, 1993; Möller, Söndergaard, & Helström, 2017). In addition to these limitations are two important critiques of the privileging of consent in definitions of rape and

sexual assault. One deals with the imbalance of power between men and women and the way in which this undermines assumptions about consent. The other pertains to the difference between *wanting* sex and *consenting* to sex. These are discussed below.

### ***2.1.2.1 Consent and coercion***

Assuming that a woman would voice, loudly and forcibly, her opposition to the proposed sexual activity does not take into consideration the ways in which women have been socialised to ‘be nice’ and to put men’s needs before their own (Rozee & Koss, 2001). In addition, it does not take into consideration how socialisation can foreclose on a victim’s ability to recognise that not consenting is an option – particularly in cases of marital and date rape – or to believe that it is possible to withdraw consent (Frith & Kitzinger, 2001). The feminist legal scholar Catherine MacKinnon (1989) has argued that the distinction between consensual and non-consensual sex obscures the degree of coercion imposed upon women by men in ‘ordinary’ intimate relationships. She argues that what is commonly viewed as consensual sex in the context of most intimate relationships is very often the result of some degree of coercion, such as threats of violence or financial pressures.

A pervasive sexualized and pornographic culture in which women are represented as sexual objects also exerts a lot of pressure on women to acquiesce to the needs of men (MacKinnon, 1989). In this context, MacKinnon argues that consent is not a meaningful way of distinguishing between autonomy and coercion. It is interesting that recognition of power differentials is included in the World Health Organisation’s definition of sexual violence. According to the WHO (2002, p. 149) “sexual violence is the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against another person or a group of people that has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death and psychological harm”.

### ***2.1.2.2 Consenting versus wanting sex***

According to Muehlenhard, Humphreys, Jozkowski and Peterson (2016), wanting to have sex and consenting to have sex are viewed as the same thing. Following from this is the assumption that ‘unwanted’ sex is non-consensual and wanted sex is consensual. Muehlenhard et al. (2016) argue that while wanting sex and consenting to sex often correspond to each other, that this is not always or necessarily the case. Women may consent to unwanted sex to gain the approval of their peers, to secure a job or promotion at work, or to get a higher grade (West, 2010). Married women sometimes consent to unwanted sex out of a sense of religious obligation, or some other understanding of their wifely role, or because they fear being beaten by their husbands (West, 2010). Female university students who have described their sexual experiences as consensual have nevertheless disclosed that these experiences were not always wanted because, for example, of concerns about becoming pregnant (Peterson & Muehlenhard, 2007) or simply because they were not sexually aroused at the time (O’Sullivan & Allgeier, 1998).

Conversely, Muehlenhard et al. (2016) argue that among women who have experienced non-consensual sex (i.e. fitting the legal definition of rape), some reported having had reasons for wanting to have sex (e.g., feeling sexually aroused or finding the other person attractive). One reason for this is that there can be considerable differences in what the individuals involved are wanting and, consequently, what they might be willing to consent to (Muehlenhard et al., 2016). Arguably, consent is not meaningful unless it is informed. Furthermore, while discussions of consent tend to assume that the individuals involved know in advance what they are wanting and willing to do, research findings indicate that many are regularly uncertain about this (Beres, Senn, & McCaw, 2014; O’Sullivan & Gaines, 1998). For example, a person may want to engage in sexual activity because they are aroused but at the

same time be committed to abstinence before marriage. Situational factors can play a role too. For example, a person might initially decide to engage in sexual activity because they are aroused, but then decide not to continue to engage when they are unable to find a condom. In this instance, it would be dangerous to assume that arousal equated to consent.

## **2.2 THE HARM OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE**

Sexual violence is a social and health problem that has psychological, physical and social implications on its victims and those close to them (Cook, David, & Grant, 2001). The harms of sexual violence are an important issue underpinning public protests. Below I discuss physical harm, psychological harm, rape trauma and objectification as some of the harms of sexual violence.

### **2.2.1 PHYSICAL HARM**

According to Eby, Campbell, Sullivan, and Davidson (1995), there may be significant physical harms related to sexual violence. A variety of internal and external injuries may occur during the incident and this is especially the case where physical force was inflicted. These include severe vaginal, vaginoperineal, and anal lacerations (Sommers, Schafer, Zink, Hutson, & Hillard, 2001) and, depending on the characteristics of the assault (e.g. being hit, kicked, strangled, stabbed), can also include skeletal fractures, scratches, abrasions, and lacerations (Sommers, 2007). Depending on the severity of the assault, victim-survivors may have to live with pain and discomfort (e.g. gastrointestinal distress, pelvic pain, vaginal bleeding and discharge, miscarriage, bladder infections, painful urination, rectal bleeding, and recurrent headaches) as a result of their injuries (Eby et al., 1995). This pain and

discomfort can persist for significant periods after the assault. Sadly, Stermac, Du Mont and Dunn (1998) found that victims of rape and sexual assault perpetrated by husbands and boyfriends experienced a greater frequency of violence during the assault than comparison groups of women who had experienced stranger and acquaintance rape. Related to this, a nationwide review of pathology reports in South Africa obtained from twenty-five state medico-legal laboratories revealed that a rape homicide is suspected in 16.3% of female homicides. This amounted to an estimate of 561 cases of suspected rape homicide in 1999 in South Africa – equating to a rape homicide rate of 3.65/100,000 women aged 14 years and older (Abrahams et al., 2008).

Victims of rape and sexual assault have specific health needs and these needs go beyond the immediate treatment and management of injuries. Documenting injury resulting from rape and sexual assault is important because evidence of both genital and non-genital trauma is significantly associated with a successful legal outcome (Rambow, Adkinson, Frost, & Peterson, 1992). Another important reason for accessing medical care after sexual assault is that victims of rape and sexual assault are at much greater risk for STIs. The HIV/AIDS epidemic in South Africa has highlighted the importance of access to post-exposure prophylaxis (PEP) (Kim, Martin, & Denny, 2003). Medical assistance is also required for treatments like emergency contraception for the prevention of pregnancy. Unfortunately, in South Africa, only a small proportion of women who have been raped or sexually assaulted access medical services (Christofides et al., 2005). Furthermore, there is a lot of variation in the quality of healthcare services for victims of sexual violence and this is because the availability of resources influences options for healthcare provision (Kim et al., 2009). Research conducted in South Africa indicates that use of health services following rape and sexual assault can be a negative and disempowering experience for rape survivors (Suffla, Seedat, & Nascimento, 2002), and this is partly the reason for low levels of use (Dean, 2014).

### **2.2.2 PSYCHOLOGICAL HARM**

Sexual violence is a common crime in South Africa and, while most would agree that the aftermath of sexual assault is traumatic, there is surprisingly little research providing a systemic overview of the psychological effects. Research on the psychological effects of rape and sexual assault emerged in the USA in the early 1980s (e.g. Ellis, Atkeson, & Calhoun, 1981; Kilpatrick, Resick, & Veronen, 1981; Kilpatrick, Veronen, & Resick, 1979). In recent years there has been a growth in research into the psychological effects of sexual violence in the UK (e.g. Cahill, Llewelyn, & Pearson, 1991; Walker, Archer, & Davies, 2005), Canada (Balfour, Mont, & White, 2017) Australia (Wall & Quadara, 2014) and New Zealand (Gavey, 1992; Gavey & Schmidt, 2011). In the light of the fact that South Africa is reported to have one of the highest rates of sexual violence in the world, it is quite alarming that very little South African research focuses on the psychological effects of sexual violence. This is in comparison to a great deal of research that has investigated aetiological factors such as gender inequality and poverty (Boonzaier, 2008; Boonzaier & de La Rey, 2003; Moffett, 2006; Shefer & Foster, 2001; Sikweyiya, Jewkes, & Morrell, 2007). Furthermore, investigation of the consequences of the high rates of sexual violence in South Africa has focused on the increased risk of HIV transmission and other STDs (Bonomi, Anderson, Rivara, & Thompson, 2007; Dunkle et al., 2006; Jewkes, Dunkle, Nduna, & Shai, 2010; Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Morrell, & Dunkle, 2011; Kalichman & Simbayi, 2004). By comparison, there has been very little interest in examining the psychological effects of sexual violence on victim-survivors. Among the few South African studies that have been conducted, the focus has been on the psychological effects of a broad range of traumas rather than a singular focus on sexual violence (e.g. Kaminer, Grimsrud, Myer, Stein, & Williams, 2008; Kaminer, Hardy, Heath, Mosdell, & Bawa, 2013; Olley, Zeier, & Stein, 2005; Williams et al., 2007).

Common psychological effects of sexual violence as recorded in American and Canadian research include depression, anxiety, suicidality, fear, personality disorders, and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Survivors of sexual violence are reported to experience fear

about the risk of sexual violence occurring again in future and sometimes find it difficult to control their anger (Beitchman, et al, 1992). In addition, according to Weiner and Craighead, (2010) and Rosen (2010) sexual violence can result in chronic severe anxiety and experience of major depression episodes and withdrawal from social activities. Bennice, Resick, Mechanic, and Astin, (2003) found that sexual violence severity accounts for the bulk of subsequent PTSD symptoms such as nightmare, insomnia, hyper-insomnia, flash-backs, and increased startle response.

Depression is one of the most heavily studied psychological effects of rape. In their sample of 159 women who had experienced intimate partner violence in USA, Campbell and Soeken (1999) noted that depression was associated with frequency of sexual assaults including intimate partner sexual violence, rape, and childhood sexual violence. Dutton, Goodman and Bennett (1999) obtained similar results, with intimate partner sexual violence predicting levels of depression.

Several scholars have argued that sexual violence is associated with a number of other mental health problems and several studies show sexual violence as related to higher self-blame, lower self-esteem and body image, and greater negative feelings towards men and sex (Janoff-Bolman & Frieze, 1983; Monson, Byrd & Langhinrichsen-Rohling, 1998; Campbell & Soeken, 1999; Shields & Henneke, 1983; Howard, Riger, Campbell & Wasco, 2003). In a counselling program for intimate partner violence, women who had experienced both intimate partner sexual and physical violence reported lower levels of well-being, fewer coping skills, lack of control, and lower self-efficacy than women who had only experienced intimate partner physical violence (Howard, Riger, Campbell & Wasco, 2003). Research has also examined rape as a risk factor for suicide. McFarlane, Malecha, Watson, Gist, Batten, Hall and Smith, (2005) found that women (in the USA) who had experienced sexual violence

were five times more likely to report threatened or attempted suicide than those who had experienced intimate partner violence only.

As evidenced by the above discussion, psychological research on the effects of rape has focussed on anxiety, depression, PTSD and suicidality. Although this research has been very successful in terms of identifying and quantifying these effects, it has been less clear about the precise nature of the harm from which these effects result. Significant work on conceptualising the harm of rape has been achieved by feminist philosophers such as Susan Brison and Lindsay Kelland and their work will be discussed later on in this chapter.

### **2.2.3 RAPE TRAUMA**

Trauma is an interesting concept because it accounts for pain that is psychic and not just physical. The term was initially only used to describe physical injury and Young (1995) traces the origins of the dual use of the term to early in the 19<sup>th</sup> century in the context of railway accidents that were a by-product of the new rail technology. In relation to these accidents, it was observed that some victims exhibited symptoms of nervous distress that had no apparent physical basis. For many decades psychology provided a clinical definition of trauma (as PTSD) that included a description of the kind of event that causes trauma. In the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM- III) this event was described as being “outside the range of usual human experience” (1980, p. 236) and later, in the DSM- IV, as involving “actual or threatened death or serious injury, or other threat to one’s physical integrity” (1994, p. 424). In the DSM-V the requirement to link trauma to a specific event is no longer a criterion for a PTSD diagnosis. Cvetkovich (2003) links this shift to feminist contributions to trauma scholarship in which trauma is situated within the everyday. Herman (1992), for example, argued that:

The current diagnostic formulation of PTSD derives primarily from observations of survivors of relatively circumscribed traumatic events: combat, disaster, and rape. It has been suggested that this formulation fails to capture the protean sequelae of prolonged, repeated trauma. In contrast to the circumscribed traumatic event, prolonged, repeated trauma can occur only where the victim is in a state of captivity, unable to flee, and under the control of the perpetrator. Examples of such conditions include prisons, concentration camps, and slave labor camps. Such conditions also exist in some religious cults, in brothels and other institutions of organized sexual exploitation, and in some families (p. 377-378).

Although critical of the attempt to compare the trauma of enforced captivity and torture in the context of war with the experiences of abused children and battered women, Cvetkovich (2003) argues that Herman's (1992) attempt to call attention to the latter was an important new direction in trauma studies. Brown's (1995) formulation of 'insidious' trauma, however, makes a link between trauma and more systematic forms of oppression by explaining how everyday experiences of sexism add to the trauma of the rape experience. Brown (1995) argues that the diagnostic stipulation that trauma must be an event outside the range of human experience excludes insidious forms of trauma that are all too often persistent and normalized. For Cvetkovich (2003), acknowledging insidious, everyday forms of trauma, and especially those emerging from systemic forms of oppression, ultimately demands an understanding of trauma that moves beyond medicalised constructions.

#### **2.2.4 OBJECTIFICATION AND TRAUMA**

On women's situation under patriarchy MacKinnon (1987, p. 55) writes "it is men socially that are subjects, women socially who are other, objects". This is because, under patriarchy, society positions and defines women in relation to men, and the characteristics attributed to women are the binary opposites of the characteristics attributed to men. Furthermore, as the ideal to be achieved by women is femininity, and femininity is aligned with passivity – the

nature of objects or inert things – then it follows that to be a woman typically involves being treated as an object. Importantly, MacKinnon (1989) argues that women live not only as other and object, but as *sexualised* other and *sexualised* object.

Nussbaum (1999, p. 218) argues “that in all cases of objectification what is at issue is a question of treating one thing as another: One is treating as an object what is really not an object, what is, in fact, a human being”. Nussbaum (1999) describes seven characteristics of objectification: (1) *instrumentality*, in which the objectifier treats the object as an instrument of their will; (2) *denying autonomy and self-determination*, in which the objectifier treats the object as lacking in autonomy and self-determination; (3) *inertness*, in which the objectifier treats the object as lacking agency; (4) *fungibility*, in which the objectifier treats the object as interchangeable with objects of the same or other types; (5) *violability*, in which the objectifier treats the object as lacking in boundary integrity and as something that it is permissible to break up, smash, or break into; (6) *ownership*, in which the objectifier treats the object as something that can be owned and sold; (7) *denial of subjectivity*, in which the objectifier treats the object as something whose feelings and emotions need not be taken into account. For Nussbaum (1999, p.221), instrumentality is the most “morally exigent” of the seven features. In Nussbaum’s (1999, p.219) words the “instrumental use of persons” negates “the autonomy that is proper to them as persons” and this “leaves the human being so denuded of humanity, in the eyes of the objectifier, that he or she seems ripe for other abuses as well”. Nussbaum (1999) concludes that “there is something especially problematic about instrumentalizing human beings” because it “involves denying what is fundamental to them as human beings, namely, the status of being ends in themselves” and that “from this one denial, other forms of objectification ... seem to follow” (p. 219).

In response to these criteria Langton (2009) has argued that Nussbaum's second criterion – denying autonomy and self-determination – fails to capture a sadistic feature of some women's experiences of rape in which the rapist does in fact recognise the woman's capacity for autonomy and self-determination but obtains a cruel pleasure from activity and explicitly violating it and making her do what she does not want to do. In Langton's (2009, p. 234 italics in the original) words, "it's not the case that he doesn't *listen* to her saying 'no' – he *wants* her to say 'no'". As Cahill (2009, p.139) has argued, "She must occupy the role of "person" or "subject" in order for her assailant to feel the thrill of violence".

Philosopher Susan Brison (2002) describes the trauma of rape, of this experience of objectification, as an 'unmaking of the self'; as an experience that fundamentally changes or destroys the beliefs that one has about oneself, others, and the world in which we live. In Brison's (2002, p.40) words:

When the trauma is of human origin and is intentionally inflicted ... it not only shatters one's fundamental assumptions about the world and one's safety in it, but also severs the sustaining connection between the self and the rest of humanity. Victims of human-inflicted trauma are reduced to mere objects by their tormentors: their subjectivity is rendered useless and viewed as worthless. As Herman observes, 'the traumatic event thus destroys the belief that one can be oneself in relation to others'.

This is borne out in the findings of empirical research indicating that most victim-survivors experience a heightened sense of vulnerability and can become overly concerned with taking safety precautions (Calhoun, Atkeson, & Resick, 1982). Victim-survivors frequently feel ashamed or blame themselves for their assault (Resick, 1993), believing that they were raped because of something they did or because of the type of person they are (Sigurvinsdottir & Ullman, 2015).

Philosopher Lindsay Kelland (2014) argues that there are two aspects of this shattering of the self. The first is shattering “*as destruction*” (p. 10), which refers to the challenging or destruction of certain beliefs about one’s self and the world, and the second aspect is shattering as “*a confirmation* of certain ideological beliefs – of beliefs that women (consciously or unconsciously) hold as a result of their situation *as women* under patriarchy” (p. 10). To clarify, Kelland (2014, p.10) states:

[I]f the threat of rape is a shared feature in the lives of women, then the fulfilment of this threat could plausibly be seen to play a central role in explaining how rape comes to be experienced as shattering by women – precisely because the fulfilment of the threat of rape not only confirms women’s apparent vulnerability and violability, by confirming the content of the sexually objectifying gaze, but also confirms the status of women *qua* women as second-class citizens under patriarchy, citizens who are especially vulnerable to rape.

In addition to shattering, Kelland (2014, p. 7) proposes that fragmentation is another aspect of rape trauma that emerges in rape survivors narratives and describes it as a “particular kind of change to an individual’s self-identity”. According to Bletzer and Koss (2006, p. 9)

To say that an individual’s self-identity has become fragmented is not just to say that her self-identity has changed; rather, it is to point to a particular kind of change – the change that results from an individual’s failing to reflect a fundamental part of herself in her self-identity.

Describing the aftermath of her own experience of having being raped Brison (2002, p.40) writes:

I was no longer the same person I had been before the assault, and one of the ways in which I seemed changed was that *I had a different relationship with my body*. My body was now perceived *as an enemy*.

Fragmentation, according to Kelland (2014), affects how we see ourselves. In particular, it invites a sort of self-hate in which the survivor resents her body because of the violation that happened.

Drawing on Bartky's (1990) conceptualisation of objectification, Kelland (2011, p. 177) argues for an eighth criterion in addition to the seven proposed by Nussbaum (1999), *representing a part as the whole*, in which the objectifier "separates out a part or feature from the object and treats this part as representing the whole". For Bartky (1990), a person is sexually objectified when the objectifier takes that part or function to represent the whole of the objectified person. Kelland (2011) argues that, as sexuality is an essential attribute of personhood, this estrangement of a person from their sexuality is an instance of psychological oppression that results in alienation:

Coming to see one's body as wholly an object and still attempting to maintain one's subjectivity must require that one estrange one's self from one's body. If we take into account other of the eight ways to treat a human being as an object the result is even more disturbing. When a woman internalises the gaze of the male other or objectifier – taking this gaze to mean not only that she is represented as wholly a sexual object, but also that she is merely a fungible tool for procuring the ends of her objectifier, whose experience and feelings need not be taken into account, then the women's view of her own person starts to look mired in immanence and totally alienated from her experience of herself as a free, autonomous human being with projects and ends of her own. Ultimately, to internalise the gaze of the male other is not only alienating in the ways described above, but, as already described, instils in a woman the ability to adopt an external perspective towards herself, and particularly towards the body which invites objectification, and is vulnerable to violation (p. 180).

Importantly, Kelland (2011) makes a link between the experience of alienation that results from internalising men's sexual objectification of women and what she describes as "one particularly pervasive phenomenon" (p. 81) that emerges time and again in the narratives of female rape-survivors, namely dissociation. Dissociation is the term given to the phenomenon of detaching one's self, physically and emotionally, in response to a traumatic experience. Kelland (2011) argues that it is unsurprising that the narratives of female rape-survivors are littered with references to dissociation.

Through continuously viewing their bodies from this external perspective, because of the pervasiveness, place and meaning of sexual objectification in their lives, women become alienated from their bodies and so well-trained at distancing themselves from their bodies. Given this training, when placed in a position where being raped becomes a reality – where being raped is clearly unavoidable – women already possess the ability to detach, so to speak, from their bodies – to split themselves, as subjectivities, off from their bodies as inert and passive objects. Such detachment is precisely what occurs in dissociation (p. 181).

It is for this reason that sexual intimacy presents a particular barrier for victim-survivors of rape and sexual violence. This is because the physiological processes of sexual arousal can be compromised by intrusive traumatic memories; sexual feelings and fantasies frequently trigger memories of the trauma (Herman, 2015). Hence, reclaiming the capacity for sexual pleasure is a complicated matter and not least because it involves establishing a relationship of trust with an intimate other.

## **2.3 RESPONDING TO THE CAUSES OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE**

Risk factors for sexual violence are identified at the level of individual characteristics, interpersonal factors, and social dynamics. Each of these level factors is discussed in the subsections below.

### **2.3.1 INDIVIDUAL LEVEL FACTORS**

There is consensus among theorists that sexual assault perpetrators are heterogeneous in regards to motive with no one set of risk factors explaining most perpetrators behaviour (Abbey, Wegner, Pierce, & Jacques-Tiura, 2012). The confluence model of sexual aggression integrates many risk factors identified in past research into two construct constellations:

hostile masculinity and impersonal sexual orientation (Malamuth, Addison, & Koss, 2000; Malamuth, Linz, Heavey, Barnes, & Acker, 1995), but personality traits related to psychopathy, the tendency to misperceive women's friendliness as sexual interest, and alcohol consumption are also important contributors to sexual aggression (Abbey, McAuslan, Zwacki, Clinton & Buck, 2001).

Men who score high on the hostile masculinity construct display hostility toward women and dominance as a motive for sex. This often manifests in cognitive distortions about women, for example, that they mean 'yes' when they say 'no', which they use to justify the use of force in interpersonal relationships (Malamuth, 2003). Research undertaken by Abbey et al. (2001) found that sexually aggressive men have greater hostility towards women, are motivated by a strong need for sexual dominance, and hold traditional attitudes about gender roles. Men who score high on the impersonal sex are more likely to experience coercion as sexually arousing or gratifying (Malamuth, 2003). In addition to scoring high on these two constructs, the confluence model also takes into account childhood and adolescent experiences, which encourage hostility toward women and an impersonal orientation to sex and thus contribute indirectly to proclivity for sexual aggression. Research involving men incarcerated for rape, college students, and community samples found that men who were victims of childhood sexual, physical, or emotional abuse are at greater risk of engaging in sexual aggression (Abbey, 1991; Abbey et al., 2012; DeGue & DiLillo, 2004). It is hypothesized that this is as a result of identifying with the perpetrator, modelling the perpetrator's behaviour, and developing hostile schemas about sexual relationships (Abbey, Jacques-Tiura, & LeBreton, 2011).

Although Lalumiere (2005) has argued that there is little evidence that rapists suffer from mental disorders, Abbey et al. (2011) have found that antisocial behaviour, narcissistic

personality, a manipulative approach and poor impulse control can indirectly contribute to sexual aggression because they encourage hostile masculinity. Furthermore, the tendency to misperceive women's friendliness as a sexual invitation increases the probability of becoming sexually violent. Thus, at the level of individual characteristics, sexual violence is understood to stem from an exaggerated sense of sexual entitlement and gratification associated with notions of rape as fulfilment of fantasies of power (Wood & Jewkes, 2001; Jewkes, Penn-Kekana & Rose-Junius, 2005). Alcohol consumption is another factor linked to sexual violence perpetration. Abbey et al. (2012) argues that intoxication results in cognitive deficits, which increase impaired judgement about other's emotions and intentions. Consequently, Abbey et al. (2012, p. 1) suggested that "targeted interventions should focus on youth who were victimized in childhood, engage in delinquent behaviour, are narcissistic and unconcerned about others, enjoy impersonal sex, drink heavily, and believe that alcohol enhances sexuality".

### **2.3.2 INTERPERSONAL DYNAMICS**

In most cases, sexual violence occurs in the context of a close personal relationship (Wegner, Pierce, & Abbey, 2014), and so researchers have sought to identify and understand how relationship type and relationship characteristics influence sexual violence. In research examining sexual assault in both committed and casual relationships Wegner et al. (2014) found that men in committed relationships hold greater expectations of having sex because of a belief regarding their entitlement to sex within the context of that relationship. Indeed, Livingston, Buddie, Testa and van Zile-Tamsen (2004) found that perpetrators in committed relationships are more likely to use physical force. Furthermore, perpetrators in these relationships are also likely to use interpersonal manipulation. A common way in which this

plays out is in threats about looking for sex from someone else if the woman they are in a relationship with is refusing to have sex with them. Heenan (2004, p. 9) argues that women in committed relationships frequently end up “giving in” to unwanted sex in order “to keep the peace”.

Wegner et al. (2014) have also argued that sexual precedence contributes to sexual violence. Many men believe that when a woman agrees to have sex once that they are then entitled to have sex with her at any time, and sexual assault that happens with sexual precedence tends not to be taken seriously by authorities (Humphrey, 2007; Auster & Leone, 2001). Shotland (1992) observed that men in both committed and casual relationships believed that their partners were obligated to have sex with them and that it was appropriate to force themselves on their partners if their partners refused. Wegner et al. (2014) observed that some men found sexual gratification in pressuring previous sexual partners to have sex with them, and to which they also felt entitled.

According to Martin, Taft and Resick (2007), men’s domination of the law-making process has lent itself to laws reflecting men's interest in areas such as property protection and the belief that women become their ‘husbands' property’ after marriage influences the probability of marital rape. Auster and Leone, (2001) and Frese et al. (2004) note that sexual violence perpetrated by a husband or an intimate partner is, unfortunately, often perceived to be less serious than stranger rape and is not classified as rape in some countries. Furthermore, the combination of poverty, dependency, unequal relations of power and fear of losing a husband or breadwinner contribute to continuous sexual abuse within committed relationships. For instance, among a sample of women who had experienced sexual violence in their marriage, Johnson (2003) found that victims of such rape were less educated and frequently unemployed. Consequently, Baron and Straus (1987) argue that the enhancement of women’s

social and economic status (e.g. education and higher income) is likely to reduce rates of sexual violence against women.

