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A sociological analysis of the involvement of men in campaigns against sexual violence towards women at Rhodes University: The Aftermath of the #RURreference protest

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ABSTRACT

Gender-based violence more especially sexual violence towards women is one of the biggest social issues affecting South Africa including higher institutions of learning, universities in this context. In recent years, we have seen students in universities protesting sexual violence demanding universities to improve their ways of dealing with this violence. The motivation behind this thesis is the notion that sexual violence is a women's issue and how most men in our communities and universities do not involve themselves in campaigns that are designed to end sexual violence towards women. There is an assumption that women should be the ones fighting against sexual violence because it affects them when in fact sexual violence affects everyone and more importantly, is mostly perpetuated by men. Therefore, the main purpose of this thesis was to sociologically analyze the involvement of men in campaigns against sexual violence towards women and the aftermath of the #RURferenceList protest that took place at Rhodes University in 2016. This protest started immediately after a list of students who were said to be alleged sexual perpetrators was published online. Attached to this primary objective, the sub-goals that informed the entire study were to investigate how the involvement of men in the #RURferenceList protest has contributed to challenging rape culture at Rhodes University. Also, to investigate if there are any ongoing campaigns and/or projects that includes men and that are still addressing the issue of sexual violence towards women.

There is however, a dearth of research on the involvement of men in campaigns against sexual violence in South Africa. Therefore, it was difficult finding existing literature that touches on the involvement of men in campaigns against sexual violence towards women particularly in the context of universities. This thesis was conducted within the premises of Rhodes University through a qualitative research approach in a form of in-depth interviews. Five participants were selected through purposive sampling which included the Chair of the Gender Action Forum, one former student representative council member, a sub-warden from a male residence and two students. The findings of this research are not the full representation of the entire university but opinions and perspective of the participants that were interviewed. Their opinions and perspectives have a potential of contributing to the factors and reasons as to why majority of men have not engaged themselves in issues of gender-based violence or involved themselves in campaigns against sexual violence towards women.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This thesis analyses the involvement of men in campaigns against sexual violence towards women, their contribution to challenging sexual violence and rape culture at Rhodes University. The focus is particularly on sexual violence which refers to forced, attempted, unwanted and/or coerced sexual intercourse (Reza et al, 2009: 1967). The UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women defines violence against women as: “any act of gender-based violence (GBV) that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women” (Watts & Zimmerman, 2002: 1232). Although broad in its scope, this statement defines violence as acts that cause or have the potential to cause harm, and underlines that these acts are rooted in gender inequality, this focus on women again does not deny the fact that men experience violence (Watts & Zimmerman, 2002: 1232). The purpose of this chapter is to give a brief introduction to the thesis, including the broader context for the research, the thesis objectives and similar research projects that have been undertaken on this topic.

1.2 CONTEXT OF THE RESEARCH

Rape culture in South African universities has again been thrust into the spotlight after it recently emerged that no less than 48 rape incidents were reported in 2017 in these South African Universities (Sobuwa, 2018: 1). The universities that recorded the highest number of rape cases include University of Cape Town with nine cases, Walter Sisulu University with seven cases, Tshwane University of Technology with six cases, Nelson Mandela University with five cases and the University of Johannesburg with four cases (Sobuwa, 2018: 1). As a result, the Minister of Higher Education and Training Naledi Pandor has appointed a task team to help prevent sexual harassment and sexual violence at universities (Retief, 2019: 1). This was after academics from across South African universities wrote to the minister in March 2019 highlighting the scourge of gender-based violence and sexual harassment on campuses (Retief, 2019:1).

In 2016, an unnamed group leaked the names of eleven alleged rapists at Rhodes University (Klein, 2016: 1). Shortly after the list was made public, students converged on the Steve Biko Building and proceeded to march to the various residences of the men appearing on the list (Klein, 2016:1). However, “Rhodes University called for the so-called 'reference list' of eleven alleged rapists posted online to be removed from social networks, warning that accusations without charges being laid violate human rights” (Whittles, 2016: 1). Despite that, women students asserted that these

men were well-known for their sexual violation of women students, and that no action was taken against them (Gouws, 2018: 4). This was the culmination of repeated complaints by students at Rhodes University about sexual violence. They accused the university of trivializing rape by pointing out that it had stronger punishments for plagiarism than rape (Gouws, 2018: 4). In addition to these 21 students, some victims might have kept silent and so their cases are not known. However, even though reported as rape they needed to be investigated, one person admitted that she had falsely accused someone (MacGregor, 2016: 1). These are some of the reasons why rape cases are not taken seriously even outside the university space. In conclusion of the protest, Rhodes University announced a new task team to investigate the broader problem of rape at the institution and introduce urgent interventions such as the use of external prosecutors to deal with allegations of sexual violence (Whittles, 2016: 1).

“What was remarkable about the protest against sexual violence at Rhodes University is the fact that women embraced a feminist identity, something that was less common with the older generation of women who were suspicious of a type of feminism that draws on essentialized identities that regarded white women’s experiences as the norm, even though they embraced feminist notions of gender equality” (Gouws, 2004: 3). Students were not hesitant to speak in a feminist register, from the vantage point of intersectional, radical African feminism (Gouws, 2004: 3). Their feminism was motivated from a place of black African identity in a post-apartheid society, rooting feminism in black consciousness philosophy and black pain (‘the personal is political’) (Gouws, 2004: 3).

Similar to this research, a study on “*Understanding Sexual Harassment amongst students at a selected University of KwaZulu-Natal campus*” was conducted by Kabaya in 2016. The main objective of this research was exploring students’ understanding of sexual harassment and their suggestions of ways to reduce it (Kabaya, 2016: 1). The conclusion made was that from both male and female responses, it was suggested that female students faced sexual harassment because of the way they dressed which male students viewed as provocative (Kabaya, 2016: 95). Recommendations such as sexual harassment awareness were made that could be raised through discussions, forum meetings and by inviting legal experts to explain to students the consequence of perpetrating such violence (Kabaya, 2016: 98-99).

Krutani indicated in his research titled, “a *correlational analysis investigating relationships between gender role ideology and attitudes towards gender-based violence*” that the advocacy against gender-based violence has taken different forms in some South African universities with the similar aim of bringing awareness to the issue of gender-based violence and making university spaces a safe space for women (Kelly, 2016; Seddon, 2016; Singh, 2016; Tadeppally & Parker, 2016). For instance, the University of Cape Town (UCT) held a mass meeting in 2016 against rape culture at the university, with hash-tags such as #UCTSpeaksOut and #EndRapeCulture accompanied by slogans such as “UCT fails survivors” and “Council’s silence = complicity” (Kelly, 2016: 1). An anti-rape protest also took place at Stellenbosch University in 2016, where more than 300 students gathered to speak against gender-based violence in the institution (Singh, 2016: 1). The co-founder of the Stellenbosch University “unashamed movement” Rochelle Jacobs, pointed out that the university management was not taking sufficient steps to address the issue, as she highlighted management’s installation of cameras and increasing the number of security guards in response to gender-based violence on campus (Singh, 2016:1).

This thesis will be drawing mostly on intersectionality and feminism and, as indicated, linking it to literature on involving men in campaigns against sexual violence towards women. The concept of intersectionality is a significant contribution of feminist theory to the general endeavour of understanding society and politics (Mazur and McBride, 2008: 193). Intersectionality describes the interaction between systems of oppression and this concept grew out of the efforts to specify race and gender relations shaped social and political life (Mazur and McBride, 2008: 193). Feminism is a theory and/or movement concerned with advancing the position of women through such means as achievement of political, legal, and economic rights equal to those granted to men (Offen, 1998: 123). The focus will be particularly on intersectionality as a main theory as well as feminist theory of rape and, feminism and patriarchy.

1.3 THESIS OBJECTIVES

The main objective of this thesis has been to *sociologically analyze the involvement of men in campaigns against sexual violence towards women at Rhodes University in the aftermath of the #RUPreferenceList protest.*

The following inter-related sub-goals informed the study.

- a. An investigation of how the involvement of men in the #RURReferenceList protest has contributed to challenging rape culture at Rhodes University;
- b. An investigation to see if there are any ongoing campaigns and/or projects that include men and that continue to address the issue of sexual violence towards women on campus.

1.4 METHODS, PROCEDURES AND TECHNIQUES

The fieldwork required deep engagement with the participants and therefore this thesis adopted a qualitative approach. The reason for adopting a qualitative approach is that the aim of this thesis is looking more at the understandings of participants, rather than on quantifying any aspect of the experience. Qualitative research is a generic research approach in social research according to which research takes as its departure point the insider's perspective on social action (Babbie & Mouton, 2001: 270). Through this approach the researcher can sit down with informants through scheduled in-depth interviews and this also allows the researcher to study how the informants respond to the questions asked during the interviews (Babbie & Mouton, 2001: 270). Therefore, the reason for using qualitative research was to have more in-depth conversations with the informants regarding the involvement of men in campaigns against sexual violence and the #RURReferenceList protest. This allowed for more interactions between informants and the researcher, without intimidating the informants and allowed the researcher to ask follow-up questions from the responses given by the informants for more quality information.

The research design process in qualitative research starts with philosophical assumptions that underline qualitative research (Lewis, 2015: 15). In the case of this research, the philosophical assumption is that gender-based violence has been mostly regarded as women's issue and that there is a need to involve men in the fight against sexual violence towards women because they are primarily the problem. The reason for these assumptions is because the researcher has witnessed campaigns and initiatives where only women played an active role, and this is because men have not assisted women in educating other men in understanding the depth of sexual violence towards women. Therefore, the researcher is under the assumption that if men involve themselves in campaigns against sexual violence towards women by men then the fight against gender-based violence will be strengthened. Hence, the purpose of this research was to sociologically analyze the involvement of men in campaigns against sexual violence towards women at Rhodes University and the aftermath of the #Reference protest.

In-depth interviews were conducted with the chair of the Gender Action Forum, a former student representative council (SRC) member who dealt with issues of gender-based violence within the university, a former sub-warden from a male residence, and 2 students male and female who participated in the #RUCampusLife protest. The reason for specifically choosing these informants is that this is a sensitive topic and it requires information from people who have knowledge about the #RUCampusLife protest and subsequent initiatives against sexual violence. To understand how men were involved or involved themselves it was important that the researcher identified people who were involved in the #RUCampusLife protest. This also helped the researcher get information with regards to whether there are any ongoing campaigns dealing with issues of sexual violence on campus, hence the involvement of SRC

The tool that was used to analyze the data collected is thematic analysis. Thematic analysis is a search for themes that emerge as being important to the description of the phenomenon and the process includes the identification themes through careful reading and re-reading of the data collected (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006: 82). Thematic analysis focuses on identifiable themes and patterns of living and/or behavior (Aronson, 1995: 2). It is a type of pattern recognition within the data, where developing themes turn into the classifications for analysis (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006: 82)

Ethics are an important part of thesis and as a result all the participants were asked to sign a consent form before resuming the interviews. The researcher explained clearly the objectives of the research and presented all the supporting documents which consisted of the protocol form and letters of approval from the Department of Sociology, the Human Resources Division and the Registrar. The identity of all the participants is protected and this is to protect them from any harm that may result because of this research. It is also in the researcher's jurisdiction to ensure that all the informants involved are protected at all cost and remain anonymous, therefore, all the data collected from the in-depth interviews will not be shared with anyone. Permission to conduct this research was granted by all the gatekeepers of this research which included Rhodes University Ethical Standards Committee (RUESC) which is the principal ethics committee at Rhodes University, dealing with strategic aspects, information dissemination and guidance, such as, guidelines and policies, external representation, gatekeeping for external and internal enquiries, guidance of Human Ethics and Animal Ethics sub-committees, accreditation and audit of departmental sub-committees, and provision of education and training (RUESC, 2014: 8).

Permission to conduct this research was also granted by the Registrar granting permission to interview students and by the Head of Human Resources to interview workers.

1.5 THESIS OUTLINE

The second chapter of this thesis is the contextual chapter for the analysis of the involvement of men campaigns against sexual violence towards women and the aftermath of the #RURestoreList protest. The theoretical framing for the study is presented which is intersectionality and feminist theory of rape. Chapter 2 also includes a review of literature on topics related to the theme of this thesis and research that has been done on the topic of involving men in the prevention of sexual violence against women and different protests that have happened across South African Universities. Following theoretical framework and literature review, Chapter 3 provides an analysis of data collected from the fieldwork addressing both the main objective of this research as well as the sub-goals. Chapter 4 is the conclusion of this research and includes a focus on the challenges faced and recommendations from the researcher about the topic.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the theoretical framework that informs this thesis, and which establishes the framework within which the narratives are analyzed and provides a review of literature on sexual violence towards women in universities. This study uses feminist theory, specifically feminist theory of rape and intersectionality as its theoretical framework. The literature review broadly intends to explore previous research related to issues of sexual violence towards women, the involvement of men in campaigns against sexual violence towards women in South African universities and the aftermath of the #RURReferenceList protest that took place in 2016 at Rhodes University. The review of literature assists this investigation, incorporating international and South African perspectives on the involvement of men in campaigns against sexual violence towards women and the involvement of men in the #RURReferenceList protest.

