Re-adjustment of masculinities and sexualities amongst first year male students at Rhodes University in the wake of the residence Consent Talk's programme.

By

Thulani Ntisana

G17n3593

Department of Sociology

Supervisor: Professor Michael Drewett

Co-Supervisor: Mr Thoko Sipungu

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ABSTRACT

This study seeks to understand how Rhodes University first-year male students adjusted and re-adjusted their masculinities and sexualities in light of the Consent Talk programme offered by the university, the aim of which is to liberate masculinities and femininities from patriarchal and dominant discourses. In the past 26 years, South Africa has seen an increase in academic research establishing causal links between boys, men, masculinities and a number of social ills such as the HIV/AIDs epidemic, violence against women, substance abuse, homophobia, gender-based violence and a lower pass rate amongst boys. This in turn inspired an increase in interventions seeking to involve boys and men in order to identify and address their role in combating gender based violence. These various forms of social deviances that have been linked to masculinity have indicated that young men's masculinity is in crisis and as a result needs great attention in order to address the social issues linked to them. Institutions of higher learning have proven to be microcosms of the larger society. Universities have become highly sexualised spaces; coercive sexual practices in heterosexual relationships are a norm, young women don't feel safe and have lost confidence in universities addressing their concerns. With the emergence of the #RUreferencelist in 2016, the spotlight fell on Rhodes University; young women challenged the rape culture and sexual assaults on campus. In 2016, staff members who are well-informed and educated on issues of gender, sexuality and rape initiated discussions with students in their residences; these discussions were later to be called the Consent Talks. This research makes use of Pierre Bourdieu's critical theory in understanding how young men negotiate their masculinity within the field of higher education, at Rhodes University. Bourdieu's three main concepts, field, habitus and capital are used to describe how young men negotiate their masculinity and how the field of gender intersects with the field of higher education. A qualitative paradigm has been employed. The study has collected data through the use of in-depth interviews to get a richer insight into the participants' perspectives. There were 15 interviews conducted in total for this study, 14 were with first year male students, and one with a senior official of the University. The data was analysed through a qualitative thematic analysis. The findings of the research reveal that some of the participants were exposed to patriarchal and dominant forms of masculinity when growing up. However, most of the participants revealed they were also exposed to alternative masculinities. These were either taught or learnt at home, from family members, circumcision school, church or peers in society. Both the dominant and alternative masculinities were revealed in the discourses of what it means to be a man and in how the young men performed their masculinities. Furthermore**,** one of the major themes that emerged was that most of the young men in the study were raised by single mothers with mothers playing a significant role in encouraging healthy masculinities. The findings went on to reveal that families (mothers, fathers, older siblings

and culture) play a role in socialising and shaping healthy masculinities. The acceptance or rejection of either dominant or alternative masculinities was influenced by an exposure to an environment that either encouraged or shunned either dominant or alternative masculinities. The findings further unveils that different societies are strongly identified with their own definitions of what it means to be a man and are not open to other definitions of masculinity. Moreover, most of the participants accepted the content of what was taught in the Consent Talks; however sought healthy participation, interaction and inclusion of female students. Lastly, the study has also revealed that knowledge of the consequences of breaking (the law) university's policy does affect some change of behaviour in potential perpetrators.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This thesis seeks to investigate how first-year male students adjust and re-adjust their masculinities and sexualities in light of the Consent Talks whose aim is to "liberate masculinities" (Ratele, 2016) or to transform their habitus (de Klerk, Klazinga and McNeill, 2007: 115) and femininities from patriarchal discourse about consent and thus curb occurrences of sexual harassment and sexual violence on the Rhodes University campus. Ratele (2016: 9) points out that "masculinities are profoundly cultural practices, yet ideas about what it means to be a boy or man tend to become naturalised". Sexuality refers to "a person's capacity for sexual feelings" (Little *et al.*, 2012: 382). While habitus refers to a person's predispositions, tendencies, behaviour and thinking that has been acquired through socialisation (Calhoun *et al*., 2012). The practices and attitudes of masculinities and sexualities are socially determined (Solebello & Elliott, 2011: 296), meaning that if they are problematic or toxic in any way they can be re-adjusted. Thus the research focuses on how young men navigate their masculinities and hetero-sexualities in light of the Consent Talks. The main reason for the focus on young men specifically is because they are found to be the perpetrators of rape on campus (Barras-Hagan, 2016).

1.2 RESEARCH CONTEXT

The history of South Africa is one that is tainted with oppression, exploitation and discrimination according to race and gender (Coovadia *et al*., 2009: 817). Since 1994, South Africa has seen an increase in academic research establishing causal links between masculinities and a number of social ills such as the HIV/Aids epidemic, violence, gender-based violence in particular, sexual harassment, rape, substance abuse, homophobia and lower academic achievements in young men (Gqola, 2016; Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007; Mfecane, 2010; Shefer, Kruger & Schepers 2015; Shefer, Ratele, Strebel, Shabalala & Buikema, 2007). In addition, there has also been an increase in interventions seeking to involve boys and men in fighting violence against women in particular (Alemu, 2015: 8). This focus on boys, men and masculinities has been driven by the "desire to address men's role in violence perpetration and, recognition that patriarchal norms of masculinity are implicated in violence" (Alemu, 2015: 8). The above mentioned social ills are an indication that young men's masculinity is in "crisis" (Ratele, 2016) and therefore needs a great attention in order to solve the social ills linked to masculinity and therefore risks involved (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007: 94).

In much of the research on masculinity, these dominant discourses have been found to be toxic and violent hence the subsequent focus on understanding boys' and men's constructions and performance of masculinity and sexuality (Shefer *et al*., 2007: 1; Shefer & Macleod, 2015: 1). Two of the key elements of dominant masculinities that have been identified are that a successful performance of masculinity includes having sex with women and that men fear nothing (Shefer *et al*., 2007: 3). Therefore "dominant discourses have constructed male sexuality as driven by an intense biological need for sexual intercourse for its sake, identified as a male sexual drive discourse" (Haywood, 2013: 4; Shefer *et al*., 2015: 99).