### **2.3.3 SOCIAL DYNAMICS**

It is argued that rape is a product of patriarchy and that certain cultural norms such as traditional gender role expectations promote violence against women (Oden & Clay-Warner, 1998). These include expectations that women should be submissive (Funk 1993, p. 40). Therefore, although forms of sexual violence might be sexual in nature we should remember that issues of power and control are the basis of these violations (Bryant-Davis, 2011). According to Ballantine and Roberts (2013, p. 330), rape “is a power play to intimidate, hurt and dominate women”. Men use authority to dominate and remain the powerful gender in society whilst positioning women as powerless and submissive. Furthermore, common associations of male sexuality with impersonal sex and female sexuality constrained by expectations regarding abstinence make it difficult for women to negotiate consensual sexual relations.

Bryant-Davis (2011) argues that although patriarchy gives men power over women, this does not mean that men are immune to the violence that it occasions, and that men experience higher rates of sexual violence than the small body of research on this issue seems to suggest. Approximately 15% of men in the United States, for example, have reported experiencing at least one negative sexual harassment event in their workplace (Bryant-Davis, 2011). Particular forms of male sexual violence include rape, enforced sterilization, enforced nudity, enforced masturbation, and genital violence (Bryant-Davis, 2011). In these respects the rape of men is not altogether unlike the rape of women as both are frequently downplayed and dismissed. They are also both wedded to systems of power and dominance as it is for this

reason that many men are reluctant to talk about experiences of sexual victimization – they fear that it will jeopardise social expectations regarding their masculinity (Sivakumaran, 2007).

Cultural spill over theory explains that some cultural norms and activities that legitimise violence in specific instances can then spill over into other aspects of social life (Baron & Straus, 1987). For example, historically, in African cultures such as the Shona and Ndebele cultures in Zimbabwe and within Zulu culture in South Africa certain cultural rituals have normalised sexual violence. One example of this ritual is the kidnapping of women for marriage. This is known as *Musengabere* in Shona and *Ukutwala* or *Kumekeza* in Zulu. According to Oden and Clay-Warner (1998), cultural rituals among the *Kukuyu* in East Africa included a ritual whereby a boy is expected to perform an act of ceremonial rape as part of his initiation and transition into manhood. It is argued that, in these cultures, initiation and marriage rituals have had the effect of normalising rape and sexual violence (Oden & Clay-Warner, 1998).

Recent research examining the socio-cultural context in which rape and sexual violence occurs has focused on rape myth acceptance. Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1994, p. 134) define rape myths as “attitudes and beliefs that are generally false but are widely and persistently held, and that serve to deny and justify male sexual aggression against women”. Edwards, Turchik, Dardis, Reynolds and Gidycz (2011) identify four key rape myths: husbands cannot rape their wives; women enjoy rape; women ask to be raped; women lie about being raped. Rape myths have a powerful impact on shaping our response to victim-survivors because they encourage victim blaming, stigmatisation, and disbelief. This has the effect of silencing victim-survivors and making them more vulnerable to further victimisation (Edwards et al., 2011).

Gqola (2015) asserts that rape myths are dangerous because they embolden perpetrators and re-traumatise victim-survivors. Gqola (2015) argues that assuming that all rape takes the form of forceful and violent assault is problematic because it erases other modalities of sexual violence, such as those involving coercion, and in which case the victim-survivors of sexual violence might not be regarded as ‘real’ victims as their experiences do not match this narrow conceptualisation of rape. Gqola (2015) also takes issue with the idea that rape can be excused or justified by making recourse to the male sex drive discourse in which men are understood to have a high sex drive that is innate and natural and which cannot be controlled.

Unsurprisingly, gender is the variable most frequently examined in relation to rape myth acceptance and the results of this research indicates that men are more supporting of rape myths than women (e.g. Bannon, Brosi, & Foubert, 2013; Davies, Gilston, & Rogers, 2012; Davies & McCartney, 2003). It is also unsurprising that women who have themselves experienced some form of sexual assault (Haugen, Salter, & Phillips, 2016) and people who know victim-survivors (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994) have been found to score lower on rape myth acceptance. College and university students who receive anti-rape education also score lower on rape myth acceptance (Hinck & Thomas, 1999). These findings suggest that rape myth acceptance is challenged when people speak out about their experiences of rape and sexual violence and when people are educated about rape.

## **2.4 RESPONDING TO THE HARMS OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE**

Prevention efforts to eliminate the high incidence of rape and sexual violence are important. However, it is also important to consider how to respond to the trauma among those already

victimised. A growing literature is emerging on post-assault experiences of victim-survivors and the impact of these experiences on mental health outcomes.

#### **2.4.1 RETRIBUTIVE JUSTICE AND THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM**

Retributive justice refers to the belief that perpetrators ought to be punished in proportion to the moral offensiveness of their actions. The goal of retributive justice is to ensure that perpetrators receive their 'just deserts'. The philosopher Kant reasoned that punishment needs no justification beyond the deservingness of the perpetrator (Carlsmith & Darley, 2008). Unfortunately, the criminal justice system, that part of the law that deals with retributive justice, frequently fails victim-survivors.

Rape prosecution is a long and complicated process and very few cases make it all the way through the criminal justice system. In Gauteng, research reporting on the attrition of rape cases through the criminal justice system found that only a half of reported cases resulted in arrests (50.5%) and, of those, only 42.8% of perpetrators were charged in court (Vetten et al., 2008). Trials commenced in less than one in five cases (17.3%), a conviction was obtained in just over one in 20 cases (6.2%), while 15.6% of rape convictions received less than the mandated 10 years minimum sentence for rape (Vetten et al., 2008). Furthermore, although 41% of the men convicted of rape in the study sample were eligible for life imprisonment, this was handed down in only three cases (Vetten et al., 2008).

Sadly, while successful rape prosecution and appropriate sentencing is infrequent, the cost to victim-survivors is frequently very high. "[T]he second rape" or "secondary victimization" are terms coined to describe insensitive, victim-blaming treatment from police, medical, and legal personnel that exacerbates the trauma of the rape (Campbell, 2006, p. 30). Rape survivors are asked about their prior sexual histories and questioned about how they were

dressed or behaving at the time of the assault. This humiliating and intrusive interrogation of victims is done in order to determine issues of consent or provocation and victims of rape and sexual violence consistently report that this experience of the criminal justice system is highly distressing (Campbell & Raja, 1999; Campbell, Wasco, Ahrens, Sefl, & Barnes, 2001).

There is a growing body of research conducted in England and the USA indicating that police officers, prosecutors, judges, and medical practitioners have been found to ascribe to victim-blaming attitudes and rape myths such as believing women provoke rape or lie about being raped (Gyls & McNamara, 1996; Maier, 2008; McMillan & White, 2015; Mulla, 2014). Rape myth acceptance is a determinant of negative social attitudes towards victim-survivors as people with high rape myth acceptance evaluate the responsibility of victims and perpetrators differently depending on victims' behaviour prior to the rape occurring whereas people with low rape myth acceptance do not (Krahé, 1988). As judgemental attitudes shape people's reactions and behaviour towards victim-survivors (Frese, Moya & Megias, 2004), victim-survivors often choose not to disclose what happen to them or make a formal police report because of a fear of not being believed or being blamed for what happen to them (Ullman, 2007). Research conducted in the USA indicates that police officers, prosecutors, and medical practitioners frequently tell victim-survivors that their 'stories' are not credible, and it is therefore unsurprising that many are reluctant to seek further help after their initial interactions with legal and medical system personnel (Campbell, 2006; Campbell et al., 2001).

Secondary victimization does not only occur as a result of what service providers do but also as a result of what they fail to do. In research undertaken by Vetten et al. (2008) it was observed that 55% of rape cases in South Africa were closed by the courts and 45% by the

police. More than half of the cases closed by the police were closed because the perpetrator could not be identified or located (52.3%) but, as Vetten et al. (2008) observed, descriptions of the perpetrator were absent from more than three-quarters of victims' statements in police dockets (78.4%). Furthermore, in more than half the dockets (52.7%) an instruction to arrest the suspect had to be issued two or more times before the investigating officer complied with it. In instances where cases were closed by the courts, an often cited reason was that there was too little evidence to warrant a prosecution (25.7%). While the physical intrusiveness of the rape exam procedure often leaves rape survivors feeling further violated (Parrot, 1991), it is very important to obtain this evidence because it is central to a successful prosecution. It is very disappointing, therefore, that there are significant shortcomings with regards to the collection of medico-legal evidence in South Africa. Vetten et al. (2008) found that a Sexual Assault Evidence Collection Kit (SAECK) was only collected in 67% of cases and in only 51% of these cases were the kits completed and sent to the police forensic laboratory. Furthermore, a report from the laboratory containing the results of DNA testing was available in only 2% of court dockets. This is because in only 16.4% of cases where a suspect was arrested were their blood taken and, as Vetten et al. (2008) have argued, collecting DNA evidence from the victim is a meaningless exercise if it cannot be tested against a suspect's DNA.

Many victim-survivors report experiencing police and court procedures as a continuation of the powerless and passive position in which they were already put by the perpetrator during the assault. Furthermore, although acknowledgment of guilt by the perpetrator is often considered to be an important step in the victim-survivor's recovery, the adversarial nature of the criminal justice system makes this outcome highly unlikely. The criminal justice system is primarily concerned with examining the crime, and the perpetrator of the crime, rather than the harm endured by the victim-survivor. The victim-survivor is merely a witness to the

crime and, beyond the scope of the testimony, has no further say or influence over the outcome of the case. In fact, as Pali and Madsen (2011) argue, “her credibility is often questioned to such an extent that she feels she is the suspect and not the victim” and, even when the court arrives at a guilty verdict, “the crime is regarded as a violation of the law and the state, not a violation of her” (p. 52). For all of these reasons it is now generally acknowledged that many victim-survivors experience criminal justice processes as re-traumatising (Campbell, 2006; Mossman, Jordan, MacGibbon, Kingi, & Moore, 2009) and it is disappointing to learn that few victim-survivors are referred for psychological counselling (Campbell & Raja, 1999).

It has been argued that the processes of retributive justice often do more to exacerbate trauma than contribute to healing and recovery (Zehr, 2015). However, pointing out that retribution is often not an end in itself but motivated by more fundamental psychological needs, Wenzel and Okimoto (2016) have argued that these needs can be satisfied by non-retributive interventions and that punishment is not the only option for justice repair.

#### **2.4.2 RESTORATIVE AND REPARATIVE JUSTICE APPROACHES**

While retributive justice focuses primarily on the offender and the just punishment he or she deserves, restorative justice focuses primarily on ‘restoring’ just relations among victim, offender, and community (Cohen, 2016). Marshall (1996, p. 37) defines restorative justice as “a process whereby all the parties with a stake in a particular offence come together to resolve collectively how to deal with the aftermath of the offence and its implications for the future”. The key objectives of restorative justice are to encourage the offender to accept responsibility for their offending and to make reparations to the victim and to make and keep promises of good behaviour in the future (Marshall, 1999). In restorative justice, rather than

aiming to achieve a guilty verdict, the primary concern is about acknowledging harm and demonstrating remorse. While no particular sanction is imposed the accused must acknowledge the harm caused and make the agreed upon amends.

Restorative justice has been implemented on a number of college campuses in the USA. However, while restorative justice offers a mediated rather than a combative approach to addressing the harm of sexual violence, it is argued that it is not appropriate for dealing with the severity of sexual violence where there is often also a significant power differential between the perpetrator and the victim-survivor (Hudson, 2002).

While restorative justice focuses on the perpetrator's acknowledgement of responsibility for the crime and in demonstrating remorse, reparative justice focuses on the needs of the victim-survivor. Reparative justice is an obligation to repair the consequences of violations and reparations are viewed as being the most direct and meaningful way of receiving justice. Rubio-Marín (2006) argues that we should not think about reparative justice as trying to erase the consequences of violation and, while it is about compensating victims for harms or losses endured, we should also be wary of assuming that compensation ought to be awarded in strict proportion to the harms endured. Reparative justice does, however, raise a number of questions that do require our consideration. Rubio-Marín (2006, p. 30), for example, asks:

Should the emphasis be placed on rehabilitating victims and facilitating a sense of closure on their part so as to allow them to move forward with their lives? Should reparations be conceived as a way of giving recognition to victims for what they have endured or for their condition as equal citizens and rights holders? Should the emphasis be laid instead on reassuring victims that they will no longer have to face similar violations in the future?

Reparations for harms resulting from experiences of sexual violence that address these questions have sought to address women's access to services for medical and psychological rehabilitation. This has led to a growing recognition that these services must be responsive to

the gendered nature of the harms experienced and the importance of avoiding further (secondary) harm. However, as the harm of sexual violence does not end with individual victim-survivors but also impacts interpersonal relationships (familial, social, communal, cultural, spiritual, ethical, etc.), it is argued that reparations must also focus on these spheres of rationality (Danieli, 2009). However, doing this means addressing the conspiracy of silence that surrounds rape and sexual violence. Drawing on the work of Caruth (1995), Herman (2015), and Felman and Laub (1992) Gobodo-Madikizela (2008, p. 175) writes that trauma needs to be spoken about because:

[T]he incidence of trauma overwhelms the affective region of the mind and renders cognitive processing of the event impossible ...making it impossible for the event to be 'known'. The process of rendering the trauma knowable then requires speaking out about trauma and 'telling' it to someone who is a listener. Thus, testimonial narratives or 'witnessing' about trauma provide moments that illuminate the victim's traumatic experiences in a way that not only helps the victim to integrate the trauma into their lives, but, perhaps most importantly, invites others to bear witness to another's pain and suffering.

In the above extract, epistemic injustice is the inability to put ones experiences into words; the inability to articulate and communicate the nature of the experience. In her book titled 'A philosophical investigation of rape', Du Toit (2009) identifies another form of epistemic injustice. She writes that:

Survivors of rape agree that speaking and writing about the rape (voicing, articulating it, finding back one's own lost voice) in a context where someone can actually *listen* without judgment, suspicion or blame is one of the most powerful instruments in the recovery (re-making) of the victim...Raine (1998: 118) says: 'It takes two to speak the truth – one to speak, and another to hear'. The implication is clear: truth is inherently intersubjective; to 'have' a world that no one believes in or a truth that no one listens to is not to have it at all.

For Du Toit (2009), epistemic injustice occurs when one's interlocutor refuses to hear what is being said. Thus, in the context of experiences of rape and sexual violence, one form that

reparation can take is righting these epistemic injustices and, central to these endeavours is the role of the audience, or, as seen in this research, social justice allies.

## **2.5 THE ROLE OF SOCIAL JUSTICE ALLIES IN ANTI-RAPE PROTESTS**

Stopping rape and sexual violence is ultimately a project of changing the gender ideologies shaping modalities of rationality in which rape and sexual violence are rooted. Anti-rape movements tend to focus on changing consciousness and in establishing and reasserting the right to bodily and psychological integrity. In South Africa, anti-rape movements have worked to have rape taken more seriously, to revise legislation so that it does not blame the victim, to introduce fairer standards for judging ‘facts’ in sexual assault cases, and have called for stricter punishment of perpetrators. At the same time as working toward these longer-term goals, anti-rape movements have helped victim-survivors live through the trauma and aftermath of rape and sexual assault. The Silent Protest is an anti-rape protest that has sought to address both the trauma of rape and sexual violence and promote gender and sexual citizenship. Activities which form a part of the Silent Protest, such as ‘silencing’ through the taping shut of protestors mouths, the die-in, and the speak out in ‘reclaiming the night’, are activities that have the effect of putting trauma in the view of the public and this has both therapeutic and political utility.

### **2.5.1 THE THERAPEUTIC BENEFITS OF AUTHORIZING A TRAUMA NARRATIVE**

Herman (2015) explains that traumatic experiences are not encoded like the ordinary memories of adults – not in a verbal, linear narrative that is assimilated into an ongoing life story. Traumatic memories are encoded in the form of vivid sensations and images and

lacking in verbal narrative and context. The predominance of imagery and bodily sensation over verbal narrative has led to some speculation that traumatic memory may be based on alternations in the central nervous system. Van der Kolk (1998) speculates that in the moment in which trauma is experienced the linguistic encoding of memory is inactivated, causing the central nervous system to revert to the sensory and iconic forms of memory dominant in infancy. Victim-survivors' initial accounts of traumatic experiences are characterised by repetition, a lack of temporal order, and often do not reveal much (or anything at all) about the victim-survivor's feelings or interpretations of events (Herman, 2015). Herman (2015, p. 175) writes that these initial accounts have been described as "a series of still snapshots or a silent movie" and she views the process of recovery as providing the music and the words.

Brison (2002) claims that regaining one's voice is one of the most important steps in recovery from rape and sexual violence. Doing this, she argues, involves working through traumatic memories of the experience by constructing a narrative. In doing so, one goes "from being the medium of someone else's... speech to being the subject of one's own" (p. 56). For Brison (2002, p. 103), "coming up with a coherent trauma narrative and integrating it into one's life story" is necessary for the victim-survivor to regain a sense of control.

Recalling a traumatic experience carries with it the emotional intensity of the original event and it is precisely because this provokes such intense emotional distress that victim-survivors go to great lengths to avoid it. However, this process is also an opportunity to re-define the experience. One observation that Caruth (1995) makes about recalling a traumatic experience is that it does not "simply serve as testimony to an event" (p. 151) but rather "bear[s] witness to a past that was never fully experienced as it occurred". For Caruth (1995), recalling trauma does not simply serve as record of the past but "registers the force of an experience that is not yet fully owned" (p. 151). The transformation of the trauma into a narrative memory allows

the story to be verbalized and communicated, to be integrated into one's own, and others', knowledge of what happened.

Drawing on Velleman (2005), Kelland (2012) argues that the construction of a narrative of rape trauma is beneficial to the victim-survivor because an essential characteristic of narrative is its ability to resolve emotional cadences and thereby provide the emotional resolution and meaning to the experience of trauma. Kelland (2012, p. 298) writes:

Quite apart from how others respond to this narrative, the survivor herself, through constructing the narrative, is able to understand both how she feels and how she feels about her experience. The experience becomes meaningful to her in emotional terms insofar as the construction of her narrative leads her to an ultimately stable, overall, attitude towards the experience. Moreover, because constructing a narrative results in a stable attitude towards the experience, the survivor is able to identify her underlying, and now also, stable judgement of the experience.

In addition to providing victim-survivors with the means to know and judge the traumatic experience, narrative also develops self-knowledge, self-awareness, and self-understanding, which are all central to exercising agency and self-determination. Kelland (2012, p. 299) provides a defence of her claim regarding the importance of trauma narratives in the recovery process as follows:

It is uncontroversial to claim that our experiences in the world inform our beliefs, values, perceptions, desires and these, concomitantly, influence (or directly cause) our actions.

1. It is standardly taken to be the case that some form of control over which of our beliefs, values, or desires motivates us to action is fundamental to agency simpliciter.
2. Acquiring control over what motivates us to action requires self-knowledge, self-awareness and self-understanding.
3. Narrative understanding provides the survivor with self-knowledge, self-awareness and self-understanding.
4. So, narrative understanding enables the acquisition of control.

Kelland (2012) concludes that the process of constructing a narrative of a traumatic experience provides the victim-survivor with an opportunity to come to some sort of emotional resolution regarding the event. Furthermore, as this process also results in the acquisition of knowledge, awareness, and understanding which are crucial to the promotion of agency and self-determination, it directly addresses one aspect of the harm of rape – which is the violation of agency and self-determination.

### **2.5.2 THE POLITICAL UTILITY OF WITNESSING**

Speaking out about experiences of rape and sexual violence has political utility in that these narratives challenge dominant frameworks for understanding sexual violence. Consciousness raising speak-outs are an opportunity to reframe and reimagine a range of experiences regarding rape and sexual violence that are customarily silenced or remain unacknowledged (Kelland, 2016). Consciousness-raising speak-outs are beneficial to victim-survivors because it helps them to recognise the systemic nature of experiences that they had previously assumed were unique and limited to themselves. It is thus the collective nature of consciousness-raising speak-outs that makes it possible to validate individual experiences and at the same time to locate them within a political struggle. Importantly, the work of consciousness-raising is not limited to the benefits that victim-survivors derive from participating in them.

‘Social justice ally’ is an appropriate term to describe a person who participates in anti-rape protests such as the Silent Protest in solidarity with survivors of rape and sexual violence. Social justice allies are individuals actively involved in programmes and interventions seeking to eradicate forms of injustice even though they themselves have not directly experienced those injustices. I am somewhat weary of the term, however, because in much of

the literature on social justice allies there is an assumption that social justice allies are members of a dominant social group standing up in support of members of a minority social group who are the target of discrimination and injustice (Fabiano, Perkins, Berkowitz, & Stark, 2003). One consequence of this conceptualization of social justice allies is that, in the context of sexual violence, the literature on social justice allies focuses almost exclusively on male allies. However, as survivors of rape and sexual violence come from diverse social groups which are gendered as well as raced and classed, anti-rape allies are likely to be similarly diverse.

The literature on anti-rape protest suggests that while allies also benefit from the learning that consciousness-raising speak-outs occasion that they also have a role to play in the therapeutic process of recovery and this is because in anti-rape protests such as the Silent Protest allies take on the role of bearing witness to the trauma narratives of victim-survivors (Oliver, 2001). Importantly, scholars writing on the process of bearing witness (e.g. Felman & Laub, 1992) argue that witnessing does not only involve becoming aware of the circumstances leading to victimisation as well as learning about its terrible consequences, but that witnesses also actively participate in changing its course by becoming vigilant and by acting on behalf of the victims and those at risk of becoming victims. In other words, the practice of witnessing aims to be transformative.

### **2.5.3 THE IMPORTANCE OF LEVELS OF WITNESSING AND WITNESSING POSITIONS**

To better understand how witnessing may (or may not) be transformative, it is necessary to say something about different levels of witnessing and witnessing positions. Laub (1992) describes three levels of witnessing in relation to a traumatic experience. He describes these as “the level of being a witness to *oneself* within the experience; the level of being a witness

to the testimonies of *others*; and the level of being a witness to the *process* of witnessing itself” (p. 76, emphasis added). In the context of the Silent Protest victim-survivors are likely to experience all three levels of witnessing while allies experience only the second and third levels of witnessing. Not having a direct, personal experience of rape or sexual violence does not necessarily impact one’s ability to be empathetic and to actively engage in transforming the conditions which lead to rape and sexual violence occurring in the first place. However, observations in other literature on witnessing suggest that different witnessing positions may impact on the way in which a witness responds.

Weingarten (2004) describes four witnessing positions based on level of awareness and level of empowerment. These positions are represented diagrammatically in Figure 1 (below). Position one is the ‘empowered and aware’ witnessing position. Weingarten (2004) describes this as the most desirable witnessing position for people who bear witness to the trauma narratives of others because witnesses in this position are aware, knowledgeable, and active in responding to what they have witnessed. An individual in this position understands the victim-survivor’s experiences and is able to provide social, psychological, or even material support to the victim-survivor to help them to cope with the traumatic experience.

Figure 1: Weingarten's witnessing positions

	<b>AWARE</b>	<b>UNAWARE</b>
<b>EMPOWERED</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>DISEMPOWERED</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>

Position two is the ‘empowered and unaware’ witnessing position. Weingarten (2004) regards individuals in this witnessing position as potentially very toxic because they have the power to intervene meaningfully but seem not to understand or are unaware of the severity of the trauma that they have witnessed. According to Weingarten (2004), these witnesses are very likely to do more harm than good. They may, for example, discourage the victim-survivor from reporting the experience because they are unaware of the harm of remaining silent.

Position three is the ‘disempowered and unaware’ witnessing position. According to Weingarten (2004), people who witness from this position are not very aware of or are insufficiently informed about the significance of what they bear witness to and are thus not in a position to provide meaningful assistance to the victim-survivor. As Weingarten (2004) explains, it is very difficult, if not impossible, to respond to that which one is not able to perceive in the first place (Weingarten, 2004).

Position four is the ‘disempowered and aware’ witnessing position. Weingarten (2004) argues that this is the most stressful witnessing position because the person is well aware of the significance of what they have observed but are not in a position to be able to provide meaningful assistance. Weingarten (2016) argues that witnessing positions shift over time and people can take up different witnessing positions at different moments in time and in relation to different types of trauma.

Weingarten’s (2004) witnessing model makes it possible to understand how witnessing others narratives of experiences of rape and sexual violence can be a difficult experience for the witness. However, witnessing is also an important opportunity for both victim-survivors and witnesses to expand their understanding of rape and sexual violence.

The involvement of allies in anti-rape protests can also have an impact beyond the individual lives of victim-survivors and their allies. Klandermans and Staggenborg (2002) argue that

social protests are messages directed to people in power – decision and policy makers – and to the public at large. Protests make visible issues that are silenced by the dominant culture; these impacts are sometimes indirect or unanticipated (Giugni, 1998; Klandermans & Staggenborg, 2002). However, although protests have the potential to bring about transformation, it is important to be cognisant of their potential limitations. With regard to the issue of witnessing, while participation in anti-rape protests can be an important consciousness-raising experience, not all witnesses are in a position to respond appropriately or offer adequate support and, in such circumstances, may also experience a degree of psychological discomfort for which they are ill prepared.

