MAGISTERARBEIT / MASTER’S THESIS

Masculinity on Trial in South Africa? – The Zuma Rape Trial, Rape, HIV and AIDS and Masculinities

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3. **FOREWORD**

This Thesis has been produced within a cooperation project between the Carl von Ossietzky University of Oldenburg (Germany) and the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg (South Africa). The two examiners of this Thesis are: Dr. Lydia Potts, University of Oldenburg, and Prof. Sheila Meintjes, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. Due to the international nature of the cooperation project, the Thesis was written in English.

In the time of March - June 2007, the groundwork for this Thesis was done in Johannesburg. During a three-month stay, I worked out the title and objective of this Thesis and analysed most of the relevant literature referred to in this text. These preparatory works resulted in a research proposal which outlines the guiding idea of this Thesis.

In South Africa it is common to write a proposal before composing the final version of a Master's Thesis. In the proposal the author outlines the key idea(s), hypotheses, and the literature used. Generally, this proposal is presented to the university community and only after this public presentation has been made, is it then decided, whether or not the topic suggested can be accepted. This procedure, however, was not applied to the present Master's Thesis. Despite the fact that one of the two examiners is a lecturer at the University in Johannesburg and that I was present in Johannesburg for three months in preparation thereof, this Thesis is subject to the German regulations for a Master's Thesis. In order to comply with German regulations and also to provide German readers with the opportunity to gain an overall impression of the issues discussed in the text without having to read the entire English-language Thesis, the Abstract will be comprehensive and written in German.

Since I assume that most of the German readers do not have a good knowledge of South African society and/or politics, I considered it important to produce a text which poses no major difficulties for German readers in terms of the issues addressed. To achieve this, I have provided all those explanations in the text for German readers, who might need to gain an overall impression of the situation in South Africa.

During my stay in Johannesburg, I found that South Africa is a wonderful and beautiful country and I learned that the people in South African are very friendly and helpful. Despite these very positive personal experiences, it must be stated that South Africa is a country, which has not only huge problems but also ambitious goals, so-
cially and politically. Some of them will be addressed in this Thesis. Since the country became a democratic state in 1994, South Africa has tried to overcome more than 50 years of racial suppression/segregation and – more recently - has put into effect the most progressive constitution in the world. Another problem to be overcome in South Africa is the fact that there are about thirty different tribes and population groups, which are to be united to become one nation. A metaphor might illustrate this challenge for European readers. If the European Union with currently 27 member states would try to build one national state, the challenge would be comparable to South Africa. Although all the European countries share to some extent the same cultural background, it would be rather difficult to combine all of them into one state.

3.1. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS
I would like to thank Dr. Lydia Potts and Prof. Sheila Meintjes for their support and the opportunity to be able to write such an interesting Master’s Thesis. Both of them were a big help for me in finding the exact topic for this Thesis and in getting to know South Africa. Likewise, I would like to thank the members of the Political Science Forum at the University of the Witwatersrand with whom I had very interesting discussions and who helped me to find my way around Johannesburg and South Africa. The professors and others of the political science department helped me a lot by discussing several issues, by helping me to find books in the libraries of Johannesburg, and by giving me the feeling of being a part of the department. Finally, I would like to thank all the South Africans and non-South Africans whom I met during my stay in Johannesburg. They all improved my stay and my work in Johannesburg and made the visit a very interesting and exiting experience.

I would additionally like to thank the editor of this Thesis, Pastor Dale Eckhart. He corrected the text so that it would be better understandable for English readers and he gave me a good feedback about the construction and the comprehensibility of this Thesis’ argumentation.
4. **Abstract [in German]**


Der Prozess dient als Prisma, durch das die Verbindungen der unterschiedlichen Themengebiete dieser Arbeit zueinander hergestellt und erkannt werden können. Als Politikum [s. FIGURE 8, p. 40] erzeugte dieser Prozess in Südafrika eine öffentliche
Diskussion, in der mehrere Fragenkomplexe tangiert wurden und teilweise noch werden, die für die Fragestellung dieser Arbeit interessant und wichtig sind:


2. Es ging auch um die Frage, wie das Land, welches weltweit die höchsten Vergewaltigungszahlen hat, mit Vergewaltigungsoffern umgeht und ob die Gesetzgebung in diesem Feld angemessen ist. Vor allem Zumas Unterstützer neigten dazu, dem Vergewaltigungsofner anzulasten, dass sie Zuma nur habe schaden wollen, um somit seine Chancen, Südafrikas nächsten Präsident zu werden, zu verringern. [s. 6.3.3, p. 42]

3. Ebenfalls die HIV Situation in Südafrika, in dem die meisten HIV Infizierten der Welt leben, geriet durch den Prozess stärker in den Focus der Öffentlichkeit. Zuma selbst rechtfertigte seine Entscheidung, kein Kondom benutzt zu haben, mit der geringeren Wahrscheinlichkeit für einen Mann sich bei ungeschütztem Geschlechtsverkehr mit einer positiven Frau, mit dem Virus anstecken. Außerdem habe er sich nach dem Geschlechtsverkehr geduscht, um so die Wahrscheinlichkeit einer Infektion zu minimieren. [s. 6.3.2, p. 41]

Dabei ist es von besonderem Interesse die Erklärungsfähigkeiten dieser Theorien zu analysieren.

Es geht davon aus, dass es in einer Gesellschaft stets eine hegemoniale Männlichkeit gibt, die den Inhalt der idealen Männlichkeitskonstruktion bestimmt. Alle anderen Männlichkeiten und Weiblichkeiten müssen sich zu diesem Ideal positionieren. Die Durchsetzung des Ideals muss nicht mit Gewalt erfolgen und es müssen noch nicht einmal die Mehrheit der Männer diesem Ideal entsprechen [s. 9.3.1, p. 99]. Die anderen Männlichkeiten differenzieren sich dann nach verschiedenen Aspekten aus, welche hier aber nicht von Bedeutung sind. Die entscheidende Frage in Bezug auf die Hypothese dieser Arbeit ist vielmehr, ob es denn wirklich nur eine hegemoniale Männlichkeit in Südafrika gibt. In der abschließenden Diskussion wird geschlussfolgert [s. 10, p. 120], dass die unterschiedlichen Erwartungen, die im Laufe des Prozesses offensichtlich wurden, vermuten lassen, dass es in Südafrika mehrere hegemoniale Männlichkeiten gibt, die jeweils ihren eigenen Einflussbereich haben. So scheint es für die Zulu eine zu geben, genauso wie für die gesamte Nation Südafrika. Doch keine scheint dazu in der Lage zu sein, eine wirkliche Hegemonie behaupten zu können [s. 10, p. 122]. Daher scheint es sinnvoll zu sein, eine ‘globale’ Perspektive einzubringen. Connell und andere stellten schon früher die Frage, wie regional und lokal hegemoniale Männlichkeiten mit einer global hegemonialen Männlichkeit interagieren [s. 9.6, p. 118]. Dieses Konzept scheint auch für Südafrika angebracht. Die verschiedenen Volksstämme und die elf offiziellen Sprachen Südafrikas zeigen, dass dieses Land eventuell nicht ganz einem Nationalstaat im europäischen Sinne gleicht. Diese Arbeit legt nahe, dass die Männlichkeiten in Südafrika stärker darauf untersucht werden müssen, welche Konstruktion von Männlichkeit wo hegemonial ist und wie diese mit den anderen interagiert [s. 11, p. 126].

**Figure 1:** “15th of November 2005 / Startling new allegation against Zuma that he raped a woman who was a guest at his home”, in ZAPIRO 2006.

This cartoon illustrates the politically explosive content of the trial and its accused.
5. INTRODUCTION TO THE THESIS

The main title of the Thesis ‘Masculinity on Trial in South Africa?’ refers to the Jacob Zuma Rape Trial which was held in 2006. This trial is the starting point in this Thesis for an examination of masculinities in South Africa, of a potential correlation with the spread of HIV, and of the rising number of rapes in South Africa. It will become clear that the Zuma Rape Trial was a major political and social issue at the time and to some extent it still is. While the trial was in progress and – to a lesser degree – also afterwards, the possible correlations between masculinity, rape, and HIV and AIDS have been and still are being discussed by the general public.

It is not the overall objective of this paper to simply answer the question of whether or not masculinity is on trial in South Africa. Rather, the question stated in the title, provides the basis for evolving the main hypothesis of the Thesis: It is hypothesized that there are two forms of masculinity challenging each other within South African society - but they are also discernible in other cultural settings, especially on the African continent. These two constructions of masculinity can be described as ‘traditional’ and ‘modern’ whereby these are the terms to which the representatives of the different kinds would refer, if they had to describe their attitude towards masculinity and gender issues. Both types of masculinity became visible during the trial, either in the person of Jacob Zuma himself, who seems to try to incorporate both types stressing either the one or the other, or in the person of State Attorney de Beer, who confronted Zuma several times with expectations that would more belong to a modern construction of masculinity. Outside the courtroom, the supporters of Zuma demonstrating in front of the High Court of Johannesburg mainly showed their support for a traditional Zulu or African masculinity, whereby, the demonstrators for women’s rights and against gender violence were more likely to support a modern construction of masculinity. The same phenomena could be observed within the public discussion. Some commentators defend Zuma for showing leadership in a time of crisis while others question his ability for leading a country like South Africa.

1 This shall not strengthen any kind of “tendency to view tradition as static and ahistorical rather than dynamic and subject to change” (REID & WALKER 2005: 3). European assumptions of ‘the African’ or ‘the African sexuality’ (REID & WALKER 2005: 3) are not meant to be strengthened in this Thesis.

2 It has to be made clear that the author chooses to use the two terms in order to describe them and not in order to establish any kind of hierarchy between them or to value any one as higher than the other. The terms have to be seen in an analytical way, meaning that the ‘traditional’ refers to what is regarded as being traditional and the ‘modern’ refers to what is regarded as being modern.

3 There was never a contradiction seen between Zuma, as the traditional Zulu, and Zuma, as the modern revolutionist, neither by him nor by his supporters (ROBINS 2006: 165).
To sum it up, the behaviours and reactions within and outside the Zuma Rape Trial reflect the gender situation in South Africa.

Based on this first part of the hypothesis, in the next step it is further hypothesised that the reasons for the extremely high numbers of rape [s. 8.2, p. 80] in South Africa and the very high number of HIV infections [s. 7.2, p. 52] in the very same country developed within the area of conflict between the two different constructions of masculinity. Male humans, who are socialised into a traditional construction of masculinity, sometimes struggle to fulfil the expectations of this kind of masculinity because of the challenges of a modern society. So, they are trapped between the two kinds of masculinity and that often leads the men to stress other parts of their masculinity construction by having as a result, several sexual partners or viewing sexual intercourse with one's own wife as a natural right of men. Therefore, the clash between the two different expectations often means that a certain part of the personal masculinity construction could not be fulfilled which in turn, leads to a stressing of other parts of the masculinity construction. The latter could, regardless of the individual’s sex, result in an individual’s higher vulnerability of getting infected with HIV or of being raped. These interrelations do not mandatory lead to the outlined consequences, but they are likely to have a bigger influence on them.

All this leads to the final part of the hypothesis, in which it is asked, whether or not there are theoretical frameworks that could explain this situation. Following Connell’s framework of Hegemonic Masculinity (1985, 2005), for example, would mean to find the hegemonic masculinity within South African society and then, how it relates to the other constructions. But in terms of South Africa and the Zuma Rape Trial, it is important to ask: Is there just one hegemonic masculinity to which all the others have to refer? Could it not be argued, that there are at least two hegemonic masculinities existing next to each other? How could it, otherwise, be explained that Jacob Zuma seemingly incorporates two different kinds of masculinity, which do not seem to contradict themselves from his perspective?

Therefore, the last section of this Thesis will explore several theoretical frameworks. The final discussion tries to point out several questions about the theoretical frameworks and how they could be changed in order to be able to provide a more realistic perspective on masculinity constructions in South Africa. This discussion could not claim to be final but it should offer interesting fields of further studies and explorations.
This hypothesis is based on the proposal’s Thesis but, in addition, the Master’s Thesis extends the former hypothesis with a more theoretical perspective. This has been done in order to explore the explanation’s ability of different masculinity theories.

5.1. METHODOLOGY

The overall construction of this Thesis is that the hypothesis will be explored, first starting with the presentation of the Zuma Rape Trial, then dealing with its implications on sexual violence and on HIV and AIDS. Finally, the findings of all three sections, in terms of masculinities, are the background for the last section in which theoretical framework about masculinity constructions are presented. In the discussion all the findings and possible explanations are put together and critically discussed in regard to the hypothesis. In order to make the leitmotif of the Thesis’s sections visible to the reader, the introductions to the single sections always explain the construction of the very section and they also give an overview on the literature, that was used as the basis for the section. All sections are concluded with a summary of the findings in regard to the leading questions respectively to the hypothesis. These findings are either used again in the context of the discussion about masculinity or they are used in the concluding discussion with regard to the hypothesis.

The cartoons by Zapiro can be found throughout the whole Thesis. The vast majority of the cartoons have been created in the context of the Zuma Rape Trial. Therefore, they should remind the reader of the events during the trial and, by doing so, of the connection between the discussed issue, and the starting point of the whole examination becomes clear. In that sense, the cartoons can be regarded as visual leitmotifs. The cartoons themselves will not be analysed in particular but there might be further explanations regarding the relevance to the discussed issues. They are regarded as another important part of the public discussion, which should also be accessible for the reader. Therefore, it should be pointed out, that the author of this Thesis did not include the cartoons in order to show any kind of personal agreement or disagreement with them. They are meant to communicate the intensity of the public discussion and the intense impact of the whole trial on the South African nation. Additionally, in order to give the reader a better impression, photographs of the events in front of the Johannesburg High Court have been included.

Finally, all the quotations in the text are in their original language, which is either English or German. If a German author is quoted, it will be translated in the foot-
notes. The cross references within the text offer the section’s number, as well as the number of the page on which relevant discussions occur. The page numbers might refer to a certain position within a certain section. Therefore, the page numbers might not correspond with the section’s page numbers.

The brackets, which might occur in quotes within this Thesis, offer additions that put the quote in the context. Therefore, they are not part of the quote but they make the quotation understandable in the specific context.

5.2. INTRODUCTION TO SOUTH AFRICA AS A COUNTRY

Before going into detail about the actual subject of this Thesis, there shall be a short overview on South Africa as a country. This is especially important in order to give the reader an overview of the different groups within the South African population.

South Africa is the most southern country of Africa. It borders Namibia, Mozambique, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Swaziland, and Lesotho, which is an enclave within South Africa (ENCARTA4 2007: 1).


(Figure 2: Map of South Africa by Places.co.za. Retrieved 31st of March 2008 from www.places.co.za.

This refers to the online version of the Encarta Encyclopaedia in which the article on South Africa is separated into nine different pages. Therefore, the page numbers refer to these different online pages.

5 Translation provided by the author: “About 75% of the 44 million South African inhabitants are black, about 14% are white, 8% are coloureds, and 3% are Asians. The black South Africans belong to
The constitution of South Africa, which went into effect in 1997, guarantees a wide range of basic liberties, the separation of powers, and a multi-party system. The Apartheid system established in 1948, was based on a strict separation of the different races with a superior position of the white population (ENCARTA 2007: 4). The backbone of the South African economy are the natural resources which are mainly gold, diamonds, uranium, and black coal (ENCARTA 2007: 6).

In 1795 British troops occupied the Cape Province and used it as a harbour on their way to India and Asia. Up to the Boer War in 1899, British and Dutch settlers fought for the dominance in South Africa. After their defeat the Boers had to accept the fact, that the British made all the different provinces of South Africa a colony of the British Empire. In 1910 the different British provinces were united to form the South African Union, which remained a part of the British Empire. After World War II, ideas of the necessity of the white superiority towards the black population became stronger. A systematisation and institutionalisation of a race divided system, the Apartheid, started in 1948. With several legal acts this system was established and worked out in more detail. The movement which fought successfully against this system, was established in the 1970ies (ENCARTA 2007: 8/9).

The population consists of nine different ethnic groups: the Zulu, Xhosa, Tswana, Venda, Sotho, Ndebele, Tsonga, Swazi, and the Pedi. As the biggest group, the Zulu represent about 20% of the whole population. Predominantly, the whites spring from British, Dutch, German and French-Huguenot settlers. The inhabitants of Dutch derivation name themselves Afrikaaners or Boers, and they represent about 60% of the white population. The population of mixed origin, which primarily lives in the Cape Province, spring from Blacks and Boers. The Asians are predominately of Indian derivation and the majority of them live in KwaZulu Natal.”
6. FIRST CHAPTER - THE ZUMA RAPE TRIAL

6.1. INTRODUCTION

This section will examine the events during the Zuma Rape Trial, within the courtroom and outside of it. This presentation does not include an examination of all the witnesses who have testified during the trial. This selection took place, in order to be able to focus more on the elements of the trial, which have been important in regard to the aim of this Thesis. Additionally, an examination of the judgement will be conducted. All the events, commentaries, and opinions which will occur during this section are the basis for the observation that masculinity was indeed on trial and, following in the next sections, that constructions of masculinity are very closely linked to the high numbers of rape and the high numbers of HIV infections in South Africa. After presenting the basic setting for the whole trial, the presentation follows the trial’s chronology. Therefore, this chapter is separated into four main sections:

(1) The testimony of the complainant, including the cross examination of Zuma’s attorney, Kemp J. Kemp; continuing with Zuma’s testimony which started with the interrogation by his attorney and was followed by the cross examination conducted by State Attorney de Beer; a mix of resources, namely the reports of two important newspapers in the Johannesburg region (Sowetan and Mail & Guardian), the transcripts of the trial itself, and finally, a certain number of other articles published in the World Wide Web or from other sources. [s. 6.2.1.1, p. 20]

(2) An examination of the events, which took place in front of the Johannesburg High Court during the Zuma Rape Trial: namely, the demonstrations of Zuma’s supporters and women’s rights activists during the whole time of the trial. To illustrate the different opinions expressed in the demonstrations, the reports of the Sowetan and Mail & Guardian are mainly used to present the events. This presentation is completed by using statements of others sources like the accused himself, the ANC, or other government officials. In order to give an impression, especially for German readers of this Thesis, of the political magnitude this trial had and still has for South Africa as a nation and a society, illustrations of the South African cartoonist Zapiro have been included. These are meant to illustrate another important part of the discussion which can not necessarily be expressed by articles in the same way. In addition, the cartoons are used in this Thesis to keep the events of the Zuma Rape Trial connected to the other questions discussed throughout the Thesis. The content of the cartoons mainly refers to the events which are described here but partly it refers to what is presented in the subsections (1) and (4). [s. 6.2.2, p. 31]
(3) The presentation of judgement, pointing out the main lines of argumentation, which led to the acquittal of Jacob Zuma. The judgement’s lines of argumentation and the final decision have been criticised in different ways. Therefore, an examination of the judgement based on the judgement’s wording. To top that off, there are critical opinions about the different lines of argumentation mentioned. [s. 6.2.3, p. 34]

(4) A description of the public discussion surrounding the whole trial by concentrating on the questions and commentaries regarding the impacts and interrelations between the trial and the fields of (a) a political conspiracy, (b) HIV and AIDS, (c) gender violence, and (d) the question of political leadership in South Africa. This section consists of newspaper commentaries of the events, commentaries form other sources, for example, the World Wide Web, and it consists of scientific articles, which deal with the implications and insights and occurred during the trial and in the surrounding fields. [s. 6.3, p. 36]

This section will be concluded with a discussion of important issues for the following chapters of the Thesis. The basis, hereof, will be this chapter's findings. It will be conducted by summarizing the findings of the section and formulating leading questions for the next sections, which are deduced from what has been said in this section in relation to the hypothesis. [s. 6.4, p. 47]

6.2. THE ZUMA RAPE TRIAL

The former Deputy President of South Africa, Jacob Gedleyihlekisa Zuma, was accused of raping a 31-year-old HIV-positive woman in November 2005, who was the daughter of an old friend of his who died in exile (ZAVIS 2006; Zuma Rape Trial What Court Will Hear 2006). The rape allegedly took place in Zuma’s home in Johannesburg on the 2nd of November 2005 (NKOSI & MABUZA 2006d). The court found Jacob Zuma not guilty. The judgement was confirmed at the beginning of May 2006 (EVANS & WOLMARANS 2006). From the begin of the trial on, it was seen as the politically most explosive trial in the history of the young South African democracy. It put the focus on the numbers of rape and the number of HIV infections in South Africa, which both belong to the highest in the world (KAPP 2006; ROBINS 2006: 158). The name of the woman accusing Jacob Zuma of rape, was not to be published, as ruled by the court (MABUZA 2006e). The supporters of the accuser gave her

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6 The middle name of Jacob Zuma means: “one who smiles at you while he messes you up” (BLOOM & DE WET 2007: 54).
the name Khwezi (MOYA 2006c), which means ‘hero’ (MOTSEI 2007). Although this name had been chosen by the supporters of the complainant, it soon became the name that all the commentators used. Therefore, this name will also be used in this Thesis but that shall not express any kind of support for the complainant. After the trial ended, the complainant left the country for her safety (MDLETSHE 2006a).

Figure 3: Cover picture of *Sowetan*, 15th of February 2006. The very first day of the rape trial.

This picture is supposed to give an impression of the kind of demonstrations in favour of Jacob Zuma in front of the High Court, Johannesburg.
6.2.1.1. Inside the Courtroom

The trial itself started at the beginning of March 2006 (No Scream Of Protest Because ‘I Was In A Total Daze’, Says Rape Complainant 2006) and ended at the beginning of May 2006 with the acquittal of Jacob Zuma (Mogale 2006a; South Africa’s Zuma Cleared Of Rape 2006). Originally, the trial should have started in the middle of February 2006 but Judge Bernard Ngoepe stepped down from his position as judge of the rape trial (Musgrave 2006). The defence had filed an application for the recession of the judge because he was also involved in the investigative actions of the state against Zuma, in terms of the corruption charges. From the perspective of the defence, he, therefore, could not provide the necessary independence for the rape trial (Zuma Rape Case Judge Stands Down 2006). For the judge, his decision was based on possible damage that his presidency could have done to the integrity of the South African judiciary. But it was argued that his decision might be an original precedent which could cause people to think that important persons in South Africa can choose their own judges (Misbach 2006a). The successor of Judge Ngoepe, Judge Willem van der Merwe, was named about two weeks later, so that the trial could resume or rather start at the beginning of March 2006 (Sowetan, 3rd of March 2006, p. 6).

When the first accusations of rape were put forward, Jacob Zuma pleaded not guilty (Mabuza 2006b; Zuma 2005). His defence argued that Zuma and the complainant had consensual sexual intercourse during the night in question (Nkosi, K. 2006c) and that the complainant could have said ‘no’ at any point, which would have made Zuma stop. In addition, there was a mobile phone at her disposal, a police officer in front of Zuma’s house, and Zuma’s daughter was staying in the room next door (No Scream Of Protest Because ‘I Was In A Total Daze’, Says Rape Complainant 2006). The defence argued that the circumstances would have made it very difficult for Zuma to try raping the complainant, as he could not have foreseen, how she would react.

Before having a closer look at the testimonies of the complainant and the accused, it is important to mention that the judge allowed the sexual history of the complainant as evidence for the trial (Zuma’s Rape Accuser Questioned 2006). In

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7 Before Jacob Zuma was accused of rape, the state’s attorneys investigated against him in relation to a corruption charge of which a close college of Zuma had been already convicted. This corruption trial took place in the summer of 2006 and Zuma was found not guilty. After his election as President of the African National Congress (ANC) in December 2007 (s. footnote 32, p. 47), the state’s attorneys proclaimed the re-investigation of the corruption charges against him (Raup 2007c).

8 Following the opinion of experts, women are less likely to report sexual violence when they had been abused by people they know well. The use of characteristics of the alleged victims might strengthen the suspiciousness towards women reporting rape or sexual violence (Makgetla 2006). This decision
terms of the general objectives of this Thesis, it is interesting to observe that the sex-
ual history of the accused was never a topic neither in the public discussion nor dur-
ing the trial. But because Jacob Zuma might be the father of 18 children\(^9\) (You, No.
31, 12\(^{th}\) of July 2007, pp. 10/11), his sexual history could have been as informative as
the sexual history of the complainant.

When the question of Zuma’s HIV status came up, Zuma’s attorney refused to give
evidence to the court that Zuma is indeed HIV-negative. The fact that Zuma and the
complainant talked about alternative treatments for HIV on the evening in question
did not imply, from the perspective of Zuma’s defence team, that he himself is HIV-
positive (NKOSI, K. 2006m). The complainant explained in her testimony that Zuma
informed her about certain herbs that were supposed to fight HIV and which were
tested during that time.

“[…] Malume [Jacob Zuma] started talking to me about some herbs. He
said that a comrade that he trusted very much had come to him and rec-
ommended these herbs that were put together by a certain healer. He said
perhaps these herbs could help me to bring down my CD4 count up again,
and then he also said there was another herb, this herb was being tested in
Kwa Zulu Natal in hospitals and he said that this herb actually brought
down the viral load\(^{10}\) and that perhaps this herb could be a cure for me.”
(Answer of the complainant asked by the state’s attorney; TRANSCRIPTS Vol.
I, p. 21)

Zuma himself confirmed in his testimony that he had talked about the herbs with the
complainant on the evening in question and that he had encouraged her to inform
herself about the possibility of using these herbs for her own treatment (Zuma’s an-
swer to the state’s attorney question; TRANSCRIPTS Vol. XV, p. 937/938).

6.2.1.2. THE COMPLAINANT’S TESTIMONY

In her testimony the complainant told the court that the daughter of her sister, who
lives in Swaziland, was suffering from a serious snake bite. The accused was a good
friend and comrade of the complainant’s father who died in exile. So she knew him
all her life and regarded him ever since as a close friend of hers. Therefore, she

\(^9\) The magazine You (No. 31, 12\(^{th}\) of July 2007, pp. 10/11) claims that Jacob Zuma has 18 children but
that has not been confirmed by himself or his office. The Süddeutsche Zeitung says that he has ten chil-
dren from four different women (RAUPP 2007b). And the Le Monde Diplomatique [German Edition]
states that Zuma lives with together with several women and has at least twenty children (KAVANAGH
2008).

\(^{10}\) The viral load describes the infected person’s amount of HI-Viruses in his blood. Depending on the
amount of the viruses, the infected person could infect other persons more or less easily.
wanted to tell him what happened to her daughter’s sister and that she wanted to go to Swaziland immediately. Zuma invited her to come to his house instead, so that they could talk about the accident and about what she could do (Rape Complainant Flounders Under Cross Examination 2006).

“I saw him as a father, treated him as a father and he treated me like a daughter.” (Testimony of the complainant, questioned by the state’s attorney de Beer about her relationship to the accused. TRANSCRIPTS, Vol. I, p. 14)

The complainant’s friend, Msibi, testified that the complainant had never talked negatively about Jacob Zuma since the day after the alleged rape took place. Therefore, she knew that something must have happened when the complainant talked negatively about the accused (NKOSI, K. & MABUZA 2006b). According to the complainant’s testimony, she said ‘good night’ to the accused on the evening of the night in question and went to her room. After some time, following her description of events, the accused came into her room and asked her whether she was already asleep. Although she expressed that she was already sleeping, Zuma offered to massage her, even while she was sleeping. He started massaging her, despite the fact that the complainant asked him to stop, in order to be able to sleep (NKOSI, K. 2006b). When she looked at him for the first time since he had come into her room, she saw him naked in front of her. Shocked by that, she turned her head around, closed her eyes, and froze so that she was unable to move (NKOSI, K. 2006e). The accused opened the Kanga she was wearing and held her arms together (Zuma Rape Complainant Says She Did Not Say No To Sex 2006). She was wearing the Kanga without any underwear underneath it (NKOSI, K. 2006d). He opened her legs with his right knee and touched her vagina with his fingers. After some time he started penetrating her with his penis. When the intercourse in which a condom was not used was about to end, he asked her if he might ejaculate inside her. She did not respond to that question and he ejaculated inside her (NKOSI, K. 2006b).

As mentioned, the complainant described her reaction to her recognition of the naked Jacob Zuma as one of freezing, so that she was unable to move. In order to give the court an impression of the plausibility of the complainant’s reaction, two psychologists were introduced as witnesses. In “[t]he battle of the psychologists” (MOYA

11 “A kanga is a rectangular piece of cotton cloth that originated in East Africa. The original design was called leso, after the handkerchief squares that inspired its creation. Later on, its buyers (mainly men who bought it as a gift for their wives) named the cloth kanga after the noisy and sociable guinea-fowl known for its elegant, spotty plumage. Kanga designs evolved from the spotty design to a variety of bold designs and bright colours.” (MOTSEI 2007: 152).
2006g) regarding the mental constitution of the complainant, the clinical psychologist, Merle Friedman, was introduced as a witness by the state (NKOSI, K. 2006g) and the forensic psychologist, Louise Oliver, was introduced as a witness by Zuma’s defence (MOYA 2006g). Dr. Olivier was only able to evaluate the testimony of Dr. Friedman because she had not been given the opportunity to interview the complainant personally. Zuma’s defence interpreted the complainant’s behaviour in this regard as trying to undermine the constitutional right of defence of the accused by denying to be interviewed by an independent psychologist (Rape Accuser Is An Accomplished Liar, Says Kemp 2006).

Friedman said that the complainant showed signs of post-traumatic disorder after the rape took place and that the reaction of freezing during the rape is absolutely normal for rape victims. This reaction is even better to understand if the background of the relationship between the complainant and the accused is taken into consideration. The shock of being exposed to a naked man, whom she thought she could trust, might have intensified the reaction of freezing. The post-traumatic disorder also explains the partly unlogical description of events by the complainant (NKOSI, K. & MABUZA 2006a). Oliver testified that Friedman did not fulfil certain standards when interviewing the complainant. In addition, Oliver testified that the reaction of freezing during the rape is not likely. She stated that just about 10% of rape victims freeze during the rape (MOYA 2006e). Louise Olivier said that the complainant did not react normally and that the sexual history of the complainant is very important in order to examine if the complainant does have any kind of trauma. Mrs. Friedman took the answers of the complainant for true without checking that. In the opinion of Mrs. Friedman, it might be the case that the complainant used memories of older rape incidents in order to describe the events happening during the night in question (Rape Complainant Did Not Act Normally, Says Forensic Psychologist 2006). The experience of a rape often leads to a sensitivity of the victim towards male sexual advances and it sometimes leads to false rape accusations in order to repay the suffered abuse (MOYA 2006g). Following the evaluation of Louise Olivier, Zuma’s attorney stated that the complainant would have been able to resist Zuma as he is

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12 The question of what is “normal” for rape victims has been answered very differenty by the two psychologists. The problem in this context is that there is a circular argument possible: If the alleged victim showers after the alleged rape then she destroys important evidence and it is harder for her to prove the allegations. But if she is not taking a shower afterwards, then she is not regarded as behaving ‘normal’ for a rape victim which in turn makes it more difficult for her to prove the accusations (MOTSEI 2007: 34).
about 30 years older than she is and because he did not have much more weight than
she had (Rape Accuser Is An Accomplished Liar, Says Kemp 2006).