Lindegger and Maxwell (2007: 100) point out that "Gender construction is the way in which a person, a group of people or a whole society builds an understanding of what it means to be either a man or a woman. The elements of the construction are the discourses, understandings, beliefs and perceptions that form the basis on which gender is developed and enacted". These constructed perceptions, beliefs, understandings and discourses are manifested in how women and men interact and behave towards each other (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007: 100). The growing literature on boys, men and masculinities, draws a strong link between the construction of masculinity, the above mentioned social ills and violence against women (Alemu, 2015; Flecha, Puigver & Rios, 2013). Berkwitz (2004: 3) further reveals this link and states that "men who are likely to commit violence are men who over-identify with traditional masculine values and roles that are especially sensitive to what other men think." The 1993 UN Declaration defined Violence Against Women (VAW) 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, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life" (cited in Sibanda-Moyo, Khonje & Brobbey, 2017: 9).

The prevalence of violence against women in society and the broader societal inequalities have been reflected in institutions of higher education (Gordons & Collins, 2013; 94; Hames, 2009: 42). While universities have a responsibility to provide a "home away from home" for their students (Hames, 2009: 45), they have become spaces of fear (Dosekun, 2007: 93-94; Gordons & Collins, 2013: 97) and highly sexualised spaces (Clowes, Shefer, Fouten, Vergani & Jacobs, 2009: 24). Ergen *et al*. (2005, cited in Clowes *et al*., 2009: 24) observed that "young people become more sexually active after arriving at university". Literature reveals that young women feel that their voices talked over and are unheeded by universities despite the prevalent complaints and protests (Gordons & Collins, 2013: 103) and that they have lost confidence in universities addressing their concerns (de Klerk *et al*., 2007: 119). Further, literature on higher education reveals that coercive sexual practices in heterosexual relationships are a norm (Gordon & Collins, 2013: 95). The

presence of traditional dominant masculinities in young men despite available education provided at university is a continual implication in risky behaviours on university campuses (Clowes *et al*., 26- 30).

With the emergence of the #Rureferencelist in 2016, Rhodes University was in the spot light, as young women challenged the culture encompassing rape and sexual assault on campus. The #RUreferencelist uncovered the names of alleged rapists within the University and the protesters were predominately survivors of rape and other young women who were in their support (Lorimer, 2016). The 2016 protests brought to light the need for a significant conversation about sex, and particularly about the difference between consensual sex and rape (Barras-Hagan, 2016). Much of the education around assault and consent was conducted by students. These were run either during the orientation week or by student groups such as the Gender Action Project (GAP) and OutRhodes (Vallabhjee, 2016). In 2016, students and staff members, who are knowledgeable on the areas of gender, sexuality and rape, were requested by wardens to hold talks with their students in the residences (Sexual Violence Task Team, 2016). These discussions were to be held with both male and female students, with a focus on educating young men as they are mostly found to be perpetrators (Barras-Hagan, 2016; Clowes *et al*., 26- 30).

This study has used Pierre Bourdieu's critical theory in understanding how young men navigate their masculinities and sexualities in light of the residence Consent Talks programme. The focus has been on Bourdieu's three main concepts, field, habitus and capital. Bourdieu defines the concept of a field as "A field is a field of forces within which the agents occupy positions that statistically determine the positions they take with respect to the field, these position-takings being aimed either at conserving or transforming the structure of relations of forces that is constitutive of the field" (Bourdieu, 1995: 39). It can also be stated that a field is a social context that operates according to its own rules; these social context may include politics, religion, economics, culture or education. Although these fields may appear to be different, they overlap and influence each other (Barrett, 2017: 44 - 45). Each field goes on to produce its own habitus (Jenkins, 1992: 52; Moi, 1991: 1021). Habitus refers to a way of being, tendencies or socialised norms or predispositions that guide a person's behaviour and thinking (Barrett, 2017: 46 – 47; Calhoun *et al*., 2012; Moi, 1991: 1021).

Agents within a field, all occupy a position and each position carries with it a different habitus and likely course of behaviour and action for each agent (Bourdieu, 1995: 39). Therefore, a person's actions and behaviour is determined by the field they occupy and their habitus, in conjunction with their social position or capital. These three aspects operate together, they cannot be separated (Grenfell, 2008: 51).

Boys, men, and masculinities for the most part in a patriarchal society have been privileged and have occupied the habitus of the dominant (de Klerk *et al*., 2007: 115). As de Klerk *et al*. (2007: 115) assert, "the habitus of the dominant tends to pervade the social system, making it difficult for those with an alternative habitus (such as females or members of racial minorities) to participate as equals". Bourdieu's definition of a field highlights that agents occupy positions that serve to either conserve or transform the structural relations in a field. Thus, as young men's habitus has been found to be implicated in VAW on campus, it is necessary that it be transformed or re-adjusted (de Klerk, *et al*., 2007: 115). Available research about the experiences of first-year students at Rhodes University shows that some students struggle to acquire the needed social capital to navigate both the cultural and academic spaces (Hlatshwayo, 2016), and also struggle to match their habitus to that of the university, particularly those from lower socio-economic background (Tanyanyiwa, 2014).

1.3 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The primary goal of this research is to investigate how first-year male students adjust and re-adjust their masculinities and sexualities in the wake of the resident's Consent Talks programme. The secondary objectives include:

a. To understand and explore first year male student previous habitus and what they have learnt in light of the Consent Talks.

b. To fully comprehend and inspect young men's attitudes and perceptions about the Consent Talks.

c. To understand and investigate young men's certainty or uncertainties in performing their masculinities in light of the consent talks.

1.4 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Since this research sought to understand how first-year male students adjust and re-adjust their masculine identities, it has employed a qualitative paradigm. The research has collected data through the use of in-depth interviews to get a richer insight into the participant's perspectives. The participants have been selected from the first-year male students who were part of the Consent Talks, together with one senior official of the university who is part of the Consent Talks programme. My selected sample was chosen through a purposive and snowball sampling, reason for this was because of its relevance to my research question. The data was analysed through a qualitative thematic analysis. Lastly, the research has followed the Rhodes University ethics committee regulations and has made an effort to ensure that general research ethical standards

were observed.