## **CONCLUSION**

I started this chapter by looking at the legal definitions of rape and sexual violence. It was important to do this because although there are clearly limitations to these definitions they continue to play a significant role in shaping how people think about and understand rape and sexual violence. I also discussed the physical and psychological trauma of rape and sexual violence and, in relation to this, consideration was given to feminists' and philosophers' theorising of the harms of rape and sexual violence to the victim's subjectivity. In the second half of the chapter I focused on responses to sexual violence. In this discussion consideration was given to responses to the causes and harms of sexual violence. Lastly but not least, the role of social justices allies in anti-sexual violence protest was discussed focusing attention on therapeutic benefits of authoring a narrative for the victim-survivor of sexual violence, and the political utility of anti-sexual violence protests. In the next chapter I discuss the methodological processes of this research.

## **CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH DESIGN**

The broad aim of this study was to analyse participants' understandings of sexualities issues in relation to sexual violence through participation in the Silent Protest at Rhodes University. In doing my research I was guided by the following broad question: How does participation in the Silent Protest promote inclusive and process-based understandings of sexualities in relation to sexual violence? In relation to this broad question I was interested in examining the following sub-questions: How does participation in the Silent Protest promote allies understanding of sexual violence?; (ii) How does participation in the Silent Protest promote allies understanding of gendered, heteronormative, able-ist, and class-based inequities in relation to sexual violence; (iii) How does participation in the Silent Protest promote allies understanding of conduct, identity and relation-based sexual rights; (iv) How does participation in the Silent Protest promote allies understanding of entitlement to non-discriminatory sexual health services. In this chapter I describe the research design that I adopted to examine these questions and the rationale behind my methodological decision-making.

### **3.1 THE SILENT PROTEST AS QUALITATIVE CASE STUDY**

This study takes the form of a qualitative case study that is informed by a critical sexual citizenship framework outlined in the introductory chapter. According to Babbie and Mouton (2001), qualitative research attempts to study human actions from the perspective of the social actors involved. I selected this method because it enhances an exploration of how the

involvement of participants in the Silent Protest promotes inclusive and process-based understanding of sexual citizenship.

According to Yin (2011) and Woodside (2010) a case study involves an extensive, in-depth and detailed examination of a particular case. George and Bennett (2005) assert that a case study allows the researcher to select subjects that offer insight into a very specific event, setting, or set of circumstances. Willig (2001, p. 70) argues that “[a] case study may involve the use of a wide range of diverse methods of data collection and analysis. However, the case is not characterized by the methods used to collect and analyse data, but rather by its focus on a particular unit of analysis: the case”. For Stake (2005), a case study is a choice of what is to be studied rather than a set of methodological choices.

In this study, the Silent Protest held at Rhodes University in 2015 is the case under investigation. As noted by Willig (2001, p. 70) “a case can be an organization, a city, a group of people, a community...it can be a situation, an incident or an experience”. Therefore, the experiences of individuals who participated in the Silent Protest in 2015 were the case to be examined. I chose the Silent Protest as case study because of its role in challenging the cultures of silence perpetuated by rape and sexual violence. Furthermore, the Silent Protest has been an annual feature on the Rhodes University campus for almost a decade and has amassed a large number of participants.

A key reason for choosing the Silent Protest as a case study is that it fulfils an instrumental function. Stake (2005, p. 445) states that instrumental case studies are chosen “mainly to provide insight into an issue... [t]he case is of secondary interest, it plays a supportive role, and it facilitates our understanding of something else”. In the case of the Silent Protest at Rhodes University provides a space from which to explore the usefulness of anti-rape

protests and consciousness-raising in shaping people's understandings of sexualities and their responses to rape and sexual violence.

### **3.2 SOURCES OF EVIDENCE**

Sources of evidence included focus group discussions, diary reflections, and posts on the page of a student-led Facebook group. Collecting information from different sources is a feature of data triangulation. Denzin (1978, p.291) defines triangulation as "the combination of methodologies and the use of multiple data sources to give a more comprehensive view of the factors contributing to an occurrence". Further details of each of these sources of evidence are provided in the sections below.

#### **3.2.1 PERSONAL DIARIES**

Personal diaries provide information on people's experiences and the ways in which they make sense of those experiences (Walliman, 2006). In this study, written reflections of allies' experiences of participating in the Silent Protest at Rhodes University in 2015 were recorded in personal diaries which were given to participants ahead of the 2015 protest. These reflections provided deeper insight into issues discussed in the focus groups. On the inside cover of the personal diaries I provided a number of questions intended to prompt participants' reflections of their experience of participating in the Silent Protest (see Appendix A for a list of these questions). These specific questions were used to elicit participants' opinions of the value of participating in the protest, particularly about the political and social function of the Silent Protest in addressing sexual violence, as well as the affect dynamics of such protests. Participants were asked to write in the diaries throughout

the course of the event and then return their diaries to me afterwards. I scanned the diaries so that I had a digital copy of each and made arrangements for collection of the original (hard/paper) copy for participants who wanted their diary returned to them.

### **3.2.2 FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS**

I conducted two focus group discussions with allies participating in the Silent Protest at Rhodes University in 2015. Focus group discussions are a useful method for collecting in-depth information within its real-life context (Woodside, 2010; Babbie, 2007; 2011). One advantage of focus group discussions is the participant interaction that occurs. In focus group discussions participants engage with each other's opinions and this leads to information emerging that might not have surfaced in the context of individual interviews (Walliman, 2006). A copy of the focus group interview schedule is provided in Appendix B. I used excerpts from previous completed research on the Silent Protest at Rhodes University to prompt discussion on these questions, which worked to elicit conversations that focus on participants' motivations, their experiences of modalities of responses, and their understandings of sexual rights, sexual violence and issues related to gender based inequalities.

Robinson (1999) observes that during focus group discussions the conversation sometimes extends to issues beyond the scope of the research. In addition, the number of questions covered may be limited, as the response time will vary among participants. Since participants in the Silent Protest focus groups were students at the university who had limited time available to participate in this research I was mindful to keep the discussion focused.

### **3.2.3 FACEBOOK POSTS**

Posts pertaining to participation in the Silent Protest at Rhodes University that were posted to a publicly accessible Rhodes University student-led Facebook group were also included in the data corpus. It was important to use these posts as data because the Facebook group is a platform that provides an anonymous space for people to reflect on their experiences of participating in the Silent Protest and to share these experiences with others. The strength of this source of data is that it provided access to more diverse opinions than I could access via focus group discussions and the diary reflections of a small group of participants and these reflections were ‘naturally occurring’ in so far as they were not in response to any prompt from myself. As there were several posts on the page, I targeted messages that spoke about the experiences of participating in the Silent Protest. Therefore, messages were selected according to the same criteria used with the participants of focus group discussions. Thus, the content of the message should have conveyed that it has been written by someone who has not experienced sexual violence. However, some of the survivors’ posts are retained and referred to as ‘posts’ and not ‘extracts’. It was important to retain survivors’ Facebook posts for illustrations purposes around particular points made in the analysis chapters.

### **3.2.4 SILENCES IN THE DATA**

Mazzei (2004) speaks about how silences that occur within data may be just as significant as what is spoken. Recently qualitative researchers have been looking at silences in the data as part of various potential gaps in research narratives. Several potential interpretations of silences and making sense of the unspoken have been put forward (Polland & Anderson, 1998; Morison & Macleod, 2013). There are a range of literal silences within data including polite silences (fear of offending), privileged silence, intentional silences and intelligible

silence. Researchers who have attempted to make sense of silence in data have generally considered literal silences and veiled silences (diverting asked questions). In this study, silences in the data refer to two types of silence: firstly, missing themes regarding certain issues, and secondly, limited knowledge about certain issues. In this study there were silences around legal services and healthcare services and heteronormative and class-based inequalities.

### **3.3 SAMPLING STRATEGIES**

Grounding the inquiry in a case study of social justice allies' participation in the Silent Protest at Rhodes University I defined 'allies' as individuals who participated in the Silent Protest in 'solidarity' rather than as 'survivors' of rape and sexual assault. Therefore, participant-sampling procedure was necessarily purposeful. In each of the sub-sections below I describe the sampling strategy employed for each of the sources of evidence.

#### **3.3.1 SAMPLING FOR PERSONAL DIARY PARTICIPANTS**

I obtained permission from the organisers of the Silent Protest to contact individuals who had signed up to participate in protest in 2015. Contact was made via email and a copy of the email is provided in Appendix C. The recruitment email provided brief information about the study and what participation in the study entailed. The email also included brief statements about how confidentiality would be managed and that I had obtained ethics clearance to conduct the research. Prospective participants were asked to contact me for further information and my contact details were provided. Rather than emailing prospective participants directly, I provided the organisers of the protest with a copy of the email, and

they emailed it to the individuals who had signed up to participate in the protest on my behalf.

According to Bless, Higson-smith and Kagee (2006), the strategy of purposive sampling is to select participants who are best placed to provide information that is relevant to the aims of the study. The sampling procedure just described was purposive in the sense that the recruitment letter was specifically targeting people who intended to take part in the Silent Protest in 2015 in ‘solidarity with survivors of rape and sexual violence.

Approximately ten prospective participants made contact with me indicating that they were interested in participating in this aspect of my research. I made arrangements to meet each prospective participant to provide more information about my research. These individuals signed consent forms (see Appendix D) and were given information letters (Appendix E) containing the same details provided in the consent forms as well as information about how to contact me or my supervisors should they deem it necessary to do so. I gave them a notebook to record their reflections in during the Silent Protest.

Unfortunately, only seven participants (n=7) returned their diaries to me after the protest. As an anonymous drop-off arrangement was in place for participants to return their diaries to me I was unable to ascertain which participants had not returned their diaries.

### **3.3.2 SAMPLING FOR FOCUS GROUP PARTICIPANTS**

Each person who participated in the personal diary part of the data collection process was also invited to attend a focus group discussion. However, as a number of the participants who had kept personal diaries were unable to attend a focus group discussion (it was difficult to find a time that suited everyone and that did not clash with mid-term examination dates and

other academic commitments) I asked those who had indicated that they were able to attend to bring along other individuals who they knew had participated in solidarity in the Silent Protest in 2015 and who were interested in participating in my research. De Vos, Strydom, Fouche and Delport (2002, p. 336) recommend snowball sampling to help the researcher to recruit eligible participants who are otherwise difficult to identify. This sampling strategy targeted specific individuals who had the requisite experience of the phenomenon being examined in this study but who I would not be able to identify without the assistance of the individuals already participating in my research.

The first focus group discussion was conducted in 2015 soon after the Silent Protest and it was attended by a small number of participants (n=6). Two participants in this focus group (Namhla and Trudy) had also participated in my research by keeping personal diaries. The other participants in the focus group discussion had been recruited via snowball sampling.

Early in 2016, after I had conducted a preliminary analysis of the first focus group discussion, I decided to conduct a second focus group discussion in order to obtain further information on some of the emergent themes. I recruited participants by contacting individuals who had participated in the previous rounds of data collection and asked them to approach other people who they knew had participated in the Silent Protest in 2015 in ‘solidarity’ with survivors of rape and sexual violence. Seven individuals identified via snowball sampling indicated that they were interested in participating in the second focus group discussion. The second focus group discussion was conducted early in 2016 with seven participants (n=7).

In Figure 2 (over the page) I have provided a table summarising key characteristics of each of the participants in my study and the activities in which they participated.

Figure 2: Summary of key characteristics of participants

Pseudonym	Age	Gender	Ethnicity	Language	Occupation	F/Group	Diary
<b>Linda</b>	19	F	African	Sotho	Student	✓	
<b>Jane</b>	21	F	African	Shona	Student	✓	
<b>Charlotte</b>	22	F	White	English	Student	✓	
<b>Dina</b>	22	F	White	English	Student		✓
<b>Emily</b>	23	F	African	Shona	Student	✓	
<b>Betty</b>	23	F	White	English	Student	✓	
<b>Kelly</b>	23	F	White	English	Student		✓
<b>Siya</b>	23	M	White	English	Student	✓	
<b>Jessy</b>	24	F	African	IsiXhosa	Student	✓	
<b>Victoria</b>	24	F	African	Shona	Student	✓	
<b>Namhla</b>	24	F	African	IsiXhosa	Student	✓	✓
<b>Trudy</b>	25	F	White	English	Student	✓	✓
<b>Sue</b>	25	F	White	Afrikaans	Student		✓
<b>Ross</b>	26	F	African	IsiZulu	Student	✓	
<b>Thenjie</b>	26	F	African	IsiXhosa	Student		✓
<b>Pretty</b>	26	F	African	IsiXhosa	Student		✓
<b>Amanda</b>	28	F	White	English	Student	✓	
<b>Rue</b>	30	F	African	Shona	Student	✓	

Each of the individuals listed in Figure 2 above was selected for participation in my research on the basis that they: (a) participated in the Silent Protest at Rhodes University in 2015; (b) Their participation in the Silent Protest was in ‘solidarity’ with survivors of rape and sexual violence; (c) they were 18 years of age or older.

Thirteen participants (n=13) participated in the focus group discussion; six (n=6) in the first focus group discussion and seven (n=7) in the second focus group discussion. Seven participants (n=7) participated in the personal diary reflection part of data collection, and two (n=2) of these participants also participated in the first focus group discussion. Seventeen participants (n=17) identify as female and only one participant (n=1) identifies as male. Ten

participants (n=10) identify as African, with the remaining eight (n=8) identifying as white. The age of the participants ranged between 19 years and 30 years of age. Participants came from a range of language communities including English (n=7), Afrikaans (n=1), Shona (n=4), IsiXhosa (n=4), IsiZulu (n=1) and Sotho (n=1). The involvement of diverse participants was possible because of the university environment where students come from different parts of South Africa and around the world – including a large number of students from neighbouring countries such as Zimbabwe. All participants indicated that they were enrolled for full-time study at either undergraduate or postgraduate level.

### **3.3.3 SAMPLING FACEBOOK POSTS**

All of the posts pertaining to the participation of ‘solidarity’ allies in the Silent Protest in 2015 that appeared on the page of a publicly accessible student-led Facebook group between 1 August 2015 and 30 November 2015 were selected for inclusion as data in my study. These data were collected using the NCapture application in a Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis (QDA) program called QSR NVivo (v10). NCapture is a web browser extension that makes it possible to extract the content of web pages, such as posts on a social media platform, at the click of a button for analysis in NVivo. The NCapture application extracted all of the posts on the student-led Facebook group between 1 August 2015 and 30 November 2015 and imported these data directly into NVivo. I then exported these data in CSV format and imported it into Microsoft Excel where I set about deleting all of the posts that were not relevant to my research (i.e. those not pertaining to the participation of ‘solidarity’ allies in the Silent Protest at Rhodes University). When this process was complete I imported the data back into NVivo for further analysis. It was necessary to apply a Microsoft Excel ‘work-around’ because it was not possible (on the version of NVivo that I was licenced to use) to

delete individual posts in NVivo. This process yielded forty-seven (n=47) posts that were incorporated into the data corpus.

### **3.4 DATA ANALYSIS METHOD**

Data obtained through focus group discussions were audio recorded and transcribed into written form using the Jefferson's 2006 transcription convention, then transcribed into digital text. A foot-controlled transcription device was used to facilitate the playback and transcription process (Bailey, 2008). Object Character Recognition (OCR) software was used to render the text in the digital copies of the personal diaries to a format compatible with Microsoft Word. All of these data along with the Facebook posts were imported into NVivo. NVivo is designed to assist qualitative researchers with the analysis of large volumes of text-based and multimedia data. NVivo helps users organise and analyse unstructured non-numerical data. The software allows users to classify, sort and arrange information and examine relationships and other patterns in the data. These were useful features because, as De Vos et al. (2002) notes, the process of data analysis involves bringing order, structure and meaning to the mass of data collected.

I used thematic analysis in order to record patterns across data sets that reflect understandings of sexualities that are relevant to my research questions. Braun and Clark (2006, p. 79) define thematic analysis as "a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data". I chose thematic analysis for this study because it is an independent data analysis method that is not tied to a specific theoretical approach, although theoretical insights can be brought to bear on the way in which emergent themes are conceptualised. Having this flexibility was important to me because I wanted to bring aspects of critical

sexual citizenship theory discussed in the introductory chapter to bear on the data analysis process. Braun and Clark (2006) argue that the flexibility of thematic analysis allows for rich, detailed and complex descriptions of data that are relevant to the aims of the study.

I followed the steps for conducting a thematic analysis as described by Braun and Clarke (2006) to analyse the data corpus. This made it possible to generate inductively generated themes that emerged in the data. According to Braun and Clark (2006, p. 82), “[a] theme captures something important about the data in relation to the research question, and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set”. Braun and Clark’s (2006) steps for conducting a thematic analysis are: (1) Read and familiarise oneself with the data; (2) Generate initial codes; (3) Search for themes in the coded data (4); Review emergent themes; (5) Define and name themes (6) Produce a report in which the final analysis is presented along with supporting evidence in the form of verbatim extracts of the original data.

I found thematic analysis to fit well with the sexual citizenship framework and the research questions. This required paying attention to how participation shaped understandings of issues related sexual rights and how this facilitated a process-based understanding of sexualities issues in relation to sexual violence. For instance, in the first step of thematic analysis, I familiarised myself with the data by reading it from a sexual citizenship perspective. In the second step, I developed initial codes that were both consistent with a sexual citizenship approach and relevant to my research question. In the third, fourth, and fifth steps I identified, refined, and analysed themes in the coded data that again spoke to a critical sexual citizenship perspective and the research question.

### **3.5 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS**

Ethical clearance to conduct this research was obtained from the Research Projects and Ethics Review Committee (RPERC) in the Psychology Department at Rhodes University in 2015 (Ethical clearance number PSY2015/19). Ethical guidelines serve as the standards and basis upon which researchers ought to evaluate their own conduct (De Vos et al., 2011). Bless, Higson-smith and Kagee (2006) indicate that research ethics help to prevent research abuse and assist investigators in understanding their responsibilities as ethical scholars. Further, Bless, Higson-smith and Kagee (2006) argue that ethical guidelines place an emphasis on humane and sensitive treatment of research participants who may be at varying degrees of risk in research procedures. I considered the following ethical principles when conducting this research, voluntary participation, no harm to participants, anonymity and confidentiality. Each of these is discussed in the sub-sections below.

#### **3.5.1 VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION AND INFORMED CONSENT**

According to Babbie (2007), the participation of human participants in research must be voluntary. Not only should no-one be forced to participate in research but they should also not be forced to discuss issues or disclose information that they are not comfortable to share with others or that may invoke psychological discomfort. Therefore, I ensured that I obtained voluntary consent from individuals participating in the focus groups and diary reflection aspects of data collection. I also informed these participants about the scope and aims of my research and the nature of their participation in it. I described the measures that I would take to maintain confidentiality (such as replacing their real names with pseudonyms). I also discussed the expected benefits of participating in my research and the possible risks associated with participation. I also explained that they could withdraw from the study at any

time (up to write-up) and that, if they chose to withdraw from the study, they would be able to choose whether or not I could use the information that they has provided up to that point. All of the information was detailed on a consent form which these participants signed prior to the commencement of data collection (see Appendix D). Participants were given an information letter that contained the same information detailed on the consent forms that they had signed. This was to remind participants of the conditions of their participation in my research. My contact details and the contact details of my two supervisors were also provided in the information letter. This information was provided in the event a participant needed to contact me after the data collection phase of the study (see Appendix E).

Participants in my study were not remunerated for their time and effort as this is viewed as being coercive and thus undermining of the principle of voluntary participation (Babbie, 2007). However, I provided snacks and light refreshments during the focus discussions. I deemed this to be appropriate compensation for students who were missing scheduled meals or tea in student residences in order to attend the focus group discussion.

### **3.5.2 MINIMUM HARM, MAXIMUM BENEFIT**

I was responsible for ensuring that there was no intentional to harm participants. Babbie (2007, p. 68) argues that “researchers should never injure people being studied regardless that they volunteered in the study” and because participants can be harmed psychologically in the process of the study “the researcher must look for the potential dangers and guard against them”. This latter concern was relevant given that this study dealt with the issue of sexual violence. This can be a sensitive and difficult topic for people to talk about, and thus, there is some risk of psychological discomfort (e.g. anger, distress and embarrassment). I sought to minimise such risk by ensuring that prospective participants were properly informed about

the nature of the study before consenting to participate in it. I also arranged to be able to refer participants to the Psychology Clinic or to the Student Counselling Centre if they were upset about any aspect of their participation in the research. In this regard, none of the participants requested this information from me. In addition to describing the possible harms associated with participating in my research I also stressed the importance of this research and its potential contribution in informing future anti-rape interventions.

### **3.5.3 MAINTAINING CONFIDENTIALITY**

Babbie (2007, p. 71) argues that “[t]he clearest concern in guarding subjects’ interests and well-being is the protection of their identity”. Confidentiality and respect for persons is an important ethics principle, and especially in research on sensitive issues. Without the assurance of confidentiality it is unlikely that the participants in my study would disclose the information they did. And, even if they did the risks to participants occasioned by being recognisable to others would have exacerbated the risks of participating in this research. Implied in confidentiality is an assurance that the researcher will respect participants’ privacy, to gather information only for the purpose of research, and to disclose information only with participants’ consent (Hepworth & Larsen, 2008). Although participants’ identities were known to other focus group participants, to protect the identity of each focus group participant I have replaced the participants’ real names with pseudonyms in the write-up of my research and have replaced or removed other potentially identifying.

### **3.5.4 INTERNET-MEDIATED RESEARCH AND USE OF DATA IN THE PUBLIC DOMAIN**

In terms of the ethics of internet-mediated research and the use of information obtained from a social media platform I drew on the guidelines provided by the British Psychological

Society (BPS) (2013) in which it is stated that internet-mediated research should be subject to the same ethics considerations as traditional human subjects' research. These issues are discussed below.

#### ***3.5.4.1 Implications for informed consent***

According to the BPS (2013) guidelines, it is important to ascertain whether the information to be accessed is in the private or in the public domain. This has implications with regards to the requirement to obtain informed consent because “unless consent has been sought, observation of public behaviour needs to take place only in public situations where those observed would expect to be observed by strangers” (BPS, 2013, p.6). In the context of internet-mediated research it is not always easy to provide a clear distinction between private and public domains or to ascertain what internet users perceive as being in the private or public domain. The BPS (2013, p.7) describes the public domain as being “readily accessible by anyone”.

Facebook has more than 2 billion active members and the publicly accessible student-led Facebook group that I accessed has over 5 000 members and is ‘liked’ by more than 30 000 Facebook users. These numbers are astonishing but also somewhat expected given that Facebook was developed for the purposes of connecting people socially and public Facebook groups are a platform for expressing and sharing one’s views with others.

In terms of posting on social media platforms such as Facebook we discern three levels of disclosure and access to information that are relevant to the publicly accessible student-led Facebook group from which information was accessed: *Level 1* - Some of the information posted to a publicly accessible Facebook group can be viewed by the public at large (i.e. by anyone with internet access and without having to log into the site or create a user account).

This information is very limited and typically restricted to comments posted on the main page of the group. *Level 2* - Access to further information on the group page (e.g. being able to see who the members of the group are) as well as involvement in activities such as posting comments and being able to tag others requires login details and group membership which also entails having/creating a user account. The information that is visible is still fairly limited but it is more detailed than the information that can be accessed without having a user account and being logged in. *Level 3* – Group members and other individuals who have user accounts and are logged in can choose to share additional information with others via Facebook Messenger which is a private messaging application. Others cannot access this information unless the user or the person with whom they have shared the information with publishes the information to the group or on some other page or social media platform and selects a ‘public’ viewing setting for the information.

The information that I accessed was, as per the above descriptions, Level 1 information. In other words, it is information that is accessible to anyone with internet access. At the time that I accessed this information it was not necessary for me to have a Facebook account or to be logged in to access it. While restrictions on accessing this information may change some time in the future this was the accessibility of the information at the time of data collection. I therefore believe that it is reasonable to argue that the data that I have drawn on in my study is information in the public domain. I also argue that the individuals who posted to the publicly accessible student-led Facebook group did not have a reasonable expectation regarding the privacy of their posts. In the first instance, the individuals posting to the group would have made the same observation about the accessibility of the information by the general public when they navigated to the page. Secondly, in order to post to the group one must first register as a member of Facebook and new members are instructed to read the sites’ Terms and Conditions of Use as well as the Privacy Policy. In these policies new members

are given specific guidance on ‘Sharing your content and information’ (see Appendix F) and Point 4 in this information states that:

When you publish content or information using the Public setting, it means that you are allowing everyone, including people off of Facebook, to access and use that information, and to associate it with you (i.e., your name and profile picture).

It appears therefore that users were informed regarding the public nature of the site and of the information they posted to the site. It also appears that users were aware that in proceeding to post information to the site using the Public setting means that they were “allowing” this information to be “accessed” and “used” by “everyone” and that this included “people off of Facebook”.

#### ***3.5.4.2 Deception***

One may argue that although members posting to the publicly accessible student-led Facebook group were aware that their posts would be publically accessible, that they had posted comments with an expectation of sharing their views on a particular issue with others who may share their views and did not expect that their post would become research ‘data’. In other words, they had put their information in the public domain with a particular audience and purpose in mind – and this purpose was not research. While this is true Facebook users are informed that their information can in fact be accessed and used for a variety of other purposes. In fact, it has recently emerged that, Facebook conducted an emotional contagion experiment that manipulated users’ emotions without their knowledge or consent (McNeal, 2014) and they were able to do so precisely because of their Terms of Use policy that informs users that the information they share on the site can be accessed and used by others. While Facebook’s “experiment” was legal, the ethical nature thereof may be up for discussion. This project did not involve any form of manipulation or deception. Rather publicly available

material was used, in the same way as media scholars would use, for example, newspaper letters as data.

#### ***3.5.4.3 Sensitivity of data, vulnerability, and identity management***

Concerns about informed consent and the protection of research participants are assessed in relation to the likely risks associated with the proposed research and special consideration must be given to vulnerable participants. Vulnerable participants are generally understood to be people who are at greater risk of harm and/or less able to protect themselves (Larkin, 2009). The term is generally used to refer to individuals with diminished decisional capacity, people who are seriously ill, incarcerated and institutionalised populations, and children. The term is sometimes also extended to refer to those in subordinate relationships and those who are dependent on care or social assistance. I do not believe that the Facebook users posting to the publicly accessible student led Facebook group can be identified without exception as a vulnerable group. While some of the individuals posting to the group may well be experiencing some sort of difficulty (such as an experience of sexual violence despite participating in the protest in ‘solidarity’) it would be inappropriate to generalise such experiences and allow them to be used to define what is likely to be an extremely heterogeneous group of people posting to this site.