In addition, the complainant testified that Zuma was aware of her HIV-positive
status. She had informed him in 2001 about her status although she herself knew it
since 1999 (Zuma’s Rape Accuser Questioned 2006). And she explicitly said that she
would never have unprotected sexual intercourse with someone else because of her
status and because of the chance of getting infected with HIV a second time13 (Tes-
timony of the complainant; TRANSCRIPTS Vol. I., p. 38).

In the cross examination of the complainant by Zuma’s attorney Kemp, she stated
that she had been raped several times before (NKOSI, K. 2006d). The strategy of the
defence, questioning the trustworthiness of the complainant (Complainant ‘Needs Ur-
gent Medical Attention’ – Witness 2006; NKOSI, K. 2006k), was based on the main argu-
ment that she had charged several men of rape before she charged Zuma, although
she could not remember all the accusations the defence tried to prove (NKOSI K.
2006h, 2006j). All these accusations were not proven by a court (MOYA 2006b, Rape
Accuser Is An Accomplished Liar, Says Kemp 2006, Rape Complainant Treated For Mental
Condition 2006).

This cartoon plays with the stereotype that women are
responsible for being raped. Equally, it questions the
strategy of Zuma’s defence
and the behaviour of
Zuma’s supporters in front
of the High Court burning
pictures of the complainant.

13 There is the possibility of getting infected with HIV several times but it does not have to be that
way. There are two different types of HI-Viruses and several Subtypes. Therefore, a person, who is
already infected with one type of HI-(Sub)virus, might get infected again when being exposed to an-
other HI-(Sub)virus. This could lead to the creation of a stronger HI-Virus within the body of the
infected person and that in turn, might create resistances of the new version of the HI-Virus against
the used medications (WEINREICH & BENN 2005: 13-18).
She admitted that she did not explicitly say ‘no’ to sexual actions taken by Zuma so that he might not have recognized that she did not want to have sex with him. Zuma’s attorney suggested that regarding her experience, she should have known that massages often lead to sexual intercourse.

“Yes but you see Ms [Khwezi] what you are basically saying is: look it is not that I have any real objection or I actually do not want you to touch me. You are just saying: I am sleeping and I do not feel like it now. What I am saying to you, you sound to me to be quite a forceful woman when you need to be. Why didn’t you say to him: leave me alone, don’t touch me? – I do not know. Perhaps I did not at that point feel as forceful as you see me to be.” (Zuma’s attorney, Kemp, asking the complainant and her answer; TRANSCRIPTS Vol. III, p. 160/161).

And in addition to that, Kemp expressed his irritation about the fact that the complainant neither left Zuma’s house after the alleged rape nor that she locked the door afterwards. He concluded that she felt more comfortable in the house of her rapist than in her own (Zuma Rape Complainant Says She Did Not Say No To Sex 2006). Kemp also called attention to the different time specifications made by the complainant to the police and to the court (Sowetan, 29th of March 2006, p. 7). The complainant told the police that the alleged rape took place around midnight and during her testimony she stated that it took place at 2.00 am (NKOSI, K. 2006e). In terms of the probability of the event of a rape, the defence pointed out that during the alleged rape Zuma’s daughter was in the house and a police officer in front of it. Therefore, Zuma’s defence questioned the probability of any man trying to rape a woman if there is a police officer and the man’s daughter nearby (Rape Complainant Treated For Mental Condition 2006).

Later on, Kemp stated that the discussion between the accused and the complainant on the evening of the night in question clearly had sexual connotations in it. During that conversation they talked about the complainant’s relationships. She expressed her impression that men nowadays are not man enough for her (TRANSCRIPTS Vol. I). Following Kemp’s argumentation, there was not any indications that he should count himself to the men that she had described as not man enough (Rape Accuser Is An Accomplished Liar, Says Kemp 2006).

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14 The transcripts contain the name of the complainant. But as the court ruled that the identity of the complainant is not to be published, the name of the complainant has been changed into the name which had been given her by her supporters.

15 During that conversation, following her testimony, Zuma said to her that despite her HIV-status she still has physical needs that she should take care of. It was clear that these needs were meant in a sexual way.
“You had experienced interacting with men and so on. Did you come across it ever that one of the ways in which they make physical contact is to massage you? – Yes. // And here is a man, we talked about your physical needs, here is a man that is in your bedroom in the middle of the night, here is a man who according to you earlier said that he wants to tuck you in, and he is giving you a massage. What did you think was in his mind? – At that point I did not put all those dots together and I would never have in my wildest dreams imagine that this particular person would want to go there with me. ” (Zuma’s attorney, Kemp, asking the complainant; TRANSCRIPTS Vol. III, p. 161/162).

Before the accused was called to the witness stand, his defence applied for the dismissal of the charges (MOYA 2006b). They argued that the state’s case was not strong enough to be continued (NKOSI, K. 2006i). Even if the complainant had the impression of a close relationship to the accused, as Kemp said, Zuma himself would have not described his relationship to the complainant as that close. As the state did not provide clear evidence that the rape took place, a testimony of Zuma would be foremost self damaging for the accused (MOYA 2006d). But Judge van der Merwe did not agree with the defence’s perspective and dismissed their application (NKOSI, K. & MABUZA 2006h).

Three organizations, specialized on women’s rights and gender violence, applied as ‘friends of the court’ in order to support the court with their expertise (PAPAYYA 2006a). This term refers to a third party that likes to influence a court trial. This party is not related in any way to the other parties. The organizations justified their application with the need for a critical exploration of certain myths surrounding gender violence. They did not want to be neutral observers or experts attending the sessions. (NGOs Lose Application To Intervene In Rape Trial 2006). It was their aim to enable the court to have a more realistic view of the situation of women abuse in South Africa. And they pointed out, that the principle of ‘amici curiae’ had been used before successfully (GERNTHOLTZ 2006). The defence, as well as the state, were not able to see any advantage in allowing these three organizations to participate in the trial. In addition, the judge justified his dismissal of the application with the possible need of the defence to change their whole strategy. That eventually could have been necessary in the case of the acceptance of this application and in turn might have resulted in a new testimony of the complainant (NKOSI, K. & MABUZA 2006g).

6.2.1.3. THE ACCUSED’S TESTIMONY

Following applicable law, the defence had to call the accused to the witness stand before being allowed to call other witnesses (MABUZA 2006g). In his testimony,
Zuma stated that unprotected consensual sexual intercourse took place between him and the complainant¹⁶ (Sowetan, 26th of April 2006, p. 5). He explained that they did not use a condom because they both did not have one at their disposal and because he knew that the chances for a man of getting infected with HIV during unprotected sexual intercourse with a woman were very small!¹⁷ [s. p. 52] (ZAVIS 2006).

“What was your understanding of that [the risk of having unprotected sexual intercourse with an HIV-positive partner]? – Though I may not discuss that but we would tell people to abstain, though we would not tell them the details, we would just tell them to abstain and I had knowledge that as a male person the chances were very slim that one could contract the disease, just because you had intercourse with a woman you would automatically be infected. That I knew very well.” (Questioned by his attorney Zuma responded, TRANSCRIPTS Vol. XIV, p. 911).

And further on he said:

“She [the complainant] then said when she noticed that I was hesitant naturally a woman cannot just be left whilst at that stage when she is already prepared for sex and I knew that the risk I was taking was not a big risk because I already had a prior knowledge of the risk involved due to the type of work that I was doing, the risk of having sexual intercourse with a person of that status. It is true that at that stage I took a decision to continue well know that there was a risk but still knowing what risk I was taking regarding the knowledge that I have in the field as I have explained.” (Questioned by his attorney, Zuma responded, TRANSCRIPTS Vol. XV, p. 934).


This cartoon alludes to the many children that Jacob Zuma has. For more detailed information see footnote 9, p. 21.

Jacob Zuma said that his last HIV testing about a month ago had been negative. During

¹⁶ Whereby, he did not tell that directly to the police when he was questioned about the alleged rape. He just said to the police that he and the complainant had dinner together and that she stayed over at his house, sleeping in the guest room (NKOSI, K. & MABUZA 2006b). But it has to be added, that the actions of the police in regard to the rape allegations against Jacob Zuma have been questioned. Zuma had not been legally instructed when the police first talked to him. Additionally, the responsible police commissioner admitted that he did not write down any kind of notes about what Jacob Zuma told him during their conversation (NKOSI, K. & MABUZA 2006e).

¹⁷ A virologist testified that Jacob Zuma could be HIV-positive because of the unprotected sexual intercourse with the HIV-positive complainant. The possibility of that increased by the fact that the doctor, who examined the complainant after the alleged rape, found a 5mm wound in her vagina (NKOSI, K. & MABUZA 2006f). Injuries of the genitals generally increase the possibility of an infection with HIV for both partners but especially for women.
sexual intercourse, Zuma said that he always uses condoms and only when he wants to get children, he does not (NKOSI, K. & MABUZA 2006j). Further on, he explained that in the Zulu culture a woman is allowed to press rape charges against a man if he has aroused her sexually and did not have sexual intercourse with her (Zuma Conquers Disrespectful Prosecutor On First Day Of Cross Examination 2006). Following Zuma’s testimony, the complainant herself expressed that he could not leave her in a situation like that (NKOSI, K. & MABUZA 2006j).

“She [the complainant] then said you see you cannot just leave a woman if she is already at that stage, in that situation, in that position and I said to myself I know as we grew up in Zulu culture you do not just leave a woman in that situation because if you do she may even have you arrested and say that you are a rapist.” (Zuma testifying in his attorney’s interrogation; TRANSCRIPTS Vol. XIV, p. 907)

Appealed by State Attorney de Beer about this cultural custom, Zuma explained in more detail:

“Yes and you have explained that the way you grew up or in the Zulu culture you do not leave a woman in that situation. She will have you arrested and say you are a rapist? – Yes I was trying to explain that as I was growing up as a young boy in my tradition I was told if you get to that stage with a woman and you do not do anything further whilst she is at that stage, it is said she becomes so infuriated that she can even lay a false charge against you and allege that you have raped her.” (TRANSCRIPTS Vol. XVI, p. 1006)

In addition, he interpreted certain signs [s. 8.4, p. 85] of the complainant, meaning, that she wanted to have sexual intercourse with him. These signs consisted of the way she talked to him, e.g. about relationships, the way she was dressed, equals the Kanga without underwear, and the way she sat in front of him, meaning without having her legs crossed (NKOSI, K. & MABUZA 2006i).

“M’Lord what I mean by that is that under normal circumstances if a woman is dressed in a skirt she would sit properly with her legs together, but she was sitting anyhow, she did not cross her legs, she would not even wonder or mind if the skirt was raised or came up.” (Zuma testifying in the state’s cross examination; TRANSCRIPTS Vol. XV, p. 983)

During the weeks before the incident, the complainant started to use words like ‘kisses’ and ‘hugs’ to end her text messages to Zuma and this appeared strange to him (NKOSI, K. & MABUZA 2006i). Before the incident, Zuma received about 54 short messages from the complainant (NKOSI, K. & MABUZA 2006d).

“In the entire period that we have known each other she would not end up by those words. Why she had introduced those words sexual connotations, discussions were also introduced, came into the picture and that is how I noticed the change of communication between the two of us.” (Zuma testifying in the state’s cross examination; TRANSCRIPTS Vol. XV, p. 962)
This impression of his was intensified, as he testified, by his growing up in Zulu culture, in which parents and children do not talk about sexual issues (MOYA 2006e):

“Well Zulu tradition does not prescribe it [to talk with your children about sexual issues]. You cannot really talk such things with your children.” (Zuma testifying in his attorney’s interrogation; TRANSCRIPTS Vol. XIV, p. 890)

Zuma often referred to his culture as the last two examples might have illustrated. This also appears in the fact that Zuma only testified in isiZulu despite his ability to speak English perfectly. Sometimes he even proposed better translations to the interpreter (MABUZA 2006e).

After the sexual intercourse he took a shower to minimize the chance of an HIV infection (NKOSI, K. & MABUZA 2006h; BROWN 2006).

“Well why did you take the shower then? – I wished to take a shower because it is one of the reasons that would minimise the risk of contracting the disease.” (Zuma’s answer to the state attorney’s question; TRANSCRIPTS Vol. XVI, p. 1007)

Already during Zuma’s examination by his attorney, he expressed his opinion that his willingness to engage in unprotected sexual intercourse with an HIV-positive woman would not have any kind of bad impact on the government’s campaign against HIV & AIDS. From his perspective this was a personal decision of his which will not affect the HIV prevention work (Zuma testifying during the interrogation by his attorney; TRANSCRIPTS Vol. XV, p. 935).

It was expressed the suspicion that Zuma tried to convince the complainant to withdraw the charges (NKOSI, K. & MABUZA 2006l). This was based for one reason on the nine calls Zuma made to the complainant after the alleged rape took place (NKOSI, K. & MABUZA 2006d) and for another on the actions of Zweli Mkhize, a region’s government official of KwaZulu Natal, who was believed to have offered the complainant’s mother a compensation for the sexual intercourse between Zuma and her daughter (NKOSI, K. 2006f). But Zuma testified that after he heard from the charges laid against him, he tried to talk to the complainant in order to remind her of what really had happened during the night in question. He would have been willing to pay labola¹⁸ to the complainant’s family (NKOSI, K & MABUZA 2006l). Jacob Zuma stated in his testimony that he was willing to pay labola in order to pay back the dam-

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¹⁸ As it is described in more detail in the section on HIV and AIDS, the word labola (= bride wealth) describes a cultural practice in which the groom’s family pays a negotiated price, e.g. 11 cows, to the bride’s family. One explanation is that the groom’s family compensates the lost of work power for the bride’s family by paying this price. The fact that the bride’s family has to pay back the price when the wife gets divorced, puts the bride/wife in a position of dependence towards her husband from the wedding day on.[s. 7.5, p. 85 or s. 8.5, p. 91].
In her closing argument State Attorney de Beer argued that Zuma had decided to rape the complainant during the evening of the night in question. The complainant had expressed her opposition to Zuma’s actions but, nevertheless, he continued. She questioned Zuma’s version of the events as there was not any evidence found on the Kanga that he had massaged her. She speculated about Zuma’s HIV status as it would make no sense to her that he would have had unprotected sexual intercourse with a knowingly HIV-positive woman if he himself would not be HIV-positive as well (Flaws In State’s Case Exposed By Judge 2006). The complainant would have never had unprotected sexual intercourse with someone else because of her HIV status. Therefore, it is unlikely, as the state’s attorney said, that there was consensual sexual intercourse during the night in question. She refused the version of Zuma’s daughter that the complainant wanted to stay at their house in order to get something from Zuma19. It had been Zuma who offered her to stay at his house because he had planned to have sexual intercourse with her. She described the Zulu culture to which Zuma had referred, as more likely to be a Zuma culture (Nkosi, K. 2006l).

The lines of argumentation against Zuma have been summarised in the Sowetan newspaper by Molefe (2006). The reasons, why he should be found guilty, were first, that the complainant invited herself to stay at Zuma’s house, and secondly, that the endings of her messages to Zuma implied that she wanted to have sexual intercourse with him, further third, her way of talking to Zuma on the evening in question combined with the way she dressed, and the way she sat, and fourth, the complainant’s history of making false rape accusations as argued by Zuma’s defence. Several men had testified that the complainant had made false accusations against them and that questioned the complainant’s trustworthiness (MOLEFE 2006).

19 Zuma’s daughter, Duduzile Zuma, testified in court that she felt that the complainant was up to something when she first saw her on the day in question (Duduzile: She Was There To Sponge Off Or Entice My Dad 2006). Her impression was based on her female intuition which told her that the complainant wanted money or something else of her father (Nkosi, K. & Tshisela 2006).
6.2.2. **OUTSIDE THE COURTROOM**

During the trial itself there were a lot of demonstrations in front of the court building, held by the supporters\(^\text{20}\) of Zuma\(^\text{21}\) and by activists for women’s rights. After the judge announced his decision to step down from this case on the 13\(^\text{th}\) of February, the numbers of supporters in front of the Johannesburg High Court mentioned by journalists, varied between 1,000 (Zuma Rape Case Judge Stands Down 2006), “more than 2,000 of his [Zuma’s] supporters” (MABUZA 2006a), and about 3,000 supporters, who sang ‘Bring me my machine gun’ together with Zuma in front of the High Court (MUSGRAVE 2006). His supporters showed their respect for Zuma, by standing up, when he left the High Court and addressed them (NKOSI, K. 2006a). They instigated a heroic move-in into the courtroom for Zuma when the trial finally started (NKOSI, K. 2006b). At the beginning of the trial the police estimated a number of 5,000 supporters, demonstrating in front of the court building.

FIGURE 6: Images of the demonstrations at the beginning of the trial in front of the High Court, Johannesburg, in Sowetan, 16\(^\text{th}\) of February 2006, p. 28.

The Friends of Jacob Zuma Trust even estimated about 10,000 supporters coming to demonstrate on the first day of the trial (NDLOVU 2006). A strike of the South African Transporters and Allied Workers Union (SATAWU) was called off as it was suspected that there would not be enough staff to protect the people outside the court building (MABUZA 2006c). The supporters of Zuma wore T-shirts with ‘100% Jacob Zuma’ or ‘100% Zulu boy’ written on them (MABUZA 2006a). During the whole trial, a large crowd of people supporting Zuma was always present in front of the court building (MABUZA 2006a, 2006d; MISBACH & MABUZA 2006). Zuma himself did not

\(^{20}\) This group of supporters consisted of Zulu, supporters of patriarchal ideas and practices, African nationalists, and the populist left (ROBINS 2006: 159).

\(^{21}\) On the day before the trial began, Zuma visited a political event where a lot of his supporters showed up. After the event was finished, they showed their confidence in his innocence by shouting ‘Viva, Zuma, Viva’ (MOTSEPE 2006).
speak regularly to his supporters, who were there. Only at the beginning of the trial
did he speak to them (MABUZA 2006a) and after he was found not guilty, he thanked
his supporters for their help (MABUZA 2006i). On another day of the trial, which was
his birthday, his supporters celebrated him in front of the court building. And even
then, he did not address them with a single word (TSHISELA 2006).
In comparison to the large number of Zuma supporters, there were only a few dem-
onstrators for women’s rights supporting the complainant. They tried to bring attention
to the situation of sexual violence in South Africa. Unfortunately, there are no
exact numbers of this group available as in comparison to the numbers of the Zuma
supporters (PITYANA 2006). Beginning on the first day of the trial and continuing
throughout the entire trial, insults were exchanged between the two groups (MUS-
GRAVE 2006). At some point, even fighting broke out between the two parties and
the police had to intervene (HAFFAJEE 2006; Sowetan, 14th of February 2006, p. 5).

The most widely discussed incident, which took place in front of the High
Court, was the burning of the complainant’s picture by the supporters of Zuma who
were also at the time screaming “Burn the bitch” [s. FIGURE 4, p. 24]. They burnt
several A4 pictures of her in front of the court building (MISBACH & MABUZA 2006).
This was an especially delicate issue because the court, unfortunately, had already
ruled that the identity of the complainant shall not be revealed. Shortly afterwards, it
had been found that the photograph of the complainant had been mailed around via
Email (MABUZA 2006e). Misbach & Mabuza (2006) quoted the reaction of the South
African cabinet as saying:

“In particular, cabinet calls on those who wish to express their solidarity in
the Johannesburg trial of the former deputy president to ensure that noth-
ing is done which undermines the rule of law, demeans the complainant and
the defendant and suggests a disrespect for the judiciary and the law-
forcement agencies.”

The chairman of the Friends of Jacob Zuma Trust distanced himself and his organi-
zation from the incident and stated that agitators were responsible for that (Rape
Complainant Flounders Under Cross Examination 2006). It was never clear who was re-
ponsible for that incident. The only thing that seemed to be clear was that at least
one woman distributed the copies of the picture of the complainant (Zuma Rape Com-
plainant Says She Did Not Say No To Sex 2006). Inside the courtroom State Attorney de

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22 As Motsei (2007) pointed out, the word ‘bitch’ refers to a female dog (MOTSEI 2007: 117). But
within the townships to name someone a ‘dog’ is one of the biggest possible affronts which does not
apply if someone is called a ‘top dog’ because this describes the person’s leading position (MOTSEI
2007: 120/121). So the word ‘bitch’ is associated with the willingness of a female dog to be dominated
by the male dog (MOTSEI 2007: 125).
Beer asked Jacob Zuma about his opinion of the events happening in front of the court building and how those could affect the security of the complainant:

„Would you agree with me that by that time [in November 2005] she [the complainant] must have known that if appearing in court caused that response, that her continuation with the rape charge against you will put her life in even greater danger? – I do not know what she was saying. // And the people outside this court burnt placards with her picture and insulting words on it and one person who looked like her got pelted with stones one of the days. Would you agree that her life is indeed in danger? – I do not know because even the issue of pelting stones had different views and opposing views. // Can you think of any reason in the light of all of this why she laid the charge and continued with this charge against you in the face of this grim future for her? – I would not be sure of any reason that caused that apart from speculation.” (TRANSCRIPTS Vol. XVII, p. 1049).

At the end of the trial Zuma was, as mentioned before, found not guilty (MALALA 2006c). In his judgement, which will be examined in the next step [s. 6.2.3, p. 34], the judge followed the argumentation of Zuma’s defence (ROBINS 2006: 162). He regarded the sexual intercourse between Zuma and the complainant as consensual and voiced the opinion that it could not be proven beyond reasonable doubt that a rape took place (MOGALE 2006a). Despite that, “[t]he judge castigated Zuma, 64, for having unprotected sex with an HIV-positive woman half his age, a daughter of his former comrade” (MOGALE 2006a), the judge also read Kipling’s Poem “If” 23 and added “If you can control your body and your sexual urges, then you are a man, my son” (MCKAISER 2006). After the acquittal of Jacob Zuma, his supporters celebrated in front of the Johannesburg High Court. Some of them even started crying and the mass of his supporters slowed down the traffic inside of Johannesburg (MOGALE 2006b). With a lot of slogans the supporters expressed their support for Zuma and their confidence with the judgement (TSHISELA & MOLEFE 2006). Zuma’s family welcomed the acquittal and expressed their opinion that they were not angry with the complainant. They even invited her to their house (MDLETSHE 2006a). At the end of the trial, the prime minister of KwaZulu Natal expressed his opinion that the judgement had proven the integrity of the South African society. He voiced his respect for Zuma’s supporters and said that now everyone should try to help the complainant, as much as possible, to live a normal life in South Africa. Some of Zuma’s supporters demanded of the complainant a public apology for the damage that she had caused (MDLETSHE 2006a).

23 The original poem by Rudyard Kipling can be found in Appendix 1.
6.2.3. The Judgement

After retelling the testimonies of all the witnesses during the rape trial against Jacob Zuma and referring to decisions of other courts regarding aspects of this trial (VAN DER MERWE 2006: 1 - 140), Judge Willem van der Merwe started assessing the arguments which were the basis of his judgment.

The judge justified the allowance of using the sexual history of the complainant as evidence by referring to two other cases in which the allowance contributed to finding inconsistencies within the complainant’s testimony (VAN DER MERWE 2006: 148).

He explicitly expressed that this was not meant to present the complainant in the light of a ‘loose’ woman or something similar. It was only meant to show that the complainant had a history of false rape accusations in order to get an impression of her trustworthiness (VAN DER MERWE 2006: 165).

It was not accepted that the accused addressed the complainant by saying “my daughter” because that had not been supported by any other witnesses. This point was especially important in support of the complainant’s reaction of freezing (VAN DER MERWE 2006: 151/152).

From the judge’s point of view, there was no need to transfer what happened into Zuma’s room as the accused had done. Therefore, it is more likely that the sexual intercourse took place in Zuma’s room than in the guest room. (VAN DER MERWE 2006: 155).

“There was no need for the accused to say that consensual sex took place in his bedroom instead of in the guest-room. Obviously it would tend to make the complainant’s case stronger if sex took place in the guest-room because if it took place in the main bedroom she must have gone there and it would be more difficult to prove rape. Similarly it would be better for the accused if his version is accepted that the complainant came to his bedroom instead of him having had sex with her in the guest-room. But, as I [Judge van der Merwe] have already pointed out, nothing would have prevented the accused from saying that everything he said took place in the main bedroom in fact took place in the guest-room. I find it difficult to see what advantage the accused could gain by making his version more difficult by transferring what happened in the guest-room to the main bedroom.” (VAN DER MERWE 2006: 155).

The judge also expressed his opinion that it would have been insane for a man to try to rape a woman who was asleep and also considering the fact that his daughter, as

24 The name of the judge is used to refer to the judgement in the Zuma rape trial. The complete reference is: The state of South Africa v. Jacob Gedleyihlekisa Zuma, JPV 2005/0325, Judgement by Judge Willem van der Merwe, High Court of South Africa, Johannesburg.

25 But, nevertheless, it is important to notice how it has been interpreted and how it came across. It might absolutely be possible that the use of the complainant’s sexual history as evidence led to another victimisation of the complainant (KRÜGER 2006).
well as a police officer, were nearby [s. 6.2.1.2, p. 25]. This man could not have predicted how the woman would have reacted and that would have been too dangerous (VAN DER MERWE 2006: 156). The fact alone that there was unprotected sexual intercourse does not automatically lead to the conclusion that it must have been rape (VAN DER MERWE 2006: 157).

The judge accepted the explanation of the accused that he had apologized to the complainant’s mother because she seemed to be upset about the consensual sexual intercourse between the accused and the complainant. (VAN DER MERWE 2006: 158). The change in the tone of the text messages sent by the complainant to the accused indicated that the complainant was willing to intensify the relationship with Zuma. Keeping in mind her sexual experience, it is mysterious that the complainant did not then recognize the signs which she recognized more or less immediately after the alleged rape (VAN DER MERWE 2006: 159). The judge expressed his perception of the complainant as a woman, who is able to express her sexual needs, this opinion having been supported by two other male witnesses (VAN DER MERWE 2006: 166). Several other factors had been regarded by the judge as unusual in light of the rape charges: The clothes of the complainant had not been damaged in any way and did not show any sign of evidence for the alleged rape. In addition, there had not been any resistance or looking for help on the part of the complainant although there would have been possible help not far away from her while the alleged rape took place (VAN DER MERWE 2006: 160).

In terms of the psychological condition of the complainant, the judge followed the testimony of the defence’s psychologist, Dr. Louise Olivier. In his opinion the tests conducted by Dr. Friedmann had not been sufficient and,
therefore, her results could not be included in the judgement (Van der Merwe 2006: 170).

For all those reasons the judge assumed that there had been consensual sexual intercourse between the complainant and the accused during the night in question. The intercourse took place in Zuma’s bedroom (Van der Merwe 2006: 170). The complainant could not be seen as the weak woman, she had been presented during the court’s sessions. The guilt of the accused had not been proven beyond reasonable doubt, therefore, the accused had to be found not guilty (Van der Merwe 2006: 174).

The judge expressed his discomfort with the behaviour of the women’s rights organizations because they had found the accused guilty without even knowing all the arguments (Van der Merwe 2006: 171). From his point of view, it is possible that women lay false charges against a man. And this would also explain why the complainant did not remember all the male witnesses introduced by the defence, who testified that she had made false charges against them. If she admitted that she had known all of them, then she would also have had to admit that she had laid false charges against them (Van der Merwe 2006: 171/172).

Equally to the women’s rights organizations, the judge criticized Zuma for his decision to have unprotected sexual intercourse with a woman half his age, who is knowingly HIV-positive and not his regular partner. To illustrate this point, the judge extended the poem “If” by Rudyard Kipling with the sentence: “And if you can control your body and your sexual urges, then you are a man, my son.” (Van der Merwe 2006: 173).

6.3. **Inside the Public Discussion**

Within the public discussion during the trial, there are a lot of different opinions and thoughts that have been mentioned. The only commentaries which form a homogeneous group are those of the supporters of Zuma. The other commentaries can not just be classified as only being against Zuma. Even if that is slightly too simplistic, the public discussion can be separated in two major groups of commentaries: one which was in favour of Zuma and another which focused on understanding what kind of impact the trial might have on different issues, such as HIV prevention measures and public perception of violence towards women, just to name a few.
6.3.1. **Political Conspiracy**

One main argument among the group in favour of Jacob Zuma was that the whole trial was construed to push Zuma out of the ANC (African National Congress) and to prevent him from becoming the next President of South Africa. Some believe that political enemies of Zuma used the trial to damage him politically\(^\text{26}\) (*NewMarch* 2006, *Qwelane* 2006). This idea of a conspiracy against Zuma, which led to the rape trial (*Sowetan*, 12\(^{th}\) of May 2006, p. 4), is constructed out of two main elements. First, it was suggested that the accuser was paid to lay the charges against Zuma (*Tolsi et al.* 2006), and second, that the Xhosa in the ANC around the President of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki, tried to remove the Zulu Zuma from the party in order to obtain full political power (*Tolsi et al.* 2006). It is in this context, that the name Thabo Mbeki is associated with an attempt to weaken traditional and patriarchal powers (*Robins* 2006: 160). This idea was already expressed shortly after the rape charges were laid against Jacob Zuma. It was seen as the aim of this political conspiracy, which was created long before the accusations of rape or corruption were laid, in order to damage Zuma politically in such a way as to prevent him from becoming the next President of South Africa. It was thought that his reputation within the white population of South Africa had already been seriously damaged before the trial because of the rape charges (*Qwelane* 2005a). The majority of the supporters came from KwaZulu Natal, which is the region of South Africa where the Zulu live and from where Zuma himself comes. From the perspective of the majority of Zuma’s supporters, the complainant was regarded as a liar even before the trial had started. It was not understood how she could participate in the political conspiracy against their hero (*Mapazi* 2006, *Robinson* 2006). As some of his questions during the testimony of Nomthandzo Msibi, an intelligence ministry employee, on the 14\(^{th}\) of March 2006 suggested, Zuma’s lawyer, Kemp J. Kemp, also seemed to have adopted the opinion that there was a political conspiracy behind the rape trial (*Nkosi & Mabuza* 2006c). Even during the questioning before that, Zuma’s attorney, Kemp, asked the complainant:

“And what did you think, did you think that Mr. Kasrils was in the pro [Z]uma or the anti Zuma camp politically, reading between the lines? – I did not go there.” (*Transcripts* Vol. II, p. 116)

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\(^{26}\) The commentators that would not count themselves to the supporters of Zuma would argue that it was not the trial at all that was responsible for the political damage which Zuma suffered during the trial. Instead, it was his own commentaries and statements about HIV and AIDS and/or his interpretation of the behaviour of the complainant on that said night that damaged him politically (*South Africa’s Zuma Cleared Of Rape* 2006).
And Zuma himself expressed his awareness of a political conspiracy against him, whereby, he never revealed the names of the people participating in the conspiracy despite his announcement to do so (NKOSI, K. 2006h):

“Now according to your experience there is also suggested that there are people that have political agendas against you and wish to negative your role in the ANC. What is you own perception, are there such people out there that work against you? – Yes, I am aware thereof.” (Kemp questioning Zuma during the examination and his answer; TRANSCRIPTS Vol. XIV, p. 883)

After his acquittal Zuma himself expressed his opinion that there are other people rather than the complainant behind the rape charges against him (BILES 2006), who are part of a political conspiracy against him (JOCELYN 2006). During the trial the observation was made several times that there have been two camps created inside the ANC; one in favour of Jacob Zuma and the other in favour of South Africa’s current President Thabo Mbeki (PAPAYA 2006c). Zuma himself said that he did not have the impression that there are two camps within the ANC. This idea had been propounded by the media in order to divide the ANC (BILES 2006). He accused the media of judging him before the judgement had been spoken, that is, before the trial had even begun (KRÜGER 2006).