2.2 CONCEPTUALIZING SEXUAL VIOLENCE

2.2.1 Defining sexual violence towards women

In spite of the immense progress towards including gender equality as a global goal incorporated in numerous UN conventions and the Millennium Development Goals, much progress remains to be made (Peacock & Barker, 2014: 578). Men's violence against women remains a pervasive feature of life in every country in the world (Peacock & Barker, 2014: 578). Increasing attention is being paid to engaging men and boys to end men's violence against women (Peacock & Barker, 2014: 578). Programs and policies have been significantly steered by non-governmental organizations across the world and appeared to promote significant and positive change in men's gender-related attitudes and practices, including in reducing men's use of violence against women (Peacock & Barker, 2014: 578).

The United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women defines violence against women as: "any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women" (Watts & Zimmerman, 2002: 1232). Although broad in its scope, this statement defines violence as acts that cause or have the potential to cause harm and emphasises that these acts are rooted in sex and/or gender inequality (Watts & Zimmerman, 2002: 1232). This focus on women does not deny the fact that men experience violence: War, ethnic cleansing, and gang and street violence are significant causes of male morbidity and mortality (Watts & Zimmerman, 2002: 1232). Nevertheless, as violence

against men often differs in its aetiology and response strategies, it warrants separate consideration (Watts & Zimmerman, 2002: 1232).

Sexual violence is fundamentally a problem of inequality, and moreover, a profoundly gendered one and it very well may be presumed that if the legal system is to address sexual violence effectively, more drastic measures than the mere criminalisation of rape are called for (Krutani, 2018: 28). The eradication of sexual violence against women, then, demands that the law should contribute to an interruption of sex and gender relations by working to uproot the deep hierarchical structures through which masculine and feminine identities were defined for centuries (Krutani, 2018: 28). Additionally, it is thus clear on what grounds thinkers like Cahill (2001: 126) argue that rape is a distinctly sexual and gendered kind of violence in that it serves the system of patriarchal oppression of the female or feminine. However, Cahill is careful not to reduce the effects of rape to its broader political function, but highlights that rape is also sexual on a personal or individual level, in so far as the sexual specifics of the bodies of both victim and assaulter influence their experience of the sexual attack and/or violence (Cahill 2001:163). Accordingly, Cahill identifies rape as a sexual act on both a social and personal level (Cahill 2001:121) in so far as it constructs sexuality in a hierarchical manner through a violent attack through sexual means on the sexed body of an individual. Furthermore, the political function of rape influences the personal experience thereof, and each individual experience of rape is implicated in the social function (Cahill 2001:126).

2.2.2 The root causes of gender-based violence

Even with South Africa's generally peaceful transition from apartheid to democracy, the country is still challenged with high levels of gender-based violence (Mills, 2010: 251). The systems of colonialism and apartheid have both played a significant role in the social and political spheres in South Africa hence creating a culture of violence that continues to afflict the citizens of this country (Morrel, Jewkes & Lindegger, 2012: 11). The apartheid regime alone created divisions along racial and class lines which incited violence (Morrel, Jewkes & Lindegger, 2012: 11). Even though a recognition of the injustices of the past have been noted within the South African constitution and an appreciation of the consequential damage (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996), sexual violence still prevails even after two and a half decades of the abolishment of apartheid.

Furthermore, the transition of the constitution of South Africa redefined "gender" and "sexuality" as it challenged traditional and cultural views of masculinity (Davies & Dreyer, 2014: 8). The

constitution legitimately enforces equality in the social and economic domains (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002: 1231-1232). It is, however, incapable of altering the attitudes of the citizens and forcing them to maintain the revised constitutional values. The intersection of patriarchal domination, and cultural and religious ideologies have subordinated South African women regardless of race or class, as violence is demonstrated in their interpersonal relationships (Albertyn, 2003: 595). In addition, Phumzile Mlambo Ngcuka, in her address in the 2015 Beijing Women's Agenda, revealed that indeed legislation is surpassed by prejudices and stereotypes (Ormajee, 2016: 1). Legitimately, the subordination of women is prohibited but this does not prevent it from occurring (Walker, 2005: 225). This legislative empowerment of women is faced with contradiction as women are unsafe within their private lives as they are haunted by fears of being raped (Gqola, 2007: 111). Besides, rape and gender-based violence, statistics in South Africa reveal a major contradiction in relation to the empowerment of South African women within the private sphere (Gqola, 2007: 111).

It is unfortunate that in male social groups, sexual entitlement can be perceived as a way in which a male can assert himself as masculine (McCormak, 2011: 83). A study conducted by Petersen, Bhana & McKay (2005: 1233) in a semi-rural area located in Kwa Zulu Natal (KZN) involving participants between 13 and 16 years of age, aimed to investigate certain risk influences that make girls vulnerable to sexual violence and boys vulnerable to becoming perpetrators of sexual violence. The study (Petersen et al. 2005: 1240) found that peer pressure had a strong influence on males' inclination to perpetrate sexual violence, as the sexual 'conquest' of a woman translates into the assertion of one's masculinity. Again, in a South African study conducted by Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Morrel, and Dunkle (2010: 2959), which aimed to investigate reasons behind men committing rape, the researchers found that sexual entitlement was the main driver of sexual violence perpetration. Additionally, a demonstration of sexual prowess through coercion often elicits social respect from other men (Walker, 2005:385). Gqola (2007:111) speaks about the necessity to dismantle violent masculinities in addressing gender-based violence. She calls on South African men to combat gender-based violence by rejecting violent masculinities and challenging what they were previously taught regarding gender-role ideologies in relation to women's bodies.

Socialisation also plays a crucial role in gender-based violence. This is because individuals are socialized into gender roles early in life, through the family institution, media, religious institutions

and peer group which are highly influenced by culture, socio-economic status, religion, class and race (PAHO, 1994). Kulik (2002: 53) also mentions that attitudes towards gender roles are formed during the process of socialisation. Mofolo (2010) draws attention to the socialisation that takes place under African traditional cultures which socialise boys to be leaders and providers for their families while girls are socialised into being caregivers to their children and husbands. A study conducted by Khubeka (2008: 282), to investigate the experiences and perceptions of black adolescents in terms of domestic violence in their homes and own intimate relationships, found that ideas of male power and control were present in the participants' socialised gendered notions. Hence, understanding gender socialisation is fundamental in the way we make sense of gender-based violence and its pervasiveness and prevention. Furthermore, Jewkes et al., (2010: 2959) stated that the norm-based socialisation of boys that encourages sexual entitlement might offer insight into the prevalence of sexual violence perpetration. Barker (1999: 166) explains that through the process of socialisation (both primary and secondary socialisation), social gender norms are developed in line with the individual's particular context and society more generally. Hence, it is imperative to understand the process of socialisation specific to the South African context and gearing interventions towards this process might be foundational in effectively addressing issues of gender-based violence in our societies.

2.2.3 Sexual violence towards women in South African Universities

South Africa has one of the highest rates of rape in the world (Vetten 2014:1). Indeed, according to the World Population Review (2019), South Africa has the highest rate of rape in the world of 132.4 incidents per 100,000 people and according to a survey conducted by the South African Medical Research Council, approximate one in four men surveyed admitted to committing rape. Although the Parliament of South Africa enacted the Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act in 2007 attempting to amend and strengthen all laws dealing with sexual violence, the rates of reported rape, sexual abuse of children and domestic violence have continued to rise (World Population Review, 2019). The prevalent nature of sexual violence does not discriminate and thus exists in all sectors of society. Its pervasiveness has offered no exclusions to institutions of higher learning, both internationally (Benson, Gohm, & Gross, 2007; Fisher et al., 2000; Krebs et al., 2007) and in South Africa (Gordons & Collins, 2013; Jewkes, et al., 2012; Mayekiso & Bhana, 1997).

In a study conducted by Fisher et al in 2000, The National College of Women's Sexual Victimization (NWSV) revealed that out the 4,446-women student sample included in the study 2.8% of the women had experienced attempted and/or completed act of sexual violence during the academic year they had registered for. This study also revealed that between 20 and 25% of women in universities will experience an attempted or a completed act of sexual violence while in their university career (Fisher et al, 2000: 33). This study was conducted by the United States Department of Justice

Several decades of research support the unfortunate reality that at least 20% of women experience unwanted sexual contact while attending university (i.e., sexual assault; Koss, Gidycz, & Wisniewski, 1987; Smith & Freyd, 2013). A very small number (about 4%) of these victims report their experiences to campus authorities (Fisher, Daigle, Cullen, & Turner, 2003). Some victims choose to stay silent for various reasons because they do not trust their university to handle the incident appropriately (Smith & Freyd, 2013: 119-124), and because they do not self-identify their experience as an assault (Krebs, Lindquist, Warner, Fisher, Martin, & Childers, 2011: 219-235), or because they do not believe their experience was serious enough to warrant reporting (Fisher et al., 2003: 33)

More recent research by Ben-David and Schneider (2005: 386) in Bar-Ilan University, Israel revealed that many myths about man-on-woman sexual violence persist. Those which enable recidivism among perpetrators incorporate the notion that rape is a crime of passion, it is motivated by sexual urges, that men have naturally uncontrollable sexual urges, that men who rape are sick or impulsive or emotionally sick, or that men misinterpret women's intentions or desires. "Myths which attribute blame to women include 'victim masochism' (women enjoy it), 'victim precipitation' (women invite rape), and 'victim fabrication' (women falsely accuse others or exaggerate the sexual incident)" (Ben-David & Schneider 2005: 386). Furthermore, male participants in this study tended to minimize the severity of rape as a crime. In this scenario the woman escapes from the perpetrator after the crime and reports it to the police (Ben-David & Schneider 2005: 395). Given these findings by other researchers, and the data from this study which allude to victims' and perpetrators' uncertainty about the crime of rape, the need for a policy for women empowerment and gender equality becomes critical (Singh, Mabaso, Mudaly & Singh-Pillay, 2016: 116-117). A rape or sexual assault policy which clearly defines what is meant by consent, sexual assault and rape, including acquaintance rape, will go far towards achieving an

understanding of rape as an aggressive, antisocial, dangerous tool which is used to assert power and control (Singh et al, 2016: 116-117).

Research on gender and sexual violence in higher education institutions has exposed that this is widespread on university campuses globally (Phipps & Smith 2012: 357). Several studies in South Africa have found a high prevalence of sexual assault on South African university campuses. These include studies at UKZN (Chetty 2008; Collins et al. 2009), Rhodes University (Botha, Snowball, De Klerk & Radloff 2013), Stellenbosch University (Graziano 2004), and the University of the Western Cape (Clowes et al. 2009), amongst others. According to Gonzales et al. (2005) the primary reason for the underreporting of this crime is that most sexual assaults on university campuses are committed by assailants who are well known to the victims. Furthermore, survivors or victims may not report for many reasons, including fear of reprisal and exposure, peer pressure and/or lack of faith in the reporting process (Ontario Women's Directorate 2013; Fisher et al. 2007; Perreault & Brennan 2010). Furthermore, cases of rape go unreported for a variety of reasons which include societal attitudes about rape, potential inequities (e.g., economic, gender), and other contextual factors all may impact decisions to report (Wolitzky-Taylor et al, 2011: 809). Results from the National Women's Study (Kilpatrick et al., 1992) indicated that the majority of rape victims were concerned about being blamed by others (69%) and these women identified several other concerns that may decrease the likelihood of reporting, such as being at least somewhat concerned about families knowing (71%), others knowing (68%), and their names being made public (50%) (Wolitzky-Taylor et al, 2011:809). Literature has demonstrated that individuals continue to blame rape victims, particularly among certain groups and when certain rape characteristics are present (Wolitzky-Taylor et al, 2011:809).

Gender-based violence is a serious issue in universities and other institutions of higher learning in South Africa and needs increasingly focused research on why this is the case. Universities and other institutions of higher learning need to be examined within the contexts they operate and not viewed as separate spaces that are unaffected by existing socio-political issues affecting South Africa. It is also important that male students are engaged in campaigns that address sexual violence.

The Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act of 2007 includes a range of sexual offences (Lebitse, 2018: 1). In the workplace, the Labour Relations Act contains

the code of good practice on handling sexual harassment, which encourages employers to develop and implement policies and procedures to create respectful, safe environments (Lebitse, 2018: 1). But there is no comparable code for places or institutions of higher learning and instead, universities rely on their own policies and on self-regulation (Lebitse, 2018: 1). These policies include procedures to follow when a case is reported and a definition of unwanted sexual behavior (non-verbal and verbal as well as physical contact, which ranges from touching to assault and rape) (Lebitse, 2018: 1). Sexual violence on campuses in South Africa has been a long-standing issue and there have been students actively challenging such violence from as early as the 1980s and even earlier than this (Warton & Moore, 2018: 1). But then of great concern is the fact that not much research on the prevalence of sexual violations at higher institutions of learning has been done. It is therefore interesting to compare South Africa with the United States. In 1972, the US adopted Title IX of the Education Amendments, which addressed gender inequality in all institutions of learning (Lebitse, 2018: 1). Title IX is a comprehensive federal law that prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex in any federally funded education program or activity (United States Department of Justice, 1972). Then in the 1990s, the Supreme Court ordered these institutions to introduce steps to deal with sexual harassment and violence (Lebitse, 2018: 1). Furthermore, research reveals that sexual violence on campus is convoluted in complexities that include rape myths, coercion, non-reporting of sexual violence and students' responses to this violation (Lebitse, 2018: 1). The literature also reveals that many students seem unaware of these policies and of greater concern that they lack the knowledge to name sexual violations as such, even though such acts meet the legal definition (Lebitse, 2018: 1).