With regards to collecting sensitive data the BPS (2013, p.17) guidelines state:

Again, the key principle of making ethics checks and procedures ***proportional to the assessed risks*** and potential for harm emerges. In high risk situations, researchers should consider whether their research is actually suited to IMR. For example, where research deals with ***sensitive or adult themes*** and the age of the participant cannot easily be verified online or under-16s prevented from participating, researchers should consider whether their research is better suited to a face-to-face presentation.

In relation to the point about research dealing with sensitive or adult themes, my research on sexual violence – albeit from the perspective of allies and those participating in an anti-rape

protest in solidarity with victim-survivors – does possibly fit this description. However, the BPS guidance in relation to this is not that such research cannot proceed, but that a researcher should consider whether it would be more appropriate to collect this information “face-to-face” rather than online. Arguably, this suggestion assumes that the information to be collected is not already posted in a publicly accessible online platform. In other words, it assumes that the researcher would be interviewing a participant for the purposes of generating data rather than accessing data that have already been made available.

With regards to managing personally identifying information it is important to note that posts to the publicly accessible student-led Facebook group are anonymised before they are published on the site. This is done by replacing the user name with a number code. Nevertheless, I have taken the following additional steps to ensure that none of the information in my study can be used to individually identify users posting to the Facebook group that I accessed for the purposes of this research: (i) The name of the Facebook Group is not mentioned in this thesis report and will not be mentioned in any other publication of my research findings; (ii) I have changed or removed all other potentially identifying information. It is important to note that the identities of users who comment on posts are not automatically anonymised before they are published. Consequently, where comments have been incorporated in the results presented in my thesis I have removed the users name along with any other identifying information. Interestingly, I observed that those wanting to comment on a post but remain anonymous opted not to ‘comment’ on the post but instead submitted a separate post in which they referenced the number code of the original post. This indicates that commentators who were concerned about being identified managed to take steps to manage this risk themselves; (iii) None of the visual data included in the posts, such as pictures or emoji’s, is presented in this research report and will not appear in any other public dissemination of the research; (iv) My data are stored on a password protected computer.

### **3.6 THE QUALITY OF QUALITATIVE RESEARCH**

Although the validity of research studies has been largely associated with quantitative research which use ‘control’ groups and other techniques in experimental research, qualitative researchers also see the need to validate the scientific rigour of their studies (Mathison, 1988; Maxwell 1996; Creswell & Miller, 2000). For instance, Creswell and Miller (2000) noted that validity is affected by the researcher’s perception of validity in the study and his or her choice of paradigm. Therefore, in qualitative research, to use a procedure for establishing trustworthiness or credibility, researchers employ a constructivist perspective to contextualize the people or sites studied (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). In qualitative research many researchers have developed different concepts of validity that are more appropriate to qualitative paradigms. When appraising the trustworthiness of a qualitative research Curtin and Fossey (2007) have argued that researchers should include and address various quality criteria both in the research process and the reporting. This involves looking for evidence of a full description of the setting, triangulations and transferability. I discuss three major areas of judging the credibility of a qualitative study from a constructivism viewpoint by Guba and Lincoln (1994). These are: description and triangulation.

#### **3.6.1 DESCRIPTION**

Asgedom (2007, p. 2) argues that “[t]he main threat to valid description, in the sense of describing what you saw or heard is the inaccuracy and incompleteness of the data”. Therefore, qualitative research is based on data from narratives and observations and this, Lincoln and Guba (1985) argued, requires understanding and co-operation between the researcher and the participants. By so doing, texts based on interviews and observations are mutual, contextual and value bound. Therefore, in order to overcome this threat to research

credibility, it is important to audio/video record the observation and to use verbatim transcriptions when transcribing the recordings. Thus, in this study, focus group discussions were audio recorded and transcribed using Jefferson's clean verbatim transcription method. Additionally, procedures for data sampling and sources of data were vividly described.

### **3.6.2 TRIANGULATION**

Social constructionism values people's multiple realities. Therefore, in order to acquire information about multiple and diverse realities I used multiple methods of searching for and gathering data, this is known as method triangulation (Johnson, 1997). Triangulation is typically a strategy for improving the credibility of research or evaluation of findings. Mathison (1988) elaborates this by saying:

Triangulation has risen as an important methodological issue in naturalistic and qualitative approaches to evaluation [in order to] control bias and establishing valid propositions because traditional scientific techniques are incompatible with this alternate epistemology. (p. 13)

To improve the analysis and understanding of constructions of others, triangulation is a step taken by researchers to involve several investigators or peer researchers' interpretation of the data and collect information from different sources, and both were used in this research.

A qualitative researcher can "use investigator triangulation and consider the ideas and explanations generated by additional researchers studying the research participants" (Johnson, 1997, p. 284). Therefore, researcher triangulation was achieved because this study was conducted with the guidance of a supervisor and co-supervisor who are well experienced with qualitative research. They contributed remarkable ideas and explanations towards the methodology, theory, interpretation and analysis of this study. Creswell and Miller (2000)

argued that supervisors can provide written feedback to researchers, and by working with the assistance of supervisors, researchers add credibility to a study.

Methodological triangulation may include multiple methods of data collection and data analysis, but does not suggest a fixed method for all the researches (Kirk & Miller, 1986; Creswell & Miller, 2000). Therefore, in order to increase the trustworthiness of data, different sources of data collection were used (focus group discussions, diary reflection and Facebook messages). Maxwell (1996) argues that triangulation bridges the gaps in evidence (data) in addition to its worthiness in order to test convergence of information. Data triangulation is the use of a variety of different sampling strategies and sources to gather information and obtain a diverse view of the same phenomenon (Curtin & Fossey, 2007). This study employed purposeful and snowballing sampling strategies for personal diaries, for focus group discussions and for Facebook posts.

## **CONCLUSION**

In this chapter, I discussed the Silent Protest as an instrumental case study under investigation. Personal diaries, focus group discussions and Facebook posts were discussed as sources of data collection. Further, I outlined sampling procedures for each of these sources of data. Lastly but not least, data analysis methods, ethical considerations and the quality of qualitative research were discussed. In the following chapter, I present the first part the study results which answers question (i) and (iv) outlined in the methodological chapter. Therefore, I analyse witnessing and the politics of affect as processes that shape allies' understandings of sexualities and sexual citizenship.

## **CHAPTER 4: WITNESSING AND THE POLITICS OF AFFECT**

In the previous chapter, in the discussion of my methodological approach, I outlined the four questions that this methodology was designed to address. Regarding the participation of allies in the Silent Protest I wanted to know the following: (i) How it promotes their understanding of sexual violence; (ii) How it promotes their understanding of sexualities (gendered, heteronormative, and class-based inequities) in relation to sexual violence (iii) How it promotes their understanding of (conduct, identity and relationship-based rights) sexual rights (iv) How it promotes their understanding of entitlement to non-discriminatory sexual health services. Questions ii to iv are addressed in Chapter Five. In this chapter I focus the first question and present my analysis of two mechanisms shaping allies' experiences of the Silent Protest: witnessing and politics of affect. It is important to discuss these mechanisms because affect prompted allies to think critically about the frames through which rape and sexual violence are commonly narrated.

### **4.1 THE POLITICS OF AFFECT**

In the introduction chapter I described the various events constituting the Silent Protest, beginning with the taping shout of mouths, followed later in the day by a 'die-in' and, at the end of the day, 'Breaking the Silence' – a call to share, in a public forum, personal experiences of sexual violence. In describing these events, I explained that their purpose is to make the invisible visible. I also argued that they are purposefully dramatic in order that they are read as a counter to the imperative of silence. While these activities are important in as far

as they make visible that which is seldom acknowledged, this recognition is predicated, as indicated by allies, on a politics of affect. In Extract 1 (below), Ross explains that the Silent Protest activities are “designed to make you feel something”.

Extract 1: “It’s designed to make you feel something” (Focus group)

Ross I mean we did get those messages like, ‘no is no’, that kind of thing, that kind of basic thing. But you’re involved in all these activities that are actually meant to make you feel something about what it’s like to be a survivor...It’s designed to make you feel something.

In Deleuze’s (1994, p. 139) words, “[s]omething in the world forces us to think. This something is an object not of recognition but of fundamental *encounter*, it may be grasped in a range of affective tones: wonder, love, hatred, and suffering. In whichever tone, its primary characteristic is that it can only be sensed.” Ross, likewise, indicates that the “messages” were made meaningful through affective encounters – feeling something. Gould (2009, p. 9) argues that “feeling and emotion are fundamental to political life” and that actions such as die-ins are “affective stimuli” in political activism.

In my study, allies’ accounts of their experiences of participating in the Silent Protest were emotionally saturated: expressed through reflections of the emotional impact that those experiences had on them. Indeed, this resonated with my own experience of the protest and of reading through the data (in which allies provide accounts of their own experiences of participating in the Silent Protest). In the extract below, an ally describes her experience, on the morning of the protest, when participants gathered to tape each other’s mouths shut.

Extract 2: “The mood is heavy and sad” (Thenjie’s diary)

Participating in this event is always very emotional. You always get to see how vulnerable we are, both men and women of all races. The mood is sad as one would expect.

Thenjie not only refers to the affective element of the protest, but names the actual emotions: vulnerability and sadness. In the next extract, an ally in the Silent Protest describes her experience of witnessing the die-in. Her description of the experience focuses on the affective aspect of the experience.

Extract 3: "I felt so heavy in my heart" (Namhla's diary)

In fact, I was feeling down and my HEART felt heavy because I finally understand its purpose. I finally understand the significance of the die-in and I was in fact overwhelmed by its significance. I felt so heavy in my heart and I just wanted to sit there and just cry.

Here Namhla names emotions but also the embodiment of these emotions: "heavy heart", "just wanted to sit there and just cry". In Extract 4 (below) an ally in the Silent Protest describes her experience of hearing the stories of people's experiences of sexual violence during the 'Breaking the Silence' event at the end of the protest. Once again, the ally's recall of the experience focuses on its impact on affect.

Extract 4: "I found it overwhelming" (Kelly's diary)

This was an extremely difficult and emotional experience when people stood up and told their stories, the solidarity and sadness and turmoil was tangible. I found it almost overwhelming.

In each of the extracts above allies' descriptions of various Silent Protest events (taping mouths shut, the die-in, breaking the silence), are primarily descriptions of their emotional experience of those events. Gould (2009, p. 21) describes affect as a "sensory intensity" that is "outside of conscious thought", but which stirs in us a "sense that we are experiencing something" which, "if forceful enough, can induce efforts – more or less conscious – to figure out what we are feeling and how to express it". According to Gould (2009, p.21), in that figuring, we are bound to draw on "culturally available labels and meanings, through which a gesture or linguistic naming that 'expresses' what we are feeling emerges". In the

extracts above, the sensory intensities that participating in the Silent Protest events provoked, are labelled “sad” and “heavy”. Gould (2009) argues that these descriptions are insufficient because they reduce sensory experiences to culturally delimited ways of knowing. Emotions, argues Gould (2009, p.21), bring “a vague bodily intensity or sensation into the realm of cultural meanings and normativity, systems of signification that structure our very feelings”. Thus, while affect is a force that is unbounded and unfixed we attempt to ‘capture’ it by labelling it as one or other emotion. However, words can never fully convey what has been felt and this is not necessarily a bad thing because it means that we can always attach new meaning to affective experience – and this is what participation in the Silent Protest does for those participating as allies in solidarity with victim-survivors of rape and sexual violence. The participants report feeling “overwhelmed” but simultaneously are able to voice new meanings attached to this affective labour. Witnessing trauma in the testimonies of victim-survivors was a process through which the allies came to understand first-hand the harms of rape and sexual violence. Protest events such as the die-in and ‘take back the night’ evoked a range of emotions for allies and it is through this mechanism of affect that allies’ understandings began to develop.

## **4.2 BEARING WITNESS**

Oliver (2001, p. 16) describes witnessing as “seeing for oneself”, of having knowledge from observation or experience. Development of the literature on witnessing is often traced to the aftermath of the Holocaust in Germany: witnessing the testimonies of the holocaust survivors. Primo Levi (1958/1987, p.15), for example, said that he had felt “an immediate and violent impulse” to tell the story of his experience in Auschwitz. However, in the decades following their release, it emerged that it was not only the survivors of the holocaust who

were affected. The children of holocaust survivors were also reporting psychological difficulties. More recently, a growing body of literature is documenting the emotional impact that trauma has on service providers and others providing care and support to trauma survivors (e.g. Lord, 2008; Henry, 2010; Thornton & Novak, 2010). According to Laub (1992), the testimony of the trauma includes the listener who “comes to be a participant and a co-owner of the traumatic event: through his very listening, he comes to partially experience trauma himself...to feel the bewilderment, injury, confusion, dread and conflicts that the trauma victim feels” (p.57-58). Scholars are now seeking to better understand the tremendous “responsibility of the witness who has not suffered what the victim has” (Weingarten, 2004, p. 49).

In my study a common reason that participants gave for being involved in the Silent Protest was that they knew someone who had been a victim of sexual violence. One example of this explanation is provided in Extract 5 (below).

Extract 5: “I had a friend who was raped when she was young” (focus group)

Jane        Um, what motivated me, personally, was because I had a friend who was raped when she was young. So you could see how it really affected her when she was growing up. Although the guy was arrested, but she feels like, she was always tortured because of that fact that she was raped by someone. So she used to be like, ‘I don’t care about my life anymore’, and ‘It happened to me once so anyone can do it again’, and that kind of thing. So it was something that I was growing up with, with someone who was like that. You could see them everyday getting, drowning every day because they can’t, they really don’t want to talk about it. They have shut it out like, ‘I’m not going to say anything about that’, and ‘I’m just going to continue like nothing happened’.

In the extract above, Jane endeavours to articulate her experience of witnessing the aftermath of the experience of sexual violence on her friend. She described what she witnessed as torture, lack of caring about self, fear of reoccurrence, drowning, and purposeful silence.

According to Hatley (2000), witnessing refers to an ethical involvement; a “mode of response to the other’s plight” (p. 3). Hatley (2000) continues:

[O]ne is summoned to attentiveness, which is to say, to a heartfelt concern for and acknowledgment of the gravity of violence directed toward particular others. In this attentiveness, the wounding of the other is registered in the first place not as an objective fact but as a subjective blow, a persecution, a trauma. The witness refuses to forget the weight of this blow, or the depth of the wound it inflicts (p.3).

Brison (2002, p. 40) argues that people who have suffered intentional harm at the hands of others are “reduced to mere objects by their tormentors” and, given this nature of the harm, Brison contends that recovery necessitates “regaining one’s voice, one’s subjectivity, after one has been reduced to silence” (p.55). According to Brison (2002), this requires developing a coherent trauma narrative and integrating it into one’s personal life story. In Extract 4, Jane describes witnessing her friend’s difficulty in talking about the experience (“I’m not going to say anything about that”). However, for Brison (2002), talking about the traumatic event is an essential step to regaining a sense of control. Furthermore, Brison (2002) argues that one’s audience plays a fundamental role because, in addition to finding the words that can begin to describe what happened, it is also necessary to have “*an audience able and willing to hear us and to understand our words as we intend them*” (Brison, 2002, p. 51, italics in the original). In Extract 6 (below) this aspect of witnessing is foregrounded.

Extract 6: “So I was showing solidarity to her in particular” (focus group)

Amanda I just want to say, well, my reason for participating is similar. I participated [in the Silent Protest] because a friend of mine was raped by her boyfriend, so that was sort of my reason for participating. Basically also because, and I want to touch on something you said, she disclosed to a lot of her friends and nobody believed her. So I was showing solidarity to her in particular. But I also think that some of the exclusions that come from that sense of being other, that sense that people, like, not seeing you in the same way often, because people are in disbelief, like it didn’t, like, happen the way you said.

In the extract above, Amanda recognises the importance of an affirming audience. Amanda explains that she understood that her friend's recovery depended on having an affirming audience and explains that she participated in the Silent Protest to show "solidarity to her [friend] in particular". However, Amanda also recognizes that this dependency on others in the healing process means that, when others are unable or unwilling to "believe" the trauma narrative, this can make the process of recovery more difficult. The last lines of Amanda's statement suggest that, in addition to showing solidarity to her friend, she also understood the importance of countering the negative impact of others who were not similarly empathetic.

Of course, not all of the participants in my study participated in the Silent Protest in solidarity with a particular person. Many allies are prompted to participate in the Silent Protest to bring recognition to the fact that rape and sexual violence is widespread and an ongoing issue that needs to be addressed.

Extract 7: "I really wanted to be in solidarity with everyone" (focus group)

Emily      Um, I think for me it was the community where I grew up. Like, mostly people are raped and they never really talk about it. Yeah, so sometimes you hear about the complaints, maybe like an aunt who noticed that this child is not ok, and then they report it to the magistrate or the police or someone. So yeah, that's what motivated me. I really wanted to be in solidarity with everyone who is affected.

Whether allies participated in the Silent Protest in solidarity with a particular person, or out of concern for the pervasiveness of the problem, and in solidarity with all of those who have been affected, a common issue that emerges in their statements about what motivated them to participate in the Silent Protest is the difficulties encountered in speaking out about rape and sexual violence.

Extract 8: "It's not something that people talk about all the time" (focus group)

Victoria I participated in the Silent Protest because ... when I came [to university] I didn't have much information on sexual harassment or sexual violence. Coz, where I come from, from Zimbabwe, it's not something people talk about all the time. And, then even when I grew up, it was something that was always shielded. We don't talk about sexual issues in our culture and, even at home it's not something that you discuss, that someone has been raped. And, even if someone does come and say they have been raped, the first assumption is 'What if they are lying?' Even when I came [here] I was, um, I was very blunt towards these issues. So this [the Silent Protest] was one of the things that made me think, so let me go and see what is going on, and then the reaction was very different. I feel like maybe if I had not participated I would have, I don't know where I would be regarding these issues. Coz as much as I want to talk about gender, I wasn't at the stage as [I am] right now about sexual harassment and sexual violence. I actually see that it's a thing, when you come here, like when you see your classmates, when you see someone you sit next to and they are saying 'I'm a survivor' or they faced something like that. So, actually, it was an eye opening thing. That was how it was for me.

In the extract above, Victoria argues that the silencing of rape and sexual violence in the community in which she was raised made it possible to dismiss those who did speak out ("What if they are lying?") and 'blunted' her own understanding. She also argues that shifts in her understanding occurred when she began to participate in the Silent Protest ("I actually see that it's a thing") and by bearing witness to those who speak out ("When you sit next to someone and they are saying 'I'm a survivor...it was an eye opening thing").

Unfortunately, not all of the witnesses to the Silent Protest are able to respond in the same way as the allies I was interviewing. Indeed, allies commented on non-participant witness responses that they viewed as highly inappropriate.

Extract 9: "People talking loudly about how stupid the protest was" (Dina's diary)

I found myself behind two people talking loudly about how stupid the protest was. I wanted to give them a flyer but [they] weren't interested, was happy to be ignorant. Later I saw someone who told us we were being too dramatic and going overboard.

According to Henry (2010, p.1099), the “privileging of disclosure over silence...does not capture different modes of witnessing” and what the various implications of that might be. Roman (2003, p. 276) argues that, “the demand to witness...may produce a range of strong, ambivalent, or contradictory responses, among them, horror, sympathy, terror, relief, recognition, empathy, defensiveness, anger, resentment, and disbelief”.

For people participating in the Silent Protest as ‘survivors’ of rape and sexual violence, the possibility that some witnesses’ responses would not be empathetic and supportive was a cause for concern for the allies. An example of this concern is illustrated statements in the below Facebook post (not part of the data corpus). This is an anonymous post in a public Facebook group that Rhodes University students use to air their views and debate a range of sensitive issues:

“This can be affecting the person you sit next to” (Facebook post 28/07/2015)

You are not alone in these feelings! I too signed up for the Silent Protest in the holidays with the support of my mum next to me. With her right there the choice of the shirt seemed so easy. Now however being back at varsity I'm regretting having chosen the 'Rape Survivor' category as this will be the first time I publicly accept that I did indeed survive. This as a whole is a traumatizing experience and I hope and pray that to everyone who is taking part in the protest and has read these confessions bear in mind how this day can be affecting the very person you sit next to every single day.

Recognizing that, by making rape and sexual violence visible, the Silent Protest would prompt debate that for many people would be quite difficult to engage in, the organizers of the Silent Protest arranged a number of group meetings, which took place before and after the Silent Protest, and which were facilitated by people with the requisite experience and expertise. These meetings were advertised on posters that were placed around campus, as well as in various electronic communications – including posts on the same public Facebook group as the post in the previous extract.

“Please take note of the following” (Facebook post 15/08/2015)

The Silent Protest was a difficult time for many, whether or not they participated. Please take note of following discussion groups, happening next week, for those who would like to discuss their experiences.

For people who have experienced some form of sexual violence (regardless of whether or not you participated in the protest as a survivor or at all):

In the post in the above extract organisers of the Silent Protest acknowledge the likelihood that participants in the Silent Protest will experience a degree of psychological discomfort. The post informs the university community of discussion group meetings designed to assist with what they describe as “a difficult time”. Importantly, the message in the post acknowledges that this “difficult time” can be experienced not only by those who actively participate in the Silent Protest, but also by non-participants (“regardless of whether or not you participated in the protest as a survivor *or at all*”, emphasis added) who are bound to witness the Silent Protest events on and around the university campus. Arguably, what is being acknowledged here is that witnessing is not always as a result of a conscious commitment to participate. What is also being acknowledged is that when people inadvertently and unexpectedly become witnesses to trauma they are also unlikely to be prepared for the experience and the possible affective responses that it provokes.

I find Weingarten’s (2004) descriptions of four types of witnessing positions useful for thinking through the implications of different witnessing positions for different modalities of response. As indicated in the introductory chapter, Weingarten (2004) describes four different witnessing positions predicated on the intersections of levels of awareness and levels of empowerment. To recap, the four witnessing positions that Weingarten (2004) identifies are: (i) Empowered and Aware; (ii) Empowered and Unaware; (iii) Disempowered and Unaware; (iv) Disempowered and Aware. These different witnessing positions were depicted diagrammatically in Figure 1 on page 58. In the following paragraphs, I provide extracts from

my data illustrating how allies took up witness position one and witness position four. For illustrative purposes, I present posts (not part of data corpus) that demonstrate witness position two and witness position three.

Weingarten (2004) argues that witness position one, ‘empowered and aware’, is the most desirable witnessing position. Witnesses in this position are cognisant and mindful of the significance of what they have witnessed and they also have some sense of how to take effective action in relation to what they have observed. The ally statement in Extract 10 (below) exemplifies this witnessing position.

Extract 10: “I believe you” (Facebook post 31/07/2015)

I believe you and I am so sorry to hear about this. Date rape is something that exists on our campuses and it is time we stand against it.

The message in the extract above was posted in response to an anonymous message about a rape experience. In this post the ally acknowledges and validates the individual’s experience (“I believe you”). This is an important statement in the context of the silencing of women’s experiences of rape and sexual violence and the pervasiveness of rape myths that result in many common responses to this type of disclosure being denial and disbelief. Another thing that is acknowledged in this short post is the fact that sexual violence is often perpetrated by an intimate other. In Chapter Two I argued that the sexual socialisation of women, in which women are conditioned to put men’s needs first, as well as men’s sexual socialisation to actively pursue sexual gratification can foreclose a woman’s ability to recognise that not consenting is an option or to believe that it is possible to withdraw consent (Frith & Kitzinger, 2001). The ally’s comments in the extract above (“date rape is something that exists”) challenges the normalisation of coercive, non-consensual sex in intimate heterosexual relationships. These actions – acknowledgement and affirmation of the victim-

survivor's experience and the challenge of rape culture – are modalities of response that are illustrative of witnessing that is “constructive for others” (Weingarten, 2004, p. 47). This can be contrasted with the other witnessing positions.

Weingarten describes witness position two, ‘empowered and unaware’, as the most toxic witnessing position for others. These witnesses have the power to intervene meaningfully but do not because they are unaware of the meaning and significance of what they are witnessing. The toxicity of this kind of witnessing can be seen in posts written by survivors on the Facebook page that was used for this study. This is illustrated below.

“You asked for it” (Facebook post 31/07/2015)

When I went home I told my sister what happened. She said ‘no, let’s just sweep it under the carpet because no one will believe you’. I was determined to let my story be known and for him to be sued, [so] I proceeded off and told my mom. She said ‘you asked for it, clearly it was nice cause you didn't even scream’. Night after night for the whole vacation I cried myself to sleep.

Talk about suing (“him to be sued”) suggests that the victim-survivor wanted to seek justice via a civil rather than a criminal charge. And it appears that the person recounting the events described in this extract chose to disclose the experience of sexual violence to her sister and her mother with the expectation that they would provide assistance and support to take action on the matter. However, both her mother and sister appear unaware of the impact of this experience on the victim-survivor and both of their responses are characteristic of rape myth acceptance that fulfils the function of silencing (“let’s just sweep it under that carpet”) and justifying what happened by suggesting that the victim-survivor was somehow culpable for what happened (“you asked for it”). Thus, not only did they not provide the support and assistance that was being sought but did further harm by suggesting a degree of culpability and attempting to silence the victim-survivor.

Weingarten's (2004) witness position three, 'disempowered and unaware', describes a witness who is similarly unaware as the witness in position two, although Weingarten views this type of witness as less toxic. In witness position three witnesses observe the after-effects of traumatic experiences that they know little or nothing about and are therefore unable to understand the meaning and significance of what they observe and this undermines their ability to provide an appropriate response. The following comment speaks to this position.