From his point of view his commentaries on HIV & AIDS [s. 6.2.1.3, p. 27] did not effect the prevention work in that field because the irritation had been caused by the reports in the media (BILES 2006). Nevertheless, he apologized for his decision to have unprotected sexual intercourse with an HIV-positive woman. (Zuma Sorry For Not Using Condom 2006). And he encouraged his fellow countrymen to continue the fight against HIV & AIDS and he expressed his willingness to continue the fight himself. From his perspective he never said that a shower could protect an infection with the virus; he only said that a shower is an additional safety measure (JOCELYN 2006) [s. 6.2.1.3, p. 29]. These statements were perceived as being part of his effort to correct the damage done to his image. Speaking to the women organizations, he said that he hopes they will accept the judgement so that they can now fight together against women abuse and gender violence in South Africa (MABUZA 2006j).

The interesting dynamic in this idea of a conspiracy was that the supporters of Zuma never doubted that he would be found not guilty of the rape charges. For every time that Zuma’s reputation was further damaged, President Thabo Mbeki had to take the blame for it (TABANE 2006).
The media was also seen as a part of the conspiracy against Zuma because he and his supporters had the impression that the media judged Zuma before the court had decided its ruling (Krüger 2006). This idea was already expressed by Zuma himself during a press statement which was his first reaction to the rape charges. In that statement he concluded that the media, as they had done in terms of the corruption charges against him, had found him guilty even before the trial has begun (Zuma 2005). Therefore, Zuma was seen as the victim of dirty machinations which should be condemned, as every citizen of South Africa has the right to be regarded as not guilty until proven otherwise (Qwelane 2005b). Following the argumentation of the Zuma supporters, every hint to the damaged human rights of Jacob Zuma was interpreted by his enemies as an attack on the institutions of the new democracy (Nyanda 2006).

On the other hand, it can be argued that the supporters of Zuma did not respect the integrity of the court because they found that Zuma was not guilty even before the trial had begun (Mapazi 2006). Motsei (2007) questions the ability of Zuma to be a leader of the South African nation. She argues that it was not significant whether the trial had been politically motivated or not. The most significant point, according to her, was the fact that Zuma instigated consensual sex with an HIV-positive woman, the same age as his own daughter (Motsei 2007: 14–15). The same argument is expressed by Malala (2006a):

“That he [Zuma] is a man who – despite being the former leader of the government’s crusade against HIV-Aids – failed to use a condom when he either had sex or raped the complainant in the current rape trial. [...] When a man becomes a public spectre of the nature Zuma has become, he becomes not just a liability to himself but to the nation as a whole.”

This whole idea of a conspiracy was also pushed by the ANC Youth League whose leader warned anyone who is part of the conspiracy against Zuma that it will not be forgotten what they have done (Mabuza 2006h). On the background of this idea, the trial became a fight between the two political camps (Mosele 2006).
This cartoon illustrates that the public discussion in South Africa was dominated by the Zuma Rape Trial and the surrounding issues.
6.3.2. HIV AND AIDS

Some commentators speculated that certain statements Zuma had made, would have a significant impact on HIV & AIDS prevention programmes (MacGregor 2006; Pearce 2006). Zuma testified in court that he had a shower [s. 6.2.1.3, p. 29] to reduce the chance of an HIV infection after having unprotected sex with an HIV-positive woman (NKosi & Mabuza 2006k). The commentators said that the former head of the National AIDS Council should not have said something like this in public, as this was not a shining example for the younger generations as to what causes an HIV infection (Brown 2006; Mopp 2006; Papayya 2006b). In a letter to the editor it was mentioned that Zuma, as a married man, should have been a good example regarding the fight against HIV (Mail & Guardian, 17th to 23rd of March 2006, p. 24). Ironically, it was Zuma himself who said in December 2004 that in the fight against HIV the decisions of everyone are important and that the fight against this disease could be effective only when everyone takes the ABC messages seriously (Magardie 2006). Especially in this regard, the trial has shown that HIV prevention is not as easy as the ABC strategy suggests (Motsei 2007: 12/13).

Asked by the Mail & Guardian, one woman expressed her opinion that Zuma shipwrecked when he did not use a condom although he has been sending out the condom messages for a long time (Tolsi et al. 2006). After the acquittal of Jacob Zuma, the ANC expressed its opinion that the statements of Zuma regarding HIV & AIDS within the courtroom should not be seen as political statements (ANC Backs Off From Zuma AIDS Views 2006). Despite the acceptance of the judgement, Mc Kaiser (2006) expressed the opinion that Zuma did not show any sign of being a man by deciding to have unprotected sexual intercourse with an HIV-positive woman. He was simply not able to resist his sexual needs (McKaiser 2006) [s. 8.4, p. 85].

An even bigger impact was seen regarding the fight against certain myths around the HIV-Virus and the AIDS disease [s. 7.4, p. 61]. Zuma’s statement about the shower

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27 It has to be pointed out that the author of this Thesis does not support the opinion of South Africa’s President Thabo Mbeki that there is no direct connection between HIV and AIDS (Malala 2006b; Marais 2005: 19/20). Within the international community working in the field of HIV and AIDS, it is common sense that the talk is about HIV and AIDS instead of HIV/AIDS because HIV describes the virus and the infection connected with it, whereas, AIDS describes the disease which ultimately follows the infection at some point. In that sense, the separation between HIV and AIDS is due to the fact that HIV and AIDS are two different things which belong ultimately together.

28 The way in which he expressed his opinion that he, as a man, has a lesser chance of getting infected might also have had a bigger impact. His statement had an air of being someone better/more educated than of those who are the aim of HIV prevention programmes.

29 In terms of HIV/AIDS, ABC stands for Abstain, Be faithful, Condoms. This message was meant to transport the main elements of a prevention of an infection but during the use of it, it became clear that this message creates other difficulties.
reducing the possibility of an infection and his decision to have unprotected sex with an HIV-positive woman could have strengthened these myths (MALALA 2006b; ROBINS 2006: 158). The South African society seems to ignore the country’s HIV situation and the testimony of the former Head of the National AIDS Council of South Africa will not help in this regard (BERGER 2006). AIDS activists criticized Zuma for his statement that he, as a man, had a lower chance of getting infected [s. 7.2, p. 52] while having unprotected sexual intercourse with an HIV-positive female partner. They referred to his position as a respected elder, who’s word and opinion weigh much more in some parts of the South African society than prevention campaigns do (MOTSEI 2007: 14/15; PEARCE 2006). It was said that these statements threw back the fight against HIV by 20 years (STRUMPF 2006). In addition to that, Zuma’s opinion about the probabilities of a man getting infected while having unprotected sexual intercourse with an HIV-positive woman has been regarded as ironical as there are about two million heterosexual new infections with HIV in South Africa every year (PAPAYYA 2006). During the process, as Robinson, Tabane, and Haffajee (2006) observed, there was a grotesque kind of combination between sexism, tribalism, and weak leadership in terms of HIV & AIDS in order to defend Zuma. This process has damaged two important things for South Africa: gender equality and national unity (ROBINSON ET AL. 2006).

After the trial had finished, the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) demanded of Zuma that he should apologise for the things he had said about HIV. First and foremost, young people and illiterate people would believe Zuma more because of his position as a respected elder and it is really difficult for the organisation to convince them otherwise (MOPP 2006).

### 6.3.3. GENDER VIOLENCE

In terms of gender violence, it was mentioned that the view on Zuma as the victim of a political conspiracy is “likely to trivialise the seriousness of violence and the abuse of women in this country” (MOREOSELE 2006). In addition to that, the perception is based on the view that women often press false charges against men (MOREOSELE 2006). The fact that the judge allowed the complainant’s sexual history as evidence has been criticized by women’s rights organizations (SOROS 2006). Especially the line of argumentation that the complainant’s alleged history of false rape accusa-
tions implied that she is mentally ill\(^30\). And this perception is likely to strengthen myths about women laying charges of rape.

Zuma testified that the combination of the knee length wrap (kanga), lack of underwear of the complainant, the position of her legs, and the endings of messages which she wrote him, made him think that she was willing to have sex with him (NKOSI & MABUZA 2006i) [s. 6.2.1.3, p. 85]. Feminist commentators said that it was unacceptable to claim that certain clothes worn by this woman, convinced Zuma to think that she was willing to have sex with him (LOWE MORNA 2006; MOREOSELE 2006). Regarding this, they referred to a draft about a change in the law on sexual crimes\(^31\) to shift the burden of proof more to the accused than to the complainant. Although this draft had been discussed for several years, it had not been passed before the Zuma Trial (MISBACH 2006b). It was also argued that this new sexual offense law would have limited or even eradicated the verbal attacks on the complainant’s trustworthiness by Zuma’s attorney, Kemp (DAWES 2006). Some examples from the transcripts of the Zuma Rape Trial might illustrate this point.

“I [Kemp] want to put to you [the complainant] that were you worried about consent as you told this court and you worried about the fact that did you not have underwear on, a highly significant aspect is that this rapist held your hands, you could not resist. I cannot simply accept that you thought that is was not important. Did it happen? – Yes it did.” (Kemp asking the complainant during the cross examination; TRANSCRIPTS Vol. III, p. 185)

Another example might be:

“Now was it not an easy explanation for whatever problems and fall out there may be as a result of you [the complainant] having sex with the accused, to say that you have been raped? – No it was not.” (Kemp asking the complainant during the cross examination; TRANSCRIPTS Vol. III, p. 199)

The last example might be:

“Is it not so that the only thing that she [the complainant’s mother] should not know about is you [the complainant] having consensual sex with the accused? – No that is not true.” (Kemp asking the complainant during the cross examination; TRANSCRIPTS Vol. III, p. 201)

In this sense, it was not Zuma who was the victim but the complainant. She was forced to talk about things in her past which were the reason for her mental treatment. Therefore, it was asked what kind of example Zuma and his defence team have been in a time in which South Africa is trying to reach a certain level of humanity after the decades of Apartheid (GASA 2006). It was especially criticised that the sex-

\(^30\) The fact alone that someone is mentally ill does not necessarily result in the fact that this person is unable of distinguishing between consensual and forced sexual intercourse (MOTSEI 2007: 149).

\(^31\) This draft has meanwhile been accepted. It has also changed the definition of rape. There will be a more detailed description in the section on rape and sexual violence [s. 8.3, p. 82].
ual offence law did not include the possibility that men could force themselves onto women sexually without using any kind of physical force or violence (LEKOTA 2006) [s. 7.5, p. 70]. It was also argued that in this regard the laws about sexual abuse conducted by men place too much burden on the shoulders of the alleged victim(s). This would lead to the usage of sexist stereotypes as evidence (LOWE MORNA 2006). After the trial it was mentioned that this trial showed that the sexual offence law had to be reformed in order to avoid a re-victimisation of the complainants (MISBACH ET AL. 2006). This re-victimisation might occur when rape victims have to undergo their negative experience again. Women’s organizations criticised the judgement for interpreting the evidence as if the complainant would be a liar and as if she needed urgent medical assistance (MAPUMULO ET AL. 2006). Mmatshilo Motsei mentions that even though the complainant was regarded as mentally confused (NKOSI K. 2006j), nobody appeared eager to help her (MOTSEI 2007: 149/150). On the other hand, the position of women’s organizations was regarded as too simple if they claimed that Zuma had been found not guilty because the complainant did not scream and did not behave like a rape victim is supposed to behave. They completely underestimated the possible damage to a person who is convicted of a crime she or he did not commit (MOYA 2006h).

After the judgement, the question was raised if South Africa’s attorneys are bound to the principles of the constitution. Because the way in which Zuma’s defence was organised, it reinforced stereotypes about female behaviour and by doing that it brought South Africa back into the times before the constitution was in effect (SERJEANT AT THE BAR 2006). Another point of view was that the sexual intercourse between Zuma and the complainant has to be regarded as a private issue, as he was not found guilty of raping her. Nevertheless, there are a lot of women not reporting abuse because they are dependent on the rapist [s. 7.5, p. 70]. Although there has to be a clear distinction between the public and private sphere, the society as a whole possesses the right to intervene into the private sphere in order to protect women and children from being abused (MASONDO 2006). And it was already mentioned that Khwezi was not an ideal victim in order to create compassion, concerning what had happened to her. If she would have been married, not as sexually experienced as she was, and not multi-sexual oriented, she could have created a much higher amount of compassion. In addition to that, the judge reinforced stereotypes about the dress and the behaviour of the complainant (ALBERTYN & SHEREEN 2006). De-
spite the fact that the trial polarised the nation not only along gender borders but also along class, ethnicity, and political orientation, it seemed to be clear for some commentators that the loser of this whole event, was every woman who tries to lay rape charges in the future (PHEKO 2006). The fact that the complainant was preparing to leave the country was seen as one direct result. Women in South Africa should not be discouraged from reporting abuse (PAPAYA 2006d).

The opinion was stated that the events surrounding the Zuma Rape Trial show that there is a general non-acceptance and criticism of the judiciary system in the South African society. It is assumed that it is in order to have sex with a woman without her consent. Additionally, the institutions in South Africa, which should be protecting the victims by deposing the responsible persons, are more often than not used to protect the responsible persons (PITYANA 2006).

In a letter to the editor it was expressed that women are expected to fight their abuser in order to be believed [s. 8.4, p. 86]. But this point of view does completely ignore the fact that women who fight, suffer injuries or even death (Mail & Guardian, 17th to 23rd of March 2006, p. 24). In addition to the burden of prove, the alleged victim has also to prove that she is not a ‘loose’ woman. Especially the first expectation is unfair in comparison to other kinds of crime where the victim is not supposed to fight back, e.g. a hijacked car. In that case the victim does not have to prove that he fought back in order to get the insurance payment (MOTSEI 2007: 20/21).

As mentioned earlier, one part, if not the main part of the defence’s strategy was to question the trustworthiness of the complainant. After the cross examination of the complainant by the defence, the opinion was that the trustworthiness of the complainant had been completely destroyed. Therefore, the state’s attorney said that the sexual history of the complainant had nothing to do with the rape of this trial (Rape Accuser Claim Multiple Rapes, Says She Is A Lesbian And Became Pregnant Though She Never Had Sex 2006). One result of the strategy was that Zuma was seen as another victim of the complainant who was regarded as having made a lot of false rape accusations (MOYA 2006a). About every 26 seconds there is a woman raped in South Africa but during the trial this was completely left out of the picture (SOROS 2006) [s. 8.2, p. 80].

It was observed that Zuma’s attorney, Kemp, was presented as a barbarian because he asked for the sexual history to be used as evidence and because he tried to present the complainant as a liar. But in this regard it has to be taken into account that this was his job. His job was to use all legal possibilities in order to achieve the acquittal
of his client. The complainant as well as the accused did have the right to defend their perspective, and respectively to prove their innocence (MOYA 2006c).

Asked by the Mail & Guardian to express her opinion, one woman said that women in South Africa shall change their attitude and stop claiming rape if they are just disappointed by their boyfriends [s. 8.4, p. 84] or partners (TOLSI, ET AL. 2006). The attitude behind this statement was also visible in a statement of Zizi Kodwa, spokesman of the ANC Youth League, who referred to women’s rights organizations and organizations against sexual violence as “Mickey Mouse Women Organizations” (quoted in: MABUZA 2006f) who found Zuma guilty before even knowing all the facts (MABUZA 2006f). Additionally, these commentaries reveal a certain attitude behind them: it is assumed that women are temptresses and the former freedom fighters are perceived as sex-symbols. Therefore, the complainant has been accused of not being thankful for having the opportunity to have sexual intercourse with a sexual attractive hero (MOTSEI 2007: 31).

6.3.4. MISCELLANEOUS

A very important question within the public discussion was the question of whether Zuma could become the next president of South Africa. While there were commentators questioning the ability of Zuma to be a good leader, as in section 6.3.1 (p. 39), his supporters held the opinion that he would be absolutely entitled for that position (TABANE 2006a). Moreover, the opinion was expressed that “[h]e [Zuma] has shown courage and leadership in the face of mockery, ridicule and venom displayed against him” (MANAMELA 2006).

On the other side, it was expressed that Zuma’s statements regarding HIV [s. 6.2.1.3, p. 27] had seriously damaged his reputation within the public opinion (MOYA 2006f).
The hunting accident of the Vice President of the United States of America, Dick Cheney, in which he accidentally shot another hunter, was compared with Jacob Zuma. Both vice presidents were seen as people who shoot first and ask questions later (MATSHIKIZA 2006).

In terms of his ability of political leadership, there were students of the University of Zululand demanding of Zuma by the end of March 2006 that he should resign from his position as the chancellor of the university because his behaviour had been irresponsible (MEMELA 2006). The question was raised: ‘What kind of moral beliefs must be behind a possible vote for Zuma as the next president of the ANC in December 2007?’ The most important thing was that he failed as a man to use a condom when he should have done. He never distanced himself from the burning of the complainant’s pictures by his supporters [s. FIGURE 4, p. 24]. Further was asked: ‘How could such a man take over the responsibility for the whole country for there is more known about his sexual practices than about his political agenda?’ (MALALA 2006a). The majority of political commentators expressed their opinion that after the trial, Zuma will not have any chance to become the next president of South Africa (MACGREGOR 2006). The question of who will become the next president is not only a question of who wants to have whom, but also the more important question: ‘Can South Africa afford to have a president like Jacob Zuma?’ (LEKOTA 2006).

6.4. LEADING QUESTIONS FOR THE NEXT SECTIONS

It was the first aim of this Thesis to answer the question in the title if masculinity indeed was on trial during the Zuma Rape Trial. The way in which Jacob Zuma justified himself and explained his behaviour [s. 6.2.1.3, p. 28] and his perception of the complainant’s history, show that his masculinity construction was indeed on trial.

32 Even if Zuma himself did not recognise the different political camps within the ANC during and after his rape trial [s. 6.3.1, p. 38], the separation continued up to the ANC congress in December 2007 (PERRAS 2007a). During the congress, Mbeki’s speech was repeatedly interrupted by Zuma’s supporters (Süddeutsche Zeitung, No. 17th December 2007, p. 8). The crucial vote about the next ANC president had to be interrupted after 11 hours of trying to get a result. A survey conducted by the TV station e.tv found that 50% of the participants of the congress want neither Mbeki nor Zuma as the next president of South Africa (RAUPP 2007a). Zuma won the voting the next day and became the president of the ANC who is likely to be the next president of South Africa. His supporters hope that Zuma’s policy will be closer to the people of South Africa than Mbeki’s policies ever have been (Süddeutsche Zeitung, 19th of December 2007, p. 4.). But it is also feared that Zuma’s policy, which will be more to the left than Mbeki’s, will discourage companies to invest in South Africa (PERRAS 2007b). After that voting, the ANC was seen as being split into the two camps and this also applies to the whole nation because South Africa is split between the winners and losers of the new economic growth (PERRAS 2007c). Shortly after the decision about the ANC presidency, the continuation of the investigations about corruption charges against Zuma was announced by the state’s attorney Mokoted Mpshe (RAUPP 2007c).
The picture is complete by incorporating his supporters’ behaviour outside the High Court. They also supported him for being a “100% Zulu boy” [s. 6.2.2, p. 31] and not only for being a good politician. Additionally, his masculinity construction was also a part of the public discussion. Therefore, the first question of this Thesis has to be answered with ‘yes’.

This now leads to the next step of the hypothesis in which it has been said that [s. 5, p. 12] there are two different types of masculinity visible in the Zuma Rape Trial. The one can be described by using the term ‘traditional’ and the other by using the term ‘modern’. Throughout the previous discussion, the two different perceptions of manhood have become obvious. One part of the public discussion favoured mainly a traditional construction of manhood, in this case orientated at the Zulu construction of manhood or on how Zuma constructed Zulu manhood. The other side of the public discussion measured Zuma’s and his supporters’ behaviour and their commentaries mainly refer to the Western construction of masculinity. It became obvious that both kinds of masculinity are present in the South African society and one form is not necessarily more favoured at the present time than the other. Especially the person of Jacob Zuma symbolised the connection of the both types: As a Zulu, he represented the traditional Zulu masculinity and referred to it, but as a politician he is a representative of a nation whose constitution is partly inspired by the (Western) idea of gender equality. Strictly speaking, this contradicts itself in different ways.

In terms of HIV and AIDS the discussion surrounding the trial mainly raised questions about the spread of HIV in South Africa and about myths regarding the disease and the infection [s. 6.3.2, p. 41]. But within the context of the trial and its discussion, there is also another level indicated in which it becomes important to seek for the connections between certain constructions of masculinity and the ongoing spread of HIV. The section about HIV and AIDS in this Thesis will have a closer look at this level. After giving an overview on the situation in South Africa, these seem to be useful leading questions for the section on HIV and AIDS:

1. What increases the individual’s vulnerability of getting infected with HIV?
2. Can these reasons be associated with certain perceptions of manhood?
3. Which circumstances/situations support these reasons?

In regards to gender violence in general and rape in particular, the public discussion dealt with certain stereotypes of female behaviour which result in a trivialisation of the victim’s suffering [s. 6.3.3, p. 42]. In that sense the perception of men and
women in South African society had been part of the public discussion. Going on from that, there will be an examination on the relationship between the constructions of masculinity and the reasons for rape. Therefore, the following questions are relevant in the section about gender violence:

1. Why do men rape women?
2. Are there certain elements of masculinity constructions that could be associated with these reasons?
3. What circumstances/situations support these reasons?

Finally, masculinity played a great role during the trial and within the public discussion. As it has been pointed out, masculinity was indeed on trial. In regard to the hypothesis and to the findings of the sections on HIV & AIDS and gender violence, the following questions are important for the examination of masculinity:

1. What behaviours, opinions, and actions have been explained by referring to a construction of masculinity?
2. What kind of (theoretical) frameworks/explanations are there that may explain the findings from question 1?
7. **Second Chapter - HIV and AIDS**

7.1. **Introduction**

After the description of Zuma Rape Trial, this section concentrates on the subject of HIV and AIDS. It is aimed to give an overview of the situation in South Africa and to present several reasons or causalities which result in a higher vulnerability for an infection. At the end of the section, dealing with the Zuma Rape Trial itself, there have been three leading questions formulated for this section on HIV and AIDS. These are meant to build the background on which this section is built on. These are:

1. What increases the individual’s vulnerability of getting infected with HIV?
2. Can these reasons be associated with certain perceptions of manhood?
3. Which circumstances/situations support these reasons?

Due to the complexity of the interrelations between HIV & AIDS and cultural perceptions of men and women, the construction of this section is not directly orientated on the leading questions. These questions are building the background on which the examination of this chapter is conducted. It would have been repetitive, sometimes even confusing, to try to answer the questions within the following text. In the closing paragraph to this section, the leading questions will be answered which in turn, will also be a summary of the findings in this section.

Therefore, the focus is to give a systematic overview about HIV and AIDS and its impacts on societies and communities, especially in (Southern) Africa, as well as to give an impression to the reader about the different ways in which HIV & AIDS challenges them. This will be conducted in four different parts which cover the main dimensions in the discussion about HIV and AIDS and its impacts.

(1) Firstly, an overview will be given on the current situation worldwide with a focus on (Southern) Africa. Additionally, this part should draw attention to the disproportionate high amount of females infected with HIV in Southern Africa. This overview is mainly based on UNAIDS statistics which are regarded as the most reliable sources for the current number of infections with HIV. Scientific texts will be used in addition in order to show certain developments or significances in the numbers which might indicate social relations as a main reason for the ongoing spread of the HI-Virus. [s. 7.2, p. 52]

(2) Secondly, condoms will be considered as the main prevention method and their acceptance discussed. In this part, questions will be raised about who is responsible for demanding safer sexual intercourse and what kinds of reasons
are given for not using condoms. This section will mainly be based on scientific studies which deal with the perception and acceptance of condoms. The majority of these studies have been conducted in Southern Africa. Equally, studies or meta-studies have been included which try to present a worldwide view on the use of condoms. [s. 7.3, p. 55]

(3) Thirdly, the knowledge about HIV and AIDS and its impacts on the individual’s behaviour will be discussed. The main question in this regard is the ‘who’, meaning who has access to what might be important and how is the ‘who’ determined. What kind of social or economical factors determine or influence the access to important information? This part is mainly based on studies about the patients’ visiting at clinics or the perception of those. And, as in the part about condoms, the basic literature is a mixture of studies giving an international perspective and studies concentrating on (Southern) Africa. The majority of the literature deals with the situation in Southern Africa. [s. 7.4, p. 60]

(4) Fourthly, this section will focus on how gender relations impact the behaviour and how the individual’s vulnerability for an infection is connected with that. Because this Thesis deals with masculinity construction, this will be done with an emphasis on the impact of masculinity constructions. This part is based on studies trying to examine the interrelations between masculinity constructions and the individual’s HIV & AIDS vulnerability. Equally, the observations sometime follow the description of the social reality in which the sexes construct their gender identities. [s. 7.5, p. 67]

This section is concluded by answering the leading question of this section and by so doing, the findings of this section will be summarised. In the next step, the answers will be put in relation to the hypothesis and the aim of this Thesis. This might lead to some further questions or interesting circumstances that might be worth examining in the light of masculinity constructions in the last section of this Thesis. [s. 7.6, p. 77]
7.2. Current Situation

Around the world there are approximately 33.2 million people living with HIV. Whereas it has to be taken into account that this number is calculated within a range from 30.6 to 36.1 million people. In 2007 there have been about 2.5 million new infections with the HI-Virus worldwide and about 2.1 million AIDS related deaths (UNAIDS 2007: 1). More than 65% (22.5 million) of the infected people are living in Sub-Saharan Africa. In comparison to that, there are about 760,000 people living with the virus in Western and Central Europe (UNAIDS 2007: 7). South Africa has the highest number of people infected by HIV in the world (5.5 million referring to UNAIDS 2006b: 11). The percentage of people infected with the virus in the age range of 15 to 49 years is the highest in South Africa [18.8%] (UNAIDS 2006a: 455, 2007: 11). The percentage of HIV-positive pregnant women, who have been tested in antenatal clinics, has always been a source for the numbers of infection in a given country. In South Africa this percentage was about 1% in 1990, about 17% in 1997 and about 30% in 2004. Because the traditional causes of death, for example malaria, did not decrease, HIV has become an additional cause of death (Anderson & Phillips 2006: 1/2). Despite the high number of HIV infections in South Africa, official statistics say that HIV could ‘only’ be held responsible for less than 2.5% of the death cases reported in 2003 and 2004 (Statistics South Africa 2006: 20/21). Referring to biological studies, it is five to seven times more likely that men infect women with HIV through unprotected heterosexual intercourse than vice versa. This is due to the fact that (1) the male’s semen has a significant higher number of viruses and that (2) the woman has a longer bodily contact with the man’s genital

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33 UNAIDS, as the main source for recent HIV infection and AIDS related death numbers, has published the Epidemic Update 2007 which does not provide detailed information about the number of infections in certain countries as the Epidemic Report of 2006 does. Therefore, the worldwide numbers are taken from the Update whereby the specific numbers of infections of men and women for South Africa are taken from the Epidemic Report 2006. In addition, UNAIDS changed the basis for the estimation of the number of infections so that there was a significant decrease in the worldwide number of infections from 2006 to 2007. This change might cause certain differences in the numbers.

34 There have been 552,825 deaths reported in South Africa in 2003 and 11,926 of those (2,16%), HIV was held responsible. In 2004 there were 567,488 deaths and HIV was held responsible for 13,590 (2,4%) of those. This might partly be explained with the different opportunistic diseases of HIV of which Tuberculosis (TB) is one. And TB was held responsible for about 13,5% of the deaths in 2003 and 2004 (Statistics South Africa 2006: 20/21).

35 The possibility of an infection with HIV is directly connected with the virus load in the infected person’s body. The virus load describes the number of viruses in the blood. The more viruses in the blood, the more likely is the infection of a non-infected person.
liquids than vice versa (WEINREICH & BENN 2005: 16–17). 46.4%\textsuperscript{36} of the people infected by HIV worldwide are women (UNAIDS 2007: 1) but in South Africa 58.5%\textsuperscript{37} of the infected people are women (UNAIDS 2006a: 455). Especially in South Africa, as well as in all Sub-Saharan Africa, it becomes clear that women are affected to a higher extent. In this region 58.9%\textsuperscript{38} of all infected adults are females (UNAIDS 2006a: 505–506). The relation between male and female persons infected has changed recently. In 2001 about 40% of all infected people were female (ENZI 2001: 7) and in 2005 about 50% of all infected people in the Sub-Saharan region were female (SCHÄFER 2005: 72). These numbers illustrate that women in the Sub-Saharan region have a significantly higher rate of infection than men and, in addition to that, it has been found that the rate of infection is even higher if the women are younger (CHG 2004: 5). The feminisation of the epidemic is a recent development (MATICKA-TYNDALE 2001: 17; MATLIN & SPENCE 2000: 1) and it mainly affects black women, as they are the majority of women in the Sub-Saharan region (ENZI 2001: 6). The significance in the numbers can not only be explained by referring to the biological higher possibility of an infection for the women but also indicates that women might have a higher social vulnerability for an infection than men do (WORLD BANK 2004: 2).

Despite the social challenges or inequalities, the HIV & AIDS epidemic is one of the greatest challenges for humankind since the plague (HIRSCHMANN 2007: 261). As the infected people are mainly the economical active part of the society of a country (HIRSCHMANN 2003: 29), the consequences could endanger the survival of whole countries (HIRSCHMANN 2003: 20). At a conservative estimate, about 7 million people who used to work in the agricultural sector in the Sub-Saharan region have already died in the years from 1985 to 2000. By 2025 there will be an increase of this number of up to 16 million people (SCHÄFER 2005: 74). Already there is a drop in the life expectancy by seven years for children, who are born in one of the 29 most affected countries in the world. In countries where the infection rate is higher than ten

\textsuperscript{36} The percentage has been calculated by the author, based on the numbers of UNAIDS (2007): 15.4 million women are infected by the HI-Virus out of 33.2 million adults (15 – 49 years of age) worldwide.

\textsuperscript{37} The percentage has been calculated by the author, based on the numbers of UNAIDS (2006a): There are 3.1 million adult women (aged 15 and over) infected in South Africa out of 5.3 million adults.

\textsuperscript{38} The percentage has been calculated by the author, based on the numbers of UNAIDS (2006a): 13.2 million adults infected by HIV are females out of 22.4 million adults infected in Sub-Saharan Africa.
per cent of the adult population, there is a drop in the life expectancy of adults by almost ten years (HIRSCHMANN 2003: 25).