1.4.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

Mouton and Marais (1990: 32) define research design as "the arrangement of conditions for collection and analysis of data in a manner that aims to combine relevance to the research purpose with economy in procedure". In other words, research design seeks to integrate the objectives of the research with the possibilities and restrictions of the research (Mouton & Marais, 1990: 32). Since the research seeks to investigate how first-year male students negotiate their masculine identity, the research has mainly employed a qualitative research design. Qualitative research starts off with the "insider or emic perspective" (Babbie & Mouton, 2001: 270). The insider perspective is the lived experience of the research informant and the meanings s/he attaches to the phenomenon that is being investigated (Bryman, 2012: 399). Heath (2007: 27) defines qualitative research as a means to describe and understand some human tendencies, which frequently uses a person's views and sentiments. Bloomberg and Volpe (2008: 10) state that qualitative research "is a broad approach to the study of social phenomena and is based essentially on a constructivist and/or critical perspective".

Zikmund (2003: 110) defines qualitative research as being exploratory in nature, and refers to it as research directed to explain and expresses a research problem and the characteristics within a phenomenon. Babbie and Mouton (2001: 520) points out that the focal purpose of qualitative research is to define and comprehend human conduct and its resultant significances. Qualitative research as a procedure of research is mainly fixated on understanding the progressions and the social and cultural circumstances which lay as a foundation for different frameworks of conduct, and normally tries to discover the 'why' interrogations of research (Maree, 2007: 51). According to Collis and Hussey (2003: 53), the phenomenological perspective adopts that social certainty forms part of the individual, and that social reality is contingent on the mind. The phenomenological perspective highlights the subjective nature of an individual, and uses explanatory methods to translate the meaning of occurrences.

1.4.2 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Mouton and Marais (1990: 16) further define "methodology" as the "logic of the application of scientific methods to the investigation of phenomena" (Mouton & Marais, 1990: 16). In other words, methodology refers to the decision making process concerning what tools and procedures ought to be used. One of the tools that have been used in this study has been in-depth interviews. In-depth interviews were used because the research sought to get rich narratives and young men's perceptions (Bryman, 2012: 470). The interviews were conducted in person and the participants

were made comfortable to answer the questions as freely as possible. The interviews were mainly conducted in English, and isiXhosa was also used with two participants, and all were tape recorded. The interviews were conducted within the University's property at a suitable time for the participants. All of the participants are identified with pseudonyms and some of the extracts in the study were translated from isiXhosa and isiZulu into English.

In-depth interviews are defined as "an unstructured personal interview which uses extensive probing to get a single respondent to talk freely and to express detailed beliefs and feelings on a topic" (Stokes, David, & Richard Bergin, 2006: 28). There were 15 interviews conducted in total for this study, 14 were with first year male students, and the fifteenth was with a senior official of the University. The young men were between the ages of 18 and 25 years. All 14 students stayed on the university's residences and all participants were part of the Consent Talks. The student participants originally come from diverse backgrounds, different provinces of South Africa and other nationalities. My selected sample was chosen purposively and through snowball sampling because of its relevance to my research question and secondly, to easily locate the relevant members of the targeted population. Bryman (2012: 418), points out that purposive sampling is important because "sampling, sites, like organizations, and people within sites are selected because of their relevance to the research questions." Snowball sampling on the other hand is important because it allows the "researcher collects data on the few members of the target population he or she can locate, and then asks those individuals to provide the information needed to locate other members of that population whom they happen to know" (Babbie, 2011: 208).

Further, the data was analysed through a qualitative thematic analysis. The data analysis process explored the common themes that emerged throughout the interviews; it also took into consideration the nuances within each participant. A thematic analysis is a very useful "method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data. It minimally organises and describes your data set in (rich) detail" (Braun & Clarke, 2006: 79). According to Holliday (2001: 99), in qualitative research, data analysis can be labelled as a procedure that necessitates an interviewer to be able to arrest and comprehend the data collected. Data analysis is also defined as an instrument for decreasing and categorising data to create conclusions that necessitate clarification by the interviewer (Burns & Grove, 2003: 479). According to Quinlan (2011: 420), one of the central purposes of qualitative data analysis is to cultivate as in-depth and thorough description of the phenomenon as possible.

According to Henning (2004: 127-128), data analysis necessitates that the interviewer be absorbed in the data. Data analysis is done to preserve the individuality of each person's lived experience,

while allowing the comprehension of the phenomenon being studied. This procedure begins with being attentive to each and every word spoken by the people that take part in the interview, and this is followed by re-reading verbatim records. As the interviewer become absorbed in the data, important accounts will be garnered and essential themes will emerge and identified. It is essential that you recognize how accounts or main themes arise and link to each other, for the final narrative to be all-inclusive and comprehensive (Streubert & Carpenter, 2003: 70).

1.5 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

According to Babbie and Mouton (2001: 520), the Webster's New World Dictionary defines the term "ethical" as "conforming to the standards of conduct of a given profession or group". Ethical matters tend to arise especially when dealing with people and this brings difficulty as standards of conduct are not the same for all people. It then requires that if there is any social research conducted, that the standard of conduct of research are known and followed (Babbie & Mouton, 2001: 520). Further, Babbie and Mouton (2001: 521-526) point out some ethical standards that need to be followed in conducting social research. These include "voluntary participation", "no harm to the participant", "anonymity and confidentiality", not "deceiving subjects" and "analysis and reporting".

The researcher has made an effort to ensure that ethical standards were observed, such considerations include:

- Obtaining consent from the participant before the interview was conducted;
- Ensuring transparency and truthfulness with the participant;
- Ensuring that all information sourced during the research is kept confidential;
- Data analysis has to be done without referring to the particulars of the participants.