Extract 11: "Should I break up with her?" (Facebook 11/08/2015)

Found out that my gf is a rape survivor a week or so into dating her. It's been three months n she can't bring herself to have naps, should I break up with her? I love her but naps are part of my relationship model.

In this post a young man explains that his girlfriend ("gf") is a rape survivor and that this has impacted on sexual intimacy ("naps" is a colloquial term for sex). In Chapter Two I argued that sexual intimacy presents a particular barrier for victim-survivors of rape and sexual violence because the physiological processes of sexual arousal can be compromised by intrusive traumatic memories and that reclaiming the capacity for sexual pleasure is a complicated matter because it involves establishing a relationship of trust with an intimate other – which is difficult for survivors precisely because the violation of trust is characteristic of their experiences of rape and sexual violence. Arguably, while the young man wants us to understand the significance of his own experience ("it's been three months and she can't bring herself to have naps"), he seems to be unable to understand the significance of his girlfriend's experience. This, arguably, explains his rather 'deaf' suggestion to end the relationship because sex is a part of his "relationship model". While this response is not toxic in the same way as the silencing and suggested culpability illustrated in the earlier post, it is still clearly unsupportive. And it is unsupportive precisely because this young man clearly has

no sense of the significant impact that the experience of sexual violence has had on his girlfriend.

Of all of the witnessing positions, Weingarten (2004) describes position four ‘disempowered and aware’, as the most distressing witnessing position and this is because the witness understands the significance of what they are witnessing but feel helpless or ineffective in relation to it. This witnessing position is powerfully demonstrated in Extract 12 (below).

Extract 12 “You cried and I cried with you” (Facebook post 10/08/2015)

This is not a poem, this is how I just feel after the Silent Protest and I thought I could share my feelings with you.

On the 7th of August, you cried and I cried with you. I know you cried as a survivor and I know you thought I cried in solidarity. But I cried in shame. Yes, shame. I wept and I wept, because each time you stood in front of that microphone and relived or recalled each event, you convicted me of my crime.

I am ashamed of myself, I am ashamed I ignored your screams. I am ashamed I slept right through every evil night whilst he exploited your innocence. I am ashamed of how I ignored you when you complained of how he came into the room, gun in hand and ordered you to undress. I am ashamed because I knew this already. I am ashamed because I heard his footsteps.

I am ashamed because I hid behind culture. After all it stated that I support my blood not a mere house-girl. Today I am ashamed because I woke up early on the 7th of August to protest against the likes of me. I am ashamed of what my father and his fellow ball-less cowards and evil bastards did to you. I am truly ashamed.

This is the distressed confession of a witness to sexual violence who understands the significance of what he has witnessed (“you cried and I cried with you”). The witness acknowledges the harm done to the victim-survivor and also his culpability in witnessing and not intervening to mitigate the harm being done (“I ignored your screams”). In this post the witness describes feeling “shame” and “ashamed” in nearly every sentence. Importantly, while his shame is as a result of his failure to intervene, this was not – as is the case in witnessing positions two and three – because he did not understand the significance of what

he was witnessing but precisely because he did understand its significance and still failed to intervene. In explaining why he felt helpless to intervene he makes reference to (“I hid behind”) the dominant gender ideology (“culture”) in which it is commonplace for men to take control over women bodies as objects for their own gratification – a fact underwritten when rape and sexual violence are a mechanism in the differentiation of social class (“a mere house-girl”) – and where silence about rape and sexual violence is deemed important to protect the family (“blood”) – and demonstrate class loyalty. Gender ideology, culture, and class loyalty are significant factors shaping our lives. Though, for many, including the speaker himself, the inability to intervene is still viewed as cowardly. Be that as it may, the important observation that Weingarten’s (2004) witnessing positions help us to understand is that, cowardly or not, the experiences described in Extract 12 were extremely distressing to the witness because he did not feel empowered to intervene.

Understanding the implications of different witnessing positions is useful for thinking about the ways in which people witness survivors’ accounts of rape and sexual violence and the potential they have to both support and undermine the recovery process. Arguably, if allies participating in the Silent Protest are both aware and empowered then their experiences of participating in the protest are likely to be both important and meaningful to themselves and those with whom they are protesting in ‘solidarity’. By contrast, witnesses to the Silent Protest who are witnessing from other positions may do harm by saying or doing things that undermine the healing process of survivors of rape and sexual violence, and may also experience significant personal distress if they are able to understand the meaning and significance of the trauma they are witnessing but feel disempowered to intervene or provide the necessary support. By comparison, knowledge is power, and being aware of certain issues, situations, problems or experiences helps one to seek solutions and ways to deal with those problems or situations. In the case of the Silent Protest allies who are aware and

empowered to help survivors to heal provide affirmation, acknowledgement, and validation and are committed to challenging the conditions that support rape culture. This, in turn, is central to providing a supportive space within which victim-survivors can engage in the process of recovery. Importantly Weingarten (2004) argues that witnessing positions are not static and can change over time. Consequently, it is possible that, over time, participants and ‘non-participants’ witnessing the Silent Protest may shift from their initial witnessing positions and develop the awareness and capacity to respond more meaningfully in the future.

Although my study focuses on the participation of allies participating in the Silent Protest in ‘solidarity’ with survivors of rape and sexual violence, in the data analysis process it became apparent that the allies were very much aware of these different witnessing positions. It also became apparent that they were attuned to the implications of different levels of witnessing. In Chapter Two I described the three levels of witnessing outlined by Laub (1992): the first level is that of being a witness to oneself (survivors are witnesses to their own experiences), the second level is being a witness to the experience of others (survivors and allies participating in the Silent Protest as well as non-participant witnesses witness the testimony of victim-survivors), the third level is witnessing the actual process of witnessing (victim-survivors, allies participating in solidarity, and other non-participants who nevertheless witness the Silent Protest event witness each other’s witnessing).

The post below (not part of data set) provides an example of first level witnessing (for illustrative purpose). In this post a victim-survivor provides a ‘first person’ witness account of an experience of non-consensual sex and subsequent attempts to address what had happened with the person who was her partner at the time.

“This is really bothering me” (Facebook post 26/08/2015)

After the Silent Protest I tried speaking to my ex-boyfriend about the night he slept with me when I had passed out and the next morning he told me I would've slept with him

anyway. This is really bothering me because he proceeded to block me from WhatsApp when I told him I never gave consent! I have been crying in my room and feeling stupid for staying with him even after that one incident.... I feel so stupid! But I guess I was gonna sleep with him anyway, but why do I feel like this?

The survivor articulates the realisation of her previous sexual encounter as a rape experience after participating in the Silent Protest. Although she is conflicted about acknowledging this experience, the survivor understands the importance of consent, which, even if she does not say it explicitly, is a determinant of a rape experience. Level 1 witnessing may be facilitated by level 2 witnessing. I also observed survivors bearing witness to other survivors and include an example of from the data that illustrates this point. In the post below a survivor describes her witnessing the experiences other victim-survivors during the ‘Taking Back the Night’ event at the cathedral.

“I really admire all those who come forward” (Facebook post 08/08/2015)

The Silent Protest is happening again and this is my last year at Rhodes. I won't be participating in it. Every year I feel the same pain.

I have never told anyone what happened to me. The possibility of everyone I know finding out that I was sexually assaulted is too painful. It's embarrassing and even more so, it would hurt those I love. I've been pretending for years that it didn't happen to me, that it happened to someone else.

I just wanted to say thank you to those who are braver than I am. I don't know if I'll ever be ready to tell the world what happened to me but I really admire all those who come forward. I'm still fighting my way through to where you guys are and maybe one day I'll break through.

Thank you and God Bless

In this post a victim-survivor describes witnessing other victim-survivors finding the courage (“those who are braver than I am”) to stand up and break the silence by speaking out about their experiences of rape and sexual violence (I really admire all those who come forward”). Although she argues that she is not yet ready to do so (“I’m still fighting my way though, to

where you guys are”) she acknowledges the importance of breaking the silence and hopes that she will be able to do this herself one day (“maybe one day I’ll break though”).

This second level of witnessing that Laub (1992) describes (witnessing the testimony of others) is aligned quite closely with the way in which Weingarten (2004) conceptualizes witnessing. However, while Weingarten (2004) identifies different witnessing positions (dis/empowered; un/aware) mediating the witnessing impact, Laub (1992) argues that witnessing necessarily involves “an abundance of holding and of emotional investment in the encounter” (p. 71). In describing the witness as “someone who actually participates in the reliving and re-experiencing of the event” and who “also become[s] part of the struggle to go beyond the event and not be submerged and lost it” (p.76). Laub’s (1992) conceptualization of bearing witness is similar to Weingarten’s (2004) witness position one, ‘aware and empowered’. In my research, this witnessing position was observed among allies who had participated in the Silent Protest over a number of years.

The third level of witnessing that Laub (1992) describes is one in which the process of witnessing is itself being witnessed. In the process of analysing the data I observed that a significant portion of the allies accounts of participating in the Silent Protest are focused, not on their own process of bearing witness, but of observations of the responses of a range of other witnesses. This is elaborated upon in the section that follows.

#### **4.2.1 WITNESSING AMONG WITNESSES**

The different responses of survivors to the Silent Protest events allow witnesses – including other survivors of rape and sexual violence and their allies – to understand that healing is a process and that the process can be different for different people. In the Facebook post dated 08/08/2015 on page 101, for example, a survivor describes recovery as a process that unfolds

over time (“one day I’ll find my way through”) and that different survivors can be in different places in their recovery time (“still fighting my way through to where you are”). In my data, this is expressed in the substantial debate about whether or not to participate in the Silent Protest and whether or not to participate as an identified ‘survivor’. I observed that allies who participate in the Silent Protest over time come to realise this, as illustrated in Extract 13 (below).

Extract 13: “Not all instances of sexual violence affect the survivors the same” (Facebook post 08/08/2015)

The thing I have learnt is that not all instances of sexual violence affect the survivors the same and so their process of healing comes differently. Sure, maybe the Silent Protest is not the space suited for you but it does serve those who want to share their stories and experiences for their own process. You must give them that opportunity and celebrate the people bold enough to make it happen in a society that would rather silence and shame than deal with sexual violence.

The ally in the above extract understands, after witnessing others’ experiences over time that healing happens differently and argues that survivors should be allowed a space to heal at their own pace.

In addition to observing allies witnessing how victim-survivors experienced the participation of other victim-survivors, I observed that allies were aware that their own witnessing practices were being observed by victim-survivors, and that this prompted critical reflection on their role in the Silent Protest and the extent to which it is viewed as supportive for the survivors of rape and sexual violence.

Extract 14: “I’m sorry for it never occurring to me” (Facebook post 19/04/2015)

First of all, I am sorry for it never occurring to me that wearing the solidarity shirt makes it ‘casual’. Secondly - it should never be casual. These shirts were made to carry a message, and that is not a ‘once-a-year’ task. When I wear mine, I like to think that people have read what it says and have taken some time to think about the issues.

In the literature exploring involvement in social justice protests it is observed that, in addition to one's own time availability and opportunities to participate, the capacity to think critically is an important factor determining engagement (Walgrave, Laer, Verhulst & Wouters, 2013). This is because, it is argued, the ability to reason more complexly allows one to be more aware of the incongruence between espoused democratic and egalitarian social values and the realities of oppression. However, if Weingarten (2004) is correct, being critically aware may take time and the shift to critically aware witness may only develop as a result of participating in the Silent Protest over a prolonged period. Either way, it was apparent that, in addition to being aware of being observed by those participating in the Silent Protest as 'survivors' of rape and sexual violence, allies participating in 'solidarity' were also aware that their participation was being witnessed (and evaluated) by the other allies.

Extract 15: "It's a serious topic and if you're not ready for it, don't do it" (Facebook post 29/07/2015)

Today I overheard two girls talking about the Silent Protest, and the one asked the other 'Is it hectic? I heard that people get really deep and depressed and stuff'.

I was put off it in first year because all my friends jumped at the opportunity and took it extremely seriously and then said 'never again'. Maybe it taught them a thing or two but at the end of the day I view it as a fad, everyone wanted to be a hero in first year and now they're happily carrying on with their lives.

It's a great cause, it's a serious topic and if you're not ready for it, don't do it. There is no point walking around with tape over your mouth in public and sneaking in a snack, or skipping the service to drink.

And yes, it is hectic. It's rape, it's a 'hectic' topic, yes, it will be 'deep' It's not a joke, people are ruined by rape everyday.

'Survivors' and allies participating in the Silent Protest in 'solidarity' are intentional witnesses. However, because the Silent Protest is a public event that takes place on the university campus and in the city in the vicinity of the university campus, there are also non-participant witnesses. Most immediately, these unintentional witnesses are other students who

have not signed up to participate in the Silent Protest but who are witnesses to it because most events are hosted on campus where they are attending class and in residence. My study shows that allies experience a range of responses from these unintentional witnesses.

Extract 16: "I'm going to rape you next" (focus group)

Jessy Every year when people are walking from the cathedral, um, for the take back the night, the vigil, every year without fail, there will be men standing on the side shouting about how they will rape the next person bla bla bla and laughing about it, and it's very creepy. So you cracking jokes about, ha ha, 'I'm gonna rape you next'. You get people who laugh. People are here laughing, people are here telling jokes.

Betty Someone came past us and he was like, 'Now you won't even be able to shout out when I get to you'. He was a Rhodes student, and all his mates laughed. They laugh and they will be like bravado, you know, macho, like it doesn't concern them. This isn't, it shouldn't be a joke, cos it isn't a joke, it's not funny, that's why we keep doing it every year. It makes me very angry.

As Grahamstown is a small university town the Silent Protest becomes visible to other members of the community too, and allies also witness their responses to the Silent Protest.

Extract 17: "It's very uncomfortable for them as community members" (focus group)

Namhla Walking to the cathedral, to the church square, I walked past this lady and she was talking to these two girls who were survivors, wearing the survivor's shirt. And all I heard her saying is its very uncomfortable for them as community members. And, um, she was like, 'I know what happened to you, but you're making things awkward for us'. And, as I walked past, I thought like, no, that's disrespectful though. Like, sorry that's making you so uncomfortable, but that's someone's reality so you need to actually face it. And that's why I feel that the rate keeps rising in this country, because no one is actually confronting the situation. What I heard got me feeling quite mad at her.

Unlike university students who have not signed up for the protest, these unintentional witnesses have not had the same opportunities to prepare themselves for their encounter with

the protest. They have not been notified or invited, for example, to attend the campus meetings that prepare the university community for the Silent Protest. In the process of analysis I observed that allies were as affected by witnessing the responses of these other non-participant witnesses as they were of witnessing survivors accounts of rape and sexual violence.

Extract 18: "They are flat out disrespectful" (Namhla's diary)

In fact, they are flat out disrespectful. I refuse to be close friends with someone who disregards and disrespects something so serious and symbolic of what people actually go through. I hate even how Rhodents seem ignorant when it comes to the Silent Protest, rape and sexual violence.

The outrage resonating in Namhla's comments in Extract 18 (above) are echoed in numerous other observations. Importantly, these observations are accompanied by a strong emotional response.

Extract 19: "It made me feel angry" (Kelly's diary)

...this made me feel angry, irritated, upset and sorry for him.

In the following extract, an ally gives an account of her experience of the way some men joke about rape and how it made her feel.

Extract 20: "It makes me very angry" (Trudy's diary)

This isn't, it shouldn't be a joke, cos it isn't a joke, it's not funny ... that's why we keep doing it every year ... It makes me very angry.

Allies in the Silent Protest found it difficult to comprehend the denial and dismissive behaviour of non-participant witnesses after observing the pain and harm that the survivors experienced. However, as Gould (2009) argues, emotions are perceived as a channel by which people come to realisation and understanding. In my study, disappointment in negative responses was productive. It prompted allies to think critically about why people responded

in the ways that they did and this also made them realise the importance of resisting the ways of thinking that perpetuate rape and rape culture.

Extract 21: "This does not make me want to shy away" (Kelly's diary)

This does not make me want to shy away, but to look back at them, to make them feel uncomfortable. Sometimes with shock comes awareness or, at the very least, it will spark some conversation.

Extract 22: "It engages me more" (Kelly's diary)

It lends itself to reflection and only engages me more in the serious reality of sexual violence.

In the ally comments in Extract 21 and 22, it appears that allies came to realise that the negativity and criticism they witnessed and experienced was also their source of strength and encouragement to keep on fighting against the conditions in which rape and sexual violence occur. According to Harwood and Overing (1994), the (masculine) 'gaze' functions to cast the (feminine) other as passive and subjected to the authority of the dominant male culture. However, in the accounts given by the participants in my study this made them to want to resist and fight back. Wing (2000) argues that turning the gaze is one way of renegotiating (finding a way to invoke a realization in those who do not acknowledge the dangers of sexual violence) to inhabit the gaze differently. Hence Kelly (in Extract 21) argues that, this did not make her "shy away but to look back at them, to make them feel uncomfortable, sometimes with shock comes awareness or at very least it will spark some conversation". Wing (2000, p. 37) asserts that "the gaze is multiple, contradictory and complicated" thus the negativity from the community is not absolute and is related to the fears and uncertainty about how to be involved and tackle the issue of rape. Certainly, it was in statements such as these that much of the data answering my research questions were acquired – which is the focus of the next chapter.

In concluding this chapter I argue that reactions from non-participant and unintentional allies were not all negative. There were certainly accounts where allies' witnessed positivity towards the Silent Protest and those who were participating in it. Some of these positive responses reinforced allies' belief in the importance of the Silent Protest.

Extract 23: "Solidarity sister" (Pretty's diary)

Others smile as though to say, 'I wish I had your bravery'. He shyly asked if he could keep one of the flyers explaining the cause, and tentatively wished me luck. Mostly guys are supporting my individual protest in words such as 'solidarity sister' and silent nods. I can feel people's eyes on me.

Extract 24: "What you did today was really eye-opening" (Sue's diary)

I even went out that night in my protest t-shirt and I had people coming up to me and saying 'well done' and 'wow, what you did today was really eye-opening'.

Extract 25: "People seemed genuinely interested" (Dina's diary)

People seemed genuinely interested in what we were doing, asking for pamphlets and watching us curiously.

Extract 26: "So I understand now why we are strong" (Namhla's diary)

So I understand now why we are strong, because we are willing to 'volunteer our bodies' to show visually what a lot of survivors go through. And I actually understand why this morning she [an organiser] said we are strong. And at that moment, when she said it, I felt it in my heart and I agreed.

In these extracts allies describe the support they experienced through words of encouragement "solidarity sister" and appreciation "well done". The acknowledgement of allies' courage by witnesses made them understand the reason they have been told by the organisers that they were strong for participating in the protest. The smiles of people towards the protestors and the wishing of luck portrays positive attitudes towards the protest and the notion that although some people are not directly participating in the protest, they are doing so in their own way, through supporting and encouraging those who are involved. The

community including both men and women were reported to be supportive. Allies spoke positively about these interactions as, reporting comments such as, “Mostly guys are supporting my individual protest in word such as ‘solidarity sister’ and silent nodes”. This supporting behaviour gives hope that maybe someday everyone will understand and will be willing to stand together to fight rape and sexual violence.

## **CONCLUSION**

In this chapter I argued that there are two mechanisms shaping allies’ experiences of the Silent Protest; these include politics of affect and witnessing. In politics of affect allies’ experiences of the protest are expressed through a range of emotions, including but not limited to sadness, anger, and a sense of being overwhelmed. Furthermore, affect experiences serve as a prompt for allies to interrogate what is going on and how they make sense of their experiences of the Silent Protest. In shaping allies’ experiences, bearing witness is experienced in three ways. Firstly, allies witness someone close to them experiencing sexual violence and rape. Secondly, they witness silences around sexual violence within society and, lastly, allies witness the behaviour of intentional and unintentional witnesses that is both supportive and unsupportive.

Having to witness silence about rape in their community as well as witnessing their friends’ experiences of life after sexual assault motivated allies to participate in the Silent Protest. Recognising the effect that witnessing has on allies, I argue that the group discussions that are hosted on campus play an important role in helping allies to dealing with these experiences before, during, and after the Silent Protest.

I elaborated upon Weingarten's (2004) witnessing positions and argued that understanding these witnessing positions assists with the identification, development, and enhancement of interventions that seek to help witnesses transition to an empowered and aware witnessing position. I also took into account Laub's (1992) levels of witnessing and elaborated upon the ways in which different witnessing levels account for different witnessing experiences. I discussed witnessing among witnesses – where witnesses observe each other witnessing the Silent Protest – and argue that this is a significant process because it allows one to examine ally politics and the effect it has on survivor's recovery process.

## **CHAPTER 5: UNDERSTANDING SEXUALITIES AND SEXUAL VIOLENCE**

In the previous chapter I analysed the processes allies spoke or wrote about as facilitating particular understandings. The data presented in this chapter addresses the remaining questions I have set out to answer in my research. Regarding the participation of allies in the Silent Protest, I have sought to understand how participation in the protest promotes allies' understanding of sexual violence; how participation in the protest promotes their understanding the relation between sexualities (which are gendered, heteronormative, class-based and so on) and sexual violence; how participation promotes their understanding of conduct, identity and relation-based sexual rights; and how participation promotes their understanding of entitlement to non-discriminatory sexual health services. The analytic themes presented in this chapter address these questions. These themes are: rape is a contested concept; rape is a loaded concept; understanding sexual citizenship; silences, absence and omissions; and safe spaces.

### **5.1 RAPE IS A CONTESTED CONCEPT**

'Rape' and 'sexual assault' are powerful terms in that they label some acts negatively, while ignoring and, by implication, condoning other acts. As Reitan (2001) argues, "to call a sexual act 'rape' is to attach to it the harshest sort of condemnation" (p. 43). These terms are also powerful in so far as they shape how people label, experience, evaluate, and assimilate their own sexually coercive incidents. The definitions of these terms convey numerous

assumptions about power and coercion, sexuality, and gender (Muehlenhard, 1992). Unsurprisingly, traditional definitions of rape have supported patriarchal investments in (hetero)sexuality and this support is challenged by feminist scholars seeking to expand the definition of rape (Reitan, 2001). In this section of the analysis I present data suggesting that allies in the Silent Protest were prompted to question narrow definitions of rape and to think critically ways of being that create conditions that are conducive to rape and sexual violence.

### 5.1.1 QUESTIONING RAPE CULTURE

Reitan (2001) argues that feminist attempts to redefine ‘rape’ have met with varying degrees of resistance from men who recognise that, under these new conditions, their own sexual behaviours might qualify as rape. Reitan (2001) notes how suggestions that rape no longer be defined in terms of the use of violence or the threat of it to force sex upon an unwilling women, for example, has been met with significant resistance from male commentators. Feminists responding to this critique have pointed out that date rape frequently does not involve injury or the explicit threat of physical injury. Pineau (1989, cited in Reitan, 2001) goes further and points out that what is now term ‘date rape’ is sexual assault that has often been mistaken for seduction.

Comments in Extract 27 (below) illustrate Reitan’s (2001) point that what some people see as ‘flirting’ can in fact be regarded as sexual harassment.

Extract 27: “Today he grabs your butt, what happens tomorrow?” (Focus group)

Victoria Um, in my culture, I’m Shona, there is this thing called *chiramu*. It’s like, um, where you can play [flirt] with your sister’s husband, or with your mother’s brother, and they call you a wife. So sometimes they grab your butt, or maybe target your breast, but all in the name of ‘Ooh it’s just culture, he can just play with you, you’re his ‘wife’. But that’s how it starts, today he grabs your butt,

what happens tomorrow? You know, so that's how it starts, and it's being perpetuated cos we are like, um, it's just culture, you can't report.

In Extract 27 (previous page) Victoria describes sexualised “play” that she was raised to believe was permissible because it is a part of her Shona culture. Cultural beliefs such as these are linked to patriarchal dominance in which the sexual socialisation of girls involves teaching them not to resist unwanted touching in the name of culture (“chiramu”). Arguably, labelling a girl “wife” implies that male relatives have (and indeed are entitled to have) sexual access to her. This positions women as submissive sexual citizens with lack of sexual agency. Victoria distances herself from this normalisation of sexualised “play” and challenges its expected outcome when she asks, “What happens tomorrow?” While Victoria is clearly critical of this “play”, the scenario that she describes suggests that, read through a cultural lens; expanded definitions of rape will be more or less acceptable indifferent social groups. Fortunately, exposure to alternate framings can have a significant impact, as illustrated in Extract 28 (below) in which Charlotte responds to Victoria’s statement.

Extract 28: “It’s actually elaborated on the meaning of rape” (focus group)

Charlotte Just to add on to what Victoria said, it’s actually elaborated on, in the meaning of rape and sexual abuse. Like, it’s not only, like, penetration, but also like the butt grabbing and what not. Then you tend to realise that some of the events that actually happened in your life were actually part of sexual assault but you weren’t aware of it just because you didn’t know.

What Charlotte is pointing out is that contemporary understandings of sexual assault are more expansive than they were previously; this is suggested in the legal definitions to which she is referring (“it’s actually elaborated on, in the meaning of rape and sexual abuse”). However, what Charlotte does not realise, or is not acknowledging, is that this expanded understanding of what constitutes sexual assault is possibly uneven and that the conventional narrow definitions are not contested to the same degree or in the same way everywhere in the world.

Victoria endeavours to explain how certain cultural frames, such as patriarchy, serve to constrain how we understand rape. She outlines her realisation concerning elaborated definitions and the implication this may have for her own experiences.

Extract 29: "He has ownership over you?" (Focus group)

Victoria Um, sorry, the reason I was saying it's a culture thing is because in some cultures if you got raped by a relative, so you could find that your sister's husband raped you, and coz it's your sister's husband you can become a second wife. So it's enveloped under that umbrella of culture, and it's not a taboo coz it's your sister's husband, he could marry you, it's not a big deal. If your mother's brother could rape you and then it's like well your mother's brother always has some kind of a relationship with you, you could be his wife, that's how it is. Your husband could rape you and they are like, 'But how did your husband rape you, he is your husband?' It's like he has ownership over you. So that's what I'm saying, culture does contribute in some ways, to some extent, to this violation.