Due to several reasons, HIV & AIDS is a disease which challenges the traditional norms and values of any society. One of these is the necessity to deal with human sexuality in order to fight the disease (MATICKA-TYNDALE 2001: 13). And that could lead to a stigmatization of both sexes in gender-specific ways (ENZI 2001: 5). The transmission of HIV is mainly connected with sexuality. The interpretation of sexuality is highly connected with gender relations (MANE & AGGLETON 2001: 25), which have to be taken into account to reveal the power relations between the sexes. These power relations decide who has pleasure during the sexual intercourse and when it takes place (RAO GUPTA 2000a: 2). In contrast to some false beliefs that HIV is transmitted by immoral or not normal sexual behaviour (ENZI 2001: 19), studies have shown that between 70% (ENZI 2001: 29) and 80% (WALDEN ET AL. 1999: 545) of new infections in the Sub-Saharan region are taking place during heterosexual intercourse. And in many other regions of the world, such as Africa, the Caribbean, and parts of Asia, heterosexual intercourse is the main route of transmission (HIRSCHMANN 2007: 264). Therefore, it is most likely that gender relations are an important factor in order to be able to examine the reasons for the ongoing spread of the disease (WORLD BANK 2004: 2). Even more it could be said that the continuation of the epidemic is partly determined by gender relations (RAO GUPTA 2000a: 1). This will be explained later in more detail, how the HIV & AIDS epidemic show who is vulnerable to an infection within a society and who has access to the information regarding prevention and treatment due to gender and social relations (MANE & AGGLETON 2001: 25; MATICKA-TYNDALE 2001: 18) [s. 7.3, p. 59; s. 7.4, p. 61 or s. 7.5, p. 70]. It is important to mention that gender relations make both sexes vulnerable for an infection (RAO GUPTA 2000a: 7), so the simplistic view of men as offenders and the women as victims does not help to completely understand the gender implications of the disease (BARKER & RICARDO 2005: 2 + 36; RAO GUPTA 2000b: 4). “HIV is not an equal-opportunity virus when it comes to gender and age” (MATICKA-TYNDALE 2001: 17; similar MATLIN & SPENCE 2000: 11). Current data

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39 During the time while he was South Africa’s Vice President, Jacob Zuma expressed his opinion that oral sexual intercourse is wrong and immoral. But in his position as the 2nd highest South African government official, he should have been aware of the fact that he works for a democracy whose constitution guarantees that no one can be discriminated against on the basis of faith, culture, language, birth, gender, sex, or sexual orientation (RATELE 2006: 50/51).

40 This also applies the other way around. HIV is not a women’s disease in the sense that they are primarily responsible for the spread of the disease as it is sometimes believed (MARAIM 2005: 15).
gives rise to suspicion that young men play a key role in the ongoing spread of the HI-Virus (BARKER & RICARDO 2005: 37) and therefore, it could be concluded that the constructions of masculinity are likely to be directly connected with the HIV & AIDS problematic (WHO 2000: 26; BARKER & RICARDO 2005: 1). In this context it might be argued that drastic developments within social communities could force men to question the traditional gender relations [s. 7.5, p. 69]. This could be due to the fact that a lot of them are not able to fulfil certain social expectations of their manhood (BARKER & RICARDO 2005: 44).

Additionally, the separation between the personal risk and the social vulnerability seems to be useful. The former refers to several points within the field of personal decisions and the latter mainly refers to social determined power relations (ENZI 2001: 9; MANE & AGGLETON 2001: 24). But there are differences in the possibility of access to recourses of different kinds for men and women. This can be observed in many different cultural settings (RAO GUPTA 2000a: 1). In this context it is important to underline the fact that the HIV & AIDS epidemic has different effects and consequences in different countries. The specific cultural and economical conditions of a country create these differences between countries and even between specific regions within countries (MATICKA-TYNDALE 2001: 14).

7.3. CONDOMS

The shortly outlined social elements of the HIV pandemic might also have a certain impact on the use of condoms. The condom is a male dominated prevention method which is to say that the adequate use of a condom requires an erected penis and therefore a condom could not be use without the permission of the male partner (RAO GUPTA 2001: 5, HARRISON ET AL. 2001: 69). Condoms are still the most common, the cheapest, and the most reliable method of prevention. Although the HI-Virus does not change the external appearance of a person immediately, there are often external characteristics decisive for the use of condoms (NZIOKA 2001: 114, HIRSCHMANN 2003: 35, BARKER & RICARDO 2005: 39). Categories such as clean and not-clean are used to decide whether a condom should be used or not (MACPHAIL & CAMPBELL 2001: 1616), even though a majority knows that people infected by HIV could look like healthy persons (WALDEN ET AL. 1999: 551).

Despite that, the use of a condom is often seen as an indicator for the relationship: On the one hand, condoms are not used with regular partners, but on the other
hand, condoms might be used with occasional partners (HARRISON ET AL. 2001: 67, BARKER & RICARDO 2005: 40/41). In terms of the beginning of a new relationship, it has been found that early sexual intercourse with a new regular partner shows the binding nature of this relationship and that it is seen as a proof for the faithfulness of the new partner (VARGA 2003: 160).

![Image](image.png)

The renunciation of condom use in a regular partnership is often regarded as a proof of confidence in the partner or in the relationship (MACPHAIL & CAMPBELL 2001: 1621). Therefore, the demand of condom use might be interpreted as a breach of confidence within a regular relationship (RIVERS & AGGLETON 1999: 6). And this might even culminate in the accusation of unfaithfulness (BERNER-RODOREDA & HONS 2006: 31; RIVERS & AGGLETON 1999: 6; WALDEN ET AL. 1999: 551). In this context, it might be expected that the sexual history of the partner becomes more important in order to be able to determine whether or not the dismissal of condoms is advisable. But often, on the contrary, there is relative little interest in the sexual history of the regular partner (MACPHAIL & CAMPBELL 2001: 1624). Only within occasional relationships might condoms be used as a protection for an infection with a STD [Sexual Transmitted Disease]. If condoms are used in a regular relationship, they are often used as contraception (WHO 2000: 34). The demand for condoms is sometimes interpreted as an indication that a person has a high number of sexual partners. Consequently, this is associated with physical and moral contamination (NZIOKA 2001: 114). In regards to teenagers, the possession of condoms is often perceived by their parents as an indicator for their willingness to engage in sexual intercourse (MACPHAIL & CAMPBELL 2001: 1622). Because of the missing approval by the parents, teenage sexual intercourse often takes place in non-private settings. Which is to say that friends of the couple stand watch for the couple in order to avoid any kind of interruption or even the detection by the parents. This lowers, of
course, the possibility to use condoms without being recognized by the peers. Especially in terms of young men, the peers are very important. If they regard the use of condoms as not manly, the reputation of a young man is at stake if he is unwilling to engage in unprotected sexual intercourse [s. 8.3, p. 82]. This pressure is often there although the others are not in the same room but the use of condoms could be noticed by them (Hirschmann 2003: 82).

The attitude towards condoms as a sign of the kind of relationship is also visible in terms of sex workers. The demand of condom use on the part of a female sex worker could result in a decrease of client numbers (Hirschmann 2003: 60). A study on sex workers found that although the use of condoms with clients raised as a direct result of information campaigns, the use of condoms with the regular partners did not increase (Walden et al. 1999: 549/550). Although men might be generally in power in a given society, if they engage in sex work they often do not, like their female counterpart, have the power to negotiate condom use with their clients (WHO 2000: 37).

It is sometimes argued by men that unprotected sexual intercourse is a manly desire (WHO 2000: 35; MacPhail & Campbell 2001: 1621; Barker & Ricard 2005: 40). This perception might lead to another kind of argumentation for the dismissal of condoms. They are believed to reduce the pleasure for both partners during the sexual intercourse (Berner-Rodoreda & Hons 2006: 31). This could even result in the perception of condoms as a device that has been developed to reduce the male’s pleasure during sexual intercourse (MacPhail & Campbell 2001: 1616). Studies of gold mine workers (Campbell 1997), for example, have shown that these men risk their lives every day in the mines, far away from their families, and eventually develop a desire for flesh-to-flesh sexual contact. They explain that this desire is caused by a feeling of loneliness in the compounds and that because they take extremely large risks everyday, it is then, insignificant whether or not they use condoms (Campbell 1997). All this indicates that the willingness to take risks is part of different masculinity constructions and that risk-taking behaviour is encouraged by the dominant masculinity construction whatever it might be.

In this context it is sometimes argued that men are unable to control themselves after they are aroused sexually and that includes the unwillingness to care about condoms when they are aroused. But men are more willing to use condoms if they are asked to do so before their sexual arousal (Rivers & Aggleton 1999: 5 + 8). And young
men, who have used condoms during their first sexual intercourse, were more likely to use condoms continuously afterwards (WHO 2000: 29). But although there has been an increase in the use of condoms by young men, they still tend to use them irregularly. The delay of the first sexual intercourse of a woman is regarded to be good (HARRISON ET AL. 2001: 66). Therefore, women who possess condoms are in the public perception often suspected to be looking for sex (MACPHAIL & CAMPBELL 2001: 1615) which in turn, is interpreted as female’s promiscuity which is not only regarded as a socially no-go area for women (HARRISON ET AL. 2001: 64; MACPHAIL & CAMPBELL 2001: 1621; VARGA 2003: 164) but is sometimes also seen as being connected with the spread of HIV. Women are sometimes regarded as the persons spreading the virus and a female’s promiscuity promotes this (BARKER & RICARDO 2005: 40). This in turn results in and strengthens the view of HIV as a female disease (ENZI 2001: 15). Women are more likely to be made responsible for an HIV infection (RIVERS & AGGLETON 1999: 10) and they are more likely to be expelled from home if their families know about their status (HIRSCHMANN 2007: 272; MATLIN & SPENCE 2000: 10). And women do not expel a HIV-positive partner from home as often as men do (RAO GUPTA 2000a: 4). In contrast to this general public opinion which is often mentioned, men in the discussion about HIV and AIDS have been made responsible for the disease because they are the ones who need to have unprotected sexual intercourse with different partners. But both perspectives are too simplistic. It is more likely that both sexes are acting within a certain gender order that determines the actions and reactions by social expectations (MANE & AGGLETON 2001: 28).

In contrast to the public perception of femininity, male promiscuity is regarded as an important element of manhood (BARKER & RICARDO 2005: 17; HIRSCHMANN 2003: 52) and that strongly indicates that there are double moral standards regarding sexuality for men and women (RIVERS & AGGLETON 1999: 3). Just the possession of condoms could result in a bad reputation for a woman (BARKER & RICARDO 2005:

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41 In general, victims of sexual violence, immaterial if male or female, tend to protect themselves less during sexual intercourse or not at all (RAO GUPTA 2000a: 3; RAO GUPTA 2000b: 3; WHO 2000: 45).

42 Not only a high number of sexual partners is regarded as a manly right, it is sometimes believed that men need to have sexual intercourse regularly in order to keep their male body healthy. So, if that is not guaranteed, it might have bad impacts on the male body (NIEHAUS 2002: 82). Similarly, Campbell (2001) found that men who worked in the mines choose to also have sexual intercourse with other partners than their regular ones, because they feared the impacts on their bodily health of not having regular sexual intercourse.
41; MacPhail & Campbell 2001: 1622; Rao Gupta 2000a: 4; Rivers & Aggleton 1999: 6; Varga 2003: 164). This perception is strengthened by the perspective on women as being either decent or ‘loose’ girls. Young men often express the opinion that they would have sexual intercourse with decent girls and not with ‘loose’ girls (Nzioka 2001: 113/114) which then leads to the conclusion that condoms are not necessary. This separates the women into women to marry and women for short relationships as well (Barker & Ricardo 2005: 19).

After looking at how condoms are perceived and accepted, the ‘who’ now comes into focus. Who is able or expected to demand the use of condoms? Regarding the question who should insist on the use of condoms, there are two studies finding two opposite things: The one study found that women should insist on the use of condoms (MacPhail & Campbell 2001: 1620) and the other found that men should insist on condoms (Harrison et al. 2001: 66). Both studies asked young persons about their opinion of who should insist on the use of condoms. It can be concluded, that social values and norms determine who is in the position to ask for condom use (WHO 2000: 35). Equally, the power relations within relationships come into focus. So far, it has been determined that the use of condoms means that the male partner acknowledges the need to do so. This leads to the question if or how women are able to demand the use of condoms (Berner-Rodoreda & Hons 2006: 31). Therefore, the demand of female controlled prevention methods, such as the Femidom or microbezides, is expressed repeatedly (Rao Gupta 2000a: 5).

Summarising the points mentioned about condoms and their use, it is useful to refer to Wilton43 (1997, quoted in: Rivers & Aggleton 1999: 6) who put together four points, why the use of condoms could be interpreted as an attack on the personal manhood:

1. The demand for the use of condoms expressed by the woman implies that she could determine the conditions for sexual interaction. [Even more, this could imply that the man hands over the control of the whole relationship to the woman (Rivers & Aggleton 1999: 6, WHO 2000: 35).]
2. This use of condoms could mean for the man a reduction of his own pleasure.
3. As the man’s sexuality is supposed to be uncontrollable, the use of condoms seems to be like a feminisation of the male’s sexuality because it becomes

43 Regrettably, it was not possible to get a copy of the original text. Therefore, the method of re-quoting has been used.
more controllable.

4. Risk taking behaviour is seen as an important element of manhood. [Equally, it works as a tool in order to prove ‘real’ manhood (RAO GUPTA 2000a: 4; BARKER & RICARDO 2005: 3).]

“[T]ypes of risk-reduction behaviour are in direct contradiction with the norms of masculinity. The norms of masculinity propel men to take risks, score, and focus on sexual pleasure on the penis.” (KIMMEL & LEVINE 1989: 347)

7.4. Knowledge about HIV, STDs, and Sexuality

In general, knowledge about HIV & AIDS and the prevention of an infection does not result inevitably in a change of behaviour (BARKER & RICARDO 2005: 38; HARRISON ET AL. 2001: 63; HIRSCHMANN 2003: 35, 2007: 263; MACPHTAIL & CAMPBELL 2001: 1614). It has been found, for example, that the knowledge about HIV & AIDS and Sexual Transmitted Diseases (STDs) by young men and women has in general increased (BARKER & RICARDO 2005: 39). There is a high awareness about the disease in Kenya, for example, but there is merely a slight change of behaviour measurable (NZIOKA 2001: 109/110). Regardless of the sex, it has been found that higher education increases the knowledge about HIV and AIDS in every way, even if there are not specific prevention programmes implemented in the community and/or society (HIRSCHMANN 2003: 45). Simultaneously, there are several studies (MACPHTAIL & CAMPBELL 2001; NZIOKA 2001; WALDEN ET AL. 1999) indicating that a higher awareness about the prevention of an infection with the virus (especially the use of condoms) does not result automatically in a higher usage of condoms (MACPHTAIL & CAMPBELL 2001: 1620). Because there is still a high number of HIV and STD infection among young persons, it could be assumed that a relatively high amount of unprotected sexual intercourse is still likely (BARKER & RICARDO 2005: 37). A study carried out with 242 sex workers illustrates the percentages of awareness:

“Awareness of the nature of the AIDS epidemic was high: 97.5% (236 of 242) had heard of AIDS; 64.8% (153 of 236) of respondents knew AIDS was sexually transmitted while 73.2% (99 of 176) knew that there was no cure. On methods of prevention, 56.3% (99 of 176) mentioned avoiding sex with multiple partners while 50.6% (89 of 176) mentioned condoms. Condom use – on at least one occasion – was reported by 66.5% (161 of 242) of sex workers. Among sex workers, 63.6% (154 of 242) had sex with non-paying partners (boyfriends) and of those 67.5% (104 of 154) used a condom with these men.” (WALDEN ET AL. 1999: 547)
Nevertheless, although safer sex is mainly associated with condoms (HARRISON ET AL. 2001: 65), at the same time, there is still a lot of inaccurate knowledge about prevention methods and/or the ways of transmission (NZIOKA 2001: 115). Even superstitious beliefs surrounding HIV & AIDS and its impacts are still quite common. Some of them are: The belief concerning condoms that they make the persons involved in sexual intercourse, infertile is still mentioned relatively often, whereby this effects both men and women (RIVERS & AGGLETON 1999: 6, HIRSCHMANN 2003: 36, VARGA 2003: 164). The belief that a shower can reduce the possibility of an infection, as mentioned in section 6.2.1.3 (p. 29) by Jacob Zuma as well, is also expressed sometimes (NZIOKA 2001: 114). It is often mentioned that the HI-Virus was designed by the industrial nations to eradicate the African continent (HIRSCHMANN 2003: 81) or that the infection was caused by witchcraft which was used by other people, neighbours, women, or members of competing clans (HIRSCHMANN 2007: 274). Even more, there is the belief that sexual intercourse with a female virgin cures HIV and this puts especially younger women at risk of being raped and infected (BERNER-RODOREDA & HONS 2006: 27). All this indicates that the influence of culture should not be underestimated when it comes to prevention work. If the infection is not seen as a result of personal behaviour (HIRSCHMANN 2003: 8/9) but as a individual or collective punishment of transcendental powers (HIRSCHMANN 2003: 84), then the infection is out of the personal responsibility (HIRSCHMANN 2003: 78, 2007: 265). Therefore, the individual’s decision-making ability could not be assumed the same way as it could be in Western countries (BARKER & RICARDO 2005: 36) and, consequently, this difference has to be taken into account for prevention work as well as for the interpretation of behaviour.

So, the knowledge about sex and sexual issues is not only connected to the degree of prevention work but also has to be seen as a product of the societal circumstances (HIRSCHMANN 2007: 265; MACPHAIL & CAMPBELL 2001: 1614). Therefore, returning to the question about the who: Who has access to information about prevention and who has the power to negotiate prevention methods? Consequently, this strengthens

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44 From a European perspective, it is important to take into account that in many African societies there is not the same kind of separation between magical, religious, and nature-scientific explanations as in European societies (HIRSCHMANN 2003: 78). They exist next to each other and they are used if they offer explanations or solutions to certain problems. Therefore, traditional healers still have a great influence on the people (BERNER-RODOREDA 2006: 27). In contrast to Europe or the United States, most people in African societies would not define their position towards transcendental powers as self-confident (HIRSCHMANN 2003: 83). Due to many threats of the personal life, the feeling of control over life and dead could merely be found there (HIRSCHMANN 2003: 92).
the assumption that the vulnerability for an HIV infection is related in a higher
degree to the social circumstances than it is to the individual’s knowledge about the
disease.

Based on this observation, it could be argued that the knowledge about health issues
is likely to be filtered by social norms, perspectives, and expectations (BARKER &
RICARDO 2005: 40). One example might be the expectation that men have a high
understanding of sexual issues (BERNER-RODOREDA & HONS 2006: 14) but this ex-
pectation raises the inhibition level for men to ask questions about their own body,
sexuality, and/or intimacy (BARKER & RICARDO 2005: 19; MANE & AGGLETON
2001: 27; WHO 2000: 34). Another example refers to women who are likely to be
supposed to be naive and innocent about sexual issues (BARKER & RICARDO 2005:
38; BERNER-RODOREDA & HONS 2006: 14; RIVERS & AGGLETON 1999: 3), which in
turn, creates an ignorance about their own body and sexuality and that increases the
vulnerability for an HIV or STD infection (ENZI 2001: 11). These examples are
strong indicators for the conclusion that gender relations determine the quality and
quantity of sexual issues relating information in gender specific ways (ENZI 2001: 5 +
11, WORLD BANK 2004: 2) and this, independent of the biological sex, could indeed
be seen as a very important element in the increase of the individual’s vulnerability
for an infection.

![Figure 12](image-url)

**Figure 12:** “11th of April 2006 / Weeks ahead of the UN Special Session on Aids, gov-
ernment excludes the Treatment Action Campaign and the Aids Law Project from the national delegation”, in ZAPIRO 2006: 83.
Human sexuality illustrates this point as it is a taboo subject for many countries in the Sub-Saharan region (Schäfer 2005: 76) as well as for many other societies/countries around the world (Enzi 2001: 22). Regarding prevention programmes about STDs and HIV, this results in different problematic settings. Information about sexuality for young persons is sometimes presumed to be against the African culture and it is seen as promoting promiscuity (Hirschmann 2003: 38, 2007: 272). The subject of sexuality is neither being discussed between parents and children nor between spouses (Hirschmann 2007: 272). If parents regard any sexual activity of young persons as dangerous and/or irresponsible (MacPhail & Campbell 2001: 1622) [s. 7.3, p. 56] or if immorality is seen as the main reason for the spread of HIV (Enzi 2001: 19; Hirschmann 2003: 39), then this does not create a perfect environment for prevention work of any kind. The ongoing spread of the disease is sometimes believed to be rooted in the ongoing Westernization (Hirschmann 2003: 40) and with that in the presumed adaption of Western ideals regarding love and sexuality (Hirschmann 2003: 47).

This drafted development already starts during puberty, when young men learn not to speak about the changes going on in their own bodies (WHO 2000: 14) and this often results in an inability of young men to speak about sexuality (Nzioka 2001: 115). As it will be discussed in more detail further on [s. 7.5, p. 67], it is often presumed that men do have a high knowledge about sexual related issues. Therefore, it is understandable that there are rarely institutions or organisations which give young men the opportunity to speak about their own sexual experiences, questions, and/or wishes (WHO 2000: 37). If young men speak about sexual issues, it is often observed that they are unable to talk about these issues seriously (WHO 2000: 16). There are rarely prevention programmes conducted within schools, neither for female nor for male pupils (Enzi 2001: 12). Prevention programmes may only concentrate on the explanation of the use of condoms and on abstinence messages (Schäfer 2005: 76) [s. description of ABC in s. 6.3.2, p. 41].

Despite the knowledge about prevention methods, there seems to be a great difficulty in overcoming traditional gender relations because of the embarrassment of talking about sexual issues with partners or other people (Nzioka 2001: 115; WHO 2000: 35). The societal taboo on human sexuality often results in the fact that sexuality and feelings become a taboo subject within a partnership as well (Hirschmann 2003: 76), which in turn leads to an insufficient communication about sexuality, the
number of partners, and/or prevention methods (ENZI 2001: 22; RIVERS & AGGLETON 1999: 9). Simultaneously, the inability to express personal, sexual, and emotional needs is likely to be compensated by other kinds of expression: for example, the beating of one’s own wife might be regarded as a verbalism of the man’s affection for his wife or partner (BARKER & RICARDO 2005: 23).

At the same time the societal taboo does in regard to sexuality create a situation in which the young person’s peer group becomes one of the main sources for information about sexuality and sexual related health issues (HIRSCHMANN 2003: 45; RIVERS & AGGLETON 1999: 9; WHO 2000: 33). Other sources are media programmes such as commercials for condoms etc. (MACPHELL & CAMPBELL 2001: 1614; WHO 2000: 33). Especially in terms of young men, the peer group often encourages risk-taking behaviour (MACPHELL & CAMPBELL 2001: 1616) which is regarded as an important factor of manhood (MANE & AGGLETON 2001: 27). So the peer group could be the one judging the behaviour as manly or not-manly and it could also be the one encouraging to rethink the current masculinity construction (WHO 2000: 18). The status reached within the peer group because of the sexual experience is likely to be equally or even more valued than intimacy within the partnership. This valuation might imply that the members of a peer group do not always give authentic descriptions of their sexual experience in order to achieve a certain status within the group or in the eyes of their (male) friends (WHO 2000: 30).

Another indication for the gender specific perception of health related issues is the fact that clinics in general are often regarded as places for women (WHO 2000: 35 + 37). This may explain why many men do not visit clinics regularly and/or do not test their HIV status (BARKER & RICARDO 2005: 42; WHO 2000: 37). Studies in Botswana and Zambia have shown that if a visit in clinics is a very rare event, this results in a very low knowledge about HIV and the prevention of the parent to child transmission of the HI-virus (NYBLADE & FIELD-NGUER 2001: 4). In this context, issues of reproductive health are often perceived as being only female issues (WHO 2000: 34) and there is often a concentration of programmes for and on women (RIVERS & AGGLETON 1999: 2). And the number of health professionals who are trained to work with men is very low (WADHAM 2001: 71; WHO 2000: 21). The focus of health programmes is often only for and on women (WHO 2000: 7) and there are few opportunities for men to be consulted in health related issues (NYBLADE & FIELD-NGUER 2001: 4).

It has been found that verbal intimacy is more likely to occur within friendships of heterosexual women than it is within friendships of heterosexual men (MACKINNON 2003: 3).
NGUER 2001: 5). Offers for health related information for younger persons are sometimes not existent (MATLIN & SPENCE 2000: 4) which might also be related to the taboo on sexuality as mentioned above. But if there are offers for young men, then the information is often concentrated on the physical aspects of sexuality (WHO 2000: 34) which might then encourage the perception of men’s sexuality as a kind of performance. The peer group, as well as the social environment, communicate, directly or indirectly, that men’s sexuality is mainly concentrated on performance related issues, for example, like the length of the penis. Other aspects of sexuality like intimacy or aesthetics are left out (WHO 2000: 36).

The lack of the usage, as well as of opportunities for men-related health offers, might be rooted in the perception that illness does not belong to the traditional image of a man (ENZI 2001: 20; BARKER & RICARDO 2005: 43; RIVERS & AGGLETON 1999: 11; WHO 2000: 21) which then supports the belief in the inviolability of a man (RIVERS & AGGLETON 1999: 1). Women seem to have a higher degree of consciousness about their health needs (WHO 2000: 13) whereby the assumption should not follow that young men do have a lower level of health needs. It could only be observed that young men do not visit health services as regularly as women and that they seem to have a different view of their health needs. Nevertheless, it could be concluded that gender relations have a deeper impact on the personal health than biological aspects (WHO 2000: 20/21).


This cartoon refers to Zuma’s trustworthiness in terms of HIV and AIDS after his statements during his rape trial.
7.4.1. **EXTERNALISATION**

The discussion about the use of and the knowledge about prevention methods implies that the individual recognizes his/her personal risk. (Barker & Ricardo 2005: 66). But in terms of HIV the estimation of the personal risk is lowered by the presumption of the disease as the problem of ‘others’ (MacPhail & Campbell 2001: 1619; Maticka-Tyndale 2001: 16). These ‘others’ are defined in relation to the societal gender and sexual arrangements. This process is described as externalisation (Harrison et al. 2001: 66; MacPhail & Campbell 2001: 1620). The process of externalisation applies for the individual as well as for whole communities and nations (Maticka-Tyndale 2001: 14). In terms of the individual this results in the denial of the personal risk and in terms of collectives this might result in the exclusion of infected people or in the banishment of other defined groups (Enzi 2001: 28). Indeed, HIV has started as a disease of marginalized groups, such as homosexuals, in the beginning but meanwhile, especially in Africa, the disease has its impact on the society as a whole (Matlin & Spence 2001: 1) [s. 7.2, p. 52]. But the impressions of the beginnings of the disease have been maintained and have produced a feeling of protection. Consequently, this lowers the awareness of the personal risk (MacPhail & Campbell 2001: 61). Indicators for these behaviours are the categorisation of the sexual partner into clean and not-clean and the higher valuation of pleasure during the sexual intercourse than of the own or other’s protection. An irregular use of condoms is also an indicator for this phenomena as well as it is a result of it. Another result is the return to traditional and moral values which are presumed to be protective. These might express themselves in the value of virginity for women or in the assertion that homosexuality does not exist within a particular culture (Maticka-Tyndale 2001: 14). Also not helpful are discursive positions like the

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46 In certain areas, e.g. in KwaZulu-Natal (Hunter 2005: 147), virginity testing by the elders has been introduced in order to prevent HIV transmission (Enzi 2001: 13). The value of virginity increases the usage of an alternative sexual intercourse which is known as ‘light sex’. ‘Light sex’ is another word for anal sex which is used to maintain the virginity of young women. This type is used either because the young woman does not want to abstain from sexual intercourse or because she thinks she has to have some kind of sexual intercourse with her male partner if he demands it (Enzi 2001: 13, Hirschmann 2007: 272). Ironically, this increases the vulnerability of an HIV infection significantly during unprotected anal sex (Karim & Ramjee 1998: 1266). The reason for a young woman to engage in ‘light sex’ might be that she fears being left by her boyfriend if she is not offering him any kind of sexual pleasure. The same kind of motivation is assumed as being the reason for another practice called ‘dry sex’. ‘Dry sex’ is accomplished when women use different methods in order to dry their vagina such as herbs or even cleaning agents. This is meant to fulfil two expectations: (1) Women are not supposed to show physical signs of arousal and (2) men are supposed to enjoy sexual intercourse more if the vagina is dry (Berner-Rodoreda & Hons 2006: 10–11). This enjoyment is due to the fact that the man has the impression of sleeping with a virgin (Hirschmann 2003: 70).
denial of the connection between HIV and AIDS presented by South Africa’s President Thabo Mbeki up to March 2001 (ENZI 2001: 27) or the denial and/or the scepticism towards the correctness of numbers of infected people. The latter reaction could be found in many different countries/societies, not only in African communities (MANE & AGGLETON 2001: 23). These views or any kind of articulated externalisation strengthen and reinforce the effect and the impact of the externalisation process.

The effect of Externalisation becomes an issue again in terms of sexual violence. For example, it has been found that boys and young males tend to use external violence, which they themselves have experienced, by using violence against others, e.g. women or children but also other men (WHO 2000: 43). Especially in terms of sexual violence, it has been observed that men tend to block out the sexual pestering parts of their own behaviour because they have been socialised to misinterpret women’s intentions (QUINN 2002: 389) [s. 8.5, p. 91].

7.5. GENDER IMPLICATIONS OF RELATIONSHIPS

In contrast to the expectations of men as being sexually experienced, women are often not supposed to be sexually experienced at all. Either they are not informed about human sexuality because such knowledge is not expected of them, or they are not allowed to talk about sexuality (GUPTA 2002: 2). This kind of stereotype increases the chance of an HIV infection because women either do not know how to protect themselves or they are not allowed to negotiate on sexual matters (ORUBULOYE ET AL. 1993, WEINREICH & BENN 2005). The different aspects mentioned so far indicate that current gender norms, in general, handicap women with respect to men. How and to what extent is determined by different factors within different given societies. Despite the regional differences, they tend to increase the possibility of an HIV infection (RIVERS & AGGLETON 1999: 1). This happens to both sexes and it makes women as well as men more vulnerable for an infection (ENZI 2001: 17; MANE & AGGLETON 2001: 28). So far, the gender perspective on HIV has mainly concentrated on women because they have been regarded as the more vulnerable (MANE & AGGLETON 2001: 25). Without trying to attenuate this, it must be asked if the gender relations imprison women and make them more vulnerable, do they not imprison men as well? (MANE & AGGLETON 2001: 26). The findings so far suggest that gender roles are socially constructed and not naturally given.
This would imply that they could be changed and are not forever static (Rivers & Aggleton 1999: 2).

In the traditional view of many African societies, women symbolize wealth and the possibility of reproduction (Hirschmann 2003: 24, 2007: 269). Among other things, this can be explained with the perception of offspring as a symbol of immortality because the parents will be remembered by the children (Hirschmann 2003: 65). Therefore, fertility is seen as an essential element of femininity (Enzi 2001: 15; Varga 2003: 160 + 165). This in turn, results in a definition of the attractiveness of women based on their reproductive features (Hirschmann 2003: 72, 2007: 267). The attractiveness of men on the other hand is mainly composed of financial security and wealth (Varga 2003: 165) which often results in a definition of the man through his economical situation (Enzi 2001: 19). One of the consequences as seen from this perspective is that sexual intercourse is often regarded as the main motive for men to engage in relationships. Whereas the access to money is seen as the main motive for women to engage in relationships (MacPhail & Campbell 2001: 1623; Varga 2003: 168). Therefore, sexual intercourse is often regarded as an adequate exchange for financial allowances. This applies for the man as well as for the woman who is likely to feel obligated or even forced to engage in sexual intercourse with her partner (Barker & Ricardo 2005: 22). At the same time, sexual intercourse is often regarded as an expression of the woman’s love and as the right of the man (MacPhail & Campbell 2001: 1623). That interplays with the perception of early sexual contact as an expression of faithfulness and love toward the partner as mentioned before [s. 7.3, p. 55]. This does not only apply to wives but also to girlfriends (Harrison et al. 2001: 69; Hirschmann 2003: 68). The possibility of an HIV infection for women is the highest where they are socialized to bow to the man’s will, which includes to provide for his pleasure (Mane & Aggleton 2001: 25). This is intensified by the ideal of a ‘permissive’ woman who interacts with the ideal of a woman as naive and innocent (Varga 2003: 163). In this context, it has to be accentuated that prevention messages, which point out the active part of the man and the passive part of the woman may increase the use of condoms for a short term, but that in the long run they will strengthen stereotypes (Rivers & Aggleton 1999: 7).