1.6 CHALLENGES & LIMITATIONS

The research project did not present itself with major challenges, except for the difficulty of getting hold of some participants. Some participants were contacted via email and even though almost all of them opened their emails, they did not make contact, due to the fear of being implicated in issues of consent, while some students opted not to participate at all in the research. The students that chose to participate, I had to explain in person what the research was about and how their participation wouldn't bring them any harm. The study's generalizability is however limited insofar as race is concerned because almost all the students were black male students with the exception of one who is a white male student. Also, the research was also limited due to its nature (mini thesis) otherwise female students and wardens could have been interviewed for the study.

1.7 THESIS OUTLINE

This chapter sought to introduce what the thesis is about, outline the background, and give a brief theoretical framework and methods that have been used. Chapter Two will provide the theoretical framework and provide a deeper context of the study. This will be done by drawing on the work of Pierre Bourdieu and that of R.W Connell. The third chapter is the data analysis chapter, which will provide a report on the data collected for the study and the data that will be analysed thematically. Chapter Four, which is the last chapter, will provide a complete summary of the thesis and highlight the main points presented by the thesis.

CHAPTER 2: CONTEXTUALISING THE STUDY

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter attempts to utilise Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical work to understand how a selected

sample of young men at Rhodes University negotiates their masculinities. While this study's generalizability may be limited due to the sample size, the intention is to draw conclusions about the negotiation of masculinities in the field of higher education in South Africa. In this regard, Bourdieu's conceptual framework of habitus, capital, and field will be utilised in describing and discussing how first-year young men at Rhodes University negotiate their masculinities and how the field of masculinity and that of higher education intersect with one another. The literature will investigate how hegemonic masculinity as one form of dominant masculinity interacts with different dominant masculinities in the field of higher education. Further, it will also investigate how dominant masculinities enable violence against women (VAW), gender-based violence (GBV), sexual harassment and rape with specific reference to different educational programs that seek to "liberate masculinities". Lastly, this chapter will investigate alternative masculinities and what role they can play in fighting VAW, GBV, sexual harassment and rape.

2.2 THE FIELD OF GENDER

Pierre Bourdieu sees society not as one entity but as a constellation of different "semi-autonomous" fields (Mottier, 2002). In this way, Barret (2017) observes that Bourdieu uses the concept of a field as a metaphor for different social contexts or "domains of social life" (Coles, 2009: 35). In using the concept of a field, Bourdieu defines it as "a field of forces within which the agents occupy positions that statistically determine the positions they take with respect to the field, with this schema of position-taking being aimed either at conserving or transforming the structure of relations of forces that is constitutive of the field" (Bourdieu, 1995: 39). In other words, the concept of a field (which constitutes agents that either conserve or maintain the status quo) refers to social contexts or domains that operate according to their own rules, these social contexts include politics, religion, economics, culture, education, gender etc. Bourdieu asserts that these fields although they may appear to be different, interact, overlap and influence each other (Barrett, 2017: 44 – 45; Coles, 2009: 35). Swartz (1997: 120) shares the same sentiments and asserts that "fields maybe inter-or intra-institutional in scope: they can span institutions, which may represent positions within fields."

Through this theoretical framework, it can be argued that higher education is a field, while Rhodes University is a subfield and as a subfield, it constitutes different other subfields (Thomas, 2002: 435). Like any other subfield, the university overlaps and interacts with other fields and subfields. One of the fields the university interacts with among other fields is the field of gender. The field of gender overlaps and interacts with many other fields such as class, race, education and age. The field of gender in turn constitutes two subfields, that of masculinity and femininity (Coles, 2009:

35). Research and popular discourse has constructed these two fields in a binarised manner with the subfield of masculinity as a site of domination whiles the subfield of femininity as a site of subordination (Coles, 2009: 36). Those who are dominant within a field will fight to maintain their dominance or the status quo. This will be done through different methods; such methods may include defining things in line to the interest of the dominant group. Secondly, this can be done by determining what can be considered as valuable, this too will be conducted in line to the interests of the dominant group. While dominant groups fight to maintain the status quo, subordinated group fight to challenge the status quo (Coles, 2009: 36). White 1996 (cited in Coles 2009: 39) argues that "In the field of gender, men have persistently and tirelessly worked to establish a case for the superiority of men's essential nature in all of those domains which are said to determine the 'real' worth of a person – from superiority in the moral sense through to superiority in regard to the possession of those highly regarded capacities of logic and rational argument. This case has been central to the maintenance and extension of the inequitable arrangements between the genders – to the justification of the oppression of women, and for the support of male power, privilege and violence."

Although these subfields are in a struggle with one another, they are also in a struggle within themselves. As men are the dominant group or gender in society, even within the subfield of masculinity there are different levels of domination and subordination. The same can also be said in the subfield of femininity. All these different levels of domination and subordination intersect with different other fields such as class, race, location, ethnicity, age. As already mentioned, fields are "semi-autonomous" but they interact and influence each other. This means that struggles in one field can either end or enforce struggles in other fields (Coles, 2009: 39). This interaction can also be seen in how the prevalence of violence against women (VAW) in society and the broader societal inequalities are seen in the field of higher education (Gordons & Collins, 2013; 94; Hames, 2009: 42). The 1993 UN Declaration on the elimination of Violence against Women defined VAW 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, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life" (Sibanda-Moyo, Khonje & Brobbey, 2017: 9). For example, following the social media hashtag movements such as the #Rape at Azania House in University of Cape Town in 2015, #RUreferencelist at Rhodes University in 2016, the field of higher education proved itself a microcosm which reflects the issues of society. With the emergence of the RUreferencelist, Rhodes University was in the spotlight; young women challenged the culture encompassing rape and sexual assault on campus (Lorimer, 2016).