In the extract above Victoria demonstrates how rape can be normalised in the context of domestic life. It illustrates Reitan's (2001) observation about how traditional definitions of rape did not recognise marital rape because women were viewed as the 'property' of men – who were entitled to do as they pleased with their own property. Victoria's long rendition of these practices serves to distance her from them. Thinking about rape more broadly has implications for both what constitutes rape and who can be thought of as a rapist.

Extract 30: "So it's not necessarily someone that is coming from the dark" (focus group)

Amanda To touch on that, I meant, I think it's something, as I said before, my reason for participating was because my friend was raped by her boyfriend. So I think one of the things that the Silent Protest sort of highlighted for me in terms of the narratives that people say, it was maybe unpacking or disproving this idea of stranger-danger. So the idea of stranger-danger, so now saying that it's your uncle, it's your brother, it's possibly someone you know, like your friend, family, its someone that is known to you, so it's not necessarily always someone that is coming from the dark to attack you. I think for me that's what the Silent Protest kind of reinforced.

In extract 30 (above), Amanda cites how she learnt that sexual violence is imbricated within intimate heterosexual relationships, rather than an external threat. Drawing on Reitan (2001), I argue that it is good that rape is a contested concept because it gives more scope for understanding our experiences. Allies' accounts of their experiences of witnessing during the Silent Protest illustrate how difficult narrow definitions of rape are for survivors who are trying to make sense of their experiences.

Extract 31: "So what happened to me, was it rape?" (Focus group)

Victoria Most of it, at the chapel, were confession stories. So ...there were quite, some confessions after the protest itself, like this and that happened to me, was I raped? So people left with doubts, like you don't know, you like, 'So what happened to me, was it rape? Was it sexual assault or sexual harassment? What was it?' So, you know, there was just so many questions. What is sexual assault, what is sexual harassment, you know, what is rape itself?

As illustrated by Victoria in her account of witnessing survivors' confusions, the problem with a narrow definition of rape is that it limits the possibility, not only of understanding what happened, but of claiming to have had the experience at all. This is illustrated in the next extract.

Extract 32: "I'm not sure it counts" (Focus group)

Ross So, someone would come up and testify and say this happened to me, but I am not sure if it counts. That's the kind of stories that I was hearing. So I think that it's a big problem, and the Silent Protest doesn't address that. I mean, I remember a couple of times an organiser would come on stage just to say a lot of people are asking whether their experience counts, so they will be saying that it does count. So there would be a one line just to say 'everyone's experience counts here, so don't feel like it doesn't count', that's all. So it's just one line, 'please do not feel like it doesn't count, it counts'. Um, and I think the problem is that a lot of people, a lot of us have this limited idea of what rape is. I mean our legal definition has changed in this country but still it has its own limitations.

MacKinnon (1989, p. 179) argues that one consequence of the narrow definition of rape is that “[t]he implicit social standard becomes: if a woman could not prove it in court, it was not rape”. Arguably, the organisers of the Silent Protest were very much aware of the limitations of a narrow definition of rape and were endeavouring to operate on a broader understanding of what constitutes rape and sexual assault and this is why they made repeated statements to the effect that “everyone’s experience counts”. Importantly, Ross’s witnessing of these interactions draws her attention to the contestations surrounding sexual violence.

Interestingly, the next quote illustrates that the Silent Protest organisers also shifted their own conceptions of what constitutes rape in order to acknowledge a broader range of experiences.

Extract 33: “That’s when they added the survivor T-shirt” (focus group)

Amanda I was going to say, it’s interesting to note the narrowness of the term rape. I think it was at last years’ protest when they added the survivor t-shirt. I think they were trying to step in a right direction like to say this is what we mean, like something happened to me and I am a survivor of a particular event. So I just think the Silent Protest need to do more in that road.

While greater inclusivity in the Silent Protest is important, and while the organisers have been able to respond to this need for survivors to have their diverse experiences acknowledged, acknowledgement from society more broadly continues to be undermined by the dominance of a narrow definition of rape. Importantly, however, in the context of the Silent Protest, allies are grappling with the meaning of sexual violence, and the implications of these definitions for victim-survivors.

## **5.2 RAPE IS A LOADED CONCEPT**

Related to the ways in which rape is defined, rape myths serve to deny or justify sexual aggression. Adding on the contestation of the concept of rape, allies understood that rape is also a loaded concept. This linking between the ways in which we conceptualise rape and the assumptions we have about it is illustrated in the extract below.

Extract 34: "I struggle to use that, to say rape, coz it's loaded" (focus group)

Ross        Um, if we make rape something so narrow, it's also loaded. I mean, rape is one thing, and sexual violence sounded slightly, I don't want to say better, just, not to be, I struggle, I struggle to use that, to say rape, coz it's very loaded. There is a lot of blame that goes into it and also it's very narrow.

In the above extract Ross argues that defining rape narrowly creates the condition in which it becomes a very loaded concept. One consequence of defining rape narrowly, which Ross identifies, is the foregrounding of blame ("There is a lot of blame that goes into it").

In realizing that rape is a loaded concept, allies contested rape myths by understanding that victim-survivors are not to be blamed for their experiences, by recognizing rape survivors and by acknowledging that there are no less harmful sexual violence experiences. In the following subsections I present following subthemes that speak to this realization, namely: women don't ask for it; seeing the importance of recognizing male survivors and knowing the perpetrator doesn't make it less severe.

### **5.2.1 WOMEN DON'T ASK FOR IT**

Blaming victim-survivors for being raped hinges on the notion that they are partly responsible for what happened. While this notion is absurd, it has been afforded a degree of acceptability. Social psychologists (e.g. Gilmartin-Zena, 1987) have argued that its

acceptability is as a result of its congruence with what they term the ‘just world’ phenomenon – a belief that the world is fair and that people get what they deserve and, consequently, that good things happen to good people and bad things happen to bad people. In the context of sexual violence this has often translated into the assumption that women who are ‘deviant’ in one way or another are particularly prone to sexual violence. The pervasiveness of victim blaming is an issue that the participants in my study were particularly concerned about. In the extract below Victoria suggests that victim blaming is one of the ways in which survivors experiences are dismissed and suppressed.

Extract 35: “If you were being a woman you wouldn’t have been raped” (focus group)

Victoria There is already, there is a part already saying, ‘You are a woman, you dress this way’, um, because you are a woman. Men can always do whatever they want, like, that’s gender inequality, like a guy can come back at home at eleven at night. But you are a woman, you come back at five. Um, if you are raped walking at ten at night, it’s because you were out of your place. Um, you were supposed to be a woman, if you were being a woman you wouldn’t have been raped. And if you look at corrective rape it is because you are not acting as a woman, so ‘I’m teaching you how to be a woman, that’s why I am going to rape you’ that’s how it is. So this is one of the highlights of gender inequality when it comes to rape.

Victoria directly references gender inequality, but also refers to particular understandings of femininity that lay blame at the woman’s door, as well as the control of women’s movements. I identified two central concerns in allies’ statements of victim blaming. Their first concern was that, from what they had witnessed by participating in the Silent Protest, it was apparent to them that victim blaming directly affected victim-survivors’ willingness to speak out about their experiences of sexual violence.

Extract 36: “There is a lot of judgement out there” (focus group)

Rue There is a lot of judgement out there and it makes most people not open about their experiences. There are people who degrade people who participated in the

protest. But truth is, the people never asked for it hence they should not judge. If they stop judging, then more people might come out and tell their stories.

This is significant because the findings of a number of studies have indicated that victim-survivors of sexual violence internalise attributions of blame by others in society (Campbell, Dworkin, & Cabral, 2009; Katz & Burt, 1988; Ullman, 2010). Furthermore, self-blame not only reduces the likelihood of disclosing experiences of rape (Ahrens, 2006) but exacerbates the trauma and distress associated with sexual violence (Frazier, 1990; Ullman & Peter-Hagene, 2014; Ullman, Townsend, Filipas, & Starzynski, 2007). As illustrated in Extract 36, recognition of this was important for Rue.

In addition to impacting on victim-survivors' willingness to disclose their experiences, the second concern that allies had was that victim-blaming (by focusing on the character and behaviour of individual women) shifted the focus of debate on sexual violence away from those who perpetrated it, and away from confronting the socio-cultural values and beliefs underpinning the perpetration of sexual violence. Allies viewed these shifts as particularly problematic in the light of the fact that, through their participation in the Silent Protest, they had come to view gender inequality as a key factor in the perpetration of sexual violence.

Extract 37: "Men have control" (focus group)

Siya        I would say, um, if you look at the masculine identity, especially in South Africa, you meant to be tough, you meant to be strong, you meant to be quite sexually promiscuous, um, and you have control over everything. Men have control over the household, they have control of the woman's body, and everything is a right to them.

In the extract above Siya reflects on dominant notions of masculinity that give men power over women's bodies. It has been argued that "the belief that only certain types of women are raped functions to obscure and deny the personal vulnerability of *all* women" (Lonsway &

Fitzgerald, 1994, p. 136, emphasis in the original). In my study participation in the Silent Protest made allies increasingly aware of this fact.

Extract 38: "There is a sense of entitlement that men have" (focus group)

Amanda I think, also, for me, it's the sense of entitlement...so if you look at the whole spectrum of sexual violence, from sexual violence to rape, there is a sense of entitlement that men often have.

In the extract above, Amanda suggests that sexual violence is a systemic problem (rather than an ongoing series of isolated incidents). This is because, to understand men's "sense of entitlement", one needs to interrogate sexualized power dynamics that are themselves the product of systems of gender differentiation, paternalism, and heterosexuality. For allies in the Silent Protest, thinking about sexual violence in this way occasioned critical reflection of the assumptions underpinning their relationships with the men in their own lives; and, in particular, with assumptions about the role that men play in those relationships.

Extract 39: "It made me very cautious of even my male friends" (focus group)

Victoria Hearing some of the details, it makes you question. Coz, you know, we have brothers, we have uncles that we trust, these are the people we trust as our best friends and then these are the same people who look at you in a different way. So it was one of, um, it made me very cautious of even my male friends.

In the extract above Victoria argues that "the people we trust...are the same people who look at us in a different way" suggesting that relations between men and women are ambivalent. It has been argued that, "in the system of chivalry, men protect women against men" and that "chivalry is an age-old protection racket which depends for its existence on rape" (Griffin, 1986). According to Fraser (2015, p. 145), chivalry is a form of benevolent sexism (revering women who are traditionally feminine) that reifies the "association between women and passivity by encouraging men to assume agency on their behalf". In research on men and

women's attitudes towards sexism, it has been found that in South Africa and in other countries where men score high on hostile sexism, (holding denigrating attitudes that punish women who defy traditional gender roles) women endorse benevolent sexism more strongly than they do elsewhere in the world where men's scores on hostile sexism are much lower (Glick & Fiske, 2001). According Glick and Fiske (2001) women are more likely to endorse benevolent sexism in societies where men exhibit hostile sexism because being more negatively affected makes them more motivated to seek protection. The irony, as Glick and Fiske (2001, p.115) point out, is that "women are forced to seek protection from members of the very group that threatens them". Thus, while a rape myth like victim-blaming might serve the purpose of making 'good' women under the protection of 'chivalrous' men feel safe, the reality is that they are not; and allies' come to this realization through their participation in the Silent Protest.

### **5.2.2 SEEING THE IMPORTANCE OF RECOGNISING MALE SURVIVORS**

Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1994) have argued that rape myths serve different purposes for men and women. For women, rape myths may mitigate feelings of vulnerability whilst, for men, rape myths about women reassures them of their sexual domination. It is not surprising therefore, that male rape victim-survivors present a challenge to this traditional gender ideology, as seen in the following post from a male survivor.

I am a male survivor of sexual abuse and this confession is to those people who laughed in my face last year when I wore my survivor t-shirt. Being a survivor doesn't mean I am weak, it doesn't require strength to drug someone and drugs don't select whether you [are] male or female...Just because I was drugged and some woman took advantage of me never defines my strength nor does it define it for any survivor out there. Please stop the victim blaming because you don't know the story behind every survivor.

Common rape myths about men include the assumption that men cannot function sexually unless they are sexually aroused (Smith, Pine, & Hawley, 1988), that men cannot be forced to have sex against their will (Stermac, Del Bove, & Addison, 2004), and that men should be able to defend themselves against sexual assault (Groth & Burgess, 1980; Scarce, 2001). Because male rape is considered to be beyond the realm of possibility, most men have “never considered that they could become victims of sexual assault” (Davies, 2002, p. 204) and this makes it even more difficult for them to acknowledge the reality of their experience (Garnets, Herek, & Levy, 1990).

It is argued that male rape myths carry more weight when the assailant is female (Struckman-Johnson & Struckman-Johnson, 1992). In such circumstances, male victim-survivors are more likely to receive negative reactions from others and from society in general. In the anonymous Facebook post (in Extract 45, above) a male victim-survivor describes being laughed at and then goes on to explain that his attacker had drugged him. Arguably, the function of this explanation is to counter the presumption that men can defend themselves, particularly against the ‘weaker sex’.

In the aftermath of a rape experiences, victim-survivors of rape are repeatedly faced with disbelief from those to whom they disclose their experiences. Ullman (2010) refers to these experiences as a ‘second assault’ because they have negative mental health effects which may disturb survivor’s recovery process. As a result, both male and female survivors become reluctant to report or disclose their experiences to family or seeking professional help. Thus disbelief silences survivors from talking about their experiences due to lack of acknowledgement and affirmation of these experiences. Disbelief leads to survivors questioning whether future disclosures will be effective. It leads to feelings of self-blame as well as uncertainty concerning the validity of their experiences. Disbelief is a particularly

difficult issue for men who are assaulted by women. Gannon and Cortoni (2010) argue that men seldom disclose their experiences because when they try to talk about these experiences they are frequently not believed or the experience is minimised.

Allies in the Silent Protest argued that participation had made them aware both of the reality of male rape and of the challenge male victim-survivors face with regard to others' acknowledgement of their experiences.

Extract 40: "They say, 'how does this guy get raped?'" (Focus group)

Victoria For me, I don't want to lie, I thought it was something only women experience. And then when you attend the Silent Protest you see sometimes there is a very few attendance of men. And it's not only because very few men are raped but it's because many men are ashamed to come out. Coz, you know, when you say 'this man was raped', people will laugh, the first thing they do is laugh when you say that a guy was raped. They say, 'how does this guy get raped? That's how it is. So that's what I have realised.

Victoria understands society's reactions towards male rape victim-survivors and she argues that it is because of the shame and disbelief they experience that men are reluctant or "ashamed" to talk about their experiences. Male victim-survivors are presumed to be lesser men because of what happened to them. Men who are sexually abused by women may feel emasculated because society expects a man to be strong and masculine to be able to protect himself. Failure to conform to these societal expectations may lead to men being perceived as 'not man enough'.

Research examining the gender of the perpetrator and the effects of sexual assault in the USA found that while almost all female and male survivors of sexual assault perpetrated by a male assailant reported very negative post-assault reactions, only a fifth of male survivors of sexual assault involving a female assailant reported very negative post-assault reactions (Struckman-Johnson & Struckman-Johnson, 1994). In accounting for this difference, the authors argue

that the men who did not report experiencing very negative post-assault reactions may have been motivated to underestimate the impact that it had had on them. Specifically, that because men are expected to seek out and respond to any opportunity to engage in sexual activity with women, conceptualizing the sexual assault as sexual experience (albeit negative) rather than a violation of their will, was a strategy for protecting their masculine identity. The Silent Protest allies who participated in my study identified this phenomenon in their own experiences.

Extract 41: "He changes the whole story to say that he slept with the girl" (focus group)

Jane        Um, when you look at it, like, men have this thing called pride. So, um, as a man, how can I report that I was raped? I can't, coz I have that pride, and even, the problem is that when that happens, even if he believes that he was raped, he starts taking it in a different angle just to maintain his pride. He changes the whole story to say that he slept with the girl.

Jane identifies "male pride" as a motivator for men not admitting to being raped by a woman. Struckman-Johnson and Struckman-Johnson (1994) argue that another finding that emerged in their research support this interpretation: male victims of sexual assault are much more likely to admit to experiencing severe negative reactions when the perpetrator is male. According to the authors this is because sexual experience with another man is inconsistent with the heterosexual male identity and men are thus expected to react very negatively to such experiences. Brownmiller (2013) argues that this is a product of patriarchal society and a limited definition of the concept of rape.

### **5.2.3 KNOWING THE PERPETRATOR DOESN'T MAKE IT LESS SEVERE**

While heterosexual women and gay men are most often sexually assaulted by a male acquaintance, heterosexual men are most often sexually assaulted by a female acquaintance.

In both instances, however, there is an assumption that acquaintance rape is somehow less severe than sexual assault perpetrated by a stranger (Monson, Byrd, & Langhinrichsen-Rohling, 1996; Pollard, 1992). In rape mythology, ‘real rape’ (Estrich, 1987) is characterised as “an act of violence, [of] forceful perpetration committed by a stranger during a blitz attack in a public, deserted place” and where the victim “is physically injured while resisting” the attacker (Du Mont, Miller, & Myhr, 2003, p. 469). The findings of numerous studies indicate that the likelihood of a rape being reported increases when the incident resembles a ‘real rape’ circumstance; i.e., the presence of a weapon; evidence of physical injury; an assailant who is a stranger (Bachman, 1998; Du Mont et al., 2003; Fisher, Daigle, Cullen, & Turner, 2003; Ullman & Filipas, 2001). Estrich (1987, p. 8) differentiates ‘real rape’ (also termed aggravated rape) from ‘simple rape’ and describes the simple rape scenario as follows:

[T]he man is a neighbour, an acquaintance, or a date. The man and the woman are either white, or both black, or both Hispanic. He is a respected bachelor, a student, a businessman, or a professional. He may have been offered a ride home or invited in. He does not have a weapon. He acted alone.

Estrich (1987) argues that it is not only the criminal justice system that has difficulty recognising ‘simple rape’, but that victim-survivors do too. On the difficulty of defining what constitutes rape, MacKinnon (1989, p. 174) argues that:

[p]erhaps the wrong of rape has proved so difficult to define because the unquestionable starting point has been that rape is defined as distinct from intercourse, while for women it is difficult to distinguish the two under conditions of male dominance.

Acknowledging that the question of consent is central to the distinction between sex and violence, MacKinnon (1989, p. 175) argues, “The law of rape divides women into spheres of consent according to indices of relationship to men”. Indeed, the relationship between the perpetrator and the victim-survivor has, historically, played a central role in the way in which rape has been defined. The best example is the exemption from legal punishment of men who

rape their wives. In South Africa, marital rape was not criminalised until 1993 and it is still not recognised as a criminal offence in many other African countries (e.g. Botswana, Egypt, Libya, Nigeria, and Zambia). In some parts of the USA this exemption includes unmarried cohabiting partners and formerly married persons (West, 1990).

In the post below a victim-survivor describes the difficulty in labelling an experience as constituting rape because she was in a relationship with the assailant when it happened. In addition, when she told her friends about what had happened they had not viewed it as rape, because they had blamed her for what had happened and because she had convinced herself that she was culpable.

“I decided that the sick feeling I felt...was just nerves” (Facebook post 01/08/2015)

A few months ago, I discovered that I was raped when I was 14. It wasn't a case of me blocking a painful memory, but learning how important consent was ...It was the scariest and most painful thing I have ever endured and to top off a bad situation, he ended our relationship a couple of days later. I decided that the sick feeling I felt after my reluctant 'first time' was just nerves or having my heart broken by someone who I thought was my first love. Being as young as I was, I had no one to turn to and didn't realise that my body was simply in shock. When I told my friends about it, I was jokingly called the sl\*\* of our group and told that having naps under the age of 16 was illegal. I didn't speak about it again for a long time because I believed that it was my fault for being so young. After all, I had said yes at the beginning. Now, almost six years later, I have experienced amazing intimate relationships with some incredible, caring men. However, I still get that familiar feeling whenever someone oversteps the mark. I have changed my mind-set and become overly cautious around men who could get the wrong idea.

In this post, although the incident could not be conceptualised as rape at the time that it had occurred, her affective responses – “nerves”, “heartbroken”, “sick feeling”, “painful”, “shock” – indexed an event that is affectively recalled years later when she is able to differently conceptualise the meaning of the event.

According to MacKinnon (1989), women are socialized to be passively receptive to men's advances. She acknowledges that, in some instances, acquiescing is "preferable to the escalated risk of injury" (p.177), or because she has been groomed to eroticize dominance. For MacKinnon (1989, p. 178), using violence to differentiate rape from sex is problematic because it obscures the issue of "who controls women's sexuality and the dominance/submission dynamic that has defined it". While women may experience sexual violence as a loss of control, MacKinnon (1989, p. 178) argues that this does not mean that an absence of force is an indicator of the presence of control; "[i]f sex is normally something that men do to women, the issue is less whether there was force than whether consent is a meaningful concept". Understanding heterosexuality as the "erotization of dominance and submission" (MacKinnon 1989, p.178) might explain allies' observations that very few women – themselves included – were able to recognise force within the context of an intimate relationship as constituting sexual violence.

Extract 42: "A lot of people just don't know that maybe they are being sexually violated or assaulted" (focus group)

Siya        Like, when people tell their stories, rape happens a lot between acquaintances you know. And so it [the Silent Protest] definitely raised the horizons of my understanding of sexual violence. You know, a lot of people just don't know that maybe they are being sexually violated or assaulted. Coz some people think, you know, if my boyfriend is doing this and I don't want to its normal coz like we are in a relationship he is allowed to, um, but none of that is true.

Siya talks about his "horizons" being raised through understanding the dynamics of acquaintance sexual violence. In addition to being able to recognise that sexual violence is a phenomenon that frequently occurs in the context of an intimate relationship, allies were also sensitised to the particular harm that this occasioned. In the next extract, an ally reflects on the way in which she experienced witnessing victim-survivor testimonies of sexual violence

involving intimate others during the Breaking the Silence event at the end of the Silent Protest.

Extract 43: "Protectors turned into destroyers" (Thenjie's diary)

Listening to girls telling of how their 'protectors' turned into 'destroyers of life' taking away girls power and dignity.

Mackinnon (1989, p. 177) acknowledges that some have argued that "it is less awful for a woman to be raped by someone she is close to". Countering this contention requires consideration of the nature of the harm of rape. The relational harm (Miller, 2009) of rape or, in Thenjie's words "protectors" becoming "destroyers", is that it is perpetrated by those who they are supposed to be able to trust. Furthermore, rape is a moral harm by "taking away girl's power and dignity". This is because "[r]ape is an affront to a victim's dignity and an attempt to deny her equal moral worth; through the act of rape a rapist expresses a victim's inferior moral standing and his own corresponding superiority" (Miller, 2009, p. 511).

Furthermore, understanding harm in the "the specific cultural, social, and relational context in which sexual violence usually occurs" (Wasco, 2003, p. 311), means placing it in the context of systems of gender differentiation and discrimination. MacKinnon (1989, p.156) argues that in the context of these systems, "[a]ll women live in sexual objectification" and "all women live all the time under shadow of the threat of sexual abuse". In this context, Kelland (2011, p. 168) argues that, "sexual objectification can be thought of as constituting a threat which the act of rape makes good on". Thus, in such circumstances, MacKinnon's (1989, p.177) argument that it is likely to be more traumatizing to be raped "by someone known or trusted, someone with whom at least an illusion of mutuality has been shared" seems perfectly rational. This would also explain why the violation of trust is one of the major long term

effects of sexual violence on victim-survivors (Palmer, 1991). The following extract illustrates these long term effects of rape.

Extract 44: "There's nothing I can do from the safe distance she keeps me at" (Facebook post 05/08/2015)

I see my girlfriend lie to her family everyday by keeping that flood of pain a secret...  
I see how it's changed her entire perspective on people...  
I see how she can never be honest with me about how she feels because it's how she copes...  
I see how she won't let anyone in...  
I see how scared she is of how real our love could be...  
I see how scared she is of happiness because of the risk of losing it...  
I see how she can't bare anymore pain, so she runs, and cuts off, and guards against being loved...  
I see how at this rate she'll never trust another male again...  
You rapists are monsters...because you've broken the person that was meant for me, and there's nothing I can do to help her from the safe distance she keeps me at.

In the extract above the speaker gives an account of witnessing the long-term effect of sexual violence on his partner who is a victim-survivor and perceives that the nature of the violence complicates his relationship ("she'll never trust another male again").

Based on my observations of the allies' accounts that I have presented in this section I argue that broadening the definition of rape makes space for victim-survivors' own understandings of their experiences and the conditions in which it occurred – which is productive in so far as it makes it possible to interrogate certain cultural beliefs underpinning rape and sexual violence. Expansion of allies' understandings of rape is not limited to questioning rape culture but also questioning who we view as rape perpetrators. Allies understand that rape perpetrators are seldom strangers and are very often those closest to the victim. Allies also argue that knowing the perpetrator does not make the experience less traumatic – instead it exacerbates it and undermines expectations regarding the trust placed in significant and

intimate others. Furthermore, allies come to understand that rape is a loaded concept that needs to be challenged because it results in judgemental attitudes and disbelief and this makes victim-survivors reluctant to disclose their experiences, hindering the recovery process. I argue that allies recognised the existence and pervasiveness of victim blaming and the importance of challenging it.

### **5.3 UNDERSTANDING SEXUAL CITIZENSHIP**

Sexual citizenship includes having the knowledge and power to express ethical sexual freedom, taking up different sexual identities in a healthy way including approaching sexual interactions and relationships from a consensual, respectful and informed perspective that is coercion and violence free. Sexual violence, however, does the opposite and subjugates survivors into living in fear, vulnerability, silence and isolation preventing individuals from claiming full sexual citizenship. Allies indicated that participation in the Silent Protest had positively impacted their understanding of how sexual violence is utilised as a weapon to undermine sexual citizenship.