While currently there is no single overarching policy to address gender-based violence at the institutions of higher learning in South Africa, a national policy and strategic framework is being developed (Warton & Moore, 2018: 1). The Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET) in collaboration with Higher Education and Training HIV/AIDS Programme (HEAIDS) and other relevant stakeholders have established a task team which is currently in the process of developing a *National Policy and Strategy Framework to Address GBV in the Post-School Education and Training Sector* (Warton & Moore, 2018: 1). This framework intends to:

1. "Detail the international and national regulatory framework compelling institutional and departmental responses to gender-based violence;

2. Conceptualize gender-based violence and define its manifestation in terms of existing law and policy;
3. Provide guidance around the structures, mechanisms and processes that PSET institutions must put in place to address gender-based violence;
4. Recommend steps that universities and colleges should take to both create awareness of gender-based violence policies and prevent incidents of gender-based violence; and
5. Set out a framework for oversight of the DHET and PSET institutions' development and implementation of policy" (Warton & Moore, 2018: 1).

This will assist not only in ending sexual violence towards women by men but also persisting cultures that continue to perpetuate rape and other forms of gender-based violence. This also help institutions deal with gender-based violence far better as compared to how they currently deal with issues of gender-based violence particularly sexual violence against women by men. This *National Policy and Strategy Framework to Address GBV in the Post-School Education and Training Sector* (Warton & Morore, 2018: 1) should be implemented in all institutions of higher learning where institutions must constantly submit reports of how they have succeeded in its implementation and how it has assisted in overcoming gender-based violence related issues.

2.3 THEORETICAL CONTEXT

2.3.1 Intersectionality

The concept of intersectionality is a significant contribution of feminist theory to the general endeavour of understanding society and politics (Mazur and McBride, 2008: 193). Intersectionality describes the interaction between systems of oppression and this concept grew out of the efforts to specify that race and gender relations shaped social and political life (Mazur and McBride, 2008: 193). Intersectionality is also a process by which different identities, race, ethnicity and gender, and so forth, are intertwined to create a new identity (Stephens, 2013: 3). For example, a white woman is not just white and just a woman, but a white woman—the gender and race identity become one to form a new identity (Stephens, 2013: 3). Everyone has multiple social identities, not only one, which is why someone may think of herself as a black woman and it is necessary to acknowledge that all people have more identities than merely their race or ethnicity and gender (Stephens, 2013: 3). Therefore, intersectionality speaks to how different identities may intertwine to create a new identity (Stephens, 2013: 3). For example, “a white woman is not just

white and just a woman, but a white woman—the gender and race identity become one to form a new identity” (Stephens, 2013: 3). Therefore, for one to understand intersectionality one needs to understand how a race/ethnic-gender identity can permeate in a person’s life (Stephens, 2013: 3). “The idea of intersectionality is very personal because intersectionality attempts to understand how intersecting identities create instances of both opportunity and oppression, where a person can, depending on his or her particular identity in a particular social context, experience advantage, disadvantage, or both at the same time” (Stephens, 2013: 3). The context of this research looks at the disadvantage of how women experience gender-based violence because of their gender identity and looks at how we can use intersectionality to work together in our communities to put a stop a stop not only to gender-based violence but to disadvantages that women experience because of them identifying as women and other gender non-conforming bodies.

Furthermore, intersectionality is used to deconstruct hegemonic ideologies that attend to marginalize certain bodies (Collins, 1990). Intersectionality theory is concerned with trying to dismantle oppressive patriarchal institutions to establish equality and social justice. Additionally, it highlights how feminist concerns of social justice should include not only gender but race, class and other social identities (Carbin & Edenheim, 2013). This concept highlights the importance of relating individual experiences of oppression from having specific social identities to the systemic structures that create and perpetuate these oppressions on an interpersonal and societal level (Crenshaw, 1991; McCall, 2005). The term intersectionality was first instituted by Crenshaw (1991) and it works to clarify that there is a multiplicity of social identities that should be taken into consideration when accounting for social injustices. Everyone encompasses certain identities which hold a particular standpoint within broader society (Crenshaw, 1991). Thus, certain people find themselves with identities which have been historically marginalized such as being black, being a woman and coming from a poor background. These oppressed identities are interconnected in how they impact an individual’s life and therefore, each person, with an interconnectivity of different identities has different lived experiences (Crenshaw, 1991; McCall, 2005).

Over the last two decades, women have organized against the almost routine violence that shapes their lives and they drew strength from their shared experience (Crenshaw, 1991). Women have recognized that the political demands of millions speak more powerfully than the pleas of a few isolated voices, hence, they saw the need to come together as women to fight against sexual violence against women despite of the race, class, ethnicity and skin color (Crenshaw, 1991). In

addition, this politicization in turn has transformed the way we understand violence against women and for example, battering and rape, were previously seen and regarded as private (family matters) and aberrational (errant sexual aggression), are now largely recognized as part of a broad-scale system of domination that affects women as a class (Crenshaw, 1991). The need to create a separate intersectional identity-based movement stems from the idea of social movements only focusing on one identity (Stephens, 2013: 3). This relates to how third world feminism turned a blind eye to issues and struggles of women of color. The whole idea of solidarity for one group leaves out members who are not part of the main group, often leaving those with more than one target identity in the out-group (Stephens, 2013: 3).

It is then evident that feminist intersectionality is an important framework to use in this study as it works to deconstruct patriarchal structures that underline acts of sexual violence. It also works to validate and give a platform to marginalized experiences (Carbin & Edenheim, 2013). In relation to this study, South Africa comprises a complex demographic of people, of which identities such as race, gender, sex and class have been characteristics for “othering”. This implies that, in light of historical complexities, poor black women’s bodies are still invisible and thus their stories are not always heard (Crenshaw, 1991).

In the context of this study, sexual violence is not only the result of the existing structures of sex or gender inequality, but also plays a central part in the maintenance and perpetuation of these unequal power structures, in so far as rape “forcibly re-sexualises women, turns them symbolically into objects and possessions of men, renders them as natural objects for the use of men, and thus de-politicises their status” (Du Toit 2012:13).

2.3.2 Feminist theory of rape

The term “feminist theory of rape” was used by Mardorossian in his article titled, “*Toward a New Feminist Theory of Rape*” (2002). There have been three different waves of feminism outlined by Woodhead (2000: 67). The first wave of feminism started in the “late nineteenth century” and this wave focused on “equality between the sexes” and the second wave took place “between the 1960s and 1980s” when feminists “campaigns for the liberation of women from male oppression” (Woodhead, 2000: 67). The third wave formed in the 1990s and focused on investigating “gender differences” which are varied, and not as closely linked “to the body” (Woodhead, 2000: 67).

Feminism began as a reaction to the oppression faced by women. The second wave of the feminist movement really took shape during the 1960s when more and more women entered the work force and were involved in pursuits outside of the home (Donat & D'Emilio, 1992). According to Hooks (2000: 1), feminism is a movement to end sexism, sexist exploitation and oppression and this was a definition that attempted to move away from the gendered nature of feminism. Feminists were the first to challenge the conventional definitions of rape, where women were often blamed for rape, and rape was viewed as a crime against the father or the husband (Brownmiller, 2007). This was particularly evident when a virgin was raped and then after the rape she was seen as damaged and all chances of a good marriage were ruined (Donat & D'Emilio, 1992). The feminist movement is a movement around women, challenging the ideals in society that had kept them and made women unequal to men. The movement also challenges the ideology that insisted that women be loyal to the "traditionally defined feminine roles and behaviours" (Donat & D'Emilio, 1992). Because these traditionally defined feminine roles and behaviours are the ones that continue to perpetuate patriarchal behaviours in men and continue to oppress women in the process.

The oppression of women by men is not a new thing, it started many centuries ago and it had a sexualised nature. Brownmiller, (2007: 312) pointed out how men discovered that their genitalia could serve as a weapon to generate fear should rank as one of the most important discoveries of prehistoric times. This was linked to the early feminist movement which was also seen as a fight for "sexual liberation" and part of this movement was an attempt to change the way society viewed rape (Hooks, 2000: 148). This involved a shift to a more victim-centered rape ideology, which is a very problematic ideology of rape (Donat & D'Emilio, 1992). Chasteen (2001: 101) states that the definition of rape changed over time due to feminism "challenging traditional constructions of sexual violence". It also proposed another understanding of rape and transformed "rape into a social problem". Brownmiller (2007: 311) notes that feminism gained momentum in the second wave, as feminists started openly discussing "women's sexual vulnerabilities". By openly discussing issues that affected women, it led to women challenging the definitions used to describe violence against women (VAW). Helliwell (2000) argues that feminists aimed to show that rape was embedding within "society and culture". This view was taken as an alternative to focusing on men and their sexual desires.

Before the 1960s and 1970s, rape was a subject that was rarely discussed in our societies, and Chasteen (2001:103) identified this period as the "sparse pre-1970s discourse". The feminist

movement changed this, making it a “central concern” because rape concerns and affects not only those who are victimised but the entire society (Chasteen, 2001: 106). In the 1970s feminists were able to change the definition of rape to show how it was used as “a means of enforcing gender roles in society and maintaining the hierarchy in which men retained control” (Donat & D’Emilio, 1992: 14). With the change in the definition of rape, rape was for the first time being defined from a “victim’s perspective” (Donat & D’Emilio, 1992: 14). This meant that while the understanding of rape changed, so did the understandings around the rape perpetrator and the rape victim (Donat & D’Emilio, 1992).

Brownmiller (2007: 311) observed that rape was a way to ensure women were afraid, and, in turn, “dependent on men’s protection”. Brownmiller (2007) looked at how girls are raised, or taught, to be “rape victims”, and how they grow up to fear men and being. This can be linked to literature that noted how women are raised to fear being raped. Helfgott (2008: 209) looked at how women “see themselves as prey and men as predators”. MacKinnon (1989: 172) expressed the view that rape was “an act of terrorism and torture within a systematic context of group subjection”. In naming rape as a form of terrorism and torture, MacKinnon was trying to express that rape goes beyond one man making an error in judgment. She further goes on to look at how rape was defined in the law, and how, if it “looks like sex it was not considered a crime” (MacKinnon, 1989: 172). Brownmiller (2007: 314) observed how men choose to believe that women “want to be raped” and how blame was shifted to the victim by saying “she asked for it”. This was in line with women being too scared to be out after dark, which helped to create a divide on gender lines, as men do not have these same fears as women. Also, how even after some women are raped, they still fear reporting men because of how they have been made to believe that it is okay for men to rape them.

It is clear that feminist theory of rape had three main goals: firstly, to bring women’s issues to the fore and thereby making them societal issues; secondly, to change the definition of rape to one that is centered on the “victim”; and lastly, to show how rape is embedded within society and culture, and so that the fight against rape or any GBV related issues are dealt with not only by women by the entire society. The society consisting of men.

2.3.3 Feminism and Patriarchy

According to Hannicutt (2009: 557), patriarchy is the “social arrangements that privilege men, where men as a group dominate women as a group”. For Hannicutt (2009: 557) there is patriarchy both on a societal level (macro) and a family (micro) level. In addition, patriarchy is rooted within

most cultures and societies based on the idea of “male dominance and female subordination” (UN General Assembly, 2006: 102; Meel, 2008: 69). Patriarchy is a problematic concept because this is how men got the power to violate women and force them to do things even when they do not want to them. This is because they have been given the power to regard themselves as superior to women and that women need to submit to men. The concept of patriarchy in *Sexual Politics* (Millett, 1970) and in other radical and revolutionary feminist documents grows out of the attempt to analyse the autonomous basis of the oppression of women in all forms of society and to give a theoretical justification for the autonomy of feminist politics (Beechey, 1979: 66).

The concept of patriarchy which has been created within feminist writings is not a single or simple concept but has a whole variety of different meanings (Beechey, 1979: 66). At the most general level patriarchy has been used to refer to male domination and to the power relationships by which men dominate women (Millett, 1969). Unlike radical feminist writers like Kate Millett, who have focused solely upon the system of male domination and female subordination, Marxist feminists have tried to analyse the relationship between the subordination of women and the organization of various modes of production (Beechey, 1979: 66). In fact, the concept of patriarchy has been adopted by Marxist feminists in an attempt to transform Marxist theory so that it can more adequately account for the subordination of women as well as for the forms of class exploitation (Beechey, 1979: 66).

Within feminist theory, debates on violence against women need to be understood with “gender as its central organising feature” (Hunnicut, 2009: 557). South African policy for women’s empowerment and gender equality confirms how gender needs to be understood in terms of the “historical racial and patriarchal oppression” (Department of Women, Children and People with Disabilities, 2012:19). This statement points to the reality of patriarchy within South African society and its influence over the way women experience their role and position within society. Feminists view patriarchy as the root of gender inequality within society, and the “radical feminist” analysis views it as control over a woman’s body “through sexuality or male violence in the form of rape” (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2004: 93- 94). The overall radical feminists’ belief is that women experience gender inequality as a direct result of male oppression (Etaugh & Bridges, 2006: 21). Radical feminists encourage research that is both “about women and for women” (Burr, 1998: 19). This is so that women can tell their stories without being censored or filtered by the men in their social spaces, given that within the home men often abuse women as a form of punishment

(Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Morrell & Dunkle, 2011: 23) for challenging the inherent male domination within the family setting. Furthermore, patriarchy has moved from being defined as the ownership of women by men mostly in a form of the father or the husband, to that of a society where men are believed to have power over women (Etaugh & Bridges, 2006: 21). This concept of patriarchy has been entrenched within South African society and has resulted in women being treated as unequal to men and this leaves women open to abuse at home and in society outside the home.