Agents within a field all occupy a position and each position carries with it a different habitus and likely course of behaviour and action for each agent (Bourdieu, 1995: 39). Each field goes on to

produce its own habitus (Moi, 1991: 1021). Habitus refers "to the ways in which individuals live out their daily lives through practices that are synchronised with actions of others around them, functioning to produce a social collective that is not ordered by rules per se but influenced by objective structures" (Coles, 2009: 34). Thomas (2002: 430) provides a simplified definition, and asserting that habitus refers "to a set of dispositions created and shaped by the interaction between objective structures and personal histories, including experiences and understanding of reality." In other words, the concept of habitus refers to a person's inherent and unconscious qualities, attitudes and character which they have acquired through socialisation, in conjunction with the position they occupy in a field or fields. Simply put, habitus refers to a way of being, tendencies or socialised norms or predispositions that guide a person's behaviour and thinking (Barrett, 2017: 46 – 47; Calhoun *et al*., 2012; Moi, 1991: 1021). Bourdieu reminds us that the habitus, agent's dispositions, inclinations and way of being are formed over time, and though they can be changed they are durable (Coles, 2009: 34 –35). It is important to always remember that we cannot talk about habitus without a field, the habitus does not emerge out of nowhere but from within the context of a field, the two always interact and influence one another (Butler, 1999: 114). Therefore, the institution in this instance has realised that the socialisation of male students from their cultural field is one that promotes VAW and rape. In this case, the habitus of the perpetrators is not in line with the ideals of the university and the field it seeks to create.

Therefore, agents' actions and predispositions are determined by these two factors in conjunction with capital. The habitus cannot be separated from either field or capital, they operate together. They all inform one another. Bourdieu explains this relationship in the following formula; [(habitus) (capital) + field] = practice (Grenfell, 2008: 51). Grenfell (2008: 51) goes on to argue that "practice results from relations between one's dispositions (habitus) and one's position in a field (capital), within the current state of play of that social arena (field). These three concepts enable us to understand how individuals or agents in fields either maintain or challenge structures and what strategies they form to navigate their positions (Coles, 2009: 36). In using the concept of capital, Bourdieu refers to "the currency that buys you a higher position in society, it is the foundation of social life and it is what decides your role in the social world" (Sharp & Kon, 2017). In other words, capital is any resource that can give you an advantage in society and therefore determines your social position and habitus. Coles (2009: 36) provides a similar definition and argues that capital is "a resource that is the object of struggle within fields and which functions as a social relation of power". As in any other field, even in the field of gender, capital is contested. So, this struggle or contestation of capital takes place between agents within fields.

The university as a subfield (Thomas, 2002: 435) interacts with the field of gender and the two

influences each other (Coles, 2009: 35). In other words, the university, as a previously male institution, has taken on the habitus of the dominant group (male, middle class, white) (de Klerk, klazinga & McNeil, 2007: 115; Thomas, 2002: 433). For example, a commentator in Rhodeo (1990, cited in de Klerk, *et al*., 2007: 118 -119) went on to argue that "Instead of the university trying to reshape the attitudes of male students and alter their perceptions of women as tokens of their manhood, the problem has supposedly been addressed by curbing the freedom of women." This is why the habitus is seen as "structured structures" or "structuring structures" (Mottier, 2002: 349), the university which is a field has gone on to be structured by the habitus of the dominant group (de Klerk, *et al*., 2007: 115).). Thomas (2002: 433) argues that "a traditional institutional habitus assumes that the habitus of the dominant group (male, middle class, able bodied etc) is not only the correct habitus but treats all students as if they possess it..." Therefore, students that do not come from that traditional institutional habitus are (unconsciously or consciously) discriminated against, while students that come from that traditional institutional habitus are (consciously or unconsciously) favoured (Thomas, 2002: 433).

The habitus of the dominant group (male, middle class, able bodied etc.) is expressed in their attitudes and behaviour towards minority groups or towards subordinated groups (Soro, 2018). This is seen in how male students have devalued, sexually harassed and raped female students in the university (de Klerk, *et al*., 2007: 115). In addition, the habitus of the dominant group is further seen in how it has structured and formed the habitus of the institution (Mottier, 2002: 349). This too is reflected in how the university has handled female students' complaints on issues of gender inequality, sexual harassment and rape in the past. The university's response in the past has mostly been reactive, viewing the fault as being that of female students rather than of male students. For example, in 1985 female students were asked "to dress sensibly and walk in groups" (Rhodeo 1985, cited in de Klerk, *et al*., 2007: 115 -116). In addition, much of the reports on issues of harassment and rape reveal the university imposing restrictions on female students to avoid rape rather than dealing with male students. Further, historically the university has not had channels through which female students could report cases of sexual harassment and rape. In addition, the university has had a "mis-representation" of women at the management structures of the university (de Klerk, *et al.,* 2007: 115 -116).

The history of the university reveals that it was only in 2004, after a high-profile rape case, that the university developed a new approach to handling issues of gender inequalities, harassment and rape. This new approach revealed a degree of change in the institutions' habitus as the university started appointing women at management levels and applying a "holistic approach to student welfare and services" (de Klerk, *et al*., 2007: 122). In addition, educational programmes (initially

requested by the SRC and recommended by a task team in 2004) to teach about gender issues, racism and sexist behaviour were instituted (de Klerk, *et al*., 2007: 121). Further, the new approaches that have been developed since 2004 have been aimed at challenging and re-adjusting male students' habitus (in particular their attitudes, behaviour and way of thinking about women) (de Klerk, *et al*., 2007: 115). The period from the 1980s until 2004 revealed the "patronising insulting and ignorant way in which they (management) have chosen to ignore women's fears and the realities of harassment" (Rhodeo, 1992 cited in de Klerk, *et al*., 2007: 119). The fact that the university took so long to change its institutional habitus and to develop the correct programmes to change or re-adjust the habitus of male students, is a testament of the durability of the habitus (Coles, 2009; Mottier, 2002; 349; 34-35; Soro, 2018).

All institutions have their own "institutional habitus". The concept of institutional habitus comes from Bourdieu's concept of habitus but used in relation to institutions or organisations (Thomas, 2002: 430). The concept of habitus does not only apply to people or individuals with regards to their character, dispositions (Thomas 2002), and way of being or predispositions (Barett, 2017) but to institutions as well. An institutional habitus "should be understood as more than the culture of the educational institution: it refers to relational issues and priorities, which are deeply embedded, and sub-consciously informing practice" (Thomas 2002: 431). Over the years, the university has been challenged to change its own institutional habitus ever since it accepted female students in the 1940s, which have always been subordinated by the habitus of the institution (de Klerk, et al., 2007: 115). The habitus of the university had reflected its previous makeup. The habitus of the dominant group tends to be maintained by the status quo, therefore making it difficult for those who have a different habitus or minority groups (other races and female students) to make the university a home or a safe space (de Klerk, *et al*., 2007: 115).