But the achievement of financial wealth is in any way necessary for the men in order to be able to found and/or support a family. This is seen as an ideal of masculinity (Barker & Ricardo 2005: 5) which is sometimes even maintained when the father
or husband is physically absent (Barker & Ricardo 2005: 12). If this is not fulfilled by the man, he might not get social recognition as a man (Barker & Ricardo 2005: 6; Hirschmann 2007: 268) and it contributes to a feeling of disempowerment for the man if he can not contribute to the financial support of the family (Barker & Ricardo 2005: 7). As a study has found, this feeling of disempowerment is compensated by strengthening other parts of the traditional construction of masculinity so that unemployed men tend to increase their numbers of sexual partners in order to prove their manhood to themselves and to their social community (Silberschmidt 2001: 667). Additionally, the need to prove the own masculinity might result in a higher willingness to use violence (WHO 2000: 17). If young men are not able to fulfil their financial expectations as men, criminals often show them a lifestyle in which they could reach all the financial elements related with manhood, e.g. cars, mobile phones, and such things are directly connected with the possibility to be together with women or even marry (Hirschmann 2007: 268).

In the Sub-Saharan region this attitude is, for example, expressed in the tradition of paying the bride price [labola; s. 8.5, p. 91] which is paid by the husband to his wife’s family (Hirschmann 2003: 57 + 91; Berner-Rodoreda & Hons 2006: 22). The bride price is a symbol for the connection of the two families and can be seen as a compensation for the woman’s family because by marrying they have lost her work capacity (Berner-Rodoreda & Hons 2006: 22). The financial obligation in order to marry a woman has an effect on the number of marriages, as a lot of men can not pay the bride price due to unemployment (Hirschmann 2007: 273). This is, of course, bad for a man because the definition of the man is connected with his economical position/wealth. If men can afford (more than) one woman (Berner-Rodoreda & Hons 2006: 19), this also is connected to the perception of manhood which can also be defined with a high number of sexual partners [s. 7.5, p. 73]. Therefore, the ability to pay the labola [s. 6.2.1.3, p. 29] is regarded as being a proof of the individual’s manhood (Horowitz 2001: 235). As a result of this process the woman’s body becomes ‘property’ of the man and in the case of a divorce, the price has to be paid back to the husband’s family (Hirschmann 2007: 267). The woman is likely to lose her rights for her own sexuality (CHG 2004: 8/9; Hirschmann 2003: 47). Therefore, she does not have the power to negate or negotiate sexual intercourse (Barker & Ricardo 2005: 22; Bujra 2002: 220; WHO 2000: 39). The possession of the woman does not end with the death of the husband. The woman stays in the
possession of the husband’s family and will be married to a brother of the husband or to another male member of the husband’s family, the so called ‘second marriage’ (Berner-Rodoreda & Hons 2006: 23; Hirschmann 2007: 271). There is a kind of ritual to clean the widow before she is married to another man. In this case there are professional male widow cleaners, who are not part of the husband’s family and who have unprotected sexual intercourse with the widow. If the man does not die within the next days, the widow is regarded as being clean, free from any kind of disease (Hirschmann 2007: 271). It is obvious that this kind of ritual puts the widow and the widow cleaner at a high risk of an infection with HIV or another STD. Husbands, whose wives die, will also be married again. They might marry the sister of their deceased wives (Hirschmann 2003: 69). Studies have shown that women, who are married to a man who has been married before or who has more than one sexual partner, were three times more likely to be infected with a sexual transmitted disease (Berner-Rodoreda & Hons 2006: 20). But it also has to be taken into account that the practice of this second marriage was meant to protect the left behind spouse. On the background of the social expectations towards women, the death of the husband would have lead to a highly possible death by hunger for the women because the economical basis of their well-being had died away (Hirschmann 2007: 270). This is one example in which it is clear that traditional gender relations, which once had a certain purpose and were meant to protect both sexes, now put both sexes at a higher risk for an infection with HIV and/or other sexual transmitted diseases (Barker & Ricardo 2005: 23; Hirschmann 2003: 64). These interrelations focus the view once again on the who: who determines the conditions of sexual intercourse and who enjoys it (more)?

Another consequence of the expectation that the men provide the house’s income, is that girls are often not allowed to go to school or they are more likely to be taken out of schools than boys. Owing to this attitude, many girls are denied the opportunity to become economically independent and informed about sexual issues (Rao Gupta 2000). If the family does have lower financial recourses for whatever reason, this often results in dropouts of school for the daughters47. For one, this saves money for the family and for two the family gains another work capacity (Enzi 2001: 25). Even more important is that a high level of education is presumed to be an obstacle to find

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47 The possibility for an infection with other diseases depends also on the gender specific separation of the fields of work. This includes, for example, who has regular contact with infectious water (WHO 2000: 12).
a husband (Barker & Ricardo 2005: 15). It is often presumed that women do not need education because it is the husband who will take care of the financial security of the woman (Hirschmann 2003: 55). About two thirds of all women in the Sub-Saharan region are illiterate (Enzi 2001: 8). The outlined social and economical dependencies of women on men/husbands make them more vulnerable for HIV infection (Hirschmann 2003: 52). But education does increase the knowledge about HIV and STDs in general, as presented in the section about the knowledge of HIV. But it is not clear whether or not education does change gender relations, as it has been observed that education can question gender relations as well as strengthen traditional gender relations (Barker & Ricardo 2005: 14).

The economical inequalities or imbalances are revealed in the number of people who are not in possession of their own land and/or other resources of financial wealth. This is true for the vast majority of women (Hirschmann 2003: 89). At the same time, women are worldwide in about one third of all households the breadwinners46 (Enzi 2001: 23). Such households are more likely to be poor than households headed by men (CHG 2004: 8). The access to land is, like the achievement of financial wealth, often regarded as essential to manhood, especially in rural areas (Barker & Ricardo 2005: 6). And in agricultural settings, intensive cooperation is often expected of the women by their husbands (Schäfer 2005: 71). Women often do not inherit land possessions from their husbands or they are not allowed to possess land legally (Schäfer 2005: 75/76). Instead, the husband’s family inherits the property (Berner-Rodoreda & Hons 2006: 24). So if the husband or any other male member of the family gets sick because of AIDS, it is the woman who takes care of him (Matlin & Spence 2000: 10; Rivers & Aggleton 1999: 11) but she is not covered economically (CHG 2004: 7; Enzi 2001: 25). This often leads to a vicious circle of poverty (World Bank 2004: 3). If the husband is HIV-positive, it is likely that his wife is also positive. HIV-positive women often carry two burdens: they are female and they are infected (Rao Gupta 2000b: 4). Women are more likely to be discriminated against due to their HIV status and therefore, they often become victims of violence (Matlin & Spence 2000: 5; CHG 2004: 8). The economical situation often forces women to sell their bodies (Berner-Rodoreda & Hons 2006: 30). This is not only the case for adult women. Young women sometimes also feel forced to sell their bodies in order to feed their siblings or they see no other chance than by selling

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46 The term breadwinner refers to the person of a household, who earns the money which supports the household. This role is often perceived as a natural male position.
their body in order to achieve certain symbols of social prestige like cell phones etcetera (Schäfer 2005: 70). Both reasons are articulated in the phenomena of the ‘Sugar Daddy’ [s. 7.5.1, p. 76]. Additionally, the dominance over women is often regarded as an expression of manhood (Barker & Ricardo 2005: 38). Therefore, men determine the timing of sexual intercourse (Varga 2003: 165) and above all it is in their power to decide whether condoms are used or not (Barker & Ricardo 2005: 41; Nzioka 2001: 138; Rao Gupta 2000b: 2). A study in the United States, for example, found that the majority of young men report to have pressed women for sex (Harrison et al. 2001: 69). Women are often talked into having sex with men or are forced to do so (MacPhail & Campbell 2001: 1622). This corresponds with the fact that women are mostly younger and less sexual experienced than their male partners (Harrison et al. 2001: 69). A lot of young men regard it as their right to force women to have sex with them (WHO 2000: 46). A study for South Africa found that 30% of all women had their first sexual experience against their own will and that more than 70% had at least one sexual intercourse against their will (ENZI 2001: 15). Whereas this is important in terms of sexual violence, it is also very problematic in regard to an HIV infection. Forced sexual intercourse increases the possibility of injuries in the female’s genital area which in turn increases the possibility of an infection (ENZI 2001: 15). So, sexual power is understood as the authorization for use of violence against the female partner by men (Varga 2003: 165). Sexual violence increases not only the chance of the transmission of the HI-Virus (World Bank 2004: 3; CHG 2004: 9) but, of course, it also increases the possibility of death (WHO 2000: 11).

An implication of many of the different societal expectations which were mentioned so far is that the woman has to burden the guilt of sexual misbehaviour (Hirschmann 2003: 59) [s. FIGURE 4, p. 24 or s. 8.4, p. 84]. This becomes clear in respect to the social consequences implied by teenager or unwanted pregnancy which are decided along gender lines (Varga 2003: 168). The prevention of pregnancy is often regarded as a solely female’s responsibility (Nzioka 2001: 111; Harrison et al. 2001: 67) and the success in doing so, is perceived as sexual attractiveness (Varga 2003: 164). The social consequences of an early pregnancy have to be burdened by the woman only (Nzioka 2001: 109 + 111/112; Varga 2003: 165). For example, it has been documented that pregnant teenagers were expelled from school.

49 This applies, for example, in terms of unwanted or teenage pregnancies but it also becomes visible when female rape victims are held responsible for being raped (Hirschmann 2003: 62).
because of the pregnancy. This in turn often forced the young women to abort illegally which also put their own lives at risk (Niehaus 2000: 394). And if an early pregnancy is seen as an indicator for the bad morals of a woman (VARGA 2003: 166), then it becomes clear that missing contraception could have huge impacts on the social status of the woman in question (HIRSCHMANN 2003: 50). The acceptance or the rejection of the pregnancy by the man often decides on the social status of the woman. The acceptance of the child by the man is combined with the social acceptance and the financial support for the child (VARGA 2003: 166). In some settings, the man was/is obligated to marry the pregnant woman (HIRSCHMANN 2003: 66; WHO 2000: 39). This tradition is likely to be closely related to the perception of pregnancy as a demonstration of the man’s sexual potency (NZIOMA 2001: 111). Whereby sexual potency is associated with manhood in many African cultures (BERNER-RODOREDA & HONS 2006: 14), early fatherhood in the Zulu culture is associated with manly strength as well (VARGA 2003: 161) [s. FIGURE 5, p. 27 or s. footnote 32, p. 47]. Generally, the demonstration of manhood through the acceptance of the pregnancy is mainly a rural phenomena (VARGA 2003: 167). Nowadays, young men often fear an early pregnancy more than a possible HIV infection (BARKER & RICARDO 2005: 41). Sometimes there is also a social stigma related to fatherhood outside formal relationships (WHO 2000: 38). But if pregnancy is associated with sexual potency of the man, this in turn, might reduce the willingness to use condoms (BARKER & RICARDO 2005: 40).

In contrast to the social perception of female promiscuity, male promiscuity is seen as a positive sign of manhood (BARKER & RICARDO 2005; HIRSCHMANN 2003: 52) [s. 9.4.2, p. 111] whereby it is negatively connoted in regards of women. Behind this perception is the assumption that sexual intercourse is an essential part of masculinity (VARGA 2003: 164). This natural high manly desire for sexual intercourse (WHO 2000: 30, VARGA 2003: 165) is seen as being barely controllable (BARKER & RICARDO 2005: 38). The renunciation of sexual intercourse contradicts the male’s nature (ENZI 2001: 18). This perception makes it even more difficult for women to negate sexual intercourse with the man or to negotiate the timing of sexual intercourse (MACPHAIL & CAMPBELL 2001: 1615). Having partners, is regarded as normal for men (ENZI 2001: 17; MACPHAIL & CAMPBELL 2001: 1615; WHO 2000: 30): adultery on behalf of the man with an unmarried woman is seen as a symbol of manhood (HIRSCHMANN 2003: 65). Whereby women are obligated to conceal their extramarital relationships.
from their husbands and the social community (Hirschmann 2003: 75), “55% der verheirateten Männer Lesothos geben an, mindestens einen weiteren Sexualpartner zu haben, genauso wie ca. 30% der verheirateten Frauen.” (Hirschmann 2007: 269)

As a result of the expectation of men to have many different sexual partners, the infection with a curable sexual transmitted disease is often seen as a sign of manhood (Nzioka 2001: 113, Varga 2003: 165). But the connection between ‘normal’ STDs and the risk of an infection with HIV is not always understood completely (Nzioka 2001: 113). Additionally, it has to be taken into account that a woman infected with any sexual transmitted disease is also more likely to be infected with HIV (Enzi 2001: 10). This is traceable in certain statistics and studies that show that young men do have sexual intercourse more often than young women do (Nzioka 2003: 109). Studies from all over the world have found that men do have significantly more sexual partners during their lifetime than women (Rivers & Aggleton 1999: 3). More than 80% of all young men have had more than one time sexual intercourse with more than one partner (Nzioka 2001: 109). Sexual experience for a man is often regarded as the initiation into manhood (Barker & Ricardo 2005: 16; Nzioka 2001: 110; WHO 2000: 29).

If sexuality is loaded the way it is in regard to different masculinity constructions, it is important to try to understand what sexuality means individually for the ego of the men. This might provide a more holistic understanding of the function of masculin-

50 Translation conducted by the author: “55% of Lesotho’s married men and about 30% of Lesotho’s married women declared having at least one additional sexual partner.”.

51 There is the passage of initiation in many African cultures for men and women which symbolise the transition from childhood into adulthood. Therefore, the young men and women leave the community for some days or even weeks and when they return they are seen as adults. Afterwards, the separation of female and male members of the community is more clear than it has been before this ritual (Barker & Ricardo 2005: 9; Hirschmann 2003: 41). Some of these rituals include male circumcision (Barker & Ricardo 2005: 12) which includes the expectation that the young men endure pain in silence (Horowitz 2001: 234), others promote the transmission of HIV, for example, when the young women are forced to have sexual intercourse with elders (Hirschmann 2003: 42) and they often include violent elements (Barker & Ricardo 2005: 31). There are examples in which some rituals have been changed in order to reduce the possibility of an infection (Hirschmann 2007: 276).

The passage of initiation is often regarded as essential for the personal development by the participants (Barker & Ricardo 2005: 9). This ritual imbeds sexuality into the society and it establishes the control over sexuality by the society (Hirschmann 2003: 43). Additionally, it strengthens the borders between the sexes as well as the gender relations but it also might have the effect of positive social control (Barker & Ricardo 2005: 10). As studies in New Guinea have found, women might also have important roles within the male initiation rituals and might be important for the correct interpretation of these rituals (Gutmann 1997: 402). Nowadays, migration for work could be seen as a kind of initiation as well (Barker & Ricardo 2005: 12) and migration could force men to rethink their perception of gender roles (Barker & Ricardo 2005: 14). But migration could also contribute to a more aggressive and violent definition of the personal manhood (Schäfer 2005: 73). Nevertheless, it has to be pointed out that transition is an important step in the personal development of an individual in many African cultures.
ity which is not possible on the background of denunciations of male sexuality, based
mainly on negative associations with male sexuality (Barker & Ricardo 2005: 17). Despite all the differences between and within societies, it seems as if there is a kind of sexual script for young men which is similar all over the world (WHO 2000: 29) [s. 8.4, p. 85]. This includes, at least, that there is a male focus on genital pleasure and that there is a denial of women’s sexual rights (WHO 2000: 31).

Going from that and also on the background of the findings about the influence of the peer group in terms of sexual issue, it could be assumed that any kind of opposition to the hegemonic perception of manhood is sanctioned by the social community (Rivers & Aggleton 1999: 3). This is mainly done by unmanly associations regarding the behaviour (MacPhail & Campbell 2001: 1620) which could be the ascription of female or homosexual attributes [s. 9.3.2, p. 104] to the person in question (WHO 2000: 16). It seems as if men feel more pressure in fulfilling certain expectations of them as men (MacPhail & Campbell 2001: 1625), whereas women seem not to be as exposed to such direct pressure as men (MacPhail & Campbell 2001: 1620). Interestingly, it seems as if women are more likely to question the traditional gender relations than men (WHO 2000: 17). It could be argued that a behaviour confirming the rules assists the personal life (Varga 2003: 163) and that there is a strong willingness to fulfil the expectations in order to be regarded as a man despite the knowledge about the risks combined with that kind of living (Barker & Ricardo 2005: 7). Alcohol and other substances do often make it easier to achieve certain expectations, e.g. talking women into sexual intercourse (Barker & Ricardo 2005: 42). Young men, who conform with the traditional picture of a man, are more likely to use alcohol and other substances (WHO 2000: 20). A study in Kwa-Zulu Natal found that a lot of young men wanted to stay abstinent up to their marriage but that they feared the social consequences of that behaviour (Barker & Ricardo 2005: 17). That corresponds with the finding that the delay of sexual contacts or even abstinence is not regarded as an alternative by young men (Barker & Ricardo 2005: 40). The unwillingness to engage in a stable relationship with a woman is often more stigmatised than the usage of unusual sexual practices (Rivers & Aggleton 1999: 5). Nevertheless, there are young people challenging traditional gender relations (MacPhail & Campbell 2001: 1617; Rao Gupta 2000b: 5) and there are young men trying to understand women’s problems in their day to day life (Barker & Ricardo 2005: 20). In that context, it has to be pointed out that fathers and other
male members of the family are important for the young men to develop a flexibility towards their own masculinity (WHO 2000: 17).

7.5.1. SUGAR DADDIES AND SUGAR MUMMIES

From a general perspective, women tend to have sexual partners who are older than they are and men tend to have sexual partners the same age or younger (BARKER & RICARDO 2005: 38). The term ‘Sugar Daddies’ describes older men who have sexual intercourse with younger women, mainly teenagers, in exchange for money, clothes, or better schools marks52 (ENZI 2001: 24; SCHÄFER 2005: 73). The motives for young men as well as for young women are mainly connected with financial interests which might either be used to support the family or they are used to fulfil certain demands for luxury (HIRSCHMANN 2003: 43, 2007: 270). Connected to the financial elements of these relationships, there is also another dimension which is shaped by the HIV pandemic: The older men decide to have sexual intercourse with younger women because they fear the relatively high possibility of an infection during unprotected sexual intercourse with women their age and therefore, they choose women with a lower possibility of being already infected (ENZI 2001: 13; MATLIN & SPENCE 2000: 10). This has several consequences: the young women are exposed to a higher possibility of an HIV infection and this puts their male peers of the same age at a higher risk too (BARKER & RICARDO 2005: 19). This in turn, leads to a lower number of potential sexual partners for the younger men. This phenomena is likely to increase the possibilities that young men engage in sexual intercourse with older women. These relationships are similarly constituted as the ones between older men and younger women which implies some kind of (financial) benefit in exchange for (sexual) services. This phenomena is described with the term ‘Sugar Mummies’. In this case, young men are put at a higher risk for an infection in the same way as their female counterparts engaging in sexual intercourse with older men (HIRSCHMANN 2003: 44). Finally, these developments promote the spread of HIV to different generations which is normally not the case because men as well as

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52 Some teachers used their superior position towards female pupils and made them clean their own house or made them have sexual intercourse with them in exchange for good marks. When the female pupils refused to do as their teachers wanted, they were punished in several ways and repeatedly (NIEHAUS 2000: 394/395). Despite the fact that public schools in South Africa changed the attitude of the young people towards sexuality in a time of the Apartheid with its crusted public sexual moral, male and female pupils were still not allowed to talk to or interact with each other (NIEHAUS 2000: 391). Nevertheless, the teacher had to accept that there always will be kinds of sexual interaction among the pupils as well as the pupils had to accept that teachers will have affairs with female students/pupils time and again (NIEHAUS 2000: 405).
women tend to engage in sexual relationships with people the same age (BARKER & RICARDO 2005: 39; HIRSCHMANN 2003: 88).

7.6. IMPLICATIONS FOR THE SECTION’S LEADING QUESTIONS

Closing the examination of HIV and AIDS and its impacts on gender relations as well as the impacts of gender relations on the personal vulnerability for an infection, the leading questions of this section will be answered briefly.

1. What increases the individual’s vulnerability of getting infected with HIV?

To sum the examination up, the vulnerability of men and women increases as a result of several factors. Regarding women, it is important to note that the majority of women still are economically dependent on their husbands (UNIADS & UNFPA & UNIFEM 2004: 41/42). They are expected to have sex with their husbands whenever the husbands desire as such. Women cannot refuse, as they are simply not strong enough to deny their husbands sex (RAO GUPTA 2002: 3), nor are they in the position to negotiate or to insist on safer sex (UNAIDS 1999: 15/16). Sexual violence also increases the chance of an HIV infection for women, as it is likely that the female sexual organ will be injured (ENZI 2001).

Regarding men, their vulnerability increases if certain elements are regarded as essential to being a man. These are mainly: to have many different sexual partners, to be experienced in sexual matters, to dominate women and not to show emotions. (RAO GUPTA 2002: 3). GUPTA (2002: 4) summarises: “[T]hese manifestations of traditional notions of masculinity are strongly associated with a wide range of risk-taking behaviour.”

2. Can these reasons be associated with certain perceptions of manhood?

The HIV problematic opens the view on masculinity as plural which is contrary to the view on masculinity as essential to a male human (BURJA 2002: 209). In turn, the plurality of masculinities leads the path to the perception of masculinities as a socially constructed gender identity (MORRELL 1998: 605; VOGELMAN 1990: 51 – 53).

Despite the wide range of the different reasons, it is relatively likely that the enhancement of the men’s vulnerability as well as the women’s vulnerability are strongly connected with male, female, and societal perceptions of manhood. The
general cultural setting, influences this development as well and it sometimes denies the possibility for change. Nevertheless, social and societal circumstances can change. An additional factor might be that the societies of Sub-Saharan countries are in a period of transition in which the traditional gender roles are no longer completely valid but in which new perceptions of gender roles have not been totally accepted (Barker & Ricardo 2005: 7 + 23; Enzi 2001: 19; Hirschmann 2003: 11,). This situation results in a conceptional uncertainty about gender roles and within this newly created space of uncertainty a lot of the reasons for an ineffective protection for HIV or the urge to have sexual intercourse with a woman even against her will are created or occur (Hirschmann 2003: 73).

3. Which circumstances/situations support these reasons?
It has been hypothesised that the reasons for a higher vulnerability for an HIV infection are created in the field of conflict between a ‘modern’ and a ‘traditional’ construction of manhood. Based on the argumentation of the section it is likely to assume that a lot of the reasons indeed occur during the possess of incorporating modern expectations into traditional values. That also applies by trying to incorporate traditional expectations into modern life style. If, for example, a man is forced to migrate somewhere in order to get a paid job and in order to feed his family, he still has the expectation of having sexual intercourse during his time away from home. The perception of ‘risk-taking’ behaviour as being manly, perceives the risk of getting an HIV infection as comparable to other risks, like fighting a lion. These and other examples given in this section show that a wide range of amplification factors for an HIV infection occur in the field of conflict between the two different constructions.

![Figure 14: “11th of May 2006 / At a press conference, he denies he said a shower could prevent HIV”, in Zapiro 2006: 96.](image)

This cartoon illustrates Zuma’s attempt to improve his reputation after the end of the trial.
8. **Third Chapter - Gender Violence and Rape**

8.1. **Introduction**

Another important element of the Jacob Zuma Trial was the subject of sexual violence in general and of rape in particular. This section will deal with this subject by focussing on the interrelations among gender relations, masculinity constructions, and the phenomena of sexual violence. The leading questions for this section, formulated at the end of the section about the Zuma Rape Trial, should be regarded as the background ideas for the examinations in this section:

1. Why do men rape women?
2. Are there certain elements of masculinity constructions that could be associated with these reasons?
3. What circumstances/situations support these reasons?

This section is similar in construction to the section about HIV and AIDS. Therefore, it starts with an overview on the situation of rape and sexual violence in South Africa [s. 8.2, p. 80], which is mainly based on official statistics or on estimations conducted by non-governmental organisations. In the next step, there will be a presentation of the different definitions of rape. This also includes an illustration of how the South African legal framework regarding rape and sexual violence has developed. The resources of this part mainly consist of official publications by the state and governmental committees and it is based on scientific publications dealing with that subject [s. 8.3, p. 81]. The next short part will give an impression on how sexual violence towards women is perceived. That will be done in order to create the background on which some of the findings of the following part can be better understood [s. 8.4, p. 84]. Finally, there will be a presentation of the different reasons why men rape women. In this context it will also be important to have a look at the social circumstances which might support, actively or passively, rape incidents. And an attempt will be made to outline connections between sexual violence and masculinity constructions. Some of the explanations using masculinity constructions to explain sexual violence, will be presented. That will be only the case if the framework trying to explain it focuses mainly on the explanation of sexual violence. More holistic frameworks will be found in the section about masculinity. The leading questions will, therefore, mainly be answered in the last part of this section [s. 8.5, p. 86].

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53 There is a strong connection between sexual violence and the possibility of an HIV infection. The chances of getting infected with HIV increase dramatically when the female has sexual intercourse without her consent. This is the case because the chances of injuries of the vagina increase when she is penetrated unwillingly and that in turn, increases the chances of a transmission of the HI-Virus.
A concluding summary of this section’s findings will be conducted by shortly answering the leading questions. On the one hand, this provides the relevant argumentation in a shorter form and, on the other hand, by answering the leading question the idea of the whole examination is brought back to the reader’s mind [s. 8.6, p. 92].

8.2. CURRENT SITUATION

South Africa, as a country not at war, has the highest number of rapes and of domestic violence in the world (Horowitz 2001: 241). According to official statistic, there are about 55,000 rapes involving a man raping a woman every year (Hirschowitz et al. 2000: 11). Non-governmental organisations say that there are about 1.6 million rapes in South Africa every year, but that the majority of them are not reported to the police (Kapp 2006). This number implies that approximately every third woman in South Africa will be raped at least once during her lifetime (Moffett 2006: 129).

Rape is one of the least reported crimes in South Africa but it has still the highest number of rape cases in the world (Niehaus 2005: 65). And it not just the numbers of sexual violence that are alarming, it is also the violent way in which they are done (Motsei 2007: 19). The majority of victims know their abuser personally (Pose 2005: 34) and rapists are in the most cases perceived by the society as being normal men (Vogelman 1990: 1). A study conducted by the Medical Research Council found that there is one woman killed by her intimate partner about every six hours (Kapp 2006). About 41% of the victims are younger than 12 years old (Hirschmann 2005: 289) which is also represented in the relatively high number of sexual abuses and harassments in South African schools (Human Rights Watch 2001: 1). While there might be a higher number of rape cases reported due to the end of the Apartheid system, this does not explain completely the high and increasing numbers of rapes and sexual violence toward women and children (Moffett 2006: 131/132).  

54 Other forms of rape, such as men raped by men or women raping men, will not be considered in this study because this is not the main form of rape in South Africa. And additionally, there would have to be other factors like power relations within communities that consist primarily of men (e.g., prisons or mine compounds) taken into account (Niehaus 2002).  

55 As the majority of rapists in South Africa are black, one point has to be made in order not to be viewed as a racist talking about rape in South Africa. The Zuma Rape Trial has to some extent strengthened the stereotype of the irresponsible African man (Robins 2006: 161). The mistake of most of the discussions about rape in South Africa seemed to have been that they focused on race and class instead of gender. The reproduction of the stereotype of the black man “lusting for forbidden white flesh” (Moffett 2006: 135) is counterproductive to examine the reasons for rape. Due only to a majority of black people in the South African society, is there a majority of black rapists (Moffett 2006: 135). Indeed, the majority of women are being raped by men of the same race (Jewkes & Abrahams 2002: 1234). The stereotype of the black rapist, who is looking for white women to rape, is another obstacle that does not only occur in South Africa. This perception leaves the situation within
In addition, the number of cases vary in the different regions of South Africa (Jewkes & Abrahams 2002: 1235). The situation regarding gender violence and rapes in South Africa could be described as a “gender civil war” (Moffett 2006: 130).

![Figure 15: “25th of September 2005 / Annual release of police crime statistics. Safety and Security Minister Charles Nqakula paints a rosy picture but the rape level has worsened.”, in Zapiro 2006: 7.](image)

8.3. Definitions of Rape

Before 1994 rape was defined as the unwillingly penetration of the woman’s sexual organ by a man’s penis. This definition excluded rapes within marriage, homosexual rapes as well as penetration of other parts of the female body, or by objects other than the male’s penis (Posei 2005: 24). This legal framework ignored the possibility of women being rapists (Vogelman 1990: 3). During the 1990s this definition did not change a lot, so that the South African Law Commission stated in 1999:

“According to our [South African] present law, rape consists in a man having unlawful intentional sexual intercourse with a woman without her consent. As was stated in the Issue Paper, ‘sexual intercourse’ presupposes penetration of the female sexual organ by the male’s penis. This precludes intercourse per annum, oral penetration and the insertion of foreign objects into the orifices of the body. The offence is gender specific in that it can only be committed by a man and the victim can only be a woman. There is an irrefutable presumption that a girl under 12 years old is incapable of consenting to sexual intercourse. There is no similar presumption in respect of the black communities completely out of the picture (Posei 2005: 26). An example that shows that the discussion about sexual violence sometimes is captured by racial stereotypes is the attack of Thabo Mbeki on an anti-rape activist because from his perspective this kind of work increases the racists stereotypes about black rapists (Robins 2006: 162).
boys under 12 years of age. The emphasis is based on the absence of valid consent by the woman.” (SOUTH AFRICAN LAW COMMISSION 1999: 67).

The elements of rape listed in the South African CRIMINAL LAW (SEXUAL OFFENCES) AMENDMENT BILL of 2003 include most of the critical points already mentioned. Following that definition, rape is no longer seen as gender-specific act only done by a man. It now includes same sex rapes, as well as rapes done by women, and that rape is still an unlawful and intentionally committed act. Furthermore, the penetration is no longer restricted to the female sexual organ or the use of the penis, whereby the penetration of any part of the person’s body by any kind of object is defined as sexual violation not as rape. The penetration of the victim’s mouth by a sexual organ is defined as an oral sexual violation. In contrast to the previous legal definitions of rape, this one includes the rape within marriage (CRIMINAL LAW (SEXUAL OFFENCES) AMENDMENT BILL 2003: 3/4). This Amendment Bill was discussed in South Africa for a while and was passed by parliament at the end of 2007. During the Zuma Rape Trial, the Amendment Bill had already been presented to the parliament but it had not passed. The new regulations will take effect during year 2008 (KHUMALO 2007).