Catherine MacKinnon (2005: 129), a radical feminist and lawyer, argued that sexual violence symbolizes and actualizes women's subordinate social status to men. It is both an indication and a practice of inequality between the sexes, specifically of the low status of women relative to men (MacKinnon, 2005: 129). Accessibility for forceful intimate intrusion and use at will for pleasure by another defines who one is socially taken to be and constitutes an index of social worth. To be a means to the end of the sexual pleasure of one more powerful is, empirically, a degraded status and the female position (MacKinnon, 2005:129).

2.4 RESISTING SEXUAL VIOLENCE THROUGH PROTEST AND THE POLITICS OF EXPERIENCE

In 2015 university campuses all over South Africa erupted in hashtag campaigns such as #RhodesMustFall, #FeesMustFall, #OpenStellenbosch #EndPatriarchy and in 2016 #EndRapeCulture (Gouws, 2018: 3). The #MustFall was attached to the broader campaign to transform South African universities and remove the financial barriers to tertiary education (Silber, 2016: 1) The #FeesMustFall movement enraptured the entire country in 2015 since it started at the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) (Findlay, 2015: 1) and later spread to other South African universities. These hashtag campaigns were accompanied by demands for decolonisation to the removal of the statue of Cecil John Rhodes at the University of Cape Town (UCT), a zero percent fee increment in 2016, changes to the instruction medium of Afrikaans at the Stellenbosch University and the end of 2016 a demand for free education in higher institutions of higher learning (Gouws, 2018: 3), as well as an end to attitudes, behaviour and practices that normalised sexual violence on South African university campuses (Gouws, 2018:3). However, the focus of this thesis is specifically the #EndRapeCulture campaign that saw young women mobilise against the issue of sexual violence in South Africa and when this campaign started most of the organizers were black African young women who took the protests to the streets sometimes bare breasted or in underwear to say, "enough is enough – we are tired of this violence!" (Gouws, 2018: 3).

For those students who were involved and active in the hashtag campaigns, South Africa has never really been decolonized and even 21 years after the transition from apartheid to democracy the remnants of colonialization remain. The statue of Cecil John Rhodes at UCT was a stark reminder of how a colonist brutalized the indigenous populations of Africa and South Africa in particular (Gouws, 2018: 7). There is now a global connection between digital feminism and physical embodied protest action, the #EndRapeCulture campaign made extensive use of digital platforms (Gouws, 2018:7). Research has shown that black women all around the world use Twitter more than any other demographic group (Williams, 2015: 343). Black feminists use digital media to resist the stereotyping of black women's sexuality in the mainstream media and their use of hashtag activism is a unique fusion of social justice, technology and citizen journalism (Williams, 2015: 343). These technologies create spaces for survivors to voice their justice needs due to the failure of the criminal justice system to serve them with justice (Powell, 2015: 580). However, other research has shown that digital communication extends the harm of sexual violence by further harassment, humiliation and naming and shaming of survivors.

2.5 RHODES UNIVERSITY SEXUAL VIOLENCE PROTEST (#RUREFERENCCELIST PROTEST)

Rhodes University is the smallest university in South Africa with approximately 8000 students (Rhodes University Digest of Statistics, 2015). It is established in the small rural town of Makhanda in the Eastern Cape. Although small, it is not immune to the affliction of gender-based violence which is currently facing the rest of South Africa.

In April 2016, a list with 11 names titled the "reference list" surfaced on social media from Rhodes University (Seddon, 2016: 1). Shortly after the list was made public, students converged on the Steve Biko Buildings and proceeded to march to the various residences of the men appearing on the list (Klein, 2016:1). However, "Rhodes University called for the so-called 'reference list' of eleven alleged rapists posted online to be removed from social networks, warning that accusations without charges being laid violate human rights" (Whittles, 2016: 1). The #RURferenceList protest gained a considerable amount of media coverage which heightened the university community's awareness of sexual violence as students demanded the entire university community to join them in solidarity in their plight against sexual violence (Seddon, 2016: 1). Following from the Rhodes University protest, the advocacy against gender-based violence has taken different forms in some South African universities with the similar aim of bringing awareness to the issue

of gender-based violence and making university spaces a safe space for women (Kelly, 2016; Seddon, 2016; Singh, 2016; Tadeppally & Parker, 2016). For instance, the University of Cape Town (UCT) held a mass meeting in 2016 against rape culture at the university, with hash-tags such as #UCTSpeaksOut and #EndRapeCulture accompanied by slogans such as “UCT fails survivors” and “Council’s silence = complicity” (Kelly, 2016: 1). An anti-rape protest also took place in Stellenbosch University in 2016, where more than 300 students gathered to speak against GBV in the institution (Singh, 2016: 1). The co-founder of the Stellenbosch University “unashamed movement” Rochelle Jacobs, pointed out that the university management was not doing enough to address the issue, as she highlighted management’s installation of cameras and increasing the number of security guards in response to GBV on campus (Singh, 2016:1). Students at Wits University also held a demonstration at the institution in solidarity with their counterparts at Rhodes University fighting against rape culture and this demonstration as held at the Braamfontein campus's Great Hall (News24, 2016). This was in solidarity with the women who released the Rhodes University reference list detailing alleged sexual offenders (News24, 2016). They spoke frankly about rape culture and how they want to deal with assaults on campuses (News24, 2016). More recently, hundreds of students dressed in black and purple marched through Wits University campus demanding that the administration act against violence against women and make the campus safe for women and queer people (GroundUp News, 2019). This march at Wits University followed a week of marches in Cape Town and other cities. The outcry was sparked by the rape and murder of 19-year-old Uyinene Mrwetyana, a film and media student at the University of Cape Town (GroundUp News, 2019).

During the #RURreference protest the Rhodes University campus walls were covered in posters advocating against sexual violence and rape culture in the institution. The protesting students demanded a shut-down of the university as they felt that their concerns were ignored by the university as it was tolerant of the “rape culture” on campus (Seddon, 2016: 1). However, as these protests were unplanned and disruptive of the University academic programme, the university administration requested police intervention and a court interdict to prevent further protesting. (Seddon, 2016: 1). This was to prohibit illegal actions during the protest, such as disrupting lectures, damaging property and blocking public roads.

In light of the #RURreferenceList protests, a Sexual Violence Task Team (SVTT) was formed by the Rhodes University management to investigate and explore how a culture counteracting rape

culture could be implemented at the University (Sexual Violence Task Team, 2016). The task team, considering the #RUniversityReferenceList protests recommended that three overarching goals: a need for retributive justice, mediation and restorative justice, and reparative justice (Sexual Violence Task Team, 2016). One of the recommendations made in the SVTT report under reparative justice was to institute the bystander model of prevention as a means of preventing sexual violence directly as it would train students and university staff to recognize and intervene in situations that have the potential to cause harm.

2.6 THE RESPONSES OF INSTITUTIONS TO THE ISSUE OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

Cantalupo (2014: 227) mentions that violence in institutions of higher learning is subjected to two extremes, one of silencing and the other of sensationalism. Responses from the university are pivotal in the cycle of non-reporting and the continuation of sexual violence on campus (Cantalupo, 2014: 227). One of the reasons for under-reporting by victims of sexual violence is the fear of not being believed by persons in authority (Cantalupo, 2014: 229). This could not hold more credence than it did for the Rhodes University community where students felt for years that their reports of sexual violence on campus were ignored and downplayed by the university (De Klerk et al., 2011; Seddon, 2016; Tadeppally & Parker, 2016). Because of the prevalent nature of sexual violence at Rhodes University, a programme called the silent protest was launched in 2007 to draw attention to and challenge the culture of silence around sexual violence (Silent Protest, 2017). The silent protest began as an initiative between Rhodes University and the One in Nine Campaign which advocates against sexual violence (Silent Protest, 2017). Since its inception, the silent protest has become a scheduled annual event in the university calendar, and it begins with a gathering of participants wearing purple t-shirts inscribed with messages that speak against sexual violence and the silence surrounding it. During the protest the protestors have their mouths taped with black gaffer tape, symbolising the silencing that occurs around sexual violence (Silent Protest, 2017). However, this does not necessarily provide justice for those who have been sexually violated by men. It only provides a space to speak out and allow other students to be in solidarity with them. This is not to discredit the silent protest, but it is no secret that even though it is an event that occurs annually female students are still exposed to sexual violence. Perhaps there is a need for other campaigns that deal directly with ending sexual violence towards women and challenging rape culture.

The former Minister of Higher Education and Training, Naledi Pandor, has appointed a task team to help prevent sexual harassment and sexual violence at universities (Retief, 2019: 1). This was after academics from across South African universities wrote to the minister in March 2019 highlighting the scourge of gender-based violence and sexual harassment on campuses (Retief, 2019:1). We can only be hopeful that the appointment of this task team will contribute significantly to not only preventing sexual violence in our universities but ending it, challenging rape culture and dismantling any cultures that perpetuate any form of gender-based violence.

2.7 PREVENTION OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE TOWARDS WOMEN

Krutani (2018: 34) wrote that the prevention of sexual violence is targeted on three different levels. Firstly, the primary prevention (which has its focus on changing systems/societal norms); secondly, the secondary prevention (which has its focus on an immediate response after a rape has occurred); and thirdly, tertiary prevention (which has its focus on long term responses following a rape to ameliorate the consequences for the victim) (Centres for Disease Control and Prevention, 2004; Loots, Dartnall, Jewkes, 2011; Topping & Barron, 2009; Townsend & Campbell, 2008).

The bystander model mentioned above is identified as a primary method of prevention, and it has gained momentum on university campuses as the responsibility of prevention is attributed not only to the potential victim but also to the potential perpetrator and to any bystanders (Banyard, Plante, and Moynihan, 2004; McMahon and Banyard, 2012; McMahon, Postmus, and Koenick, 2011; Potter, Moynihan, Stapleton, and Banyard, 2009). This model is not restricted to changing individual behaviour; rather, it has an expanded focus that aims to change interactions between peers, the community, norms, and behaviours (Casey & Lindhorst, 2009; Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2004; Moynihan, Potter, Banyard, Stapleton, & Mayhew, 2010). The bystander model incorporates all three levels of prevention as it aims to address the social attitudes and values that enable sexual violence in the first place (primary prevention); develop competencies that improve the likelihood of community members intervening during actual acts of sexual violence (secondary prevention); and providing supportive environments and access to medical and legal services after the sexual violence act (tertiary prevention) (McMahon & Banyard, 2012: 3). However, the acceptance of rape myths is common among university students and has been identified as a barrier to effective and successful implementation of bystander interventions, as potential bystanders attribute less value to the victim's situation and in this manner feel less responsible to intervene (Suarez & Gadalla, 2010: 2010-2011).

2.8 DIFFICULTIES IN INVOLVING MEN IN CAMPAIGNS AGAINST SEXUAL VIOLENCE TOWARDS WOMEN

Most people see violence against women as a women's issue and that is where the problem begins (Katz, 2006:5). It is problematic that we regard sexual violence towards women as solely a women's issue when over 99 percent rape cases are committed by men, whether the victims are female or male (Katz, 2006: 5). Ending violence in our communities is a responsibility of the whole community and it is significant that men and boys are active participants and promoters of change to get rid of the current status quo (Muunguja, 2018: 1). Even when men's role in gender violence is discussed in media spaces (television, newspaper, etc.) and in everyday conversation, the focus is typically on men as perpetrators or potential perpetrators (Katz, 2006: 5) and not as activists against gender-based violence. Hence, it is also critical to combat not only the individual instances of violence, but also the systemic forms of violence, as violence does not occur in a vacuum but rather in a society that condones and encourages it (Muunguja, 2008: 1). It is rare to find any in-depth discussion about the culture that is producing these violent men (Katz, 2006: 6). For a very long-time women across ethnic and religious lines have been trying to get men around them and those in power to do more about violence against women. Yet women continue to face an uphill struggle in trying to make meaningful inroads into male culture and the biggest challenge has been getting men to do something about this problem of sexual violence towards women (Katz, 2006: 8). The challenges have been trying to get men to do something by educating and organizing other men in sufficient numbers to prompt a significant cultural shift (Katz, 2006: 8). In addition, those who advocate that men should become active participants in ending violence against women often argue that, as part of this, men should engage in critical reflection on their own social locations and practices (Flood, 2018: 1). In addition to this, in the recent events that happened in Cape Town where a young woman was raped and killed in a Post Office, we have seen more men together with women chanting against gender-based violence which shows that now men are realising the depth of gender-based violence and engaging themselves in the fight against sexual violence towards women by men.

Convincing men to regard and take gender violence issues seriously has not been easy (Katz, 2006: 9). Even in our universities we rarely see men having dialogues amongst themselves about gender related issues and educating themselves on how they can contribute to the call to end sexual violence against women. In some cases, even when some men join women's conversations in such issues, most of them never go back and reflect on how to find how they can – as men – assist in

challenging issues such as rape culture and sexual violence towards women. Furthermore, there is no point in being naïve about why women have had such a difficult time convincing men to involve themselves in the fight against GBV particularly sexual violence towards women by men. Also, despite the significant social change in recent decades men continue to grow up with deeply misogynistic, male-dominated culture (Katz, 2006: 9). This is the culture where violence against women is disturbingly common and the mistreatment of women is a pervasive characteristic of our patriarchal culture where most men have played a role in its perpetuation (Katz, 2006: 9). Katz (2006: 10) says that many people would argue that because of the dominant position of men in our societies and because violence reinforces their dominance that it is not in men's interest to reduce violence against women (Katz, 2006: 10). It is time for a critical consideration of efforts to involve men in the prevention of violence against women.