Over the years female students have consistently complained and protested over issues of gender inequality, sexual harassment and rape (de Klerk, *et al*., 2007). Despite the different measures put in place by the university, minority groups still have a mismatch of habitus in the university (Tanyanyiwa, 2014). In recent years (as from 2004), the university has provided educational programmes on issues of race, gender, sexual harassment and rape as an attempt to change or readjust the habitus of the dominant groups in the university and therefore the institutions habitus (de Klerk, *et al*., 2007: 121; Sexual Violence Task Team, 2016: 9). According to the 2016 Task Team; "Over the past couple of years, but especially in 2016, a number of students and staff members…who are regarded as knowledgeable on issues of gender, sexuality, and rape culture have been asked by residence student leaders and/or wardens to facilitate discussions with their students in their residence" (Sexual Violence Task Team, 2016: 12).

Available research about the experiences of first year students at Rhodes University shows that some students struggle to acquire the required social capital to navigate both the cultural and academic spaces (Hlatshwayo, 2016), and also struggle to match their habitus to that of the university, particularly those from lower socio-economic background (Tanyanyiwa, 2014). In light of this research about struggles of first year students at Rhodes University, this theoretical section hopes to contribute to this literature.

2.3 DOMINANT MASCULINITIES

The concept of hegemonic masculinity is a type of dominant masculine ideal type (Aboim, 2010), that is grounded in patriarch and seeks to maintain patriarchy (Morrell et al., 2013: 10). Indeed, Oxlund (2007: 61) argues that "powerful and dominant versions of masculinity subordinate less dominant masculinities as well as women." This study is interested in understanding how Rhodes University first year male students (young men) negotiate their masculinities, in light of the consent programme offered by Rhodes University. Morrell, *et al*. (2013: 10) speaking of men, asserts that the negotiation of masculinity "involves the process of positioning themselves in relation to hegemonic versions of masculinity, and appropriating these hegemonic ideals, as a central mechanism for establishing and maintaining an acceptable masculine identity." The concept of hegemonic masculinity was developed in the 1980s by Raewyn Connell, an Australian Sociologist (Morrell et al., 2013: 4). The origin of the concept of hegemony is found in the work of Gramsci (1971) and refers to "a position of dominance attained through consensus rather than regular force, even if underpinned by force" (Jewkes, *et al*., 2015: 113). The consensus is between those who hold the dominant position and those who are subordinated (Jewkes, *et al*., 2015: 113). Hegemony is something that is perceived as an attainment and this is revealed in social power. This is also shown in how those who possess this social power have the ability to define social situations and, in the ability, to define and control social narratives (Morrell, *et al*., 2013: 4)

Connell (1995, cited in Coles, 2008: 233) went on to define hegemonic masculinity as "one form of masculinity that is culturally exalted over all others at a particular place and point in time" or as "the form of masculinity which is dominant in society" (Connell 1995, cited in Morrell, Jewkes & Lindergger 2012: 20). Connell further defined hegemonic masculinity "as the configuration of gender practices which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of legitimacy of patriarchy which guarantees the dominant position of men and the subordination of women" (Connell 1995, cited in Morrell, *et al*., 2013: 4). Although the founder of the concept of hegemonic masculinity defined masculinity as above, different scholars have developed further interpretations of hegemonic masculinity. One interpretation is that hegemonic masculinity is "a set of

(oppressive, ruling class) ideals that served to control (young white people, women, black people) and was thus resisted and contested" (Mooney 1998, cited in Morrell, *et al*., 2012: 21). Swart (1998, cited in Morrell, *et al*., 2012: 21) further defines hegemonic masculinity "as an ideal, as a position of power and as being held by particular men." While Cock 2001(cited in Morrell, *et al*., 2012: 22) uses the concept of hegemonic masculinity as being "synonymous with control (over women, over other men) and violence".

In essence, the concept of hegemonic masculinity refers to an exalted social ideal of what it means to be a man, with pressure placed on every man to live up to this ideal. In addition, this ideal is coupled with the notion that men are superior to women and any other masculinity that cannot live up to this exalted social ideal (Coles, 2008). This means that although different types of masculinities exist, hegemonic masculinity is exalted above any other masculinity, therefore giving those who can live up to this ideal power over those men who cannot live up to it (Morrell, *et al*., (2012: 20). Further, the possession of hegemonic power lies in the relationship between "cultural ideals and institutional power, collective if not individual" (Connell1995, cited in Morrell *et al*., 2013: 4).

Although hegemonic masculinity is highly exalted in society, not every man can live up to this hegemonic ideal (Coles, 2008: 233). Connell (1995, cited in Coles 2008: 233) argues that even though not all men can live up to this hegemonic ideal, most men however support it, even those that are marginalised and subordinated by the same ideal (Coles, 2008: 233). In other words, hegemonic masculinity not only oppresses women, but it also subordinates other forms of masculinity because they are not considered to hold legitimacy or capital in the field of masculinity (Morrell, *et al*., 2012: 20). Connell also argues that the reason most men support the hegemonic ideal even though it subordinates them is because they receive what she calls "patriarchal dividend" therefore maintaining men's domination over women (Coles, 2008: 233). Consequently, men can be said to receive material possessions, power, "honor, prestige and the right to command" (Connell, 1995: 82). Men as the bearers of the "patriarchal dividend" or as bearers of privilege in a patriarchal society are more likely to defend hegemonic masculinity and their privileged position (Coles, 2009: 31).

Further, most men accept these ideals because they would want to obtain the status of manhood and acceptance within the circles of peers (Coles, 2008; 237). The word 'manhood' in this study has been used interchangeably with masculinity. According to Coles (2008: 237), "Being privileged through ownership of valued capital in the field of masculinity, these men perform hegemonic masculinity to protect and reproduce the very values they derived benefits from". The

men that are not able to live up to the hegemonic ideal negotiate their masculinity within other layers of masculinity (Coles, 2008: 237). Put differently, they take fragmented or small pieces they can perform from the hegemonic ideal to negotiate what masculinity means for them.