Another form of rape is the so-called ‘gang rape’, whereby a number of men rape a woman. In this context rape is more a ritual than an act of sexual satisfaction (NIEHAUS 2005: 75). During a ‘gang rape’ every member of the gang has the possibility to show to the rest of the group that he is heterosexual and sexually potent. Very often these two characteristics are expected of a ‘real man’. It also occurs that younger members of the group, who might be younger in age or in membership to the group, offer their girlfriend to the group. Through this, the younger member shows his loyalty to the group (NIEHAUS 2005: 75). Members of such gangs often report that they were unable to resist the pressure of the group (JEWKES ET AL. 2006: 2953). And a lot of different male group associations entail a strong idea of masculinity which is hostile to femininity (JEWKES ET AL. 2006: 2958), which in turn, makes raping easier.

Regarding the fact that men knowingly want to show their heterosexuality, it is important to mention that it seems to be very common for heterosexual men to distinguish themselves from homosexual men. The fear of homosexuals, homophobia, seems to be a very important element in certain constructions of masculinity

56 Within male only communities this fear sometimes seems not to be present. In South African prisons, for example, it has been documented that men marry men (NIEHAUS 2002: 78) whereby one of
Within sports, for example, there has been found to be a high degree of homophobic attitudes which are used to maintain the Hegemonic Masculinity (Anderson 2002: 860). Homosexual athletes, on the one hand, reveal this behaviour but, on the other hand, are not able to change it, despite the fact that they fulfil the sportive expectations (Anderson 2002: 874). In terms of South Africa, homophobia denies the view on HIV as a heterosexual transmitted disease and homoerotic desire is interpreted as being un-African (Niehaus 2002: 77). Homosexuality seems to be the biggest challenge of the dominant heterosexual masculinity construction which denies the perception of the different masculinity constructions in return (Burja 2002: 216/217). A possible explanation for this kind of behaviour is provided by Schwanitz (2001) following his argument, it is the man who has to close his masculinity off from everything that is labelled to be female. Children in general are allowed to cry or to show emotions, whereby this is only possible for male children until their entrance into teen age[s. footnote 51, p. 74]. A male adolescent learns that he is different from his mother and that a lot of things surrounding him are associated with femininity. So he learns to define himself and his masculinity through dissociation with things defined as female. In this sense the man is a “not-woman” (Schwanitz 2001: 63–66). Using this framework, it becomes clear that some men feel uncomfortable regarding male homosexuals because they attack the way the man sees himself. And one of the only ways to get out of this attack is to strike back, using violence etc, as this kind of behaviour is strongly associated with being a (heterosexual) man. Schwanitz (2001) explains within his framework how rapists come into being: a rapist is unable to incorporate sexuality into his own life. He hates the woman for creating feelings of sexual desire inside him and additionally, he hates the woman for creating a feeling of guilt for his sexual desire them plays the role of the female part. This differentiation of roles is orientated on the traditional separation of roles within heterosexual marriages (Niehaus 2002: 84). Equally, same sex sexual intercourse in not on the fringes within male prison but it belongs to the normal life of a masculine prisoner (Niehaus 2002: 95).

57 Connell (1985, 1995) and Kimmel (1987) both incorporated homophobia into their theoretical construction of masculinity. For Connell, heterosexuality is one of the constitutive elements of the Hegemonic Masculinity, which in turn, results in homophobia. Kimmel, on the other hand, shows that homophobia is the main element of the U.S. masculinity construction. [For Connell s. 9.3.1, p. 100; for Kimmel s. 9.3.2, p. 104]

58 Kimmel's (1987) way of argumentation does correspond with the argumentation of Schwanitz (2001) [s. 9.3.2, p. 104].

59 This has been called a psychoanalytic approach in which it is assumed that the male child separates itself from its own mother. That leads to the definition of masculinity as not-feminine. The ideology of masculinity, therefore, is something that could never be accomplished. It has to be proven over and over again. This pressure of accomplishment is upheld by the outside world as well as by the individual man’s expectation of himself (MacKinnon 2003: 6/7).
inside him as well. So he punishes the woman for her sexuality. Therefore, a rapist often thinks that he is acting as a servant of morals (SCHWANITZ 2001: 210/211). Rape might also be defined as a male tool or method to keep women in a subordinate position in society. This becomes evident when looking more closely at the intentions of some men for raping women (ROBINS 2006). But especially in the context of ‘gang rapes’ this point gets stronger: in the process of raping a woman together with the peer group, the individual man proves and stabilises his manhood through degrading a female person. This works in two ways: on the one hand, it is an expression of the perception of manhood which had been trained in the peer group and, on the other hand, it stabilises the whole group in terms of the perception of their own manhood (HIRSCHMANN 2005: 298). Moffett (2006) argues that young men in townships and ghettos in South Africa learn their role within society from crime lords and drug dealers. The execution of sexual violence in general and of ‘gang rapes’ in particular are often used as initiation rituals in terms of how to be a man (MOFFETT 2006: 136) [s. footnote 51, p. 74].

8.4. PERCEPTIONS OF GENDER VIOLENCE AND RAPE

“Thus the greater the violence, the less awareness of violence there is likely to be.” (HEARN 1998: 202) One example for the sometimes problematic perception of rape and sexual violence is that 50% of 26,000 students of Johannesburg expressed their opinion that forced sexual intercourse is not the same as rape (KAPP 2006). It has been found that the more men and women confirm the traditional gender perception, the more sexual harassment or violence is denied or regarded as normal and acceptable behaviour (QUINN 2002: 388) and that, despite of the fact, that traditional gender relations also stress the perception of women as being more vulnerable than men (MATLIN & SPENCE 2000: 4). Women, who have been raped, are in danger of their reputation being damaged when their community learns about the incident. It is often assumed that the woman is contaminated after the rape (POSEL 2005: 28). Because the value of raped women decreases, they are less likely to be the first wives of their husbands. It is more likely for them to be married to someone, who already has several wives, and it is likely that such women are married to a man, with whom they do not want to be married (NKOSI, G. 2000: 50). Inevitably, this increases dramatically the vulnerability of repeatedly having sexual intercourse unwillingly with their own husband and of getting infected with HIV. Additionally, this shows that rapists are more con-
cerned about their status in relation to their male peers or within their social community than they are about the status of and the consequences for their victims (Niehaus 2005: 82).

It is often assumed that women are responsible for being raped (Jewkes et al. 2005: 1812/1813). From this perspective, men are seen as having an uncontrollable sexual desire and especially when they are aroused, it is not possible for them to stop themselves (Jewkes et al. 2005: 1814). Sometimes men justify their desire to rape a woman by assuming that women suggest that they are willing to have sexual intercourse. These men refer to certain clothes women are wearing or to certain behaviour which they believe indicates that the women are interested in having sexual intercourse [s. 6.2.1.3, p. 28]. Thus, the men claim they sometimes feel ‘forced’ to have sex with women as they seem to ask for it (Moffett 2006). This ‘argument’ has, though, one basic problem: The basis of any kind of ethical behaviour or ethical decision is the freedom of the will itself. Only if the will of a human being is free, is it able to make ethical decisions, otherwise, it is predetermined (Kant 1999: 77 or Kant 2000: 53/54).

This cartoon illustrates the moral code that might have been behind Zuma’s testimony and his reasoning in terms of the complainant’s willingness to engage in sexual intercourse with him. Therefore, this justification does not work in regard to rape. Only if a person does deny any kind of ability to state ethical opinions or views due to his or her lack of freedom of will, could this explanation be accepted.

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60 This simply might be, being sexual active or going out alone during the night (Jewkes et al. 2005: 1817).

61 During Zuma’s Rape Trial, he referred to some statements the woman made which made him think that she wanted to have sexual intercourse with him. He also interpreted her way of sitting in his study as a sign that she wanted to have sexual intercourse with him (Nkosi & Mabuza 2006i).
In the context of the Zuma Rape Trial, the perception of sexual violence in general and rape in particular played a role as well [s. 6.3.3, p. 42]. The opinion was mentioned that women in South Africa claim too often that they have been raped. Additionally, the strategy of the defence showed that women have somehow to prove that they were raped [s. 6.2.1.2, p. 24]. And in order to be believed, they have to show signs of resistance that are not expected of other crime victims.

“As a woman, she is expected to have prevented her attack by fighting him off. If we compare this to a hijacking, we find that potential victims are advised not to fight back but to hand over their car keys to the hijacker without any struggle, to avoid injury. This is irrespective of whether the hijacker and the victim are both strong men. Similarly, whilst laying a charge of robbery at a police station, a business owner is never quizzed to find out whether he fought back or if he quietly submitted to the ordeal. Evidence of fighting the robber by shouting, screaming or getting physical is not required as a precondition for laying a charge or the payment of an insurance claim.” (MOTSEI 2007: 20–21)

Therefore, Martin (2003) defines rape as “copulation resisted to the best of the victim’s ability unless such resistance would probably result in death or serious injury to the victim or in death or injury to individuals the victim commonly protects” (MARTIN 2003: 366). On the other hand, there is the problem that somehow the crime has to be proven which might imply that the woman has to show some sign of resistance. In contrast to the example with the car, there is nothing stolen that would be enough to prove that a crime took place.

8.5. **Reasons/Explanations for Gender Violence and Rape**

It has been found that the frequency of rape incidents is connected to the general level of violence within a society (JEWKES & ABRAHAMS 2002: 1239). All intentional acts such as the use of violence have to be understood in the context of the culture in which they occur (MARTIN 2003: 364). And sexual violence is not a kind of illness. It is a social phenomena and the reasons for it have to be examined within the social context in which they occur (JEWKES 2002: 1423). The membership of a certain social class does not inevitably result in a higher disposition towards the use of violence (WHO 2000: 47). But it has been found that young working class men tend to use a higher amount of gender violence towards their intimate partners than members of other social classes (WOOD & JEWKES 2001: 323). The level of women’s empowerment and the social appreciation of women are both important factors that protect women from intimate violence (JEWKES 2002: 1425). Men use violence more often towards their female partners than vice versa and this use of violence is often socially
accepted up to a certain degree (WOOD & JEWKES 2001: 319/320). Especially men are often socialised into a construction of masculinity that promotes the use of violence in general and towards women in particular (BARKER & RICARDO 2005: 15). Poverty and poverty related stress are key factors for the appearance of sexual violence (JEWKES 2002: 1424) but poverty is not necessarily a stress factor for masculine identities (JEWKES ET AL. 2006: 2958).

Violence is often regarded as a legitimate tool to solve problems (MORRELL 1998: 614) or even as a tool of social stabilisation (MOFFETT 2006: 132). Already within a violent parent’s house, children experience violence as a legitimate tool to solve problems (HIRSCHMANN 2007: 269). In this context, it has been found that men who have neither lived with their father nor with their mother during childhood are less likely to become sexually violent (JEWKES ET AL. 2006: 2957). But male children who are exposed to domestic violence learn that the use of violence against the female partner is acceptable. On the other side, a female child in that situation learns that as an adult she will have to endure the violence (JEWKES 2002: 1426). In this sense violence becomes normal so that some young men do not want to hurt the women they ‘just’ want to rape them (BARKER & RICARDO 2005: 15). The socialisation includes that the male perception of their own violence is often described as being rational, effective, and explosive, whereby they characterise the use of violence by women as hysterical, trivial, and ineffective (ANDERSON & UMBERSON 2001: 363). Therefore, men blame the women for their use of violence within a relationship (ANDERSON & UMBERSON 2001: 367). In a lot of cultures the use of male violence against women is not tolerated, nevertheless, the social costs of the usage of violence are very low if the violence remains to be underneath a certain social barrier (JEWKES 2002: 1426). Additionally, successful masculinity in the sense of the fulfilment of the socially accepted construction of masculinity is sometimes defined by being able to control one’s own wife or female partner. In that sense, the violence is perceived as being an expression of the man’s love for the woman (WOOD & JEWLES 2001: 324) and/or the violence is socially tolerated as a kind of discipline (WOOD & JEWKES 2001: 319/320).

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62 The consumption of alcohol generally increases the probability of any kind of violence between humans. But especially men think they are allowed to do everything when they are drunk (JEWKES 2002: 1425/1426).

63 Hearn (1998) describes male violence as a tool which is used in the context of patriarchy and that violence is used to achieve a certain effect. Therefore, men’s violence may be rational (HEARN 1998: 210). For a more detailed explanation see section 9.3.3, p. 105.
In terms of South Africa, Posel (2005) describes sexual violence as surrounded by a social secret which leads to abused women being pressured by their family members not to lay any charges against their abuser. This interacts with the differentiation between the public and the private sphere, whereby the state is solely responsible for the public sphere and this construction is often used as a justification not to deal with rape charges (POSEL 2005: 25 – 27). Going from that, she describes the four main elements of this social secret which are: (1) The silently assumed separation between the public and the private sphere, whereby the state is only responsible for the public sphere. (2) The assumption that rapists are unsocial and abnormal beings which leads to the perception of the rapist as the non personal evil. (3) The assumption that the harm of sexual violence is limited to the physical injuries and the psychological consequences are not considered. (4) Finally, sexual violence is perceived as being a marginal and superficial social problem which it is indeed not (POSEL 2005: 42 – 44).

This interacts closely with the perception of rapes as being a women’s problem (JEWKES ET AL. 2005: 1818). A high number of rapes changes the social atmosphere, which in turn, creates a constant feeling of being in danger. Even if the individual woman is not in a real danger of being raped, the high number of rapes create a condition of constant fear of being raped (VOGELMAN 1990: 28).

At the end of the Apartheid system, there was the societal space to discuss the secrets surrounding sexual violence (POSEL 2005: 55). The women’s rights movement in South Africa contributed a lot to that development. In addition, very drastic rape incidents made people think about the ability of the judiciary system to handle these problems and they revealed that sexual violence is one of the biggest challenges for the young South African democracy (POSEL 2005: 31 – 37).

The seeming existence of a connection between masculinity and the willingness of using violence often led to the simplistic assumption of a biological determinism regarding men as inherent violent (WOOD & JEWKES 2001: 317). Equally, the male dominance could not be justified by referring to biological differences between men and women (NKOSI, G. 2000: 49). Violence often is an element of male-female relationships and it is sometimes seen as the legitimate continuation of male dominance within the private sphere (BARKER & RICARDO 2005: 22). The ideology of male dominance legitimates the perception that the man has a right to have sexual intercourse with his female partner whenever he wants (NIEHAUS 2005: 70). This control reaches up to the determination of the conditions of the sexual intercourse by the
man, e.g. in terms of condom use, which nearly always include the expectations of men being active and of women being passive (WOOD & JEWKES 2001: 326). And violence is related to and legitimated through gendered practices and discourses (MORRELL 1998: 609) but this view on rape as an expression of the societal patriarchy fails to recognise that rapes often occur through the gap between the ideal gender construction and the lived gender relations (NIEHAUS 2005: 69/70). Thus, violence often seems to be a kind of compensation for men who feel or experience that they could not fulfil the socially expected masculine ideal (BARKER & RICARDO 2005: 29). The connection between violence and poverty might be established by referring to the masculine identity. This identity often consists of not specific terms, ideas, and values of honour. In this regard, the use of violence against women could be seen as the tool for the compensation for not achieving these specific ideals (JEWKES 2002: 1424). Therefore, it is likely to assume that rapes in South Africa are more an instrument of gender dominance than that they are the result of any kind of racial agenda (MOFFETT 2006: 134).

Another explanation of sexual violence which uses parallels to the Apartheid system is made by MOFFETT (2006), whereby she says explicitly that the suppression of the black population of South Africa for fifty years can not be used as an excuse in terms of sexual violence. On the contrary, the fixation on the race dimension does not open the view on “sexual violence [as] an instrument of gender domination [which] is rarely driven by a racial agenda” (MOFFETT 2006: 134). In analogy to the kind of behaviour of whites during the Apartheid system, Moffett (2006) analyses the reasons for some rapists to rape women. Regarding their black workers, white South Africans often mentioned that they liked all their workers despite the cheeky ones. These were defined as the workers who did not fully respect the authority of the whites. So they were, to some extent, more self-confident and their behaviour was interpreted as rebellious. The punishment for this kind of behaviour was beating etc. in order to show them their position within society (MOFFETT 2006: 138). This framework of interpreting behaviour seems to be used today as well, despite the fact, that it is now used in regard to women. Some rapist justify raping a woman by referring to the kind of behaviour the women showed which they interpreted as that she was asking for it. Consequently, they sometimes even feel forced to rape this kind of woman. This

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64 An additional explanation about the high level of violence in South Africa is given by Xaba (2001). That framework has a more holistic approach in order to explain the high level of willingness to use violence against the own people within the South African society. Therefore, a description will be found in the section about masculinities [s. 9.4.3, p. 113].
shows the same kind of interpretation as it had been described in the context of the relations between blacks and whites during the Apartheid system and it has the same function. It is meant to show the subordinate class or sex the right position in the society. Therefore, a majority of rape victims are women who show self-confident and independent behaviour (MOFFETT 2006: 139). In addition, there is a kind of antagonism within both kinds of relations. In both cases the seemingly dominating class or sex is dependent on the services provided by the subordinated class or sex. There were black servants, for example, caring for the white’s children and cleaning the household, as there are women cleaning the household and caring for the children nowadays. In order to maintain this construction, there is the need to some extent for use of violence towards the subordinated class or sex (MOFFETT 2006: 140).

In this context there are equal kinds of explanation for the use of sexual violence which refer to the element of the woman’s degradation. As studies have shown (MOFFETT 2006; NIEHAUS 2005), rapes are not only connected to the sexual desire of the rapist but they are also largely connected to a feeling of lack of control or power in general. For example, there have been rape cases reported where a man decides to punish an economically-independent woman for cheating on him by raping her teenage daughter. This he did because he was not able to punish the woman directly (NIEHAUS 2005: 80). Another case deals with a man, who broke into the homes of economically independent women, stole items from their houses, and raped them. These women were not chosen randomly. The rapist specifically targeted women, who showed qualities of independence, aiming to degrade them to the greatest degree possible. The man himself had been unemployed and may have felt that he could not reach the standards expected of him as a man (NIEHAUS 2005: 77). In this context, Silberschmidt (2001) found that the change of traditional roles in the society created a feeling of disempowerment for the men [s. 7.5, p. 69]. This change was expressed, for example, in an increase of the responsibility of women within the household or as the breadwinner of the family which is seen as a traditional male task. As a result, the men concentrated on seemingly manly behaviours such as multiple sexual partners and a more violent sexual attitude which does not necessarily end up in a rape (SILBERSCHMIDT 2001: 665/666).

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65 Independent of a person’s sex, the lost of the place of employment often creates a feeling of mortification and it sometimes even creates illnesses. If men regard it as their duty to provide for the family’s income, then the tendencies mentioned are being intensified by the lost of the job (GOLOMBERK & GOOSSES 2005: 35).
Societies in which men are urged to conquer sexually could be seen as societies promoting rapes (Vogelman 1990: 38) because the urge to conquer is an important element of each and every rape incident (Vogelman 1990: 64). The perception of the victim as a sexual object by the rapist is an important element of any rape which even might guarantee the pleasure for the men during the intercourse (Vogelman 1990: 69). This dehumanisation of women especially occurs in war zones where rape is used as a weapon against the civilians (Barker & Ricardo 2005: 44). Another form of sexual harassment (‘Girl Watching’ – Quinn 2002) mainly has the purpose of showing the belonging to the hegemonic construction of masculinity. But if the man overdoes the watching, then his behaviour is perceived as being childish by the other men. Additionally, this might show that it is indeed the woman who has the control and not the man (Quinn 2002: 395). “As a performance of heterosexuality among men, the target woman is primarily an object onto which men’s homosocial sexuality in projected” (Quinn 2002: 395). This male view of women as objects, blocks the understanding for the potential harm this behaviour might have for the women. On the community level, the men detect the need to ignore the woman’s feelings in order to confirm themselves with the expectation of the hegemonic masculinity. But on the personal level, the majority of men are able to recognise the potential harm of their behaviour (Quinn 2002: 397 – 399). Therefore, the contradiction between the individual understanding and the collective denial results from an act of intentional ignoring which is predetermined by the hegemonic construction of masculinity (Quinn 2002: 400). Even if the description of a society as promoting rapes might be a bit harsh, there is often a certain kind of sex drive associated with masculinity and sexual relationships with many different partners which is often acknowledged socially (Wood & Jewkes 2001: 320/321) [s. 7.5, p. 73].

All that interacts directly with the financial wealth of the man. If he wants to get married, he has to be able to pay the labola [s. 7.5, p. 69]. Therefore, a poor man is often not able to marry at all or to marry more than one woman. And that is directly reflected in their social status (Niehaus 2005: 67/68). Equally, all this interacts with the social status of the women which has to be seen as the main source for women’s vulnerability of getting raped or infected with HIV and other STDs (Jewkes et al.

66 In this regard it is important to mention that societies in which men are allowed to show a certain degree of fear, the level of violence is lower than in societies which do not allow that (Kimmel 2001: 35).
2005: 1818). There is a differentiation between the head and the body of the woman. The body belongs to the husband after the wedding and the head still belongs to the wife’s family (Niehaus 2005: 66). This economic dependence on the husband often forces women to accept the sexual violence they are experiencing (Vogelman 1990: 24). But this could not lead to the assumption that economical independence always protects women from being victims of sexual crimes (Jewkes 2002: 1424). Especially in rural areas, it is expected of the women that they take care of the household and their children, whereby the men are allowed to go to school or are being served by the women (Nkosi, G. 2000: 49).

8.6. IMPLICATIONS FOR THE LEADING QUESTIONS

The discussion of the perception of sexual violence as well as the reasons and motives to rape have revealed many different connections between the gender order and dominant masculinity constructions and the existence of sexual violence. The main elements of these findings shall be summarised by answering the leading questions.

1. Why do men rape women?

The diversity of reasons and motives for men to rape women indicates that all of them are directly connected with the level of the individual man’s conformity with the socially expected masculine ideals. It seems likely to conclude that men either feel disempowered in a certain area or they already belong to a certain group of men that would describe themselves as corresponding with the masculine ideal. The former compensates his feeling by stressing other parts of the masculinity construction and the latter expresses his assumed right.

2. Are there certain elements of masculinity constructions that could be associated with these reasons?

So, it seems as if the cause for the different reasons could be found in the specific masculinity construction. The kind of masculinity construction offers certain ways to deal with certain situations. Therefore, the use of violence is not something that belongs inherently to men. Violence is either socialised to be a legitimate tool for solving problems or it is socialised to be a legitimate tool for compensation.

3. What circumstances/situations support these reasons?

The actual circumstances in which the reasons occur, vary in a wide range. But it can be argued that these reasons are more likely to occur, the more the masculinity construction is put under pressure, either from the outside or from the inside. Outside
refers to external circumstances that can not be influenced directly by the man, e.g. the lost of the job or the change in the economical construction of the country. Inside is consequently described as the internal circumstances that might be influenced by the man himself, e.g. the power relations to other family members or the contribution to the household’s income. If for whatever reason the masculinity construction comes under pressure, that provokes reactions by the members of this construction. In order to compensate whatever might happen to the individual, he uses the tools given by the society. So, if violence is regarded as being a legitimate tool for problem solving, as well as being an appropriate tool for compensation, then violence is likely to be used. That does not necessarily result in violence towards other people or in sexual violence, but it is more then only possible that it might result in sexual violence at one point.

**FIGURE 17:** “9th of August 2006”, in ZAPIRO 2006: 136

This cartoon illustrates that although the women’s movement had a huge impact on the South African society, male violence is still a very serious problem in South Africa.
9. **FOURTH CHAPTER - MASCULINITIES**

9.1. **INTRODUCTION**

It is the aim of this section to give a good overview of the studies of masculinities. This is being done in order to gain a better understanding of some of the events during the Zuma Rape Trial, as well as to the reasons of men raping women, especially in regard to an HIV infection. Some of the explanations that use masculinity constructions have been named within the sections dealing either with sexual violence or with HIV. This section takes a look at more holistic theoretical approaches, which either try to explain masculinity as a worldwide phenomena or try to explain the creation of a certain kind of masculinity within in a certain temporal context.

Therefore, this section is structured into the five subsections. Firstly, definitions of masculinity will be brought into focus. So far this has been avoided in this Thesis. Although this part will not provide one final definition of masculinity, it will offer insights on different aspects of masculinities. The literature consists mainly of scientific studies about masculinities which refer to certain elements that define the term [s. 9.2, p. 95]. Secondly, influential theoretical frameworks about masculinities will be presented. These are mainly the framework of Robert Connell [s. 9.3.1, p. 99], Michael Kimmel [s. 9.3.2, p. 103], and Jeff Hearn [s. 9.3.3, p. 105]. They are the most influential researchers in the field of masculinity studies. Therefore, the literature consists of their publications about masculinity. In order to give a holistic overview of their work and in order to be able to present the framework in their development, a majority of their publications since the 1980’s have been used. [s. 9.3, p. 99].

Thirdly, there will be a discussion of the masculinity constructions in the context of South Africa. This is conducted in a different section than the other theoretical framework in order to point out the focus of this Thesis on South Africa. And also because, the theoretical framework in section 9.3 is an attempt to build a general framework about masculinity, whereas in this part the focus will be on the specific circumstances in South Africa and how they have impacted the masculinity constructions there. The literature for this examination mainly consists of scientific studies dealing with different aspects of South African masculinity constructions [s. 9.4, p. 108]. The fourth part of this sections deals with masculinity and violence. This has been part of the discussion already in terms of sexual violence. But in this part some additional considerations will be mentioned about this subject which belong more in a theoretical section about masculinities. This is based on studies dealing with the
connection between masculinity constructions and the use of violence. In contrast to the section about sexual violence and rape [s. 8, p. 79], the aspects mentioned here will refer more to overall theoretical construction of masculinity in relation to the use of violence than to actual use of violence [s. 9.5, p. 116]. The last part will examine shortly a relatively new field within the studies on masculinities: globalisation and its interrelation with masculinity constructions. Although this might not directly be connected with the subject of this Thesis on the first view, the additional global perspective could help to understand some of the masculinity constructions and some of the reactions by men to changes in the social expectations. Because is a relatively new field, the basis of literature is mainly taken from R. Connell and M. Kimmel, who have started working on these kinds of interrelations [s. 9.6, p. 118].

This section will not be concluded by summarising the important findings of this sections. In contrast to the other sections, there will not be an answering of the leading questions for this section:

1. What behaviours, opinions, and actions have been explained by referring to a construction of masculinity?
2. What kind of (theoretical) frameworks/explanations are there that may explain the findings from question 1?

This change of method is necessary because the presentation of different theoretical perspectives on masculinity is meant to be the last part of the basis for the final discussion about the hypothesis.

9.2. DEFINITION OF MASCULINITY/MASCUlINITIES

“Masculinity is implanted in the male body, it does not grow out of it.”
(CONNELL 1989: 195)

All known societies have the differentiation between men and women (MACKINNON 2003: 3). The anthropologist Mead challenged the Western understanding that male and female are inherent characteristics of humans by examining the gender relations of other cultures (GUTMANN 1997: 388). The characteristics associated with men and women change over time and between cultures (CONNELL 2002: 92). Therefore, gender studies in general can not afford to be a-historical (CONNELL 2003: 371; similar KIMMEL 1987b: 291). Although there are some conformances between cultures and

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67 Despite the anthropologic examination of men, this did not lead to an examination of men as men (GUTMANN 1997: 385). But these studies found that even if the gender construction of different cultures might be extremely different, the relationship between men and women is very often characterised by inequality between the two (GUTMANN 1997: 397).
within cultures over time, this does not answer the question whether gender relations are natural\textsuperscript{68} or socialised (MACKINNON 2003: 3). Especially the Queer Theory opened the view on gender identities as performed identities (MACKINNON 2003: 5). Despite the different cultural definitions of men, there are six characteristics of men that can be found in many different cultures: (1) a restrictive emotionality, (2) a socialised control and power, (3) homophobia, (4) restricting sexual behaviour (for men as well as for women), (5) an obsession with achievements and accomplishments, and (6) health problems (WHO 2000: 20).

Within the discussion on masculinities, it is often assumed that being a man equals having a penis and/or that the studies on men could only be conducted by men (GUTMANN 1997: 403). Presumably, the constructions of masculinity and of femininity are culturally mutable and beliefs about sexuality and sexual practices are formed on the background of the social context (GUTMANN 1997: 390).

“[M]asculinity can be seen as anything that men think and do; anything that men think and do to be men; or anything that some men possess inherently or through ascription that sets them apart as more manly than other men” (KOMETSI 2004: 20).

Masculinity is often defined by using elements like age, status of marriage, and generation. This would mean that these elements also define how manly a man is seen (BURJA 2002: 224). Equally, masculinity could be seen as a collective gender identity which is not an individual’s natural attribute. In that sense, race and class become the main constitutive elements of the masculinity construction (MORRELL 1998: 607; WHO 2000: 8) and age is a tool of interpreting these different elements (MORRELL 2001: 8). Masculinity is often defined by referring to what it is not. That includes first and foremost homosexuality and femininity (MACKINNON 2003: 7) [s. 9.3.2, p. 104], which in turn, either leads to a rejection of femininity or strengthens it (KOMETSI 2004: 20; WHO 2000: 16). Therefore, masculinity does not ever exist by itself, it is always formed in relation to femininity and that within the overall context of the current gender relations (CONNELL ET AL. 1989: 589). There are four ways to define masculinity: Masculinity is (1) all that what men do; (2) all that what men do and think to be a man; (3) more present within some men in contrast to other men; (4) mainly not feminine when looking at masculinity from a male-female perspective (GUTMANN 1997: 386).

\textsuperscript{68} There can be found some biological indications for the differences between men and women but they do not explain the great differences either in terms of the different social behaviour of men and women or in terms of the different gender relations (MACKINNON 2003: 3).
„In all cases, masculinities are constructed in relation to femininities and express the multiple ways in which gender identity is articulated through a gender order, in which gender is not only a property of individuals but a process of institutions and a dynamic of power relations between groups.” (KIMMEL 2001: 23)

Within other fields of science, such as anthropology or history, different kinds of masculinity definitions exist but never have men as men been the subjects of these sciences. They equalled men with the standard human being. Nevertheless, their findings have to lead to the perception of masculinities as changeable over time and socially constructed (KIMMEL 2001: 22).

„If the term ‘men’ links closely to biological sex and ‘male’ describes the traits, characteristics and attributes typically shared by ‘men’ within a given culture, ‘masculinity’ is far more complex. It is, simultaneously, a place in gender relations; the practices through which men and women engage that place in gender; and the effects of these practices for bodily experience, personality and culture (Connell 1995). Importantly, as Eve Kosowsky Sedgwick has suggested, both women and men are the producers, consumers and performers of masculinities (Sedgwick 1995). Women no less than men are implicated in the construction and reproduction of existing gender relations, and the expectations and opportunities to which these give rise.” (MANE & AGGLETON 2001: 31)

A definition of masculinity, which is the task for this section, seemingly needs to imply at least four points: (1) Masculinities are plural. Meaning that there are different constructions of masculinity within certain defined entities, like regions, communities, or nations. Therefore, it has to be talked about masculinities and not about masculinity (MACKINNON 2003: 11). (2) Masculinities are collective which refers to the fact that collectives, like communities or nations, possess a collective idea or ideal about masculinity. (3) Masculinities are actively constructed. Although masculinity is often seen as being a natural attribute to a man, they are actively constructed and shaped by social expectations, which in turn, they should fulfil. (4) Finally, masculinities are dynamic. Their constructions change over time and are adjusted to new social circumstances (RIVERS & AGGLETON 1999: 3; the last point is also mentioned by MORRELL 2001: 4; MACKINNON 2003: 10). This directly implies that masculinities can not be regarded as constantly belonging to a certain group of men (MORRELL 2001: 7). Generally, all these points imply that evaluation of being a man is conducted by the other or in the perception of others (BARKER & RICARDO 2005: 4). And studies conducted so far, suggest that there are far more differences within the sexes than between them (WHO 2000: 15).