Flood (2011: 358-359) argues that deliberate efforts to shift men's involvement in gender relations are progressively common around the world. Such efforts take different forms, from grassroots mobilization to government initiatives, and are driven by various agendas, from feminist to anti-feminist. At the grassroots level, there are pro-feminist men's groups and networks dedicated to promoting men's advocacy and support of gender equality as well as anti-feminist men's groups determined to push back the gains of feminism (Flood, 2011: 358). Berkowitz (2004: 1-2) argued that men can prevent violence against women by not personally engaging in violence, by intervening against the violence of other men, and by addressing the root causes of violence. Men's involvement can appear as essential or universal prevention (directed at all men, including those who do not appear to be at risk of committing violence and those who may be at risk for continuing a pattern of violence), through secondary or selective prevention (directed at men who are at-risk for committing violence), and/or through more intensive tertiary or indicated prevention (with men who have already been violent) (Berkowitz, 2004: 2).

Efforts to engage men in preventing and reducing men's violence against women, and more generally in building gender equality, are increasingly well established, signaled by new regional and international networks, conferences and campaigns, an expansion of domains of intervention, an orientation towards 'scaling up' and an increasing engagement with public policy (Muunguja, 2018: 1).

A successful case of engaging men in campaigns against sexual violence towards women has been seen in Tanzania, in the form of the Children’s Dignity Forum (CDF) which engages men and boys at the core of its interventions to promote gender equality, child protection and girls’ empowerment within society (Muunguja, 2018: 1). CDF engages men and boys through a community-based approach to challenging and changing the social norms and attitudes that cause and perpetuate violence (Muunguja, 2018: 1). The most remarkable thing about this forum is that in addressing the roles men of all ages can play in preventing and reducing gender-based violence, CDF examines the root causes which are the socialization of men, power and patriarchy, masculinities, gender inequality and the links to all forms of violence against women (Muunguja, 2018: 1). Also, forums like these need to be implemented in all communities and societies in engaging men from all ages about any gender-based violence. CDF recognizes that equality between women and men is a fundamental principle of international law as established by the United Nations (UN) Charter (Muunguja, 2018: 1). Achieving gender equality is a societal responsibility that must fully engage both men and women (Muunguja, 2018: 1). For many years, women around Tanzania have led efforts to prevent and end violence, and today more and more men are adding their support to the women’s movement (Muunguja, 2018: 1). Through CDF’s intervention it has been revealed that men have a crucial role to play as fathers, friends, decision makers, and community and opinion leaders, in speaking out against violence against women and ensuring that priority attention is given to the issue (Muunguja, 2018:1). Importantly, men can provide positive role models for young men and boys, based on healthy models of masculinity (Muunguja, 2018:1). Many countries, especially on the African continent, can learn things from this initiative that has invested in engaging men by teaching and encouraging them not to perpetuate any form of gender-based violence.

Contemporary scholarship does document that particular interventions have successfully shifted the attitudes, behaviors and/or inequalities related to violence against women (Flood, 2015: 2). A 2007 international review reported 15 interventions involving men and/or boys in preventing and reducing violence (World Health Organization 2007). “Of these, four were judged as effective, seven as promising, and four as unclear (where ‘effective’ entails a rigorous design and high or medium impact or moderate design and high impact, ‘promising’ entails moderate design and medium or low impact or rigorous design and low impact, and ‘unclear’ entails a limited design regardless of impact, or limited impact” (Flood, 2015:2).

However, even though there is a substantial evidence base attesting to the effectiveness of at least some strategies and interventions, this field is also restricted in significant ways (Flood, 2016: 1). Violence prevention efforts often have focused on changing men's attitudes, as opposed to also seeking to transform structural and institutional inequalities (Flood, 2016: 1). While feminist and queer scholarship has explored diversities and pluralities in the organisation of sexuality, much violence prevention work often assumes a homogenously heterosexual male constituency (Flood, 2016: 1). Too often this work is conceptually simplistic regarding gender (Flood, 2016: 1).

2. 9 SEXUAL VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AS A MEN'S ISSUE

Although historically the prevention of relationship violence has been a women's issue, more recently recognition has emerged regarding the need to engage men as partners in these initiatives (Crooks, 2007: 217). Early attempts have been mainly driven by grassroots efforts and have not been consistent with a particular theory of behaviour and attitude (Crooks, 2007: 217). There is a growing awareness that men, in partnership with women, can play a significant role in ending violence against women (Berkowitz, 2004: 1). This has prompted an expansion in programmes and activities that focus on men's roles in violence prevention (Berkowitz, 2004: 1). Men should take responsibility for preventing violence against women because of the untold harm it causes to women in men's lives and the ways in which it directly hurts men (Berkowitz, 2004: 1). Violence against women hurts men when it results in women being afraid of or suspicious of men due to fear of potential victimization and when it perpetuates negative stereotypes of men based on the actions of a few (Berkowitz, 2004: 1). The behaviours and attitudes that cause violence against women may also be a cause of men being violent towards other men (Berkowitz, 2004: 1). These same behaviours and attitudes may also keep men from having close and meaningful relationships with each other (Berkowitz, 2004: 1). Lastly, all men can have an influence on the culture and environment that allows other men to be perpetrators (Berkowitz, 2004: 1). For example, men can refuse to be bystanders to other men's violent behaviour (Berkowitz, 2004: 1).

Flood (2011: 358-359) argues that deliberate efforts to shift men's involvement in gender relations are progressively common around the world. Such efforts take different forms, from grassroots mobilization to government initiatives, and are driven by various agendas, from feminist to anti-feminist (Flood, 2011: 358). At the grassroots level, there are pro-feminist men's groups and networks dedicated to promoting men's advocacy and support of gender equality as well as anti-feminist men's groups determined to push back the gains of feminism (Flood, 2011: 358).

Berkowitz (2004: 1-2) argued that men can prevent violence against women by not personally engaging in violence, by intervening against the violence of other men, and by addressing the root causes of violence. This expansive definition of violence against women provides roles for all men in preventing violence against women (Berkowitz, 2004: 1). Men's involvement can appear as essential or universal prevention (directed at all men, including those who do not appear to be at risk of committing violence and those who may be at risk for continuing a pattern of violence), through secondary or selective prevention (directed at men who are at-risk of committing violence), and/or through more intensive tertiary or indicated prevention (with men who have already been violent) (Berkowitz, 2004: 2).

Men who work to end violence against women challenge the dominant culture and the understandings of masculinity that maintain it (Crooks et al, 2007: 219). Accordingly, male activists are often met with suspicion, homophobia and other questions about their 'masculinity' (Crooks et al, 2007: 219). Whereas the types of challenges distinguished by Berkowitz are contributing factors to men's passivity, there are also several other reasons (Crooks et al, 2007: 219). Moreover, men are not consistently reluctant to get involved and, when asked, identify several reasons for their lack of action (Crooks et al, 2007: 219). Michael Kaufman (1987/1998) identified a "triad" of violence in the lives of men: violence against women, violence against men, and violence against oneself (Crooks et al, 2007: 219). For Kaufman and other men's studies researchers, violence is not a necessary result of being male (Crooks et al, 2007: 219). Indeed, many authors take great pains to distinguish between the biological determinism inherent in an expression like "male violence" and the social construction of "men's violence" (Crooks et al, 2007: 219). Kaufman noted that children are socialized into expectations of behaviour by our broader society at a young age (Crooks et al, 2007: 219). Although recognizing that the focus of study should be on how society constructs gender identity, Kaufman and other commentators are clear that men must take individual responsibility for their actions and recognize the existence of societal power relations (Crooks et al, 2007: 219). The clearest manifestation of those power relations is violence against women (Crooks et al, 2007: 219). Consistent with the feminist framework of violence against women is the idea that notions of masculinity play a major role in determining gender equality and violence (Crooks et al, 2007: 220). It is important to recognize that masculinity plays a role at the individual level (i.e., men who execute violence towards women will probably have negative attitudes about women), but also at the community or contextual level

(Crooks et al, 2007: 220). Both individual and contextual factors are related to the perpetration of violence (Crooks et al, 2007: 220). There is a powerful feminist rationale for addressing men in ending violence against women, with three key elements (Flood, 2011: 359). First and above all, efforts to prevent violence against women must address men because largely it is men who execute this violence (Flood, 2011). For instance, a nationally representative sample of 16,000 men and women in the United States documents that violence against women is predominantly male violence (Flood, 2011: 359). Statistics reveal that of the women who had been physically assaulted since the age of 18, 92% had been assaulted by a male, and of the women who had been sexually assaulted, all had been raped by males (Flood, 2011: 359). Therefore, to make progress toward eliminating violence against women, we will need to change men and their attitudes, behaviours, identities, and relations (Flood, 2011: 359). Furthermore, the constructions of masculinity play a crucial role in shaping violence against women: at the individual level, in families and relationships, in communities, and societies as a whole (Flood, 2011: 359). A wide variety of studies have found, for example, that men's adherence to sexist, patriarchal, and/or sexually hostile attitudes is an important predictor of their use of violence against women, as several meta-analyses (Flood, 2011: 359). While masculine attitudes are one factor, another is male dominance itself. Male economic and decision-making dominance in the family is one of the strongest predictors of high levels of violence against women (Flood, 2011: 359).

2.10 CONCLUSION

The purpose of this chapter was to discuss different theoretical perspectives that inform this research and literature that has been done on the topic. Intersectional theory was specifically considered, and feminist theory of rape was focused on, since there has been a lot of confusion of what constitutes rape especially by men and lastly, feminism and patriarchy. The terms of literature review the insights discussed above lead to the point that we have no choice but to address men and masculinities if we want to stop violence against women (Flood, 2011: 359). However, violence prevention work with men has been fuelled also by a third and more hopeful insight: that men have a positive role to play in helping to stop violence against women (Flood, 2011: 359). Violence is an issue of concern to women and men alike and men have a stake in ending violence against women (Flood, 2011: 359). While men receive a “patriarchal dividend”—a set of material and interpersonal privileges—from gendered structures of inequality, men can be motivated by other interests (Flood, 2011: 360).

CHAPTER 3: DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The resistance against sexual violence towards women in South African universities intensified after the sexual violence protests that occurred in 2016, including the #RURetirementList protest. Students from a number of university campuses, particularly Rhodes University, stood together to protest sexual violence following the list of alleged student perpetrators of sexual violence that was released online. Inevitably, the question of the involvement of men in such campaigns against sexual violence towards women arises, because men are part of the struggles associated with the sexual violence that women experience. Hence, this study analysed the involvement of men in campaigns against sexual violence towards women, and their involvement in the aftermath of the #RURetirementList protest.

In this chapter, I focus on the perspectives that students have in involving men in campaigns against sexual violence towards women and their understanding of sexual violence in general. This comes from the notion that sexual violence is not only a women's issue, as discussed in the previous chapter, and from the need to make this a community issue where everyone is engaged in issues of sexual violence and involved in ending it. This analysis was done through the organisation of the data that was collected during the in-depth interviews through coding, and was divided into the following broad themes: safety on campus, students' understanding of gender-based violence, particularly sexual violence against women, students' perceptions of the involvement of men in campaigns against sexual violence towards women, nature of men's involvement in such initiative, the aftermath of the #RURetirementList protest and ongoing campaigns that still deal with issues of gender-based violence.

3.2 DATA PRESENTATION

3.2.1 Student safety on campus

As discussed in Chapter two, South Africa has one of the highest rates of rape in the world (Vetten 2014:1). In addition, according to the World Population Review (2019), South Africa has the highest rate of rape in the world with 132.4 incidents per 100,000 people. Since the context of this research is institutions of higher learning in South Africa, I saw the need to question the participants of this research about how safe they feel on campus and if, in particular, the Rhodes University campus feels like a safe space for students. It was not surprising to hear that most of these participants did not regard Rhodes University campus as a safe space.

The findings of this research revealed that most of the participants that were interviewed in this research, specifically women, queer, transgender and gender non-conforming students, do not feel safe on campus, especially once the sun goes down. Three out of the five students interviewed expressed that they did not find the university campus space safe, especially with the widespread allegation that some registered students are sexual violence perpetrators. Of the three students who expressed feeling unsafe, two were cisgender women and one was a transgender woman. The other two participants were men, so they said they always feel safe on campus. When the transgender woman was asked about safety, she answered,

“During the day I feel safe, but I feel less safe as the sun goes down. What would make me feel safe is being able to exist without fearing anything, being able to walk from my place to school safely. I look at being safe as being to get general identification and documentation correct, where I am able to report sexual violence very correctly and comfortably. Therefore, what would make me feel safer is that sense of feeling not burdensome because of my transness or my womanhood and being able to navigate spaces fully without feeling the need of looking back or overthinking” (Interview, 2019).

It is against human rights legislation that cis-gendered women, queer, transgender and gender non-conforming students on campus do not feel safe and have to take extra precautions to ensure that nothing happens to them, as legislation states that the university space is supposed to be a safe space for all students.