#### **5.3.1 FRAMING IDENTITY, RELATIONSHIP, AND CONDUCT-BASED RIGHTS**

Scholars such as Joppke (2007, p.38) have argued that identity “is the earliest awareness of sense of being, of entity...it is not a sense of who I am but that I am”. This conceptualisation of identity, ‘that I am’, suggests that forging who one is, is a fundamental right of our being in the world. Assumptions about identity translate into the legal norms that govern and promote individual rights regarding a range of issues that include sexual citizenship. This entitles us to participate in the exercise of identity without regulation based on discrimination

and prejudice. This includes the right to engage in sexual intimacy and to exercise one's sexual subjectivity free from coercion and harm. Conduct-based rights, according to Richardson (2007), are those rights that are concerned with bodily autonomy and integrity and are where issues of sexual agency and consent come into play. Feminist scholars have interpreted sexual rights to include the right to sexual pleasure and agency as well as the right to have control over one's sexuality and to be free from harm or the threat of harm, harassment, and coercion (Richardson & Monro, 2012). In my study I was interested in examining allies' observations regarding these rights and how they might be shaped as a result of their experiences of participating in solidarity with survivors of rape and sexual violence in the Silent Protest at Rhodes University.

As women are most often the victims and men the perpetrators, rape and sexual violence is often cast as a women's issue. While it is true that it is a 'women's issue', it does, nevertheless, complicate men's involvement in anti-sexual violence interventions. This is evidenced in the next extract.

Extract 45: "I think it's a different experience for men" (focus group)

Siya        I think it's a different experience for men. So, you know, women get raped by men, and that's the way it goes. So, um, it's kind of like the women are the ones taking back the power, you know. So I think for a man, it's like, 'Ooh, this is not an okay space for me', you know, like 'I can't actually come here' like this is like a women's, this is like a feminist area. I think it's different for them, it's a different experience. Um, but yeah, every year there is more men and I just appreciate it, I just look at those men and I'm like, thank you, thank you for being here. I guess, yeah.

In the extract above Siya argues that a successful intervention for rape should include both men and women's involvement in social movements. At the same time, he encourages that the protest is about "taking back the power", and hence their sexual citizenship. Men's involvement in the Silent Protest was initially limited, with them being able to participate

only in ‘solidarity’ and it has only recently become possible for men to participate in the Silent Protest at Rhodes University as ‘survivors’ of rape and sexual violence. While it is important to recognise that men are also victim-survivors of sexual violence, it is equally important for them to stand in solidarity against rape culture. In the comment in the next extract it is argued that rape ought to be viewed as “everyone’s issue”.

Extract 46: “Rape is everyone’s issue” (Facebook post 02/08/2015)

Actually thinking about it it'd make a lot more sense if all genders taped their mouths for this protest as, regardless of debates on demographics, RAPE IS EVERYONE'S ISSUE. Even if men weren't also victims of rape, rape is STILL everyone's issue and SOCIETY'S problem to address. I remember being disappointed that I couldn't take part in the men's march against rape as a woman, now I realise that I should have. It's important to not automatically label women as victim-protesters seeking help while labelling men as the sole party responsible for change and enforcement of that change. This is not how we change mind-sets. The march for those (men) in solidarity was a great idea, but let's not just let it be men on the supportive side, and let's remember that men too can be real victims of rape with their own story to tell and also need that same support...and people are starting to see how far-reaching a societal issue rape is.

Comments in Extract 45 and Extract 46 speak to identity-based rights. In relation to this issue, commentators were critical of assuming that rape and sexual violence should be seen as a ‘women’s issue’ but should also be a concern of those with whom they are bound to negotiate sexual intimacy. Another concern related to this was the way in which it limits the positionality of women and men in relation to rape and sexual violence – in which women are always and can only ever be ‘victims’ (which reifies notions of inherent weakness and vulnerability) and men are always and can only ever be perpetrators (which reifies notions of an inherent invulnerability). I argue that these conceptions undermine a critical anti-rape politics (“for a man, it’s like, ‘Ooh, this is not an okay space for me’”) and are likely to do further harm.

In my study, identity-based rights were also linked to the value of the women after the rape. What I mean by ‘value’ is that many survivors were concerned about not being virgins anymore (i.e. ‘damaged goods’) and there was some discussion of psychological ‘damage’. Comments in the post below are illustrative of this concern.

“I lost my virginity to rape by a boy I really liked” (Facebook post 24/08/2015)

To confessor ###

Your confession resonated so much with me. I lost my virginity to rape by a boy I really really liked...one that I invited over when my mom wasn't home...one I let hold me and undress me. But also a boy I didn't want to sleep with.

I had been keeping my virginity...certain it was this precious thing that I wanted to keep for someone special. After he took it unwillingly from me, I felt like ""Well, if he can take it so easily, how precious and sacred can it really be?"" I dealt by being promiscuous. 14 guys to be exact. At least 10 of which I can't really remember it have completely lost contact with. All when I was 15 or 16. Those are the worst memories of my life. And I feel terrible blaming anyone but myself for what happened and the subsequent events following. I was hurting so badly.

But I got it together eventually. Started to heal. I have so many regrets. I'm just fortunate to be healthy. I regret everything about that time except for one thing: the ability I now have to help other young women (or men) who went through what I did. Still sucks to think about it. And I wish he hadn't taken away something so precious from me.

You're not alone

In the post above the speaker argues that “keeping” her virginity was important because she wanted to keep it “for someone special” and so ‘losing’ something “so precious” in the way that she did was experienced as a significant loss of this “special” part of herself. Given that a woman’s sexual identity is still bound up with expectations regarding chasteness I can certainly see how the ‘loss’ of her virginity impacted her conception of self-worth. Thus, what this issue of virginity raises is that it is still presumed to be a women’s responsibility to abstain from sex – as if this is always a choice. The following extract speaks to this issue.

Extract 47: "Society places such emphasis on virginity" (Facebook post 24/08/2015)

I was thinking how wrong it is that society places such emphasis on the virginity of women in this way, that when they are attacked virginity can be a thing women are made to feel can be taken from them

In the extract above the commentator argues that society's valuing of women based on whether or not they are able to claim the identity of virgins is especially problematic in the context of rape and sexual violence. It speaks to Kelland's (2014) argument regarding the estranged relationship that victim-survivors experience with regards to their bodies after sexual assault. In my analysis of the data I observed a link between concerns regarding virginity and the issue of consent. Specifically, that like the issue of virginity, consent focuses once again on women's responsibility for averting sexual violence – all we have to do is say "no"!

#### ***5.3.1.1 The trouble with consent***

In Chapter Two I argued that in a legal context the issue of consent is central to determining whether or not the sexual activity was lawful. However, the problem is that it is difficult to prove whether or not consent was in fact given and usually ends up being one person's word against another's. In such instances, medical documentation of visible markers of assault such as scratches and bruises is often relied upon to constitute evidence of non-consent.

While consent is often over-simplified in legal contexts, it is in fact a rather difficult concept to define. Beres (2007) argues that this is partly because we have to take into account the social context in which consent is given (and for understanding how and why it is even). One way to do this is to define consent in relation to the gendered nature of consent. The assumption that consent is something women 'give' to men is linked to the gendered nature of sexual violence (men rape women). However, one needs to be careful of overlooking male

rape, which in this case, would allow for that critical questioning of the gendered nature of consent. Feminists have argued that consent should be defined as being ‘freely given’ – meaning free from force, threats or coercion (Beres, 2007) – and this conceptualisation of consent emphasises the desire and willingness of both partners.

While consent is an important issue to consider I think that the trouble with focusing on consent is that it obscures a complex network of relations of power. I was disappointed to observe that this oversimplification of the issue of consent emerged in allies’ talk about rape and sexual violence. The comment in the extract below is illustrative of this.

Extract 48: “You are the one who actually gives consent or not” (focus group)

Namhla And knowing that you are the one who actually gives consent or not. So knowing that if I don’t give consent you don’t have a right to. Like, men have nothing to fall back on coz I didn’t give consent.

Namhla reproduces the standard refrain of consent being linked to rights. While this connection is foundational, the simplification of consent (given or not) fails to locate the interactions within gender power relations.

When I prompted participants to provide further information about how participation in the Silent Protest might have shaped their thinking about the issue of consent they responded by saying that messaging regarding the issue of consent had been very straightforward. A common response to my questions regarding their understanding of consent is illustrated in the extract below.

Extract 49: “No means no” (focus group)

Victoria Yeah, definitely, the main thing I got that was closest to rights was no means no. Um, like you have the right to say no, but beyond that, I guess that was it, and if you wanted to understand more you would have to go back and research it yourself.

The simplification of consent “no means no” is also illustrated by Victoria who indicates that much of the information about consent is insufficiently disseminated. Thus she speaks about more research to be done in order to understand the dynamics, and gender power relations interlinked to consent.

## **5.4 SILENCES, ABSENCES, AND OMISSIONS**

Recently qualitative researchers have been looking at silences and the difficulty in making sense of the unspoken (Poland & Pederson, 1998; Morison & Macleod, 2013). There are different kinds of silences. Polite silence, for example, is a strategy to avoid embarrassment. In this section on silences, absences and omissions, I speak to issues pertaining to rape and sexual violence that are considered in the literature but which did not emerge as important issues for discussion in allies’ accounts of their experiences of participating in the Silent Protest and the implications of that for their understanding of sexual violence.

### **5.4.1 ENTITLEMENT TO HEALTHCARE SERVICES**

In Chapter Two I argued that victims of rape and sexual assault have a range of specific healthcare needs. Documenting injury resulting from rape and sexual assault is important because evidence of these injuries is integral in terms of securing a conviction (Rambow, Adkinson, Frost, & Peterson, 1992). Another important reason for accessing medical care after sexual assault is that victims are at risk for STIs and, in the light of the significant HIV/AIDS epidemic in South Africa, access to post-exposure prophylaxis (PEP) is essential (Kim, Martin, & Denny, 2003). Emergency contraception may also be needed for the prevention of pregnancy. In Chapter Two I also argued that although victims of rape and

sexual assault have significant healthcare needs, very few victims are actually able to access appropriate healthcare and, when they do, often experience care that is described as constituting a 'second assault'. In the light of this, I was interested to know what the allies participating in my research would have to say on the issue of access to appropriate healthcare following rape and sexual assault.

I observed that, although there was some talk on this issue, the allies participating in my research demonstrated limited understanding of the healthcare needs of victim-survivors as well as the availability of healthcare services in the aftermath of sexual assault. However, it appears that, based on their knowledge of the services that do exist, these services fall short (in their estimation) of what it required.

Extract 50: "You need to get tested" (focus group)

Ross        So if I am remembering when it was discussed, it was basically some discussion about you need to get tested and, um, I don't mean just HIV testing but collecting evidence. Um, okay, that sexual assault or some kind of assault actually happened to you, which is problematic, coz there are different kinds of violation. So to collect evidence that it actually happened to you, and we need to do that thing, that you might take someone to go with you coz it might be traumatizing, it's usually a very traumatic experience from collecting the evidence at the hospital to, to reporting the case to the police station. Um, you also get the HIV kit treatment at the hospital.

Discussion of the entitlement to healthcare, in the extract above, focuses on biomedical care (i.e. medical examinations) and the mention of rape kits (which is required for the legal prosecution of rape and sexual assault) . Related to this, it is interesting to note that Ross mentions that this can be a traumatic process. I would argue that conceptions of healthcare following rape and sexual assault should take into account a broader range of care needs, but which at the very least includes psychological counselling.

In Extract 50 (above) Ross does acknowledge that the process of this type of examination is potentially traumatic and that victims of rape and sexual assault should be advised to “take someone” along. While having a supportive friend at one’s side should not be underestimated, it should also not be viewed as the only solution to addressing the significant mental healthcare needs of victims of rape and sexual assault. The fact that this is all that is said about accessing emotional support reflects very poorly on access to mental healthcare following trauma. Mental healthcare following rape and sexual assault should be viewed as primary care. Therefore, for the allies participating in my research, the healthcare sector is hardly a supportive space. While it has to be acknowledged that the public healthcare sector in South Africa is over-stretched and under-resourced (Coovadia, Jewkes, Barron, Sanders & McIntyre, 2009), the high rates of rape and sexual violence and the significant health consequences of this should prompt a prioritisation of services and training of healthcare providers to provide the appropriate care.

I also observed a degree of silence regarding ongoing access to healthcare services after rape and sexual assault. In Chapter Two I discussed research indicating that the physical and psychological impact of rape and sexual assault can last for a long time afterwards. As my research was conducted on a university campus, participants pointed out that students and university staff could access psychological care on campus at the student counselling centre and the psychology clinic.

Extract 51 “The counselling centre is also available” (Facebook post 12/08/2015)

I'm sorry about what happened to you: (I know how it feels to be in that frustration of being in so much pain and not knowing how to tell people. It's rough and so isolating. It can get better over time. I hope you have good friends around you who you can confide in and who will be there. If not, the counselling centre is also available. Also, inbox me if you would like to <3

While university students and staff are fortunate to have access to these services I was disappointed that participants did not speak more critically about the lack of mental healthcare outside of the university setting.

#### **5.4.2 ENTITLEMENT TO LEGAL SERVICES**

There was also very little discussion of entitlement to legal services following rape and sexual assault. The only time observations related to legal services were mentioned was when allies spoke about the “secondary victimisation” (Campbell, 2006, p. 30) associated with reporting a rape to the police and the accounts they had heard of victims’ experiences of the court proceedings. In relation to this allies were quick to point out the low conviction rate in rape and sexual assault cases.

Extract 52: “Reporting rape can often be very traumatizing” (Facebook post 31/07/2015)

Reporting rape can often be really traumatizing. If the confessor is considering that as an option, it's important that they have a strong support system because it's a really invasive process & due to their nature, rape cases are very difficult to win.

Rape prosecution is a long and complicated process and very few cases make it all the way through the criminal justice system. In Chapter Two I argued that the difficulty of this lengthy process is exacerbated by the fact that the results of numerous studies indicate that many in the criminal justice system ascribe to victim-blaming attitudes – such as that women provoke rape or lie about being raped and that this impacts on the way in which victims of rape and sexual assault are treated within the criminal justice system. In fact, many rape cases are never prosecuted because the police or courts decide that the testimonies of victim-survivors are not sufficiently credible. In addition, when a case is prosecuted, rape survivors are required to provide an account of their prior sexual histories and are questioned about

how they were dressed or behaving at the time of the assault. These kinds of questions are assumed to be important in determining consent but the invasiveness of these questions is extremely distressing for the victim of the assault.

Another problem with regards to the criminal justice system that I highlighted in the discussion in Chapter Two is that, although acknowledgment of guilt by the perpetrator is often considered to be an important step in the victim-survivor's recovery, the adversarial nature of the criminal justice system makes this outcome highly unlikely. This shortcoming reflected in allies' observations of the criminal justice system and is illustrated in this post:

"It ruined my life just as much as the incident did" (Facebook post 15/08/2015)

Reporting can be very traumatising for the survivor, and even if she/he chooses to not report, their "no" means just as much of a "no" as anyone else's. If I had the decision to report or not report again, I don't think I would have because honestly it ruined my life just as much as the incident did. In the end my perp still attends varsity and has a girlfriend and knows not what kind of monster he is.

In the post above the speaker argues that the process of reporting the assault to the police "ruined my life just as much as the incident did" and argues that, given another chance, would choose not to report the incident to the police. Furthermore, the speaker observes that, in contrast to the significant harms she experienced both at the hands of the perpetrator and the criminal justice system, that the perpetrators life has been unaffected (he "still attends varsity and has a girlfriend"). And, perhaps, what is mostly of concern is the fact that the perpetrator does not acknowledge the harm that he caused (he "knows not what kind of monster he is").

In Chapter Two I argued that the shortcomings of the criminal justice system have prompted consideration of other modalities of justice repair. One example is the restorative justice approach that encourages the offender to accept responsibility for their offending and to make

reparations to the victim. In restorative justice, rather than aiming to achieve a guilty verdict, the primary concern is about acknowledging harm and demonstrating remorse. As the perpetrators acknowledgement and admission of the harm done is important to the victim's recovery process it is understandable that some view a restorative justice approach as offering a potentially more useful approach for justice repair.

Allies' silences around entitlements to healthcare and legal services following rape and sexual assault reflect silences resonating in society more broadly, and particularly as it pertains to confronting sexual violence and addressing the harms that it occasions. Interestingly, however, while allies had little to say about formal (medical and legal) services for victims of rape and sexual violence, they did identify opportunities for informal, community support for victims of rape and sexual assault.

## **5.5 SAFE SPACES**

Safe spaces are areas where marginalised groups of people can meet with others who are affirming and supportive and where discrimination is not tolerated. According to Campbell, Sefl, Wasco and Ahrens (2004), safe spaces can be created in a temporary setting in order to be responsive to the needs of a particular group when the need arises. In my research allies suggested that safe spaces should be provided for victims of rape and sexual assault and their allies where they can talk about their experiences and provide support to each other.

Extract 53: "People who care but aren't especially close to you can help" (Facebook post 28/05/2015)

If you can't do the counselling centre and want to talk about it or don't want to talk about it and want to just be around someone, inbox me. We don't need to be friends but I know sometimes being around people who care but aren't especially close to you can help. There

are many people around you fighting personal battles and I'm so sorry this has to be yours. But you have support. Xx

Recognizing that many people who experience sexual violence have lost their trust in others and may not have a support network to draw on, some suggestions were made about establishing a safe space on the university campus.

Extract 54: "There should be a specific safe space for women" (Facebook 15/05/2015)

Are there any meeting groups for, and run by, women affected by sexual violence?  
What kind of support structures are in place for rape survivors, aside from things like counselling and standard friend and family networks?

Knowing so many women who have been raped or sexually assaulted, and seeing so many confessions from women suffering the aftermath of trauma, makes me think that there should be a specific, safe space for women at Rhodes to meet and talk with other women who have had similar experiences.

A place where new narratives and meanings can be produced and where trauma can be refigured through testimony and discussion into something that might empower survivors.

Does such a space exist? Might someone be interested in creating such a space?

This commentator is not simply offering personal support, as the one in Extract 53 does, but is demanding an institutional response in terms of creating safe spaces. The commentator demands that survivor's entitlement to safe support is recognized by the university. For the allies that I spoke to, a safe space was conceptualised as a place where victim-survivors would be supported rather than 'interrogated'.

Extract 55: "A space where people understand what you are going through" (focus group)

Linda I just feel like space is very important, like, for them to just go there you know, without being questioned.

Trudy Just like an available space for if you feel like you want to go talk to someone, if you don't want to talk to anyone but you wanna be in a space where people understand what you are going through and they don't need to ask you any questions.

Allies reported that providing a place for people to go other than a counselling centre would be helpful. The space for people to use during the days they feel down and when they do not feel like talking to someone about it rather just being in a place where people give their support without asking any questions. Safe spaces can come in different forms. Kuribayashi and Tharp (1998), for example, have argued that writing (a book, novel, poems, blogs and so forth) can provide a safe space for survivors to tell their stories. According to Kuribayashi and Tharp (1998), writing involves agency, the active reconstruction of one's experiences and power over the way in which they are communicated to others – rendering power to the powerless and a voice to the silenced. I think that this resonates with Brison (2002) and Kelland's (2011) ideas about the important role of narrative in the recovery process.

In their paper, 'dealing with the aftermath: sexual violence and the Truth and Reconciliation Commissioner', Goldblatt and Meintjes (1998, p. 9) reported that:

A woman who gave evidence at the Johannesburg hearing had earlier decided not to speak before the TRC about the sexual abuse she suffered but then changed her mind when the special women's hearing was arranged. These hearings clearly indicated that women were afraid and ashamed to speak about their experiences but when provided with an opportunity to do so in a safe environment, were more willing to come forward.

As a result, the process of creating a new society based on human rights and justice demands serious efforts to create a society where women are free from fear and able to participate fully as equal citizens.

## **CONCLUSION**

Allies argued that the ways in which sexual violence is conceptualised and understood needs to be challenged. The allies participating in my research challenged the stigmatization

associated with speaking about and reporting rape. This indicates that participation in the Silent Protest awoke allies to these issues. They also realized the importance of the need to counter-challenge rape myths to address rape culture. Identity-based, relationship-based, and conduct-based rights speak to the recognition of different identities and their everyday enactment. In my study allies spoke to different identities that may be taken up in the Silent Protest in relation to the issue of sexual violence. Referring to sexual violence as a women's issue only made allies question the limitations of such identity politics. Allies argued that sexual violence is everyone's issue irrespective of gender and that narrow conceptions of sexual violence render the experiences of male victim-survivors' invisible. I argued that allowing men to identify themselves as victim-survivors of sexual violence speaks to the recognition and acknowledgement of male rape. Relationship-based and conduct-based rights were highlighted by allies, particularly in relation to safety and willingness to engage in a sexual activity. Conduct-based rights emphasizing the notion of consent were, however, not referred to in nuanced ways. I argue that sexual consent is a complex concept which poses a dilemma in understandings of its practicality. Allies were, however, able to reflect on how the gendered and (hetero)sexual nature of sexual consent places responsibilities of consent on women whilst constructing male sexual consent as uncontested and ever-present – which problematizes male rape. Allies understood entitlement to non-discriminatory sexual health care from a limited perspective. I argue that there are silences around understandings of entitlement to health care services and legal services in the aftermath of sexual violence. Allies understandings of care are mainly focused on the examination of physical harm and HIV testing. Inasmuch as these examinations are important, allies failed to identify the availability (or lack of) of healthcare services as well as the significance of psychological and mental healthcare following sexual assault. The only time allies spoke about some sort of support was when they spoke about the importance of being accompanied by a friend when

undergoing medical examination. The gap in sexual violence healthcare service indicates that the systems is failing victim-survivors and is unresponsive to their needs. Finally, allies had interesting insights about the politics of recognition. They viewed safe spaces as one mechanism for responding to the psychological harm of sexual violence and the important role of personal support.

## CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The main aim of this study was to investigate, using the case study of the Silent Protest at Rhodes University, the ways in which social justice allies' participation in anti-sexual violence protests promotes or limits understandings of critical citizenship and, in particular, sexualities issues in relation to sexual violence. Regarding the participation of allies in the Silent Protest, I have sought to understand how participation in the protest promotes allies' understanding of sexual violence; how participation in the protest promotes their understanding of sexualities which are gendered, heteronormative, class-based and the relation of this to sexual violence; how participation promotes their understanding of conduct, identity and relation-based sexual rights; and how participation promotes their understanding of entitlement to non-discriminatory sexual health services. In this chapter, I present a summary of my findings relating to these questions. I start with a brief overview of the research process.

In Chapter One I described the Silent Protest at Rhodes University and discussed the role of social movements and strategies of anti-sexual violence protest. Here, I discussed the therapeutic benefits of authoring a trauma narrative, the political utility of witnessing and the importance of witnessing positions. In addition, I introduced the theoretical framework. In this discussion I contested the traditional conceptualization of citizenship that has exclusionary and discriminatory tendencies based on gender and sexuality. Secondly, I introduced the concept of sexual citizenship. I discussed sexual citizenship from a feminist perspective and drew on a range of feminist scholarship in this area (Siedman, 1992; Bell, 1995; Richardson, 1998, 2000, 2005; Lister, 2005; Fischer & Siedman, 2016; McClain & Grossman, 2009). I concluded Chapter One by giving consideration to sexual rights in

relation to notions of self-determination, a politics of recognition, and free and ethical sexual practices and expression.

In Chapter Two I reviewed existing literature on sexual violence. I gave consideration to the ways in which rape and sexual violence are defined and the implications of foregrounding penetration and non-consent. I then discussed the psychological and physical harms of sexual violence, rape trauma, as well as the role of objectification in exacerbating rape trauma. I also reviewed the literature on the different responses to the ‘causes’ and harms of sexual violence.

In Chapter Three I provided an account of the methodological process. I discussed sampling procedures, data collection procedures that included focus group discussions, personal diaries and Facebook posts, my approach to the analysis of data. Consideration was also given to relevant ethical concerns. Finally, I presented my findings and a discussion of those findings in the last two chapters. In Chapter Four I presented findings pertaining to the processes that shaped understandings of sexualities and sexual violence within the context of the Silent Protest. In Chapter Five I presented findings of analytic themes pertaining to each of the research questions.

## **6.1 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS**

In this discussion I provide main arguments emanating from the results of the analysis by addressing each of the research questions as outlined in the methodology chapter.

*How does participation in the Silent Protest promote understanding of sexual violence?*

The results of my research indicate that the politics of affect and the experience of bearing witness to narratives of sexual violence are dynamics fundamental to progressive activism. These processes shaped allies' understandings of key issues relating to sexual violence and the issue of sexual citizenship. Allies reported experiencing different emotions and feelings: "anger", "sadness", "heavy hearts" and "overwhelmedness". These experiences were understood by allies as affective dynamics interwoven with participation in anti-sexual violence protests. These affects tap into the pain and harms (psychological and physical) of sexual violence on victim-survivors. Therefore, as Gould (2009) argues, it appears that the politics of affect is fundamental to political life. Allies in my study understood the pain, suffering and harm of sexual violence. Experiencing these affect dynamics resulted in allies' growing feelings of empathy, acknowledgement and recognition of victim-survivors.

Furthermore, allies understood sexual violence through witnessing the traumatic events during their participation in the Silent Protest. They witnessed the traumatic and silencing nature of sexual violence and realised the pain and harms of rape. The Silent Protest events, such as the die-in and breaking the silence, allowed for allies in my study to experience the vulnerability related to being a victim-survivor of rape/sexual violence, as well as the recognition of the intensity and sensitivity of sexual violence. Witnessing is a window through which people get to see the invisible through such processes as die-ins and breaking the silence events. In addition, in my study, many allies were motivated to participate in the protest because they had witnessed someone close to them affected by rape. Therefore, witnessing these experiences allowed people to give testimonies, to recognise what they observed and to act in relation to that which they had witnessed. According to Gould (1992), witnesses become co-owners of what they witness, meaning that allies' and survivors both experience the psychological and traumatic effects of sexual violence. Lord (2008) and Henry (2010) have argued that witnessing victim-survivors narratives of rape experiences result in

secondary traumatic experience. Consequently, it is through participation in anti-sexual violence protest and the mechanisms of a politics of affect and the process of bearing witnessing that people could acknowledge and begin to understand the harms of rape and sexual violence.