Gender studies up until now, have concentrated on the condemnation of male behaviour but generalisations about men could only be conducted carefully (BARKER &
This might have also been the case because feminist studies were feared of focusing the attention on men by deconstructing them instead of having the focus of attention on women (Mackinnon 2003: 8). A generalising, and mainly negative, perspective on African men obstructs the possibility to analyse masculinity constructions in their differences. This just allows the recognition of the women’s subordinated position towards men (Morrell 2001: 3). From time to time, African men are additionally either presented as being criminally intended (Barker & Ricardo 2005: 2) or they are perceived as being inherently ‘ill’ or promiscuous (Hunter 2005: 140). These stereotypes might result in the perception of men as individualistic and only caring about their own problems. In this regard, women are often described as only being hard working and as only oriented at the common good (Rivers & Aggleton 1999: 2). The generalisations of masculinity constructions denies the perspective on the heterogeneity of male humans (WHO 2000: 7). Especially young men often construct different and multi-faceted cultural identities (Barker & Ricardo 2005: 37). In this context, it has to be pointed out that a concentration on men is not meant to stop women’s empowerment (Mane & Aggleton 2001: 30). Equally, the empowerment of women does not include that men’s power automatically decreases (Rao Gupta 2000b: 7).

The differences that definitely exist between men and women are based (1) on different cultural and economical positioning, (2) on the uneven access to material and cultural resources, (3) on the different and uneven relationship to the consumption and the profit of material goods, and (4) on the different and uneven access to political decision processes (Kimmel 2001: 21). The change of gender perceptions has to be accompanied by a fundamental respect towards men which does not automatically imply a respect for all the actions they take (Kaufmann 2001: 39). Therefore, it is important to incorporate two dimensions: On the one hand, the equality of the two genders has to be notified and, on the other hand, the specific needs of the genders have to be kept in mind too (Rao Gupta 2000a: 5, 2000b: 4; WHO 2000: 69).

Patriarchy, as it describes male powers within given societies, has to be separated into the public and the domestic patriarchy. The former structures the institutional arrangements of a given society and the latter structures the emotional and familial arrangements. These two possibilities of men’s control are varying constantly and it has not been found that the development of one is in any way contingent on the other (Kimmel 1991: 23).

The discussion about men’s powers is also linked to the invisibility of masculinity, as Kimmel called it, which means that male expectations/perceptions are not recognised as such but as being neutral standpoints. This invisibility has enormous political dimensions when it comes to public discussions (Kimmel 2001: 21). The concept of the invisibility will be explored in more detail in section 9.3.2, p. 103.
This approach could also pick up perceptions in which it is impossible to create a completely equal relationship between men and women within the household. This is especially important because the household has been regarded by men and by women as the place in which a completely equal relationship between the two sexes is not possible (Horowitz 2001: 238).

9.3. Theoretical Frameworks about Masculinities


Connell developed the main ideas for his concept of Hegemonic Masculinity in 1985 together with Tim Carrigan and John Lee. Using the findings of feminist critique on masculinities and the findings of the research on gay communities, they argued for a more detailed view of masculinities and their relations among them because homosexual men experienced marginalisation despite the fact that they are male. Thus, this detailed view includes that there are forms of domination within the constructions of masculinity within one given society. Consequently, that revealed that it is not the male role which is in power in the society. There are certain interrelations of subordination between different constructions of masculinity. The dominant definition of masculinity subordinates other kinds of masculinity if they do not incorporate certain basic elements of the Hegemonic Masculinity (Carrigan et al. 1985: 587). This domination of one masculinity over another or several others is best described with the term ‘hegemony’ (Carrigan et al. 1985: 592). But this kind of hegemony does not refer to a “total cultural dominance” (Connell 1987: 184) or even “totalitarian dominance” (Connell 2002: 95). It describes the possibility of a certain group of men to define the meaning of masculinity in a hegemonic sense (Connell 1987: 184).

Three main elements of Hegemonic Masculinity were mentioned by the authors and are still important: (1) The group of men corresponding to the hegemonic construction of masculinity might be small. (2) Although not all men suppress women, the majority of men profits from the overall subordination of women (also mentioned by Mackinnon 2003: 10). The subordination of women is a main axis for the construction of Hegemonic Masculinity. (3) The other main axis is the heterosexual orientation of Hegemonic Masculinity71. (Carrigan et al. 1985: 593). Following from their perspective on gender relations, Carrigan et al. (1985) argue “that masculinities

71 As Anderson (2002) found in terms of homophobia in sports, it is used as a kind of resistance against homosexual subcultures and as a protection of the patriarchy including a conservative understanding of masculinity (Anderson 2002: 861).
are constructed not just by power relations, but by their interplay with a division of labor and with patterns of emotional attachment” (CARRIGAN ET AL. 1985: 591). The element of symbolism has been added to this three categories of the constructions of masculinity by Connell in the further development of this theory (CONNELL 2000: 24, 2002: 55 - 68).

The next step in the development of the concept of Hegemonic Masculinity was conducted by Connell in ‘Gender and Power. Society, the Person and Sexual Politics’ (1987). In this text he adds the theoretical exploration of femininity to the thoughts on masculinity. With the term ‘Emphasized Femininity’ he focussed on the construction of femininity in relation to masculinity. In that sense, femininity is a performance of femininity to men in the overall context of the subordination of women (CONNELL 1987: 186 - 188). In addition, emphasized femininity is organized in the adaptation of men’s power and it emphasizes aspects of the private life/realm. Interestingly, Connell conducts the relations between different kinds of femininity through relations of marginalization rather than of subordination as it has been the case in the relation between different kinds of masculinity (CONNELL 1987: 188). The important point seems to be that in the perspective of Connell neither masculinity nor femininity exists without the counterpart. Both are constructed in the relation of the one to the other (CONNELL 1995: 68).

Connell’s book, *Masculinities* (1995), provides the complete concept of Hegemonic Masculinity including the naming of other kinds of masculinity and their relation to femininity. An important assumption of Connell and other authors is that both femininity and masculinity are socially constructed and therefore, both have to be seen as gender projects and/or gender practices (CONNELL 1995: 72). To the relation of hegemony and subordination, which had already been mentioned in 1985, Connell adds the relation of marginalisation. Therefore, he could formulate four different kinds of masculinity which have a hierarchy among them. The Hegemonic Masculinity defines the socially accepted construction of masculinity and to this construction men as well as women have to position themselves. Additionally, the subordination of women and heterosexuality are the two main axis of Hegemonic Masculinity (CONNELL 1995: 77). Constructions of masculinity, which do not correspond completely with the Hegemonic Masculinity without actively rejecting the two main axis of Hegemonic Masculinity, are named ‘complicit’. Accepting the patriarchal order of the society without fighting for its maintenance actively, these constructions of masculinity
are complicit to the Hegemonic Masculinity (Connell 1995: 79). The subordination of groups of men is based on the two main axis of the construction of Hegemonic Masculinity. Therefore, men who are not heterosexual, for example, are subordinated by the Hegemonic Masculinity because that is not conform with the dogma of heterosexuality (Connell 1995: 78). In contrast to this, the marginalisation of certain constructions of masculinity depends on the authorization of the hegemonic masculinity. This marginalisation could be rooted on the ethnic background of certain groups of men. And although they might fulfil all expectations of the Hegemonic Masculinity itself, the ethnic background is not accepted by the representatives of the Hegemonic Masculinity (Connell 1995: 81).

As this understanding of masculinity and their relationships among each other has been a very influential framework in the analysis of masculinity and in the field of Critical Men’s Studies (CSM), Connell uses the ‘10th anniversary’ of his concept to deal with critiques mentioned by other authors. All together Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) list seven different kinds of critiques which had been brought forward to the concept of Hegemonic Masculinity (Connell & Messerschmidt 2005: 836 – 845). At the end of this review, the authors indentify elements of the concept which should be rejected, which should be reformulated, and which should be retrained. From their point of view it had been accepted that (1) “[t]he fundamental feature of the concept remains the combination of the plurality of masculinities and the hierarchy of masculinities” (Connell & Messerschmidt 2005: 846), that (2) “the hierarchy of masculinities is a pattern of hegemony, not a pattern of simple domination based on forced” (Connell & Messerschmidt 2005: 846), that (3) the number of men confirming to the ideal of the Hegemonic Masculinity might be relatively small, and that (4) the masculinity constructions are historically constructed

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72 In this regard, a study conducted by Yeung et al. (2006) about homosexual fraternities is a good example of how Hegemonic Masculinity works and how masculinity construction might entail many different elements. U.S. American student fraternities create a construction of masculinity which is orientated on Hegemonic Masculinity. This construction is based on a higher validation of men over women. The members of these fraternities use sexual jokes to devalue women and to strengthen their community. Some of them even establish a kind of “rape culture” (Yeung et al. 2006: 6). In this perspective the man is created by stigmatising homosexuals and by the demarcation of women. These two factors are also seen as being constitutive for the maintaining of the fraternity as a whole. Marginalised men sometimes tend to incorporate some of the hegemonic behaviours in order to compensate their status (Yeung et al. 2006: 7/8). The study about a homosexual fraternity found (1) that women were still perceived as being different, (2) that despite the questioning of many traditional rules of fraternities the one-sex-only has never been questioned by the members of the homosexual fraternity, and (3) that femininity was performed by the members in a playful matter which did not need any kind of engagement by women but which, nevertheless, allowed the members to question and challenge the traditional gender perception by heterosexual fraternities (Yeung et al. 2006: 25).
The authors reject the idea that “all masculinities (and all femininities) [are located] in terms of a single pattern of power, the ‘global dominance of men over women’” (Connell & Messerschmidt 2005: 846/847). It is diagnosed by the authors that the concept of Hegemonic Masculinity has too often been used to form a fixed character type, whereby it was never meant to be that way (Connell & Messerschmidt 2005: 846/847). Finally, the authors propose to change four elements of the concept in order to apply to the findings. Firstly, the view on the gender hierarchy should be changed because the concept “needs to incorporate a more holistic understanding of gender hierarchy” (Connell & Messerschmidt 2005: 848) which might provide better explanations for some kinds of change within the hegemonic masculinity construction (Connell & Messerschmidt 2005: 847/48). Secondly, the interrelations between the constructions of masculinity on a local, a regional, and a global level have been taken more into consideration because the concept so far has just concentrated on one certain level and not on the interactions between them (Connell & Messerschmidt 2005: 849).

Thirdly, the relation of the hegemonic masculinity construction to the men’s body has been incorporated into the understanding of the construction itself. In this sense, “we need to understand that bodies are both objects of social practice and agents in social practice” (Connell & Messerschmidt 2005: 851). Fourthly, the dynamics within the masculinity constructions have to be stressed even more than it has been done so far. This should also open the view for the fact that contradictions within masculinity constructions are existent and explainable (Connell & Messerschmidt 2005: 852).

The dominant (or hegemonic) constructions of masculinity do not only have impacts on the relations between men and women, they also create inequalities among men (Rivers & Aggleton 1999: 3). Therefore, the phenomena of subordination is an important part of the examinations of masculinities (Komtesi 2004: 21). Connell’s framework contributed to the rejection of the sex role framework, to a more dy-

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73 This framework assumed that biological males and females are socialised into certain roles which they have to fulfill in the society. These roles are fixed and can not be changed. This framework has been criticised for being too static and for missing the fact that masculinity and femininity are constructed in relation to one another (Kimme 1987a: 12/13). “A sex-role framework appears to posit temporally and spatially fixed behaviours as normative; the central concern to the sociologist of gender is the social construction of masculinity and femininity” (Kimme 1987b: 280). Another important critique was that the sex role framework did not provide the opportunity for the existence of other kinds of masculinity different from the male sex role. As gay scholars found, male homosexuals are being discriminated against despite the fact that they are males. That led to the view that there are
namic understanding of masculinities (MORRELL 1998: 606), and to a more detailed examination of young men’s socialisation (WHO 2000: 8). This is mainly due to the fact that this framework clarifies the different kinds of dominance among masculinities and that it incorporates a dynamic into the examination of masculinities (MORRELL 1998: 608/609). Hegemony in Connell’s framework means the power to define certain traits or behaviours as natural/normal and as not natural/normal. And the socially constructed nature of these assumptions is often not clear to the people referring to them (MACKINNON 2003: 9). Additionally, hegemony regulates the male power over women and it contributes differently to the different kinds of masculinity. Upholding the hegemony, does not require the use of brutal force (MORRELL 2001: 9). But not all men possess power and that not all who possess power are men (RIVERS & AGGLETON 1999: 4). The phenomena of externalisation [s. 7.4.1, p. 66], as it has been described in the context of HIV, also applies partly in terms of the construction of Hegemonic Masculinities. The construction is often grounded on the separation from the ‘others’, who are inferior to the dominant masculinity construction. This, for example, applies for the process of colonisation in which both sides constructed their masculinity in opposition to the other by marking the trait of the other as bad or evil (KIMMEL 2001: 24/25). The relationship is one of the motives to deal with the interrelation between globally acting masculinities and locally or regionally constructed masculinity identities as it will be described in the section about masculinities and globalisation [s. 9.6, p. 118].

9.3.2. MASCULINITY AS HOMOPHOBIA - MICHAEL S. KIMMEL

Like Connell, Michael Kimmel sees gender relations, masculinity, and sexuality as social constructions (KIMMEL 1987a: 12, 1990: 97). Derived from the feminist perspective on gender as invisible, Kimmel concludes that especially men as men are invisible in contemporary Western industrialised societies. This is based on the observation that men in general and male behaviour in particular are often perceived as the (unquestioned) standard and not as a certain configuration of gender practice (KIMMEL & MASSNER 1989: 4). “[M]en understood through the prism of gender” (KIMMEL & MASSNER 1989: 1) opens the perspective on men as gendered beings which are made and not born (KIMMEL & MASSNER 1989: 10). Based on these assumptions, it becomes clear that “[t]he meaning of masculinity varies from culture to

different kinds of masculinity and that there is a hierarchy between them (CARRIGAN ET AL. 1985: 578 – 589).
culture […] [and] also […] within any one culture over time” (Kimmel & Massner 1989: 11). In contrast to the sex role framework which produced a static view on men and masculinities and which tended to associate stereotype traits to femininity and masculinity (Kimmel 1987a: 13), the perspective of the social construction of gender identities, especially masculinities, allows the incorporation of variations of masculinities over time, between cultures, among men, and over the man’s personal lifetime (Kimmel & Massner 1989: 11/12).

Referring to the male sexual script [s. 7.5, p. 75] in the contemporary United States of America, Kimmel observes that traits associated with masculine identity have to be proven over and over again. Aspects like heterosexuality or physical strength have to be shown to the other male humans in order to ensure being perceived as man by the other men as well as the community (Kimmel 1990: 100). Based on this observation, Kimmel (1994) identifies Homophobia as the main element in the construction of masculinity in the United States of America. As manhood has to be proven over and over again in order to be perceived as man and not as a woman (Kimmel 1994: 127), the construction of masculinity has to be defined as the active differentiation from the feminine (Kimmel 1994: 126) [s. 8.3, p. 83]. Orientating on Freud’s analyses, the main event in the development of a young boy is the recognition of the mother’s body as basically different to the young boy’s body which leads in turn to a definition of masculinity/manhood through “the renunciation of the feminine” (Kimmel 1994: 127). But this definition of masculinity is weak and has to be proven over and over again. Therefore, the baseline feeling within this construction is fear. The fear of not being perceived as a man (Kimmel 1994: 129). Male homosexual desire, similar to female sexual desire, is directed towards the male body. The nature of male homosexual desire in combination with the fear of not being perceived as a man and the active renunciation of the feminine, leads to homophobia in order to suppress any kind of homoerotic desire among men (Kimmel 1994: 130). Therefore, homophobia is the constitutive element of masculinity in the United States of America and sexism, as well as sexual violence, are rooted in the same kind of attitude (Kimmel 1994: 133).

The invisibility of men as men and the usage of the male sex as the (unquestioned) standard sex has other major implications for the contemporary societies in the Western industrialised countries. Using this standard sex creates a situation in which the differences between men and women as well as the domination of men over
women is constantly reproduced (Kimmel 2000: 12 + 16). Assuming a symmetry between the public and private sphere, feminist theorists have argued that men as a group are in power and, therefore, that individual men are in power too. But, as Kimmel argues, this perspective does not conform with the personal experiences of many men, who do not feel to be in power at all (Kimmel 1994: 136). Related to this argument, for Kimmel “gender is as much a property of institutions as it is part of our individual identities” (Kimmel 2000: 94). He argues that certain positions within organizations and institutions require characteristics which are associated with male behaviours/traits. An academic career, for example, requires constantly working on papers, thesis, and dissertation in order to get a reputation at the age from 20 to 40. This is hardly compatible with the biological cycle of women wanting to have children. The apparent neutrality of organizations, therefore, is a vehicle for the reproduction of the traditional gender system and rooted in the invisibility of men as men (Kimmel 2000: 95 – 99). In this context, Collinson and Hearn (2005) refer to the concept of multiple masculinities in order to describe the masculinity construction within organizations, e.g. the workplace (Collinson & Hearn 2005: 298). They conclude that the two dimensions of hegemony and multiple raise important questions about the structure of work and organizations. But still there are some conceptual problems left that need to be solved. These are mainly that “the conceptualisation of ‘masculinity/ies’ requires further clarification” (Collinson & Hearn 2005: 304), that the relations of masculinities to other elements like power, culture, and subjectivity need to be more incorporated, and that the changes within organizations and management need to be empirically and theoretically underlined (Collinson & Hearn 2005: 304/305).

9.3.3. Hegemony of Men - Jeff Hearn

Like Connell and Kimmel, Jeff Hearn, British sociologist, follows the conception of the social construction of masculinities (Hearn & Morgan 1990a: 9) and, as well, he adopts the idea of the invisibility of men as formulated by Kimmel (Hearn & Morgan 1990a: 7) [s. 9.3.2, p. 103]. For him this invisibility of men as men becomes visible in many different fields of science in which men might be researched but the socially constructed nature of their masculinity does not come into focus (Hearn & Collinson 1994: 97). At the beginning of his thoughts about the research on masculinities, he states that the studies on masculinities “ha[ve] to be conducted in con-
nection and not antithesis to the mass of men” (HEARN 1987a: 3). This is necessary because the researchers on men and masculinities, at least some of them, belong to this mass of man. In addition, this opens the view for the (probably contradictory) relationship between researcher and researched 74 (HEARN 1987b: 13). He explicitly rejects the idea of men as a class in the sense of Marxian theory because the members of a class in the terms of Marx have the possibility to change their belonging to one class (individually and collectively). Men do not have this possibility (HEARN 1987a: 3). But he contests the Marxian Theory as a great potential to analyse the structure of patriarchy and the explanation of the (re)production of relations in contemporary Western industrialised societies (HEARN 1987b: 185). More explicitly than the other authors discussed in this section so far, Hearn specifies four different relations of men and masculinities to social divisions, of which the division of labour would be one example. For him men and masculinities are not only social divisions themselves and formed by them, they are also forming other social divisions and they are forming social entities which replicate and underpin social divisions (HEARN & COLLINSON 1994: 105).

In contrast to Connell (1985, 1995, 2005), Hearn argues for a different perspective on men and masculinities which should “address the double complexity that men are both a social category formed by the gender system and dominant collective and individual agents of social practice” (HEARN 2004: 59). From his perspective Connell’s concept of Hegemonic Masculinity only concentrates on the social category of men and not on the individual experiences and daily life of men (HEARN 2004: 59). As he had stated earlier (HEARN 1987b), the personal and the political are indispensable elements of theoretical thought connected to men and masculinities (HEARN 1987b: 11). The ‘Hegemony of Men’ (HEARN 2004) incorporates the two perspectives of men being formed by hegemonic gender relations and forming hegemonic gender relations (HEARN 2004: 61).

Another important work of Jeff Hearn is his examination of *The Violence of Men* (1998). This is not only important for an understanding of his work but also useful as

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74 „The major task of men’s studies is the development of a critique of male practice“ (HEARN 1987a: 5; similar in HEARN 1990b: 204). It has to be taken into account that Jeff Hearn specifies this as the main task of men’s studies, whereby it has to be asked if this formulation does not lead to a predetermined conclusion for any kind of studies on men’s practices. It could be argued that at this point Hearn does the second step before the first one: The first step should be an analysis of men’s practices and if the analysis disclose harmful practices (to other men, women and/or the men themselves), then these should be critiqued. But to define the critique of men’s practices as the major task of men’s studies before even knowing what these practices exactly are and whether they are harmful or not, corsets the perspective of the researcher and the researched in an inadequate way.
an additional way of explaining men’s violence. Within a patriarchal society, violence is not just a given structure but a process and tool to maintain and to express the men’s domination over women (HEARN 1998: 209). Following his argumentation about the hegemony of men, the individual’s gender experience consists of two main parts: the individual’s life experience and experience of being a member of a collective like the mass of men (HEARN 1998: 205). The use of violence as a form of men’s power over women and simultaneously as a tool to maintain this power, results from the societal structures. And this implies that men’s violence is often perceived as being rational. Indeed, it could be regarded as such because men might use only the amount of violence that enables them to uphold their own power (HEARN 1998: 210 – 213). And most importantly, the use of violence creates spaces for action for the user. For example, violence enables the person who uses it to control the space of the violated person (HEARN 1998: 214/215).

“Most important, the use of space that occurs in and through violence is a basic form of existence in itself, and not just a reflection of some other determinant of behaviour, such as social role, or some other measure of behaviour, such as the use of time.” (HEARN 1998: 215)

Connell (1989) argues similarly by saying that violence is a process that separates different masculinity constructions from each other. Additionally, violence could not be seen as only being an isolated individual act (CONNELL 1989: 198). It is institutionalized by the state which may become “the vehicle of calculated violence based on and using hegemonic masculinity” (CONNELL 1989: 198).

**FIGURE 18:** “9th of March 2006 / Outside court, Zuma supporters burn pictures of his rape accuser, shouting ‘Burn the Bitch’. Zuma stirs it up with his trademark song”, in ZAPIRO 2006: 75.

This cartoon alludes to the demonstrations in front of the High Court and it has been placed here because masculinities in South Africa will be the next topic of discussion.
9.4. **Masculinities in South Africa**

“[T]here is no one, typical South African man.” (MORRELL 2001: 33)

South African masculinity constructions reflect the turbulent history of the country, on the one hand, but are partly the reason for this history, on the other hand (MORRELL 2001: 12). Newer studies show that there is not one typical and ruling masculinity in South Africa nowadays (MORRELL 2001: 33). The white masculinity was the hegemonic construction of masculinity for the nation as a whole (MORRELL 1998: 616). But because white and black masculinities in South Africa have been strictly separated (MORRELL 1998: 618), the hegemonic construction of white masculinity was mainly hegemonic in the white’s areas but not necessarily outside of those (MORRELL 1998: 620).

“If colonialism and Apartheid shaped the masculinities of the past, the transition to democracy in South Africa in the 1990s has had the effect of unsettling and unseating entrenched masculinities: masculinities, which were, in the main, patriarchal, authoritarian and steeped in violence.” (REID & WALKER 2005: 8)

The rebellion against the Apartheid system became part of the growing into adulthood of the young males (MORRELL 1998: 616). Wage labour is often regarded as an essential element of masculinity (VOGELMANN 1990: 109/110) but especially in South Africa this tendency has been intensified. The black men had to fear to be sanctioned by the white authorities if they do not have a regular job (MORRELL 1998: 626) and this circumstance made wage work an important element of the construction of masculinity which happened especially within cities (MORRELL 1998: 625). The black men were indirectly forced to migrate to the cities in order to able to find a job. This development created tensions within their construction of masculinity between the traditional rural idea of masculinity and the modern expectations. Especially within cities these two constructions did interact with each other. That tended to result in a maintenance of the traditional construction of masculinity which was known to the black migrant workers (MORRELL 1998: 623). It might be argued that the colonisation of South Africa [related to s. 9.6, p. 118] destroyed the traditional African masculinity but, as a matter of fact, it is more realistic to argue that the traditional perception became a collective gender identity (MORRELL 1998: 630). Additionally, the colonisation has destroyed the material basis of African societies in most of the cases but it did not destroy the African tradition of gender separation which is manifested in many different rituals etcetera (MORRELL 1998: 615, 2001: 13). Nevertheless, the colonisation might have undermined the position of women additionally,
as the rigid European gender system was exported into the colonised countries (MORRELL 1998: 612). This is illustrated, for example, in the reaction to the announcement of Nelson Mandela. In terms of the fight against the HI-Virus, he strongly recommended South African men to reduce their number of sexual partners. Many of the recommendation’s consignees claimed that it is their natural right as men to have many different sexual partners (NIEHAUS 2000: 402). Nevertheless, since the beginning of colonisation African masculinity was always constructed in relation to European masculinity, whereby the latter was hegemonic (BARKER & RICARDO 2005: 12). The subordination of black men under white men created a process of male disempowerment and the results can still be found (MORRELL 1998: 616).

The construction of (black) South African masculinity during the 20th century is mainly constructed of (1) the wage work which mainly was located in the mines and of (2) the rural life (MORRELL 2001: 13). The expectations and hopeful thoughts that have been created during the fight against the Apartheid system have not been fulfilled or have not been fulfilled as soon as it has been expected (MORRELL 2001: 22). These kinds of disappointments combined with a high level of poverty supported the growth of a more violent construction of masculinity (MORRELL 2001: 19). The construction of white masculinity, which once had been hegemonic for the whole country, still exerts its influence in South African society. This is mainly conducted through the media and through certain institutions which are still dominated by this idea of masculinity (MORRELL 2001: 25). Morrell (2001; similar REID & WALKER 2005: 11) classifies the answers of men to the challenges of the new South African society into three different groups:

(1) Reactive of defensive responses: This group consists of men’s organizations trying to re-establish the male power which is regarded as being a natural male right. This is often combined with homophobic behaviour and the high number of rapes [s. 8.2, p. 80] might be explained equally with this kind of response to the new challenges (MORRELL 2001: 26 – 29). This kind of appearance of men’s organisations recently could also be explained by referring to the changes and challenges to the traditional gender order. The interpretation of the changes within the traditional gender order leads to the observation that this system is not as stable as it has been believed to be. This analysis of a tendency of crisis within the system results in a focus on the rein-
forcement of male power within the society (Heath 2003: 423). Kimmel and Kaufman (1994) argue similarly, by saying that masculinity had been interpreted as being in a crisis or that there is confusion about the meaning of manhood. Equally, changes in the field of work are interpreted as a threat to personal manhood and the raising influences of once subordinated groups are regarded as excluding ‘real men’ from their privileged fields (Kimmel & Kaufman 1994: 261/262).

(2) Accommodating responses: This group describes men that try to change their masculinity construction in order to eradicate the use of violence. These men often have to balance between the urban and the rural roots of their masculinity construction (Morrell 2001: 29/30).

(3) Responsive or progressive responses: This group describes men trying to develop new constructions of masculinity. First and foremost, this could be observed within the homosexual community in South Africa. But also middle class men try actively to change gender constructions. This second phenomena is often described with the term ‘New Man’ (Morrell 2001: 31/32).

9.4.1. AFRIKAANER MASCULINITY – ROBERT MORRELL

The examination of specific kinds of South African masculinity starts with a very short introduction to the Afrikaaner masculinity construction. The Afrikaaner, as described in the introduction, have been the ruling race in South Africa for many decades. Therefore, the constructions of the majority of the people in South Africa had to position themselves to it but the concentration on non-white South Africans is simply because the majority of people living in Southern Africa are non-white. Additionally, Jacob Zuma belongs to the non-white part of the population. And above all, the findings mentioned in regard to HIV and sexual violence, have indicated that both subjects are not driven by a racial agenda but by a gender order.

75 Heath (2003) observed the reactions of the members of a men’s organization called Promise Keepers in terms of the changing gender system. Confronted with recognition of the partly changed gender relations, the members of the Promise Keepers realised two things: (1) By approaching their wives with a more loving and more understanding attitude, they were able to construct a more harmonious social environment. (2) By acknowledging the need to change their relationships to their wives and the necessity to create relationships with people of other skin colours, they have succeeded over time in improving the boundaries of the Hegemonic Masculinity (Heath 2003: 440/441). An absolute contrary example could be the fundamentalist groups like the Taliban who deny the rights of women in a Western sense. They want to push women out of the public sphere into the hiding of the private sphere in which they think women belong (Morrell 2001: 4). This might not correspond with what might be associated with men’s organizations but could also be regarded as such. Additionally, in terms of the Taliban there are also other relations applying which are explored in the context of masculinities and globalisation. [s. 9.6, p. 118]
Therefore, this concentration on non-white men in the Southern African context is not meant to be in any way motivated by racial interests.

“The desire for freedom from British influence and superiority over blacks was interpreted into a new masculinity which stressed the importance, ability to and (depending on your position) take orders, of being moral, and God-fearing” (MORRELL 2001: 15).

The Afrikaaner masculinity was different from the imperialistic masculinity which was represented by the British in South Africa but it was equally hegemonic towards women and towards people with a different skin colour (MORRELL 1998: 617). The suppression of the blacks was legitimated and recompensed by the definition of men as the protector, the bread winner, and the person who knows what to do (MORRELL 2001: 17). But the suppression of the blacks created a violent youth culture within the townships which legitimated the use of violence against the oppressors by referring to the power imbalance between the blacks and the whites (MORRELL 2001: 14 – 16). This should be regarded as one of the elements which supported the formation of what Xaba (2001) has called the Struggle Masculinity.

9.4.2. ZULU MASculinity – Mark Hunter

The Zulu masculinity changed enormously due to the influence of the colonizers (HUNTER 2005: 141). Before the time of the colonisation, Zulu culture stressed military aspects of its own masculinity. This was due to the fact that the culture had to defend itself against other cultures and/or clans like the Boers (MORRELL 1998: 616/617). When the colonisers were in power, they wanted to stabilise it, regulating the social life of the colonised. But the coloniser’s agreement to the tradition of the native (Zulu) culture(s) signed the Hegemonic Masculinity into law. By doing so, male power was legally confirmed and that resulted in a institutionalised suppression of women and other masculinity constructions (MORRELL 1998: 629).