The Chair of the Gender Action Forum’s response to this question of safety was,

“Advanced security would make me feel safer because I was once in a physical altercation with a man last year (2018) and security was just standing and watching the incident unfold; they did not really do anything. Also, when I was filling the form at Campus Protection Unit (CPU), the man was still harassing me, and CPU did not do much about that. Another thing that would make me feel safer is the university fixing street lights because some of the lights do not work and the emergency buttons” (Interview, 2019).

This participant went as far as expressing that she did not even trust the security on campus to help her when something bad happens because of the experience she had last year. It is evident from their responses that the women that participated in this research do not feel safe on campus, and some of the things that came out from the interviews that would assist women feel more safer

would be the advancement of security, fixing lights on all campus streets and ensuring that all the emergency buttons on campus are working and accessible at all times. In addition to this, this research also revealed how privileged men are in the area of safety, because both the men I interviewed expressed that they always feel safe on campus even in the middle of the night. This suggests that gender plays a role in safety issues. This male participant proceeded by saying that,

“We need to get to a point to a point where all students feel completely safe on campus irrespective of their gender identity or sexuality. If we the get to that point we would have succeeded in making women feel more safer in not only on campus but everywhere they go” (Interview, 2019).

Being in an environment where you constantly fear being sexually violated does not make the environment conducive for learning, which is an especially prevalent problem for a university campus. The female participants even expressed that they stopped going to the library or computer labs at night because they are always in fear of the unknown.

3.2.2 Students’ understanding of gender-based violence particularly sexual violence towards women

As was pointed out in Chapter Two, research on gender and sexual violence in higher education institutions has exposed that such violence is widespread on university campuses globally (Phipps & Smith 2012). Therefore, I saw the need to question the participants of this research about their understanding of gender-based violence, particularly sexual violence towards women. I was especially interested in the male participants’ responses as I was eager to see if the reason why some men do not involve themselves in these campaigns is because they are not clear about what gender-based violence entails.

The first male participant responded by saying:

“Gender-based violence is the making lives of the other gender a living hell, so basically abuse which can come physically, emotionally or psychologically, sexually and many other ways” (Interview, 2019).

The second male participant responded by saying:

“Gender-based violence is violence that has an oppressive character based on gender and is perpetuated by power dynamics between men and women. Men are in position of power and they tend to abuse that power” (Interview, 2019).

From these two male participants in my research, who do not, admittedly, represent the entirety of Rhodes University’s male understanding, the sense I got was that men do understand what gender-based violence is and the power dynamics attached to it. Therefore, the men in this research claimed that their non-participation in some gender-based violence campaigns is not based on them not understanding what gender-based violence is, but is rather because of other factors that will be discussed later on this chapter. The response I got from the transgender woman participant when I asked what gender-based violence means to her was,

“My understanding of gender-based violence it is the violence people experience because of their gender identities and looking at how queer people are violated and victimized because of their performativity and gender identity. Also, looking at women and how they are victimized in particular spaces. So, it is looking in particular just the marginalized groups of people that are positioned in a very procurance space because of their gender identity” (Interview, 2019).

The first female participant responded,

“I think it would be any oppressed gender identity that experiences misogyny and patriarchy in the most violent ways possible” (Interview, 2019).

The second woman participant responded,

“Gender-based violence speaks to how women are abused in different forms by men” (Interview, 2019).

While varied, all these responses proved that the participants had a good grasp on what gender-based violence entails. We spent a lot of time in Chapter Two exploring how universities do not adequately address issues of gender-based violence, particularly sexual violence towards women, leading to students in 2016 protesting against this type of violence in institutions. The question of how to end sexual violence was brought before the participants. From the first participant, who was the Chair of the Gender Action Forum, the response I got was:

“It is not black or white when it comes to violence, it’s a very grey area. Because you cannot really say what or what cannot be done. A lot of violence stems from cultural beliefs and values that people hold and while we do try and have panel discussions and workshops on rape culture, consent, homophobia and those type of things. At the end of the day if people are not willing to unlearn and relearn there really won’t be a difference” (Interview, 2019).

This female participant believed that we can accomplish everything that we feel needs to be done to end sexual violence against women, but that none of these accomplishments will help if men still want to sexually violate women. It is a personal decision not to sexually violate others, and if no one wants to make that decision of not committing this violence then we will continue to have this problem of sexual violence against women. The second participant was a male, and his response to this question was:

“We cannot do anything without considering the law, hence, you notice that Rhodes has not been able to suspend some of the sexual offenders” (Interview, 2019).

What I got from this response is that this participant believes that the institution has failed to suspend some of the alleged sexual offenders because they have to follow the law in any procedure, they use to suspend students, leading to the University inadequately handling the area of sexual violence. The third participant was the transgender woman, and her response was:

“I think for me the university has failed to do a lot of things, because I was part of the SRC last year, [and] the university failed to really put in the work. So when we’re looking at issues of rape and rape culture it should be easy for women to report cases of rape, for queer people, for transgender people to report cases of rape to the harassment office and it is not easy because those spaces are not made comfortable for students to speak about the violence that they go through. And I think, even more than that, it is just how there is not anything that I can definitely say is being done to combat rape and rape culture in general so no sex talks, no gender talks, no identity discourses happening on campus. Why are male residences not having these conversations as well as female residences, because we make the assumption that rape cases do not happen in all female spaces, but there are very much so queer perpetrators that are female. And so there needs to be that opening. And, for me, I think I look at it deeper regarding just transgender women and just how

there is not a space for them to live fully on campus, so I always have to always make a side details that I am transgender, and my identity document has not changed” (Interview, 2019).

The problem with talks that have been done at Rhodes University is that they are not consistent, and they are mostly done after there has been an incident; there are no on-going campaigns that address gender-based violence and continuously address sexual violence towards women on campus. As soon as we establish such campaigns, there will be a possibility of having an institution that is safer for women and all gender identities.

The fourth participant’s response to what the university has failed to do with regards to gender-based violence was:

“My issue is that the university only responds to issues of gender-based violence when there is an uproar” (Interview, 2019).

This response links back to what the previous participants said about inconsistencies with dealing with gender-based violence.

The final participant responded,

“I think the university needs to facilitate a space where there are men talks whereby, we can educate each other as men. for example, there is a difference if there is a female coming from a certain position telling me as a man about gender-based violence because I will have a certain attitude towards her. This is because there are certain things that, as a man, I will be open to and be willing to talk about if it is a woman that I am talking to. I remember even with the #RURferenceList protest there was a men’s talk, but this was ambushed by your so-called feminist activists coming with all the ‘you cannot talk about us without us this is concerning our bodies’ attitude. Do not get me wrong; I get their thinking but their line of reasoning, thinking and what they did, did not help with anything. If we were in a space where it was just men people would be comfortable to say certain things and even the unpopular opinions, even the problematic opinions, so they are articulated and as collective we would educate each other about our actions and ways of thinking. But, since the feminist activists were there, people kept quiet because they knew they would react in a negative way so they kept their opinions to themselves. So, everything men said in that

men's talk was everything that men thought women needed to hear and, in this way, it achieved nothing" (Interview, 2019).

What is important from this response is that sometimes it is necessary to let men have these talks without women present, and let them come up with suggestions that they think will contribute in the fight against sexual violence towards women. As this participant has said, once there are women present, men will not express themselves fully and honestly, and it will be difficult to change the mindset of those men who think it is okay to sexually violate women, who think that women alone are responsible for fighting sexual violence, or who think that they have power over women.

3.2.3 Student perceptions of the involvement of men in campaigns against sexual violence towards women

As discussed in Chapter Two, most people see violence against women as a women's issue, and that is where the problem begins (Katz, 2006:5). It is problematic that we regard sexual violence towards women as solely a women's issue when over 99 percent of rape cases are committed by men, whether the victims are female or male (Katz, 2006: 5). Therefore, another thing that I wanted to find out from the participants is their perceptions around the notion of involving men in campaigns against sexual violence towards women. The hopes were to see if students think sexual violence is a women's issue only or if it is everyone's issue and their thoughts about taking an intersectional approach to dealing with gender-based violence. Four out of the five participants expressed the need for men to be involved in these campaigns and engage themselves in initiatives that are aimed at ending sexual violence towards women.

The first participant, when asked her opinions about the involvement of men, responded:

"I think the involvement of men is very important. I think that this whole thing of women having to be the ones to constantly educate men on gender-based violence and patriarchy is not really making much of a difference; it has to come from men themselves who are willing to educate each other and have honest discussions about it" (Interview, 2019).

The second participant's response was:

"The issue is not with women but with men, so it is important that men are involved in campaigns that are for challenging and hopefully ending sexual violence towards women" (Interview, 2019).

The third participant's response was,

"I am for the involvement of men in these campaigns; it is very important that they come and hear our cries with us so that, when they go back to their spaces, they know what it is that we have a problem with as far as gender-based violence. They get to understand and feel our struggles as woman" (Interview, 2019).

The fourth participant's response was,

"It is very important to involve men in these campaigns because one, it shows that there are men that feel guilty about sexual violence towards women and who are truthful in terms of helping women speak against this violence" (Interview, 2019).

The last participant's opinions about involving men were that it is not the responsibility of women to engage men, and that women should not involve men if they do not want to be involved, because it defeats the whole purpose of working together productively to end sexual violence towards women. She said,

"Men do not want to get involved, and I think we need to sit down and have conversations about these things because men do not want to be involved; men do not have the time. The men that get involved we need to keep an eye on them because those are the men that want to sleep with you; those are the men who constantly calculate being a good guy or men and those are the men who want to be politically relevant in such spaces. So, I do not think we should involve men because it is not our responsibility to teach them and educate them about rape and rape culture and things that happen to women. Men are people who have been birthed by women, men have sisters etc. they understand the oppression of women, but they still treat them in an oppressive way as well. Men know exactly what they are doing, and they know what they are capable of" (Interview, 2019).

According to the small sample interviewed in this research, most perceptions regarding the involvement of men state that, in order for these campaigns to be progressive, men must be involved. Participants hope that men will get to educate themselves about issues of gender-based violence through involvement in such campaigns and will then go back to their spaces to challenge other men to act against gender-based violence. As the majority of sexual violence towards women is perpetrated by men, the hope is that having more men assisting women to fight against sexual

violence will make the campaigns more progressive. As noted by Muunguja (2018: 1), ending violence in our communities is a responsibility of the whole community, and it is significant that men and boys are active participants and promoters of change to get rid of the current status quo. Higher institutions of learning are communities, and, therefore, the men in universities also need to play a significant and active role in ending gender-based violence, rape and rape culture without being forced to do so. Also, linking this back to theory, the idea is to adopt an intersectional approach, where we work together despite of race, skin color or gender to end sexual violence without obviously turning a blind eye to different intersectional experiences. We have to recognize that both white and black women experience sexual violence and both male and female and queer or gender non-conforming bodies experience sexual violence. Hence, intersectionality becomes a crucial theory in dealing with issues of gender-based violence.

Following their opinions about the involvement, the next question was why they think some men are reluctant to be involved in campaigns against sexual violence towards women. Responses included:

“I think there are lot of different reasons for that, some could be that they are rape survivors themselves and are not comfortable with facing that especially because of this whole idea that man need to be strong. If they have experience anything of this kind, they are weak and could be because they have been taught that as men you do not get involved in these types of campaigns you just mind your business it is a women’s issue. It could also be misogyny, patriarchy and sexism” (Interview, 2019).

“I think men fear change; scared of losing the power that they were given from growing up” (Interview, 2019).

“Some are reluctant because truly they do not care, some are reluctant because they do not want to be dragged or go through the learning process, and some of them do not want to get involved because it does not affect them at all. Some men are just intimidated by feminism and feminist activists” (Interview, 2019).

When I asked one of the male participants about his participation in these campaigns, he expressed that sometimes he feels intimidated by feminist activists because they tend to shut men out and

insult them when he simply goes there to support the cause (Interview, 2019). The views expressed above are some of the things that need to be addressed so that men and women arrive at a point where they work together to end sexual violence against women and all forms of gender-based violence. This does not disregard that there has been growing awareness and involvement of men in relation to issues of gender-based violence, however, we are now looking at more progressive ways of having men being productive in their involvement in these campaigns. Men should not be involved in campaigns just for representation or for name-sake, but in order to invest their time in ending sexual violence towards women. This is because, as outlined in Chapter Two, men who work to end violence against women challenge the dominant culture and the understandings of masculinity that maintain it (Crooks *et al*, 2007: 219). In order to get to a point where sexual violence against women is no longer a threat to our societies, there is a need to adopt an intersectional approach to ending sexual violence, where everyone in communities, despite of race, colour, class or gender, works to create communities that are free from gender-based violence, because such violence affects everyone.

3.2.4 Nature of men's involvement in such initiatives

In light of Katz' (2006) and Muunuja's (2018) views discussed above, the researcher wanted to assess the involvement of men in campaigns against sexual violence towards women and to ask the participants of the study whether they think involving men contributes positively in ending this type of violence, focusing especially on the #RURReferenceList protest.

The first question the researcher asked during the interviews was, "*How did the involvement of men contribute to the protest?*" (Interview, 2019). The responses that I got from all the participants were similar; most of them expressed that they cannot measure the significance of men's involvement in the #RURReferenceList protest, as men's involvement was very minimal.

The Chair of the Gender Action Forum stated, that:

"There were those who genuinely cared about the course and there were men who were abusers and who have abused women and are just there for face value, so it is a very grey area" (Interview, 2019).