Having to make a decision regarding participating in anti-sexual violence protest, witnessing and making decisions to speak out or to break the silence of sexual violence, speaks to the fundamental principles of sexual citizenship that are intertwined with notions of solidarity and self-determination as a sexual citizens, in order to eradicate social injustice. Therefore, the protest promotes inclusive understandings of sexual citizenship, as having the freedom to give expression to issues that infringe upon the freedoms of sexual subjectivities and sexual rights.

Witnessing unsupportive responses from unintended witnesses allowed allies to experience what victim-survivors experience from family members and the broader community when their experiences are shuttered and silenced. Participation in the Silent Protest and the resultant affect experiences impacted witnesses and allowed for different witnessing positions. I drew on Weingarten's (2004) four witnessing positions (empowered-aware/unaware, disempowered-aware/unaware) in order to locate allies' responses to witnessing victim-survivors narratives of sexual violence. I found that witnessing position one 'empowered and aware' was the most appealing of the four witnessing positions as the witness is able to recognize the effects of sexual violence and is empowered to positively address the issue. Another witnessing position indicated in allies' responses to witnessing victim-survivors narratives of sexual violence is the 'disempowered and aware' position. These allies understood the harms of sexual violence and could empathise with victim-survivors' but were unable to positively respond to what they witnessed. Understanding these

witness positions contributes to the understanding and identification of the potential of witnesses who support or undermine victim-survivors' recovery and to establish interventions that seek to raise awareness and empowering people in order to help to develop witnesses who are empowered and aware.

*How does the Silent Protest promote understanding of the relation between sexualities which as gendered, heteronormative, and class-based and sexual violence?*

In my study allies indicated an understanding that some cultural norms, beliefs, and customs (i.e. gender role expectations) within society play a pivotal role in creating and perpetuating gender and heteronormative inequalities. Gender role expectations have negative implications on men, women and LGBT people. Gender and heteronormative inequality have resulted, for example, in an unequal treatment of women and the LGBT community regarding sexual behaviour, in the work place, in politics and in society. It has also resulted in the difficulty for men to acknowledge sexual violence experiences.

Allies indicated that women's sexualities were regulated (abstinence, preserving virginity) whilst men enjoy all the rights and freedoms of being a sexual citizen. Thus, allies understood gender inequalities as linked to issues of sexual rights and sexual freedom. Thus, cultural norms suppress female sexualities by either denying women sexual desire or imposing unwanted sexual actions upon women as long as it feeds into male sexualities (Wood & Jewkes, 1997). For example, allies reported statements such as "men have control over the household, they have control of the woman's body". Within patriarchal societies marital and date rape have received little attention or acknowledgement because women are expected to provide sexual pleasure to their male partners. Allies reported that this ideology allows men to feel entitled to sex ("there is a sense of entitlement that men have") and it makes it difficult for women to speak out about sexual violence in the marriage context. Allies identified

cultural practices such as *Chiramu* in Shona (that encourages men to flirt with their sister in-law), and through their participation in the Silent Protest, they came to view these cultural practices as key factors in the perpetration of sexual violence. Hiding behind cultural beliefs in addressing sexual violence speaks to broader ideologies in relation to sexual citizenship – society regards sexual issues to be private, so talk about these issues places focus on the private sphere in public spaces. Allies’ recognition of the role of culture in perpetuating gender inequality speaks to the very notions that sexual citizenship addresses. Downplaying particular forms of rape directly silences the victims of such rapes, which on the other hand, silences the recognition of these violations, and harms of sexual violence.

Within certain social and cultural spaces, men are expected to be relatively more successful, richer and stronger. This is problematic for men who fall short to these gender role expectations which may result in masculinity insecurities. For example, allies were well aware of the ways a good sexualised masculine citizen is defined in the mainstream society (i.e. strong, and sexually promiscuous). These defining traditional masculinities have great impact on men, who as a result, rarely discuss emotions. This has left little room to account for male victim-survivors experiences. Allies in my study indicated that men avoid involvement in social movements against sexual violence because of the fear to be labelled “weak” given the sensitivity nature of the subject of rape. As a result, sensitive issues are left for women who are perceived as sensitive and weak. After realizing this gap, allies called for inclusive involvement in eradicating sexual violence, preceded by an observation that sexual violence has been referred to as “a women’s issue”. Therefore, they declared that, “rape is everyone’s issue” regardless of gender; because gender stereotypes affect the manner in which men engage with gender equality. Allies realized that sexual justice can only be achieved if fundamental characteristics exhibited by traditional masculinity (that defend against change) are addressed starting off by allowing men to freely participate in anti-rape

social movements. They were aware that gender role stereotypes negatively affect both men and women, which inhibits inclusive sexual citizenship.

Furthermore, allies identified victim blaming as one form of regulating women's sexual citizenship through attacking women's behaviour that doesn't conform to patriarchal definitions of "a woman". For example, allies reported how women are being blamed for sexual violence experiences because they were "dressing inappropriately", "walking at night" or they were not "being a woman". According to these narratives, part of "being a woman", traditionally, means having limited rights and having to mind your 'morals' as a woman, which then becomes problematized when women choose not to conform to these imposed sexuality norms. Therefore, allies understood that rape myths (which are products of cultural beliefs) have implications for women's sexuality and position women as marginal citizens, as well as gender and sexual minorities. Therefore, understanding the implications of rape myths allowed allies the ability to critically think about the conceptualization of sexual violence that has implications for both male and female victim-survivors. Firstly, for allies, part of challenging the mainstream societal victim blame mind-set, is to perceive female victims of sexual violence as not responsible for the rape incident. This results in critically challenging traditional expectations of "being a woman". Secondly, challenging rape as a loaded concept facilitates the acknowledgement of male victim-survivors, which is significant in the acknowledgement of the reality of male rape experiences. The acknowledgement of male rape is necessary in debunking male rape myth such as the myth that "men don't get raped".

Additionally, some of the narratives in the data conveyed that victim blame results in exclusionary tendencies, which are apparent when victim-survivors withdraw from engaging in social activities, isolate themselves and become afraid to express themselves sexually, or they are experiencing difficulties in forming new intimate relationships. Allies reported that

they witnessed some of these withdrawal behaviours from survivors: (“I see how she won't let anyone in”; “I see how scared she is of how real our love could be”; “I see how at this rate she'll never trust another male again”). Allies also reported to have been avoiding being in vulnerable situations that could lead to victimization simply because they have witnessed the effects of victim blame, for instance, allies reported, “It made me very cautious of even my male friends”. Hence, these internalised attributions of blame robs allies’ and victim-survivors’ power and agency to maintain old or form new relationships with the opposite gender fearing potential victimization, as well as limiting their freedom to act as sexual citizens. Sexual citizenship draws attention to all these kinds of social exclusions that various sexual identities experience.

Other gender inequalities that allies highlighted include societies’ responsibilisation of women in relation to virginity and consent. The problem with this is that, firstly, losing virginity by force leaves women with feelings of powerlessness (as if they could stop it) and losing the self. Secondly, perceiving consent as something “given” to men leaves men’s sexualities unchallenged and male consent uncontested (Beres,2007). These kinds of understandings enabled allies to challenge cultures of rape because thinking widely about rape challenges cultural norms and patriarchal perceptions of sexual violence that perpetuate rape culture.

*How does the Silent Protest promote understandings of identity-based rights, conduct-based rights and relationship-based rights?*

Understandings of critical sexual citizenship were apparent in this study. Identity-based, relationship-based and conduct-based rights were framed in a range of ways by allies in this research. Allies contested the concept of rape to include a wider definition of what rape consists which allowed for the validation of different rape experiences and identities. Survivors would know that although their narratives are not the same, their experiences could

be categorised as sexual violence. Therefore, recognising different victim-survivor's experiences and identities (such as male victim-survivors and female activists of rape) is interwoven to the notion of sexual citizenship as politics of recognition with regards to sexualities. In my study, therefore, recognition of these experiences potentially allows for male survivors to take up victim-survivor identities. This is significant for the acknowledgement of own experiences, self-identification and is important for recovery. Recognition also speaks to the normalization of these identities, which the organisers of the Silent Protest were trying to do by acknowledging survivors experiences ("don't think it doesn't matter, it matters"). The Silent Protest organisers also shifted their own position on rape (i.e. shifting from "rape survivor" to "survivor"), Thus allowing allies to acknowledge a broader range of experiences.

Allies reported that information or knowledge about relationship-based rights and conduct-based rights (consent) was very limited. This limitation reflects a gap in the literature on sexual consent and represents a lack of understanding of consent in society more broadly. Beres' (2007) finds that not much is written in the literature on the definition of the concept of consent, which speaks to the absence of knowledge around consent (what it entails and how it is communicated). Understanding of consent is, therefore, generally assumed and shared, overlooking its limits and complexity. Allies in my study understood the importance of giving consent to a sexual activity and the lack of thereof ("knowing that you are the one who actually gives consent or not"). However, they failed to understand the limited and gendered nature of consent. In their explanations on how they understood sexual consent, allies showed that women are the ones who "give" consent to men, whereas men wait for the consent to be given so as to act (have sex or not). Therefore, allies conformed to societal responsibilisation of consent on women. Beres (2007, 97) argues, "Gendered version of

consent assumes that men's consent is never contested and ever-present", deploying what Hollway (1985) referred to as the "male sexual drive" discourse.

Although sexual rights are understood through consent, the same cannot be said for men within a relationship where men's consent is assumed to be ever-present. Although allies understood the importance of consent, they reported that portrayal of the issue of consent, in the Silent Protest is very narrow, for example, some of these messages were simply "no means no". Nevertheless, allies were well aware of the rights of a person to choose to engage or not to engage in a sexual activity. Allies understood that conduct-based rights speak directly to people's sexual agency, without any forms of imposed and unwanted sexual behaviour (i.e. the right to have these rights respected).

*How does participation in the Silent Protest promote understanding of entitlement to non-discriminatory sexual health and legal services?*

My study indicated that the Silent Protest, to a certain extent, inhibits understandings of entitlements to legal services and to sexual healthcare services. Therefore, I argued that there are silences, omissions and absences concerning these understandings. Firstly, allies' narratives indicated knowledge around HIV testing in the aftermath of sexual violence and taking a friend along for support. Secondly, allies indicated an understanding that victim-survivors need to have medical examinations done for both healthcare and legal evidence. Allies realised that healthcare, in this case, is limited to biomedical care (medical examinations and HIV testing), thus they only have the knowledge that "you need to get tested". Apart from this, allies did not have much information regarding sexual healthcare through participation in the Silent Protest. Apart from 'taking a friend along', the importance of psychological and mental healthcare is absent in the data. This critically questions the role of South African healthcare in relation to sexual violence. Victims of sexual violence suffer

major long-term psychological effects (Bryant-Davis, 2011). Therefore, they need emotional focused coping strategies. According to Chaffin, Wherry and Dvlman (1997), as cited in the literature chapter, counselling and therapy is significant in caring for victim-survivors of rape because these psychological and behavioural strategies are utilized in order to cope in everyday life. Silences around psychological and mental health care needs and provision speaks to the broader stigmatisation of psychological care in society (i.e. the stigma associated with mental health) (Corrigan, 2004; Gary, 2005). These, also, are direct representations of exclusive notions of sexual citizenship. For instance, in my study, counselling group meetings were available for students on campus whilst others (e.g. community members) equally affected could not access such services.

Omissions were also evident concerning entitlement to legal services. As I argued in Chapter Five, understandings of legal services were limited in my study. Allies indicated a lack of knowledge around this issue apart from the likelihood of reporting the case to the police, which, in this case was associated with negativity. Allies argued that taking rape cases to the police or through a legal route is problematic and associated with secondary victimization and disbelief (“reporting rape can often be very traumatizing”). Allies critically questioned the value of reporting a rape case, let alone going to the courts. Therefore, understandings of the implications of choosing legal intervention for sexual violence were apparent. Allies were negative and gave discouraging messages to those who thought of reporting the case. Allies argued that taking the case to court is not a guarantee of the conviction of the assailant. Questions of addressing these pitfalls (e.g. through a restorative justice) were not evident in the data.

Silences around heteronormative and class-based understandings were also apparent. Allies did not, in any evidence of data, fully engage in these issues. The only time heteronormative

inequality was apparent was is when allies spoke about how culture perpetuates rape culture through the belief that lesbian women need to be raped to “correct” their sexuality, (“And if you look at corrective rape it is because you are not acting as a woman, so ‘I’m teaching you how to be a woman...”).

Finally, allies understood the significance of a politics of recognition in relation to sexual violence. Recognition of identity-based rights, conduct-based rights and relationship-based rights is fundamental in: acknowledging victim-survivors self-identification as rape victims, rape survivors or as anti-rape activists; in understanding the significance of consent or non-consent within and outside of relationships, as well as the respect for individual integrity. Recognition is also fundamental in allowing people to ethically and freely have self-determination with regards to choosing intimate partners, experiencing and enjoying sexual agency, having the mainstream society acknowledging sexual diversity. The recognition of gender and heteronormative and class-based inequalities is important in order to address social injustices that are products of patriarchal, heteronormative and socio-economic systems.

Allies understood the importance of safe spaces in the aftermath of sexual violence. They understood the significance of safe spaces for personal development and healing in the provision of psychological care as well as in helping victim-survivors to heal within environments that are free of judgment and victim blaming. Therefore, allies suggested the recognition of these needs and the recognition of different interventions such as the provision of accessible psychological and mental health care and support in both health care and legal sector.

In conclusion, thus, it appears that the Silent Protest largely promotes inclusive sexual citizenship. However, the Silent Protest does little to promote understanding of entitlement to legal care and sexual health care, which are fundamental to inclusive citizenship.

## **6.2 LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

The limitations for this study lie in the methodological part of the research. The sample size and the lack of prior research were main limitations encountered. The sample size was relatively small. Firstly, the study was limited regarding the number of participants who volunteered for the focus group discussions and three could not be held as initially planned. Although it has been argued that sample size is less relevant in qualitative research (Marshall, Cardon, Poddar, & Fontenot, 2013). Having more than two focus group discussion could have enhanced the study findings. Secondly, since participants in the Silent Protest focus groups were students at the university, who had limited time to offer for the discussions, the researcher kept the discussion within relevant boundaries.

For future studies that would want to build on this research, I recommend that this topic should be researched with larger and diverse samples. Given that participants for this study were students, I would encourage investigating the types of understandings the protest promotes or inhibits for the community members by including them in data collection. Lastly, I recommend the use of different data collection methods, for instance, using individual interviews because some people were intimidated by the group discussions and were not as vocal as others were throughout the discussion.

Although much research has been conducted on the subject of rape and sexual violence in South Africa and around the globe, less focus has been placed on examining rape and sexual

violence using a sexual citizenship framework. Rather sexual citizenship research has focused widely on addressing LGBT rights (e.g. legalization of same sex marriage, adoption and exclusions in political and economic spheres). As a result, I recommend more research that uses sexual citizenship framework to examine sexual health care services and legal health care services in relation to rape and sexual violence.

Last but not least, regarding the Silent Protest, I recommend all the events to be carried out for they serve a great purpose in sensitising people about sexual violence. Events such as Take Back the Night, for example, challenge many assumptions about sexual violence that are important in breaking the cycle of silence around rape and sexual violence. However, some of these events need to be enhanced and developed to better address issues where there is still limited understanding; such as the issue of consent as well as healthcare services (including psychological counselling) in the aftermath of sexual violence. Therefore, I recommend that the organisers of the Silent Protest consider giving additional focus to these issues.

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## **APPENDICIES**

### **APPENDIX A: QUESTIONS TO PROMPT REFLECTION**

1. What are my own assumptions about sexual violence?
2. What assumptions do I make about perpetrators and victims-survivors of sexual violence?
3. Is participating in the protest going to be a very emotional experience?
4. How would that change how I see/understand things?
5. How will I cope with the emotional aspect of participating in the protest?
6. How will it be like to share such experiences with others? To give witness?
7. What will some people make of my participation in the protest?
8. Will they judge me in some way or make certain assumptions? Would I care? Why?
9. Why do I believe it is important to protest in solidarity?
10. Which of my political beliefs aligned with this event? What does this say about me?  
What does it say about my relationships with these others?
11. How can events like these make a difference? What is their political function?
12. Will I agree with everything I see/hear or will I be critical about some aspects of the protest? Will it change my thinking?

## **APPENDIX B: FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEW SCHEDULE**

1. What motivated you to participate in the Silent Protest
2. Were you especially aware of the particular responses from other people?
3. How do you feel about these kinds of responses?
4. How did that affect your participation?
5. Do you think that men and women experience participating in the Silent Protest differently?
6. How participating in the Silent Protest changed the way you see or think about sexual violence?
7. How your experience of the Silent Protest did change the way you think about people who have experienced sexual violence?
8. What is it about the Silent Protest that really changed your perception?
9. Has participation in the protest caused you to think of your past present or future personal relationships?
10. How is it going to change the way you conduct yourself within these relationships?
11. Do you think the Silent Protest is an effective anti-rape campaign?
12. As an annual event, based on your experience, what advice, if any, do you have on improving the event?

## **APPENDIX C: EMAIL SENT TO PROSPECTIVE PARTICIPANTS**

Dear Silent Protest participants

My name is Elizabeth Chitiki. I'm a Masters student in Psychology here at Rhodes University and I'm busy researching the participation of social justice allies in the Silent Protest.

Not everyone who participates in the Silent Protest is a survivor of sexual violence. Many men and women who participate in the Silent Protest do so in solidarity with survivors of sexual violence, even though they have not been victims of sexual violence themselves. People who participate in the Silent Protest in this way are called social justice allies. The support of social justice allies in sexual violence protests is important and I'm interested to know more about these participants and their views on participating in the Silent Protest.

Participating in my research will involve taking part in a focus group discussion and keeping a diary during the Silent Protest in 2015 in which you record personal reflections of participating in the event. The focus group discussion will be recorded and transcribed and the diary containing your reflections will be digitized and the original paper copy returned to you. In the transcription process your real name will be replaced by a pseudonym and any other personally identifying information will be removed. Your real name and other personally identifying information will also be removed from the digital copy of your diary reflections.

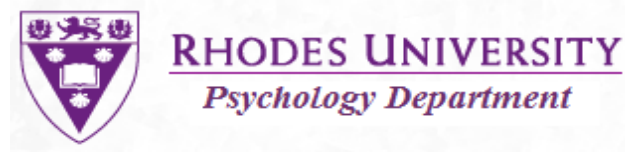
Ethical clearance was obtained to conduct this research from the Psychology Department Research Projects and Ethics Review Committee (RPERC) and this study has been approved by the organizer of the 2015 Silent Protest at Rhodes University.

If you are interested in participating in this study, or would like further information, please contact me at this email address [chitikiliz@yahoo.com](mailto:chitikiliz@yahoo.com)

Kind regards,

Elizabeth Chitiki

## APPENDIX D: CONSENT FORM



### AGREEMENT BETWEEN STUDENT RESEARCHER AND RESEARCH PARTICIPANT

I \_\_\_\_\_ agree to participate in research undertaken by Elizabeth Chitiki.

I understand that:

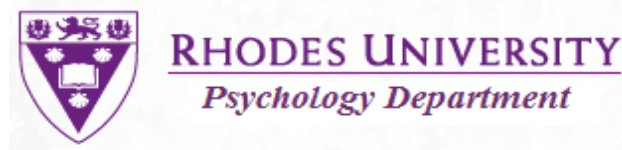
- This research is being conducted as part of the requirements for a Masters' degree at Rhodes University.
- This research is on the topic of my experience of participating in the Silent Protest at Rhodes University.
- My participation will involve taking part in a focus group discussion and keeping a diary during the Silent Protest in which I record my personal reflections of participating in the event.
- The focus group discussion will be recorded and transcribed.
- My diary will be digitized and the original paper copy returned to me.
- In the transcription process my real name will be replaced by a pseudonym and any other personally identifying information will be removed. My real name and other personally identifying information will also be removed from the digital copy of my diary reflections.

- Extracts from the focus group discussion and personal reflections may be reproduced verbatim (word for word) in a thesis or in other publications such as an academic journal article or conference material. In all of these instances my identity will be masked so that I cannot be identified.
- Participation is entirely voluntary and I am free to withdraw from the study at any time. However, I commit myself to full participation unless some unusual circumstances occur, or I have concerns about my participation which I did not originally anticipate.
- If I choose to withdraw from the study I can request that the data I have provided up until that point be withheld (not included in the study).
- I can talk to Elizabeth about any concerns I have about my participation in this study at any time.
- That Elizabeth has obtained ethical clearance to conduct this research from the Psychology Department Research Projects and Ethics Review Committee (RPERC).
- That this study has been approved by the organizer of the 2015 Silent Protest at Rhodes university.
- I have an information letter with a summary of the information provided on this form and the contact details of Elizabeth Chitiki and her supervisors.

Signed on (Date): \_\_\_\_\_

Participant: \_\_\_\_\_ Researcher: \_\_\_\_\_

## APPENDIX E: INFORMATION LETTER



### INFORMATION LETTER

Date

Dear Participant

Thanks for agreeing to participate in my research. This letter contains some of the important details covered in the consent form. My contact details and those of my supervisors is also provided in the event you require additional information, or have questions about the study which did not come to mind later on.

My research is on the topic of the experience of participating in the Silent Protest at Rhodes University and it is being done for a Masters' degree in Psychology at Rhodes University.

Your participation will involve taking part in a focus group discussion and keeping a diary during the Silent Protest in which you record personal reflections of participating in the event.

The focus group discussion will be recorded and transcribed. Your diary will be digitized and the original paper copy returned to you. In the transcription process your real name will be replaced by a pseudonym and any other personally identifying information will be removed. Your real name and other personally identifying information will also be removed from the digital copy of your diary reflections.

Extracts from the focus group discussion and personal reflections may be reproduced verbatim (word for word) in a thesis or in other publications such as an academic journal article or conference material. In all of these instances your identity will be masked so that you cannot be identified.

Participation is entirely voluntary and you are free to withdraw from the study at any time. However, you are asked to commit to full participation unless some unusual circumstances

occur, or you have concerns about participating in this study that you did not originally anticipate.

If you choose to withdraw from the study you can request that the data you have provided up until that point be withheld (not included in the study).

You can talk to me about any concerns you have about participating in this study at any time.

Ethical clearance was obtained to conduct this research from the Psychology Department Research Projects and Ethics Review Committee (RPERC) and this study has been approved by the organizer of the 2015 Silent Protest at Rhodes University.

I can be contacted at this number 0795656418 (cell phone) or [chitikiliz@yahoo.com](mailto:chitikiliz@yahoo.com) (email).

My research is supervised by Dr Jacqueline Marx who can be contacted at this number (0)46 6037377 (office) [Jacqui.marx@ru.ac.za](mailto:Jacqui.marx@ru.ac.za)(email) and Prof Catriona Macleod who may be contacted on 0(46)6037328 (office) [c.macleod@ru.ac.za](mailto:c.macleod@ru.ac.za) (email).

Sincerely

Elizabeth Chitiki

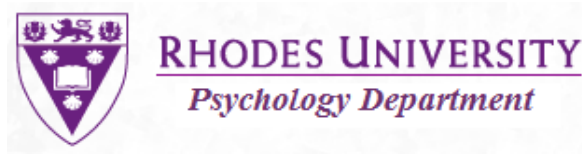
## Appendix F: Facebook – Sharing your content

### Sharing Your Content and Information

You own all of the content and information you post on Facebook, and you can control how it is shared through your privacy and application settings. In addition:

1. For content that is covered by intellectual property rights, like photos and videos (IP content), you specifically give us the following permission, subject to your privacy and application settings: you grant us a non-exclusive, transferable, sub-licensable, royalty-free, worldwide license to use any IP content that you post on or in connection with Facebook (IP License). This IP License ends when you delete your IP content or your account unless your content has been shared with others, and they have not deleted it.
2. When you delete IP content, it is deleted in a manner similar to emptying the recycle bin on a computer. However, you understand that removed content may persist in backup copies for a reasonable period of time (but will not be available to others).
3. When you use an application, the application may ask for your permission to access your content and information as well as content and information that others have shared with you. We require applications to respect your privacy, and your agreement with that application will control how the application can use, store, and transfer that content and information. (To learn more about Platform, including how you can control what information other people may share with applications, read our Data Policy and Platform Page.)
4. When you publish content or information using the Public setting, it means that you are allowing everyone, including people off of Facebook, to access and use that information, and to associate it with you (i.e., your name and profile picture).
5. We always appreciate your feedback or other suggestions about Facebook, but you understand that we may use your feedback or suggestions without any obligation to compensate you for them (just as you have no obligation to offer them).

## Appendix G: Confidentiality Agreement – Transcription Services



### Confidentiality Agreement – Transcription Services

I, Elizabeth Chitiki, agree to maintain full confidentiality in regards to any and all audio recordings and documentation collected related to my research study on: Participation in the Silent Protest: Promoting/inhibiting inclusive and process-based understanding of sexualities in relation to sexual violence.

Furthermore, I agree:

1. To hold in strictest confidence the identification of any individual that may be inadvertently revealed during the transcription of audio-taped interviews, or in any associated documents;
2. To not make copies of any audiotapes or computerized files of the transcribed interview texts, unless it is necessary.
3. To store all study-related audio recordings and materials in a safe, secure location as long as they are in my possession;
4. To delete all electronic files containing study-related documents from my computer hard drive and any backup devices after the completion of the full thesis.

I am aware that I can be held legally liable for any breach of this confidentiality agreement, and for any harm incurred by individuals if I disclose identifiable information contained in the audio recordings and/or files to which I will have access.

Transcriber's name (printed)

ELIZABETH CHITIKI

Transcriber's signature \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_