In the Zulu tradition there was the construct of the ‘isoka’ masculinity. ‘Isoka’ might be translated as a bachelor, who has a certain numbers of girlfriends76, that is, about three to four. It was expected of these men that they do not have penetrative sexual intercourse with any of their partners and that they marry one of them. This was socially expected but if a ‘isoka’ did not marry one of his partners and/or if he had

76 This is also connected to the ideal of men having several female partners as mentioned in the context of HIV and AIDS. Generally speaking, within African cultures men are allowed to have more sexual partners than women are. Additionally, men are the ones initiating sexual actions/intercourse and the women have to recognise the taboo surrounding the issue of sexuality and they have to act according to these (BURJA 2002: 214/215). [s. 7.5, p. 73]
penetrative sexual intercourse with one of them, he was regarded as a dirty ‘isoka’ (= ‘isoka lamanyala’). This practice applied to men and women so that women were also allowed to have more than one partner. But both sexes had to respect that penetrative sexual intercourse was not tolerated before marriage (HUNTER 2005: 141). During the 19th century this was common sense and social practice. Bravery and the ability to fight were perceived as important elements of masculinity. Additionally, it was expected that the man accumulates wealth and marries in order to build his own household\(^77\) (HUNTER 2005: 142/143). During the 1940s and the 1950s wage labour became more and more important for men and women. Wage labour made especially young men more independent from their fathers by giving them their own source of financial income [s. 8.5; p. 91]. These incomes allowed them to achieve the social expectations, which are first and foremost connected with financial wealth (CARTON 2001: 134; NIEHAUS 2000: 390). But the rights in terms of sexuality changed to the disadvantage of women. Men were still allowed to have many different partners if they respected the ‘Isoka’ rules. But femininity became loaded with moral expectations due to the introduction of Christianity. That led to a situation in which women were socially not allowed to have more than one partner before marriage (HUNTER 2005: 144 – 146). Additionally, this resulted in the perception of “Isoka” as a male right (HUNTER 2005: 148). During the second half of the 20th century it became more and more difficult for the men to fulfil the traditional expectations. For example, this was due to unemployment\(^78\), which did not provide enough money for the men so that they would be able to pay the bride wealth [s. 7.5, p. 69]. Additionally, the quantity of working women increased which made women economically independent\(^79\) from men to a greater degree than before (HUNTER 2005: 148/149). Poverty and unemployment were the main reasons for young men to leave KwaZulu Natal in

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\(^77\) This expectation is partly rooted in the ideal of a ‘Big Man’ who possesses a lot of land and is married to many women. This idea is traditionally a part of African societies in general (BARKER & RICARDO 2005: 11). The prestige of a man was orientated to the number of wives and children he was able to support (CARTON 2001: 133). Thus, due to the dependence for financial support of young males on their fathers/elders, who controlled access to land as well as access to women, and in order to be able to achieve certain socially expected elements of masculinity, a structural conflict between the two generations emerged. Therefore, young males tried to change the patriarchal structures to gain more rights and possibilities (BARKER & RICARDO 2005: 12/13). [s. FIGURE 5, p. 27]

\(^78\) If men are unable to fulfil certain social expectations, they tend to stress other part of the masculinity construction to a higher extent. This applies, for example, for the employment situation. If a man is unemployed, it has been found that he is more likely to stress other parts of the masculinity construction in order to prove his manhood; this might be the case in order to have more sexual partners (HUNTER & DAVIS 1992: 474). [s. 8.5, p. 90]

\(^79\) These changes and challenges which the traditional construction of masculinity have to face are often explained by the influence of Western culture which is regarded as not being good. This idea is especially expressed by men whose lives change dramatically (HOROWITZ 2001: 237).
order to find jobs within bigger cities like Johannesburg or Durban (Carton 2001: 129). The kinds of masculinity constructions which were built in the cities by the migrant workers were regarded by the older men who stayed in KwaZulu Natal as being violent and disrespectful towards elders (Carton 2001: 135). The migrant workers came back to their region in order to defend or maintain their position as fathers and husbands. But during their absence other males were regarded as fulfilling a successful masculinity. From their perception, the migrant workers would also describe their masculinity as successful. So, when they came back to their region, it was likely for a conflict to emerge between the two different kinds of masculinity (Carton 2001: 130). The development of the middle of the 20th century created a higher valuation of penetrative sexual intercourse than it before had been the case and it led to a denial of other kinds of non-penetrative sexual contacts. Ironically, female virginity became perceived as being a traditional African value. Whereby it was never considered that virginity, in that strict sense, had ever been a value in the Zulu culture (Hunter 2005: 149 – 151).

9.4.3. STRUGGLE MANUSBILITY - THOKAZANI XABA

Especially in terms of rape it seems as if there is a high male willingness to use violence in general and sexual violence [s. 9.5, p. 116] in particular in the South African context (Xaba 2001). The country’s recent history with the change from the Apartheid system to a democratic state might have created an atmosphere that promotes the creation of a different kind of masculinity. Xaba (2001) offers an explanation in which the ‘Struggle Masculinity’ is seen as a result of the very circumstances that have
been created by the violent nature of the Apartheid system and by the fight against it. This ‘Struggle Masculinity’ occurred in the context of the fight against the Apartheid system and afterwards it became the ‘Post-Struggle Masculinity’. Following this argumentation, this willingness to use violence was purposely supported in order to fight against the Apartheid system. During the 1970s and 1980s young men in the townships were told by the leaders of the anti-Apartheid movement not to attend school and instead, to protest by using violence in order to fight the racially divided system (XABA 2001: 109). This also resulted in a construction of the African man in which the fight against the system became constitutive (WAETJEN & MARÉ 2001: 199). The time of the active fight against the old system was a time in which the loyalty towards race and political agendas was much higher than towards the suppression of women (MORRELL 2001: 17). On the contrary, the movement often showed signs of a high level of inspiration in regard to the gender system and the relations between the generations (NIEHAUS 2000: 398). The young men were perceived as fighters\textsuperscript{80}, whereas it was the position of the elders to concentrate on politics (XABA 2001: 110). During the battle against the Apartheid system, the young fighters had been honoured as heroes. This adoration became less or even ended after the system had been overcome (BARKER & RICARDO 2005: 31). During that period it was assumed that the freedom movement needed more and more fighters which led to the expectation that women should stop using contraception. An ironic outcome of this policy was that women may have been raped by comrades in order to have more fighters. This, indeed, resulted in a lot of children without fathers (NIEHAUS 2000: 399). The Apartheid created a culture of violence which was also present in the private sphere. This created climate might have influenced the development of violent parts of the anti-Apartheid movement (SCHÄFER 2005: 73). And the experience of violence often results in a disposition to use violence (BARKER & RICARDO 2005: 25). After the victory over the old system, this definition of masculinity was no longer useful. On the contrary, this kind of masculinity denied a lot of young men their par-

\textsuperscript{80} Especially Zulu men might be trapped in the eagerness between the ‘worker’ and the ‘fighter’. The ‘worker’ mainly refers to the current situation in which the man has to work in order to be able to provide for his family. The ‘fighter’ on the other hand is symbolically connected with other Zulu men and with the assumed traditional Zulu men as fighters (WAETJEN & MARÉ 2001: 200). The ideal of the proud Zulu fighter had been very important to Zulu men during the Apartheid system in order to be able to endure the continuous suppression which they experienced in their daily lives (WAETJEN & MARÉ 2001: 205).
ticipation in the new society\(^81\) (XABA 2001: 112). As one consequence, criminal gangs founded themselves and within these the former fighters were able to use the traits of their masculinity construction which had otherwise become useless in the new context. Therefore, the reasons for being seen as heroic fighters during the fight against the Apartheid system were now the reasons for the denial of status and respect within the new society (XABA 2001: 113/114). The former ‘young lions’, as the young fighters had been named, were now marginalised and often full time criminals (XABA 2001: 107). This characterises the definition of the ‘Post-Struggle Masculinity’. This explanation is also used by COCK (2001: 44), who refers to a militarised masculinity in South Africa which was developed by the country’s history:

“The interrupted education [during the fight against the Apartheid system], lack of marketable skills, training in the means of violence, and (frequent) political disillusion, make ex-combats potentially lethal.”

It has already been mentioned that violence can be learnt as a legitimate tool \([s. 9.5, p. 116]\) to solve problems and, consequently, to defend power. The disappointment of hopes after the democratic change in South Africa created a situation in which some of the former fighters did not find any perspective for their future (COCK 2001: 43/44). It is sometimes argued that there is a biological connection \([s. 8.5, p. 88]\) between men and violence and that this might be the reason for the male’s need to express his violent nature by using law and order. Indeed, in many different cultural settings in South Africa there is a strong association between violence and male identity (COCK 2001: 45/46). The gun is used to uphold a violent hegemonic masculinity. The very use of guns is an antagonism because they are used to protect someone of violence\(^82\) while threatening the other person with violence. Regardless of the colour of one’s skin, guns are often associated with a glamorous lifestyle, fast cars, and modern fashion (COCK 2001: 48). This not only leads to a view on war and violence as being glamorous, it also contributes to the normalisation of war and violence (COCK 2001: 50).

This tendency might have also been intensified by the fact that violence is often used or perceived as a part of the initiation ritual BARKER & RICARDO 2005: 25) \([s. footnote 51, p. 74]\). Many cultures socialise their members towards violence with their interpretation of it. Men have to use it and women have to accept it (WHO 2000: 17).

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\(^{81}\) In fact a lot of men, who participated in any kind of conflict situations, had difficulties achieving a socially accepted construction of masculinity after the conflict ended (BARKER & RICARDO 2005: 29).

\(^{82}\) The person using the violence also wants to protect himself. Violence is also used to gain acceptance by others (WHO 2000: 43).
Morrell (2001) argues that the new democratic South African state became a symbol for the fight against the Apartheid system which promoted the use of violence. This willingness to use violence now has a negative and criminal impact upon the society (MORRELL 2001: 21). In this sense youth gangs were and are a perfect environment in which young males are able to construct their masculinity independent from any kind of external influence. On the one hand, this possibility increases the value of gangs for young males, and on the other hand, a masculinity construction can be built within the autonomy of theses gangs which is hegemonic to the gang’s specific context (MORRELL 1998: 627/628).

9.5. Masculinity and Violence

South Africa is a country with one of the highest rates worldwide of death occurring in violent circumstances (MORRELL 2001: 20). This is often seen as the predominant perception of an unbreakable connection between masculinity and violence. This manifests itself in sports as well as in action movies, which are often the societal stages on which the socially accepted form of male violence is presented (MACKINNON 2003: 11). Masculinity is often presented as being inherent violent and the impact of the socialisation is left completely out of the picture (WHO 2000: 8). This observation could lead to the assumption that the connection between masculinity and violence is widely socially accepted. Additionally, it could be argued that violence in movies is used in order to avoid homoerotic elements. The violence legitimates these situations (MACKINNON 2003: 12). On the other hand, the glorification of male violence can also be interpreted as a tool to deal with social instabilities and changes within the dominant masculine identity construction which might create a feeling of male disempowerment (MACKINNON 2003: 13; MORRELL 2001: 33) [s. 8.5, p. 90].

But the ability to control women [s. 8.5, p. 87], is often perceived as an important element of being a man, especially, in terms of the status and perception as a real man (JEWKES & ABRAMS 2002: 1239; JEWKES ET AL. 2006: 2950). The construction of masculine identity is often based on acts of violence and on the control over the partner which is maintained by using violence (ANDERSON & UMBERSON 2001: 359). In this sense violence does not always mean violence. Sometimes violence is interpreted as being discipline and other times it is interpreted as being violence (HOROWITZ 2001: 237). But it seems that masculine behaviour within a given society
is often influenced by fantasies and associations of male power and authority (MACKINNON 2003: 16). Especially right orientated men’s organizations regard the power over women as a natural male right which is based on different religious, historical, biological, and/or moral reasons. Through the differentiation of themselves to everything else that is not regarded as being manly, they prove their own manliness to themselves [s. 9.3.2, p. 104]. Interestingly, there are two perceptions of the ‘other’ in this regard: being not masculine at all as well as being hyper masculine\(^{83}\) (KIMMEL 2001: 28) [s. footnote 55, p. 80].

At the same time, it must be taken into account that a high number of men are also victims (BARKER & RICARDO 2005: 3). Masculinity oppresses not only women but also men (ENZI 2001: 18) because it supplies a want to achieve a socially accepted form of masculinity (BARKER & RICARDO 2005: 30). Men are rarely examined as victims and that denies the insight that men often fear their own potential of violence (WHO 2000: 43). There are far more female victims of sexual violence than male victims but there is a high number of young males who are victims of sexual violence as well. In contrast to women, men experience sexual violence far more often within the own home (WHO 2000: 45/46). It is definitely not reasonable to recognise men just as offenders and women just as victims [s. 8.5, p. 88]. This view denies masculinities and femininities in their plurality (BARKER & RICARDO 2005: 36; RAO GUPTA 2000b: 4). In this context some researchers argue that men are as equally oppressed as women (CLATTERBAUGH 1996: 289). In order to examine this statement, the first thing to ask is what oppression means. First and foremost, oppression means that one group denies another group its right to possess certain human abilities and/or characteristics\(^{84}\). So the victims of oppression are dehumanised (CLATTERBAUGH 1996: 294/295). There are mainly three different argumentations used in order to prove that men are also oppressed:

1. The argumentation of the socialisation: It is argued here that women as well as men are socialised into social roles which limit the possibilities of the individual person. If women are oppressed, then men also have to be oppressed.

\(^{83}\) For example, white people in the United States of America tend to recognise black men partly as being hyper masculine. This mainly includes ideas of the bodily superiority of black men, for example, being tall or having a bigger penis than white men (HUNTER & DAVIS 1992: 467).

\(^{84}\) To illustrate this point: If a woman wants to get a certain male dominated job then it is often assumed that she is absolutely not capable of doing this job. She is perceived as missing certain abilities to fulfil the job. But if a man wants to get a certain female dominated job, then it is mainly argued that it would be out of place for a man to have this job. But it is never assumed that he is not capable of doing this job.
If that should be the case, then the kind of oppression would have to be the same as well. Men are socialised into dominant roles and women are socialised into roles which deny them certain abilities. Therefore, women are oppressed in this sense and men not (CLATTERBAUGH 1996: 298/299).

(2) The argumentation of the costs\(^{85}\): It is argued that the costs of traditional masculinity constructions are so high that it should become clear that men are oppressed. But this is a circular reasoning because it tries to prove that the cost for being in power, show that men are not in power at all (CLATTERBAUGH 1996: 300).

(3) The argumentation of the extensibility: In this case it is argued that the violence among men is socially accepted but that violence towards women and children is not equally accepted. This shows that men’s lives are valued less than non-male lives. This might be illustrated by referring to the armies in which mainly men are soldiers. But in this case it has to be asked, why is it that men are fighting in the army? Is this, perhaps, because it is a widely supported belief that men are able and women are not able? (CLATTERBAUGH 1996: 300 – 302).

To conclude this point, it has become obvious that men are not oppressed at all because they, in contrast to women, are never denied any abilities. It might not be socially accepted for a man to do this or that but in general he is regarded as having the capability. In the case of a woman, she is neither socially allowed to do certain jobs nor is she regarded as being able to do certain jobs (CLATTERBAUGH 1996: 302/303).

9.6. GLOBALIZATION AND MASCULINITIES

Recently, the construction of a global masculinity or of global masculinities and their relations with and influences on national, regional, and local masculinities have come into focus. Kimmel (2005) bases his observations on the interplay of global and local masculinities in the contemporary shape of globalization. He argues that the neoliberal globalization with its institutions [s. 9.3.2, p. 103] created a global hegemonic masculinity which now challenges national and regional hegemonic masculinities (KIMMEL 2001: 25, 2005: 415). These organisations appear to be gender neutral but they are indeed highly gendered, taking the male gender as the standard sex (KIMMEL

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\(^{85}\) The term ‘cost’ summarises the main consequences for men trying to fulfil the traditional expectations. Theses costs are mainly: stress and health related problems, drug and alcohol abuse, isolation from the family and friends, the lost of feelings, and the lost of self-confidence (HOROWITZ 2001: 236). These costs of masculinity are rarely dealt with (WHO 2000: 9).
In the reaction to global changes and challenges, masculinity and “gender becomes one of the chief organizing principles of local, regional, and national resistance to globalization, whether expressed in religious or secular, ethnic, or national terms” (KIMMEL 2005: 416; similar KIMMEL 2001: 26). But this kind of protest is aimed against the influences of global hegemonic masculine gender constructions and not against ‘fundamental’ elements of the constructions of masculinity such as heterosexuality and the subordination of women (KIMMEL 2005: 417). Additionally, the focus is on how the globalisation changes the arena in which national and local masculinity constructions act and what kind of impact this might have in terms of the public and private patriarchy (KIMMEL 2001: 24).

Connell (2005) starts off by defining the world gender order “as the structure of relationships that interconnect the gender regimes of institutions, and the gender orders of local societies, on a world scale” (CONNELL 2005: 72). He says that this world gender order creates interactions between existing gender orders, on the one hand, and new international spaces like the international state or global markets, on the other hand (CONNELL 2005: 73/74). The conclusion of his analyses of the colonial and post-colonial period [s. 9.4.2, p. 111] reveals an exportation of masculinity constructions by the colonising countries into the colonised parts of the world, whereby the local constructions of masculinity have been perceived as primitive, as barbaric, and sometimes as scary (CONNELL 2005: 74 – 76). Therefore, he argues that the analyses of gender orders has to incorporate three different kinds of perspectives (local, regional, and global) and their interrelations in order to achieve a better understanding of the development of gender orders in certain contexts (CONNELL & MESSERSCHMIDT 2005: 849). The four elements of gender relations which have already been important in the context of Hegemonic Masculinity (CONNELL 2000: 24, 2002: 55 - 68) should now be used on a global scale in order to analyse global constructions of masculinities and gender orders. These four elements are: the division of labour, power relations, emotional relations, and symbolization (CONNELL 2005: 78 – 80).
10. Discussion

Several things have been hypothesised which will now be discussed in the light of the findings of this Thesis in this section. The first three parts of this discussion are corresponding to what has been said in the concluding parts of the first three sections. But they shall be used as the background for the discussion of the abilities and the operational distance of the different theoretical frameworks on masculinities that have been presented so far.

Firstly, it was hypothesised that masculinity was on trial during the Zuma Rape Trial. The underlining question of the trial and its perception in the public was: What kind of a man is Jacob Zuma? The answers to this question were really different. His supporters would say that he is the kind of man South Africa needs to be the next president. From their perspective he showed leadership and he is responsible for the presentation of the Zulu culture. His opponents would ask what kind of man would rape the daughter of an old friend. And in the light of his acquittal, the question would change into how could a man have unprotected sexual intercourse with a knowingly HIV-positive women? From their perspective, this becomes especially important because Jacob Zuma is a role model for many young persons in South Africa. Therefore, it could be asked what kind of a man is this, who could underestimate the power his own words in such a drastic way? This kind of question and possible answer game could go on for while but it becomes clear that Jacob Zuma’s masculinity was part of what was on trial during his rape trial. A majority of the commentaries referred to his (in)ability to fulfil certain of the expectations of manhood which might be directly connected to the question of leadership etcetera.

Secondly, it was hypothesised that there are two different kinds of masculinity constructions that became visible during the Jacob Zuma Rape Trail. The person of Jacob Zuma alone shows that there were indeed two different kinds of masculinity. In his function as the former Deputy President and as an important figure in the construction of the country’s constitution (Which, by the way, is one of the most modern constitutions in the world.), he could be seen as a representative of modern ideas. And add to this, a representative of a more modern construction of masculinity because the democratic republic of South Africa stands for the equality not only of all races but also between the sexes. On the other hand, he presents himself as a representative of the traditional Zulu masculinity. This is evident in the number of wives or partners he has/had and also in the number of his children. Whatever that
number might be. All this supports the traditional picture of a man from the perspective of the Zulu culture and many of other (South) African cultures as well. Additionally, the commentaries on the trial show that the society of South Africa seems to be divided into sympathisers of either the one or the other. Otherwise, it is not possible to explain how the very same events could be interpreted in such a different way. Well, interpretations can, of course, be different but if substantial issues are touched, there should be more unity in the commentaries. This wide difference of opinions is very evident, for example, in regard to his statements about the effect of showers in terms of the possibility of an HIV infection. If this had been the societal consensus that showering does not prevent an HIV infection, then a man in the position of Jacob Zuma would and could have never said something like that. And if he would have said it, all the commentators would have had condemned him for it. But the fact is, they did not. Most of the commentators, who praised Zuma for his fulfilment of certain traditional expectations, did not say anything about this statement at all.

Thirdly, it was hypothesised that the differences between the two different kinds of masculinity constructions create a field of conflict. And following that, this field builds the ground for the high number of sexual violence as well as for the high numbers of HIV infections in South Africa. It has been found that a majority of reasons that promote rape incidents or the vulnerability of an HIV infection are related to the individual’s inability to fulfil certain expectations of manhood. First and foremost, this is the case when a traditional construction of masculinity is confronted with modern expectations. Both are not always achievable which results in a gap between traditional and modern expectations. This in turn, might create some of the motivations to engage in practices which might be regarded as ‘manly’ but which might also increase the vulnerability for an infection with HIV or which might increase the probability for a woman to be raped. Therefore, the hypothesis applies when a traditional construction of masculinity has to deal with modern expectations. But to prove the hypothesis as right, it has also to be proven that it also works the other way around. Although there have not been a lot on studies on this interrelation, it could be argued that men trying to construct their masculinity orientated on the modern expectations, might get in a conflict with the traditional construction. Especially in a country in which tradition has a high influence, the willingness to construct a modern masculinity might result in a conflict with traditional expectations.
Therefore, the hypothesis has to be specified: It is not the differences between the two constructions of masculinity that create the field of conflict but it is the clash between the expectation of the one side with the construction of the other, traditional constructions confronted with modern expectations or modern constructions confronted with traditional expectations. Following that, it has to be asked, if this kind of confrontation creates the same kind of reaction? Or more concrete: Does a traditional constructed masculinity react to modern expectations in the same way that a modern construction of masculinity would react to traditional expectations?

And given the hypotheses were verifiable, it has, fourthly, been asked if there is any kind of theoretical frameworks that might provide explanations for this situation. Therefore, the abilities and inabilities of the named theoretical frameworks have to be examined:

(a) Connell’s concept of a Hegemonic Masculinity assumes that there is one construction of masculinity to which all the other constructions of masculinity and of femininity have to position themselves. But if the differences between the construction and the expectations become obvious, it raises questions about the compatibly of this development with Connell’s framework. In this regard it could be asked: How could this kind of conflict occur if there is just one kind of hegemonic masculinity within the society? Aspects of another kind of masculinity constructions are not important for the construction of the Hegemonic Masculinity. Given a traditional construction of masculinity is hegemonic: Why should anyone representing this construction feel the need to incorporate other aspects of masculinity constructions if there is only one hegemonic construction? Given a modern construction of masculinity is hegemonic: Why should anyone representing this construction feel the need to incorporate other aspects of masculinity constructions if there is only one hegemonic construction? Especially in South Africa, it becomes obvious, there is not just one hegemonic masculinity. There might just be one within certain areas of the country, e.g. in KwaZulu Natal. But this construction does not apply for the whole country. Following Connell’s argumentation, it should be. Therefore, it seems useful to incorporate the ideas about the intersection of global, local, and regional masculinity constructions into the examination of masculinity constructions in South Africa. That would result in a more detailed view on masculinity constructions in this very country. In this
regard it could be argued that there is one national hegemonic construction of masculinity and several regional ones. But the kind of relationship of other constructions of masculinity and femininity to this hegemonic masculinities is not determined just by one of them. There is no clear hegemony for one of the constructions. Therefore, the construction of non-hegemonic masculinities and femininities happens in relation to both of them. The important factor is, which one has the bigger influence on the specific construction.

(b) Kimmel’s observation of the invisibility of men certainly applies for the Zuma Rape Trial and the events surrounding it. Additionally, it might also apply for the perception of a certain manly behaviour as well as for the perception of sexual violence towards women. In terms of the rape trial it could be argued that especially his supporters regarded Zuma’s behaviour not as his individual choice but as conform with the normal behaviour. Many of the statements referring to his behaviour did not compare it to what might have been advisable but to how he was supposed to behave. Thus, a certain construction of masculinity was regarded as the standard which partly denied the perspective on his behaviour as being a part of certain social construction of masculinity. Especially comments, that the complainant should be happy to have been allowed to have sexual intercourse with such a great man like Zuma, show that the judgement of personal behaviour is made in relation to an assumed natural legality of gender relations. Kimmel referred his observation of the invisibility of men especially to institutions and organisations but it might also apply in this context.

Kimmel’s examination of masculinity as homophobia, which he based on the findings in the United States of America, might also apply, to some extent, in the context of South Africa. In regard to the rape trial was not part of the discussion but studies referred to in this Thesis show that the differentiation from homosexual traits are a main part of different masculinity constructions. Especially in terms of sexual violence this becomes visible. The need to prove heterosexuality could only be explained by referring to the renunciation of homosexuality. But to regard homophobia as the constitutive element of masculinity constructions in South Africa would be too one-dimensional. The examination in this Thesis shows that there are other important elements as well, for example, the domination of female partners or the economical di-
mension which is not connected with the renunciation of homosexual behaviour.

(c) Hearn’s concept of the Hegemony of Men does especially apply in regard to the person of Jacob Zuma. He has not only been perceived as a man successfully fulfilling masculinity expectations but he is also respected and honoured as a powerful man. In this sense, it is not only the social construction of his masculinity but also his individual personality that promotes his position within the society. Especially his supporters stressed that he is not only able to act and react in the right way but that he as a person is capable of leading the country. From a more general perspective it could be argued that the (South) African construction of the elder confirms with Hearn’s concept. These elders are not only respected because they are male and fulfil certain social expectations but also because their personality might be regarded as honourable. The same kind of argumentation might also apply for certain political leaders, for example, in Germany. The President of the Federal Republic of Germany, who represents the country, might not be only respected for the fulfilment of the social expectations but also for his personality. But in contrast to Hearn’s conceptualisation it could be argued that there might also be men who, indeed, fulfil the social expectation but might not be respected as personalities, and also the other way around. In this sense Hearn’s conceptualisation can be useful to describe certain phenomena but it can hardly be regarded as an overall societal/social legality.

(d) Xaba’s idea of the Struggle Masculinity is certainly a good theoretical framework that explains adequately how the high degree of willingness to use violence has developed. It seems justified that the experience of violence within the Apartheid system and the encouragement to use violence created a masculinity in which violence was necessarily part. Consequently, these skills were later used against their own people as the external enemy was defeated and no other perspectives for the future were offered. But it is questionable to what degree this phenomena can be held responsible for the high level of sexual violence. Because generally a high willingness to use violence does not necessarily lead to sexual violence. It can also take the form of a violent crime, for example. Nevertheless, Xaba’s framework offers a good explanation but it can not claim to explain all violent reactions, conducted by men.
Another problem becomes evident although it is in the background of the other theoretical frameworks. Theoretical constructions of masculinity (in South Africa, as well as worldwide) are always somehow connected to the white European man. In regard to Xaba’s framework this is especially obvious because the use of violence is a reaction to the white’s behaviour in regard to the white’s suppression of the black majority. Connell offers similar constructions of masculinity. Because he comes from an industrialised and Western influenced country, it could be argued that his theoretical construction of masculinity simply upholds the Western relation of masculinities within a given society. Consequently, there is the danger that a specific masculinity construction is believed to have universal validity. The field of studies on masculinities, which concentrates on a masculinity construction in which the white man has had no influence, is still very small.
11. Conclusion

The examination in this Thesis has shown that the hypothesis could not completely be verified. But it led to the question whether the theoretical frameworks are able to explain masculinity constructions and their interrelations in such a holistic way as they are meant to do. Nevertheless, this hypothesis has opened questions that could be part of a future research. The frameworks might explain certain parts of masculinity constructions and their interrelations to each other and to femininities. But especially Connell’s framework seems to miss an additional dimension: The interrelations between hegemonic masculinity constructions of different parts of a country on a national level. The ideas about globalization and masculinity constructions seem to be useful in this regard in order to provide a framework that incorporates the interrelations between different hegemonic masculinities. The idea that societies have their own hegemonic masculinity might be right but this idea is trapped in the perception of Western societies. In the Western world, the society could be equated to the nation itself. But this is not the case for all the countries in the world. Especially in a country like South Africa this becomes obvious. Using this Western perspective on South Africa, can only be justified if South Africa is seen as a union of different states. It does not have the same history of the building of nations that Europe has. A good comparison would be to compare the European Union with South Africa. If the EU were one state, there would be about 25 different hegemonic masculinity constructions that are in power within the different member states. Additionally, there might also be one on the European level. Then it is important to know how these different constructions interact on the European level and how they position themselves to the other hegemonic construction and to the European construction of masculinity. It is a similar situation in South Africa: all the different ethnic groups have their own individual histories of defining masculinity and there is also the South African nation that has a certain national idea of masculinity. All these different masculinities interact with each other. Most important is the fact that these different hegemonic constructions do not interact with the other hegemonic constructions like the subordinate or marginalised constructions do in terms of their relations to the hegemonic. Therefore, the kind of interaction is completely different. Thus, the question is how will the relation of the different hegemonic construction develop? It might be the case that more and more hegemonic constructions of masculinity be-
come complicit or even subordinate or marginalised. But it could also be the case that different kinds of hegemonic masculinities can coexist.

It could be helpful to add another and final dimension to the discussion about gender systems. Despite the recognition of a possible change of these systems over time, all the theoretical constructions about gender systems use the patriarchy as the standard precondition. This applies, for example, for Connell’s framework because it is only possible to use this in a society in which men are in power. Therefore, it might be useful to construct gender systems in such a way that the subordinate sex could also be in power. By so doing, the theoretical possibilities would increase enormously. A good example is the concept of Hegemonic Masculinity. This could be constructed in a more neutral way by saying that the sex which is in power in a given society constructs its relation to other kinds of this sex’ construction by using subordination and marginalisation. Whereby the subordination is always oppositionally related to the sexual orientation of the hegemonic construction. And the subordinated sex constructs its identity in relation to the dominant sex. That implies that the relations between different kinds of these sex identity constructions are characterised by marginalisation and not by subordination. This might not provide any kind of new insight into gender relations but it would be more universal. In a patriarchal society, this neutral framework could result in the framework of the Hegemonic Masculinity and in a matriarchal society, this would result in the framework of Hegemonic Femininity.
[IF]

If you can keep your head when all about you
Are losing theirs and blaming it on you,
If you can trust yourself when all men doubt you
But make allowance for their doubting too,
If you can wait and not be tired by waiting,
Or being lied about, don't deal in lies,
Or being hated, don't give way to hating,
And yet don't look too good, nor talk too wise:

If you can dream--and not make dreams your master,
If you can think--and not make thoughts your aim;
If you can meet with Triumph and Disaster
And treat those two impostors just the same;
If you can bear to hear the truth you've spoken
Twisted by knaves to make a trap for fools,
Or watch the things you gave your life to, broken,
And stoop and build 'em up with worn-out tools:

If you can make one heap of all your winnings
And risk it all on one turn of pitch-and-toss,
And lose, and start again at your beginnings
And never breath a word about your loss;
If you can force your heart and nerve and sinew
To serve your turn long after they are gone,
And so hold on when there is nothing in you
Except the Will which says to them: "Hold on!"

If you can talk with crowds and keep your virtue,
Or walk with kings--nor lose the common touch,
If neither foes nor loving friends can hurt you;
If all men count with you, but none too much,
If you can fill the unforgiving minute
With sixty seconds' worth of distance run,
Yours is the Earth and everything that's in it,
And--which is more--you'll be a Man, my son!

--Rudyard Kipling

13. Bibliography

13.1 Books


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14. Declaration

Hiermit versichere ich, dass ich diese Arbeit selbständig verfasst und keine anderen als die angegebenen Hilfsmittel und Quellen benutzt habe.

Oldenburg, 28. April 2008

 Unterschrift

I hereby declare that I have written this Thesis without the help of others and that I have not used any other than the declared sources and resources.

Oldenburg, 28th of April 2008

 Signature