So, men who are subordinated by the hegemonic ideal still draw certain elements of hegemonic masculinity that they feel they can perform, give it their own meaning and therefore possess their own alternative dominant masculinity (Coles, 2008: 238). This means that hegemonic masculinity is the standard, or the ideal of what it means to be a man that is used by all men to negotiate their masculinity, the closer you are to the ideal, the higher you are in the hierarchy of power and the less elements you possess, the lower you are in the hierarchy of power. So, a higher position in the field of masculinity is determined by how close one is to the ideal of hegemony. These reformulations of masculinities within the field of masculinity are relative from individual to individual. These reformulations permit men to reconstruct their own masculinities in a way that will make them dominant at different levels within the field of masculinity (Coles, 2008: 238 – 239; Morrell, *et al*., 2012: 20).

An example of this can be that of a first team rugby player, either in high school or tertiary level. If it happens that they he gives up playing rugby due to either academic or work commitments, this may result in him gaining weight so that he no longer has an athletic body in line with the hegemonic ideal. The young man may realise that he is no longer able to live up to this ideal and therefore reformulates his masculinity accordingly. The competitiveness he had in rugby may now be expressed in academics or in work. Morrell, *et al*. (2013:10) reminds us that the process of negotiating one's masculinity occurs within the field of gender and not just within the field of masculinity. In other words, boys and men negotiate their masculinity not just in relation to themselves, but also in relation to women. "Boys/men are also positioned by other boys/men and women, in relation to this gendered hierarchy, rendering them as powerful, successful, envied and desirable, or marginalized, stigmatized and lacking social status" (Morrell *et al*., 2013: 10).

Men find capital in the field of gender while defending their patriarchal position over women (Coles, 2008: 240 – 243). Men negotiate their masculinity in various ways and these ways involve using hegemonic masculinity as a golden standard to live up to or holding on to elements of hegemonic masculinity and in turn subordinating those who are not close to the ideal. This is the case for men who are either consciously or unconsciously subordinated and who seek to challenge the hegemonic ideal, they in turn support alternative dominant masculinities that may be far from the hegemonic ideal while subordinating others (Coles, 2008: 246). As Coles, (2008: 243) argues, "to justify a dominant position means that there must be others to assert dominance over."

2.4 MULTIPLE DOMINANT MASCULINITIES

Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity is very useful in that it is able to reveal different layers of masculinity (Coles, 2009: 32; Jewkes, *et al*., 2015; 113). As already mentioned, hegemonic masculinity is one form of masculinity that is culturally dominant over other different types of masculinities within a given context or culture. This means that there are other forms of masculinities (multiple layers of masculinities) that exist in the same context (Coles, 2008). In addition, it is also able to reveal their relation towards each other and the fluidity of masculinity and power (Coles, 2009: 32). The concept of masculinity cannot be applied to all men in the same and in an equal way as "masculinity does not mean the same thing to all men" (Coles, 2009: 33).

This goes to reveal that there are multiple layers of masculinity (Coles, 2009: 32). These may include the gay masculinities, aged masculinities, Black masculinities etc. And that within these cultural constellations there are also variations that exist and that are in contestation for capital or to perform or to live up to the hegemonic ideal (Coles, 2008: 235). Connell, (1995, cited in Coles (2009; 32) argues that "we have to examine the relations between these different types of masculinities." These multiple layers of masculinities are further revealed by Coles (2009) when he argues that "masculinity is constructed differently by class, culture, by race and ethnicity, and by age. And each of these axes of masculinity manifest the others. Black masculinity differs from white masculinity, yet each of them is also further modified by class and age. The resulting matrix of masculinities is complicated by cross-cutting elements; without understanding this, we risk collapsing masculinities into one hegemonic version" (Coles, 2009; 38). This is to say that masculinity operates at multiple levels of domination and subordination and these multiple levels intersect with other factors such as age, class, culture, ethnicity and race (Coles, 2009).

Further, the meaning of masculinity constantly changes in society through different periods and as individuals go through different stages they shift their masculinity to suit the stage they are in (Coles, 2009: 30). This means that masculinity is not constant or a natural phenomenon but a fluid phenomenon. As a fluid phenomenon, it is something that is socially constructed, not only in terms of culture and context but also "over time and space" (Coles, 2009: 30). Masculinity is relative, it differs in terms of how different men understand it and how they perform or live it out (Coles, 2009: 33). An example of this can be that of two professionals who work in the same university department, one white and one black. The white man might find it easy to stop a masculine practice that he may find toxic because he will not be ostracised by his community. The black man might not be able to, otherwise he will be ostracised by his community.

2.5 HOW DOMINANT MASCULINITIES ENABLE VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

Knowing the causes of men's violence towards women will be vital in fighting or ending violence against women (VAW). According to Kaufman (2001) there are two factors for men's violence towards women. The first one being the privilege that men are offered by patriarchy. Secondly, the pressure and demands that patriarchy places on the same men to put on the garment of masculinity. The second factor is by no means an excuse for why men commit VAW but is one of the causes (Kaufman, 2001: 10). The relationship of violence by boys and men against women has proved itself to be quite intricate. Although it is men who are the perpetrators of violence, they too become affected by this scourge of violence, whether directly or indirectly. The unfortunate thing however is that the majority of men who are supposedly not committing violence have remained silent and by remaining silent, have allowed the scourge of violence to continue. The use of violence and the silence of men are a reflection of hegemonic masculine ideals (Kaufman, 2001: 10) and also the pressure it places on men (Shefer, *et al*., 2015; Morrell, *et al*., 2013: 12). For example, a man might abhor hegemonic masculinity but not stop an act of VAW because he is afraid of being injured, ridiculed or teased.