Similar to the response given by the Chair of Gender Action Forum, the responses of the rest of the participants are as follows:

“There was a lack of participation of men so I cannot track their significant contribution to the protest” (Interview 2, 2019).

“The involvement of men in the protest was very minimal because the kind of activism that was there at the time was very much so charged in a very radical feminist approach where we did not allow men to have a voice or to be in the forefront. So, there were very minimal contributions that men made in general” (Interview 3, 2019).

“Men were there but not so many. Those that were there were very supportive and that gave me hope that as much as we are living in places like these at least we still have some men who stand with us as women” (Interview 4, 2019).

“I think it was good to have men because women alone are not going to be able to fight gender-based violence; even men alone cannot fight gender-based violence. We have to come together in order to end gender-based violence” (Interview 5, 2019)

With this question it is evident that the participants had different experiences and opinions about the contribution that men brought to the protest. Most of the participants felt that there were men who went there just for representation and not to help women in fighting against gender-based violence. However, one participant felt that men were very supportive in helping women against this fight during the #RUMovement protest, and this was from interview number five. The response received from this last participant speaks to the assumption made in the previous chapter that if men involve themselves in campaigns sexual violence towards women by men then the fight against gender-based violence will be meaningful. We have to work together to end sexual violence against women, and we have a greater chance of achieving the end to violence if we all work together, ensuring that no one is sexually violated and no sexually violates other people.

The second question was, *“How did the involvement of men in the #RUMovement protest contribute to challenging rape culture at Rhodes University?”* (Interview, 2019). The Chair of the Gender Action Forum asked not to answer this question and at the beginning of the interview she did say that she will let me know if there are questions that she cannot respond to since she is the chair of the gender action forum. The second participant who was asked this question responded with,

“It raised awareness because it was quite alarming for the university to face such a protest and got them thinking in terms of infusing change so the environment can be conducive for everyone” (Interview, 2019).

The third participant’s response was,

“Their involvement was awesome in the sense that they were able to hold legitimacy to some sense, so masculinity has this ability of truly getting people engaged because when a man speaks we all listen. They have got that charge, and that is when I saw personally the advantages, privileges and how they use them in order to sensitize other people and make them listen. But after the protest life did carry on as if nothing happened and life carried on and you were experiencing the victimization of people who were in the main forefront. So there have not been actual shifts or things that are there to combat rape culture” (Interview, 2019).

This participant revealed that after the #RURference protest some of the people who were in the forefront were verbally victimized by other students for their passion of challenging rape culture within the institution.

Because the focus of this research is on the involvement of men in campaigns that are aimed to challenged and end sexual violence towards women, I had questions for the men exclusively to try and get from their side the nature of their involvement in campaigns against sexual violence. I asked what attracted them to the protest and what was difficult and beneficial in participating. Both male participants gave me similar answers that they saw #RURferenceList through social media then went on and read about it because at the time they did not know anything about the #RURferenceList protest (Interview, 2019). Then one of the male participants said that he engaged with some female and male students on campus then got attracted to the protest (Interview, 2019). This participant went on to say that, “The vision or end goal of the protest was in line with what I wanted to achieve, which was helping women end gender-based violence and to see a more changing society where justice is served for all” (Interview, 2019). What was difficult for him, though, was going to the forefront because he thought it would look like he wanted to “generate the whole cause” (Interview, 2019), meaning that he did not want it to come across as if he wanted to take over from women and dominate these campaigns, as he felt this would change the true meaning of these campaigns. However, despite what that he saw as challenges, there were

also benefits in him participating in the protest, namely being in solidarity with women during the time that was very hard for them (Interview, 2019).

3.2.5 The aftermath of the #RURReferenceList protest

The participants of this research were all students who participated in the #RURReferenceList protest. The first question I asked before talking about the aftermath of this protest was their opinions about the protest, and whether they saw it as necessary. The chair of the Gender Action Forum said that she could not respond to this question since she is on the executive committee of the Gender Action Forum. The second participant responded, “Yes, it was for a good cause” (Interview, 2019). The third participant responded, “My opinion about the protest is that the protest was very necessary, and it pioneered the understandings of rape and rape culture not only at Rhodes University but in South Africa at large. It was a national crisis; it was a moment of the whole country realizing how women and non-conforming bodies are placed in positions where they are very vulnerable, and so I think it was a very important movement that shifted and that made other institutions participate in trying to eradicate gender-based violence” (Interview, 2019). The fourth participant responded, “I’m happy it happened because there were a lot of things that were happening in the university that we were not aware of and I am hoping it made a huge difference” (Interview, 2019). The last participants responded:

“I think protests like the #RURReferenceList protest are needed, and I think in as matter as we can say they are needed they can either be useless or something students do to avoid classes. I support the motive behind the #RURReferenceList protest, but I do not support the manner on which it was supported” (Interview, 2019).

This participant was referring to how the alleged perpetrators were forced out of their residences by protesting students. He believes that there could have been a different, and better, way of addressing the issue. This participant went as far as saying that,

“Some of the people who were put on list were innocent, and having to be forced out of their safe spaces and dragged on social media like they were was a very traumatic experience for me” (Interview 2019).

This is why this participant expressed that the #RURReferenceList protest was for a good cause, but that the manner in which it was done at the beginning was very problematic. He also made a

disclaimer that he was not protecting alleged perpetrators but expressing his true feelings about how things unfolded on the first night of #RURReferenceList protest (Interview, 2019).

The next question was aimed at getting opinions about the aftermath of the #RURReferenceList protest, and I questioned the participants on how it has succeeded or failed in addressing issues of sexual violence towards women on campus. The Chair of the Gender Action Forum's response was:

“It succeeded in terms of bringing awareness on campus and South Africa in general, because the whole of South Africa knew about it even internationally. In terms of failure, not much was done when everything just came out and the manner on which it was handled could have been done better” (Interview, 2019).

The chair of the Gender Action Forum was not happy with how the institution responded to the #RURReferenceList protest, because it took time for the management to put forward resolutions, hence, the protest went on for longer than anticipated.

The rest of the participant's responses were:

“It took so long for Rhodes to listen to the outcries and address those issues because you know the bureaucratic processes the process and in terms of success a sexual harassment policy has finally been passed this year” (Interview 2, 2019).

“I do not think it has succeeded institutionally because it still not conducive in any way. But it has been successful in terms of mobilization of bodies and knowledge, holding men accountable for their actions. It has created a very significant discourse in South Africa. However, it has not been successful because students are still experiencing precautions” (Interview 3, 2019).

“Well, as far as I am concerned, I have not heard anything about gender-based violence taking place on campus. It did make a shift, but we always get new people getting into the system so, the fight against sexual violence towards should be a constant thing to make those who are not aware about it aware” (Interview 4, 2019).

“It has succeeded because these things have been going on and have always been kept quiet and shoved under the carpet, but then what the #RURReferenceList protest did

was...being a voice and gave some individuals confidence to voice out about these issues. It also exposed certain inconsistencies within social life at Rhodes, and that sexual violence towards women actually does happen, and nothing from management side not much is done in preventing this sexual violence. In terms of failure, it is how it was conducted for me, because if I remember correctly, during the protest someone would allege and the alleged name with no questions would be put on the list. This put people at risk because there were people on that list that did not do anything. So what this did, it recreated a certain attitude on the movement, not just #RURferenceList, because if I am going to be in a position whereby a friend of mine is falsely accused and by God's grace they are able to prove their innocence, the next person that comes to me and says they were assaulted it will be very difficult for me to put myself in a position where I actually believe the person. Because they were people who lied and nothing happened to those people who lied about other people; there was no noise made about those people and those very people are people who are perpetuating this whole thing because they were delegitimizing the struggles of those people who were or are sexually violated. This is not a small offence; it is a very sensitive and very serious issue not only at Rhodes but worldwide” (Interview, 2019).

From all the responses provided in the previous paragraph, the participants of this research expressed that the #RURferenceList has not really succeeded in challenging or ending sexual violence against women at Rhodes University. This is because even after the sacrifices were made during the protest, there are still women who are sexually violated on this campus. The only way that this protest succeeded was bring creating awareness by making people aware that sexual violence towards women does happen at Rhodes. One of the participants went as far as expressing that this protest was traumatic for many, especially for those who were falsely accused by other students and the institution. Furthermore, most of these participants were not happy with the manner in which this protest started and the fact that some students ended up being excluded without having obtained their degrees because they lost their place while fighting against sexual violence towards women (Interview, 2019). Some students were more invested in the #RURferenceList protest than others and gave most of their time and energy to the cause. As a result, these students suffered the consequences of this protest more than others, and some of these consequences were more severe than others, including exclusion, deterioration of psychological

and mental health and the need to repeat coursework the following year because they did not have time for their school work.

On a different note, the participants did mention that they were all aware of the sexual violation or harassment report process at Rhodes University, and one of the most significant things that came out the #RUREferenceList protest was restructuring this process.

This is the process of reporting cases of sexual harassment, provided by the participant who was previously the Transformation Councillor in the Student Representative Council:

“The main process is to go to the harassment office, to Dr Mkhize. You the report and there are four phases of this. The first phase of the process is that you just want to report (very important because the perpetrator might have various rape victims, and if there is a lot of reporting regarding that alleged perpetrator then the institution can do something). The second phase you report, and it is written down and let the person know who has committed the violation or the alleged perpetrator know. The phase that previously followed the second one was mediation, but was removed by #RUREferenceList protest, because it was quite violent to have mediation with your rapist; like how do you mediate in that space? The last phase of this process is disciplinary hearing. Now there are lawyers involved and the institution gets involved, court proceedings internally” (Interview, 2019).

This research has also helped me as the researcher to know about this process, because I did not know what happens when one gets sexually violated and where to report the incident. Furthermore, it was very significant for the #RUREferenceList protest to remove mediation because that could have been one of many reasons as to why some people never reported their cases of being sexually violated by another students. It cannot be easy for a victim to sit down for mediation with the person who violated you, and victims should never be put in a position where they must go through this process unless they voluntarily ask to sit down and mediate with the people they have been victimized by.

In terms of what more can be done to protect students the participants gave similar responses which included:

“Shifting the burden of responsibility from victim to perpetrator or the system. Having talks, discussions, higher sentences and opening spaces to talk about gender-based

violence” and, “Conscientizing students, especially males, about gender-based violence as well as repercussions that are involved” (Interview, 2019).

In addition to everything, in the aftermath of the #RURferenceList protest, only one participant talked about the task team that was elected by Rhodes University management to write a handbook on sexual violence. The participant who talked about this was highlighting the little good that came out of the #RURferenceList protest because this handbook came up with many recommendations to aid in the fight against sexual violence, but this participant did also say that he has not gotten a chance to go through the entire handbook.

3.2.6 Ongoing campaigns that deals with issues of gender-based violence

Another important part of this research was finding out if there are any ongoing campaigns addressing gender-based violence, particularly sexual violence towards women, and the participants gave similar responses this question. The Chair of the Gender Action Forum talked about Imbizo, which was recently hosted by the SRC in collaboration with Gender Action Forum. Imbizo was a gathering of men having conversation about their role in ending sexual violence towards women at Rhodes University and about anything and everything concerning gender-based violence. However, the problem is that this is not an ongoing campaign; this was a talk that was only planned after the recent abduction and killing of a University of Cape Town student. This all goes back to what some of the participants said earlier about Rhodes University having talks only when someone dies or when a student has been raped. The second participant’s response to this question was simply to say that there are no ongoing campaigns that constantly deal with sexual violence women and that address gender-based violence on a day to day basis. There is always an uproar when something drastic happens either here at Rhodes University or in other universities (Interview, 2019). The third participant’s response was, “None that I know of”, and the other two participants also responded with a no.

Most of the participants of this research felt that, as much as Rhodes University is seen as a “woke” space where we talk about these things and have open conversations, it can also be quite shallow, because people sometimes have talks just because the topic is currently trending, and it is what everyone is doing. If we are not honest in terms of these types of conversations and what we actually believe in, we not going to get anywhere (Interview, 2019). In addition to this, one of the participants expressed that, “Rape and rape culture are a problem in general at Rhodes, but I also do think the institution is not doing much to really end gender-based violence” (Interview, 2019).

3.3 CONCLUSION

The purpose of this chapter was to present and analyse the data that was collected during fieldwork in correlation of the objectives of this research and to link the data to the theory behind gender-based violence discussed in Chapter Two. The sample used was very small because we were engaging in qualitative research through in-depth interviews and because many people were not comfortable enough being engaged on this topic. As a result, the findings provided are not full representation of the entire Rhodes University community. The findings are participants' opinions and perspectives regarding the involvement of men in campaigns against sexual violence towards women. Therefore, the data that was analysed in this chapter is not generalized but rather compared to see if the majority of these participants had the same opinions and perspectives. With that being said, the majority of the participants believed that if we continue to make sexual violence towards women a women's issue, we will continue to have issues of gender-based violence in our communities. They believed that in order to end sexual violence towards women and gender-based violence in general we need to work together to end gender-based violence. Out of the five participants, only one thought that when we engage men in campaigns against sexual violence towards women, we are just wasting their time and we could use that time for finding more effective ways of ending sexual violence towards women. All participants believe that the only success that the #RURestoreList protest had or brought was awareness in issues of gender-based violence and removing the mediation phases in dealing with sexual harassment, but that it did not succeed in ending sexual violence towards women on campus.

CHAPTER 4: CONCLUSION

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a conclusion and summary of the whole thesis. This chapter will include and explain how the thesis managed to achieve the goals it had intended to achieve at the beginning. This chapter is divided into four parts. Firstly, this chapter gives a summary of the main sections without providing any new information, linking everything together. Secondly, it looks at findings and inferences that were analyzed in Chapter Three, by summarizing opinions and perspectives given by the participants of this research regarding the involvement of men in campaigns against sexual violence towards women and the aftermath of the #RURestart protest. This includes whether the main objective and sub-goals of this thesis were achieved. Thirdly, this chapter provides an emphasis of the subject matter to make it clear what the main subject was, including wider implications of the research. Finally, I provide recommendations and conclusions based on the findings.

4.2 SUMMARY OF THE MAIN SECTIONS

The recent student protests to issues of gender-based violence are one of the reasons behind this research. However, the focus was analysing the involvement of men in campaigns against sexual violence towards women. We have seen so many student politics that focus on addressing gender-based violence being driven and dominated by women, therefore the question that came to mind was then how gender-differentiated involvement contributes to these campaigns and whether men should be involved in campaigns against sexual violence towards women at all.

In Chapter One, I introduced the context of the research, theoretical framework that informed the entire study and the type of methodology that was used during fieldwork and data analysis. The context of this thesis is, therefore, sexual violence towards women in South Africa universities, particularly Rhodes University. South African university students have been protesting gender-based violence in their respective campuses demanding better ways of dealing with it and creating campaigns aimed at not only challenging gender-based violence but ending it. This was following the high rate at which students experience sexual violence in universities and the number of rape cases reported by students in different universities. Rape is not a new thing in universities, however, students in 2016 took it upon themselves to protest rape, sexual violence towards women and gender-based violence in general. You will notice that, in Chapter One, I provided a brief background of the #RURestart protest, which was the focus of this research, this protest

took place immediately after a list of eleven alleged student perpetrators was released online. This protest gained momentum and spread throughout South African universities.

Furthermore, because the focus was on analysing the involvement of men in these types of campaigns, I adopted intersectionality and the feminist theory of rape as the theoretical frameworks. The reason for using intersectionality is because feminist intersectionality works to deconstruct patriarchal structures that underline acts of sexual violence. As stated in Chapter Two, sexual violence is not only the result of the existing structures of sex or gender inequality, but also plays a central part in the maintenance and perpetuation of these unequal power structures, in so far as rape “forcibly re-sexualises women, turns them symbolically into objects and possessions of men, renders them as natural objects for the use of men, and thus de-politicises their status” (Du Toit 2012:13).

In terms of the methodology used in this thesis, because this topic required deep and meaningful engagement with the participants of this research, the method used was qualitative. The researcher used in-depth interviews with all the participants who agreed to be part of the research and asked them questions relating to the research topic. The questions were semi-structured to allow the researcher to ask follow-up questions. In terms of data analysis, the tool used was thematic analysis through coding and forming themes that links to the research topic and the objectives of the research. Chapter Three provided different perspectives and opinions that were given by the participants during the interview regarding the involvement of men in campaigns against sexual violence towards women and many other questions relating to this.

The final chapter is meant to conclude the entire thesis, making sense of everything that has been said and also providing limitations or challenges that were encountered at any stage of the entire thesis and making recommendations for future references.

4.3 FINDINGS AND INFERENCES

In terms of the involvement of men in campaigns against sexual violence towards women, the majority of the participants of this research believed that there was a need to involve men in these campaigns because sexual violence towards women does not only affect women but the whole community. In the context of the #RURReferenceList protest, these participants expressed that there was not much involvement from men, and that even those men who were involved did not deeply engage themselves with the #RURReferenceList protest. However, they did mention that their

involvement did help in terms of protection, and the minority of men in the forefront assisted making the protest progressive in some way. One of the participants was, however, very clear that we do not have to involve men in campaigns against sexual violence because it is not the women's job to involve men in these campaigns; men should voluntarily make their decisions in contributing to ending sexual violence toward women. The Chair of the Gender Action Forum did express as well that as much as it is not our duty as women to involve men in campaigns against sexual violence towards women, if we leave them behind and do not engage them in this matter, men will still continue to sexually violate women and, if that will be the case, then as women we will be fighting a losing battle. Therefore, in terms of the findings the participants expressed different opinions about the involvement of men and the consequences of not involving them, and these opinions are thoroughly explored in Chapter Three.

In terms of the aftermath of the #RURReferenceList protest, the responses were that this protest helped in raising awareness and getting institutions more involved in issues of gender-based violence and coming up with better way of dealing with issues of sexual violence and punishment to those proven guilty of sexually violating others. However, in terms of getting more men involved in these campaigns, ending sexual violence on campus and having ongoing campaigns and initiatives that continuously address issues of gender-based violence it has not succeeded. Of the participants interviewed, not even a single participant could name any campaign that continues to challenge gender-based violence at Rhodes University, except for the Silent Protest that happens annually that serves a slightly different purpose than challenging gender-based violence.

In summing up this part, most of the opinions and perspectives given by participants were similar, as they all saw the need to engage and involve men in issues of gender-based violence and expressed that one of the reasons why we have not reached a point of having communities that are free from gender-based violence is because we are not all invested in ending it. We live amongst people who still perpetuate gender violence; people who are entitled to female bodies and who use patriarchy to abuse women. Also, these are usually the people who, when educated about gender-based violence, justify it either by using culture, religion or tradition. The information gathered from the participants suggests that one way of ending gender-based violence is by making this a community project, where everyone is educated, involved and engaged in issues of violence. If communities are taught the depth of gender-based violence and how many people have died

because of it all members work together, we might get to a point where we do live in communities that are free from gender-based violence.

However, I must point out that one of the participants was not in favour of the idea of involving men in campaigns against sexual violence towards women because she felt that it was not our duty as women to do that. This participant also expressed that we can educate and engage men in these campaigns in all possible ways, but if men want to, they will continue violating women despite whether they know or do not know the extent to which women are affected and dying because of gender-based violence. But this does not mean we should not be hopeful that if we make the fight against sexual violence towards women a community project, where women, gender non-conforming people and men are all involved, we will see permanent change.

4.4 EMPHASIS OF THE SUBJECT MATTER

The subject matter of this thesis is the notion that ending sexual violence towards women is a women's issue. Most people think violence against women is a women's issue when over 99 percent of rape is perpetrated by men (Katz, 2006: 5). When men's role in gender-based violence is discussed in media and everyday conversations, the focus is on men as perpetrators or potential perpetrators (Katz, 2006: 5). As argued by Katz (2006: 8-9), convincing men to make gender violence issues a priority is not an easy task, and the challenge has been getting men to go out and do something about the problem in the form of educating and organising other men in numbers great enough to prompt a cultural shift. This has been the motivation behind analysing the involvement of men in campaigns against sexual violence towards women to see if it is worth engagement them, educating them and working with them in challenging and ending this type of violence and all other forms of gender-based violence.

Chapter Two revealed that, in recent years, there has been a growing number of men who have committed themselves to ending not only sexual violence toward women, but gender-based violence in general. However, the emphasis on this research was to analyse if this growing number of men has a positive impact or influence in campaigns against sexual violence towards women and if men have succeeded in getting other men to assist in challenging and ending gender-based violence.

Therefore, the subject matter of this thesis was the involvement of men in campaigns against sexual violence and the aftermath of the #RURestoreList protest. Also, looking at how the involvement

of men in the #RURferenceList protest has contributed to challenging rape culture at Rhodes University, and if there are any ongoing campaigns and/or projects that include men and that are still addressing the issue of sexual violence towards women on campus.

4.5 LIMITATIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

The fact that the sample size for this research was very small is a limitation to its findings. It would have been more ideal to interview more students to get different and varying opinions and perspectives on what the involvement of men in campaigns against sexual violence and the aftermath of the #RURferenceList protest. This then links us to the second limitation, which was that many students who were approached during fieldwork declined to participate for many reasons, which include them being lacking information with issues of gender-based violence and finding this topic too sensitive for them to engage on. Hence, I ended up with few participants because many students were not interested in being part of it. Another limitation is that there is not much literature and research done on the involvement of men in these campaigns and the #RURferenceList protest. Therefore, it was somewhat challenging exploring literature on this topic and finding suitable theory to use and the findings of this research could not be a full representation of the entire Rhodes University community. These limitations, however, did not stop me from continuing with this research topic because it was a necessary topic to pursue.

In concluding this thesis, I would recommend that a person who would be interested in this research topic in the future should include more participants to engage on this topic and use different notions of involving men in campaigns against women. This would help in getting more opinions and perspectives on both the involvement of men and the aftermath of the #RURferenceList protest.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Rhodes University – Department of Sociology

Participant Consent form

Name of researcher: **Philasande Milisa Roboji**.

Dear Participant,

I am a Master of Social Science in Development Studies candidate at Rhodes University undertaking an academic research titled “**A sociological analysis of the involvement of men in campaigns against sexual violence towards women at Rhodes University: The Aftermath of the #RURference protest**”.

The research focuses on analysing the involvement of men in campaigns against sexual violence towards women at Rhodes University in the aftermath of the #RURference protest. This includes investigating how the involvement of men in the #RURference protest has contributed to challenging rape culture at Rhodes University. Lastly, investigating if there are any ongoing campaigns and/or projects that includes men and that are still addressing the issue of sexual violence towards women on campus.

I kindly request for your participation in the interviews. It will take no longer than 45 minutes of your time. I have confidence that this research will contribute to the body of knowledge on working with men in ending gender based violence especially sexual violence towards women.

Participation is voluntary and information regarding the goals of the study will be provided. Participants are free to withdraw their consent at any given time and for any reasons and also withdraw previous information given.

The information you contribute is completely confidential and it will be treated with anonymity such as your name, age or specific mention of your migrant status if provided. Data will be safely stored and only accessed by myself as the researcher to ensure total confidentiality of participants.

Declaration

1. I confirm that the purpose of the research and the nature of my participation have been explained to me verbally or in writing.
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason - however I commit myself to full participation unless some unusual circumstances occur, or I have concerns about my participation which I did not originally anticipate.
3. I understand that data collected during the study, will be used by the researcher and that my personal details gathered during this research, especially my name or identity and migrant status, will be kept private.
4. I agree to be interviewed and to allow audio or video recordings and transcriptions to be made of the interview.
5. I have been informed by the researcher that the tape recordings will be erased once the report is written. OR
6. I give permission for the tape recordings to be retained after the study and for them to be utilized for academic purposes only.

Name of Participant

Date

Signature

Name of Researcher

Date

Signature

Appendix B

A sociological analysis of the involvement of men in campaigns against sexual violence towards women at Rhodes University: The Aftermath of the #RURreference protest

The aim of this interview is to sociologically analyze the involvement of men in campaigns against sexual violence towards women at Rhodes University and the aftermath of the #RURreference protest that took place in 2016. This will include investigating of how the involvement of men in the #RURreference protest has contributed to challenging rape culture at Rhodes University. Lastly it will include investigating if there are any ongoing campaigns and/or projects that includes men and that are still addressing the issue of sexual violence towards women on campus. This research forms part of the curriculum for Sociology, Development Studies Masters by coursework/dissertation. You have been identified as a potential participant to take part in this research and your anonymity will be guaranteed. Any queries can be directed to Professor Michael Drewett (project supervisor).

Warm-up questions

1. How long have you been at Rhodes University?
2. If you feel safe on campus, what would make you feel safer?
3. What is your understanding of gender-based violence?
4. What do you think needs to be done regarding gender-based violence that the university has not done or failed to do?

Main Questions

5. Did you participate in the #RURreference protest in 2016?
6. What are your opinions about that protest?
7. How has it succeeded or failed in addressing issues of sexual violence towards women on campus?
8. What do you think should have been done differently about the protest?
9. How did the involvement of men contribute to the protest?
10. How did the involvement of men in the #RURreference protest contribute to challenging rape culture at Rhodes University?
11. What are your opinions regarding involving men in campaigns against sexual violence towards women?
12. Do you think much has been done in involving men in challenging rape culture at Rhodes at large?

13. Why do you think so?
14. Why do you think some men are reluctant in helping women end sexual violence?
15. Are there any ongoing campaigns and/or projects that includes men and that are still addressing the issue of sexual violence towards women on campus?
16. Do you have any idea of what happens, if anyone reports sexual violence here on campus?
17. What can be done to protect students from sexual violence?
18. Do you have anything that you want to say about sexual violence and rape culture at Rhodes University?
19. Any last comments?

More questions for male participants

20. Did you actively participate in the #RURference protest that took place in 2016?
21. What attracted you to the protest, how did you get involved?
22. What did you want to achieve through participating?
23. What are the challenges you faced making the decision to participate?
24. What was difficult or beneficial for you in the protest?
25. Is there anything else significant for you about participating in the protest?
26. How do you think your involvement in this protest contributed in challenging rape culture at Rhodes?
27. What is your view about men being involved in campaigns against sexual violence towards women?
28. Do you as a man in your social spaces (even within your friendship circle) ever have dialogues or discussions about addressing sexual violence towards women within the university? Why or why not?
29. Are there any other campaigns that address sexual violence towards women at Rhodes that you have participated/ been involved in?
 - I. If yes, how have you positively impacted and contributed in this campaign?
 - II. If no, why have you not participated?

Closing Question

30. Do you think there is something relevant to the topic we should have discussed but we didn't in this interview?