Raewyn Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity has been used as an instrument to understand men's behaviours and practices that are constantly supporting gender inequality (Jewkes, *et al*., 2015; 113). Fundamental attributes of hegemonic masculinity have been identified as physical fitness, competitiveness, heterosexuality, objectification of women, consumption of alcohol (Coles, 2008: 237), toughness, strength, courage (Morrell, *et al*., 2013: 4), the notion that men have no fear, smoking, the use of drugs, sexually active and violent behaviours (Shefer, *et al*., 2007: 3; Connell, 2005; 15). Hegemonic masculinity is not only a model that all men seek to live up to, it is also a standard that is used to socialise young men. Young men use hegemonic masculinity as a way to achieve their own identity of manhood (Morrell, *et al*., 2012: 20 - 23). Hegemonic masculinity as an ideal of what it is to be a "real man" or a type of masculinity that is socially perceived as an epitome of a successful masculinity. As previously mentioned, these masculine ideals and attitudes are informed by culture, context, and time. Boys and men are expected to live according to these ideals and as a result, they end up policing each other to live up to these ideals of manhood (Morrell, *et al*., 2012: 24).

Masculinities are socially constructed, and masculinities are the social practice associated with boys, but it is also possible for girls to be involved in social practices associated with masculinity just as boys can also be involved in social practices associated with girls (Connell, 2005: 13). There is social pressure on young men not to show any emotions and weakness, but to be tough and this leads to young men denying their expressions of pain or weakness. The same pressure can also lead to factors that contribute to the problems of health amongst boys and men, with factors such

as the use of drugs, alcohol and violence. These issues stem from hegemonic ideals that being a man means being tough and showing aggression (Connell, 2005: 15). Boy's lives and emotions are not "categorically" different from those of girls. This only becomes a problem when a particular ideal; an ideology of "absolute difference" of masculinity from femininity becomes dominant in society (Connell, 2005: 13).

When boys have sexual experiences for the first time in their adolescence, this is met with a sense of pride. The reason this is the case, it is because of masculinities are constructed in such a way that boys/men have the "right to sexual pleasure". While the changes that take place in young people (boys and girls) matter, these physical changes however do not determine the experience of adolescence, but socialization does. And because sexual pleasure is their right, boys/men who act violently towards their girlfriends (partners) are therefore acting out of entitlement and this is something they might have learnt from their fathers or older male role models (Connell, 2005: 14). Further, Connell (2005: 15) points out that boys adopt certain body practices as they move to adulthood and find their masculine identities, for the most part, these body practices are toxic. These include practices such as smoking, unsafe sex practices, physical violence and fearless driving (Shefer, *et al*., 2007). The consequences of these body practices are that they will not only affect the young men involved, but also the women involved in their lives (Connell, 2005: 15).

Scholars in the study of masculinities (Morrell, *et al*. 2012; Jewkes *et al*. 2015) have debated the connection between violence and hegemonic masculinity. The uncertainty has been on whether violence is a result of defending hegemonic masculinity or because it is part of hegemonic masculinity (Morrell, *et al*., 2012). Some men might have been inclined to be violent because of how they may have been socialised (having experienced violence directly or indirectly), pressure from peers to express their manhood in evident ways that are in line with society's norms that reinforce violent behaviour (Jewkes, *et al*., 2015; 114). Research has been conducted in South Africa that suggests that the use of violence is in fact a part of hegemonic masculinity closely connected to other aspects such as showing strength and toughness (Jewkews, *et al*., 2015: 114).

There seems to be no clear indication of whether violence is part of hegemonic masculinity or a result of its defence, this is still contested amongst scholars (Jewkes, *et al*., 2015: 119). Morrell, *et al*., (2013: 8) however assert that violence appears to be the "common denominator" in hegemonic ideals. Further "a close link between hegemonic masculinity and violence has been made" (Morrell, *et al*., 2013: 12). Anderson (2009) and Sathiparsad (2007) (cited in Morrell, *et al*., 2013: 12) have revealed in their studies "how violence towards girls and other boys is common and flows from and contributes to the construction of hegemonic masculinity". Anderson (2009, cited in

Morrell, *et al*., 2013: 12) further "equates hegemonic masculinity with violent masculinity. Hegemonic practices of masculinity are frequently associated with endemic male violence against women and this is demonstrated in a rural setting in KwaZulu-Natal where school going boys beat their girlfriends to secure obedience and to elevate themselves in the eyes of their peers".

This debate of the relationship between hegemonic masculinity and violence is "one of the critical debates about whether hegemonic masculinity is necessarily oppressive" (Morrell, *at al*., 2013: 16). "In the South African context, authors have argued that male toughness, perpetration of violence, acquisition of many sexual partners, and even none or inconsistent condom use from hegemonic masculinity, with its demonstration of male control over female partner and heterosexual prowess. Men who aspire to embrace hegemonic masculinity are more likely to support and engage in these practices and form an important group on which to focus reducing HIV risk reduction efforts" (Shai, *et al*., 2012: 2). Anderson (2009) and Sathiparsad (2007) (cited in Morrell, *at al*., 2013: 15) share the same sentiments and argue that violence is part of hegemonic masculinity. Morrell et al. (2013; 15) however, argues that although men in South Africa make use of violence, this does not mean violence is part of hegemonic masculinity. Morrell *et al*. (2015) adds that there are hegemonic forms of masculinity that are not oppressive in an equal manner as others. The work being done by most NGOs in South Africa, working with men seeks to develop hegemonic masculinities that are not oppressive (Morrell, *et al*., 2013: 16). According to Morrell, *et al*. (2013: 16) "Although few examples exist, the possibility of a masculinity that is not vested in the domination of women and other men becoming the ideal and hence hegemonic, must be acknowledged"

Although a hegemonic masculinity that is not vested in violence may exist, as (Morrell, et al., 2013) argues, that may be the case, however, for the most part, hegemonic masculinities in most cases are accompanied by violence (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007). The same violence is revealed in how coercive sexual practices are normalised in heterosexual relationships in university campuses (Clowes, 2011) and how men have hindered condom use in heterosexual relationships (Shai, 2012). Programmes that have been targeted at encouraging women to use condoms have not been successful because male power has been recognised as a vital contributor to risky sexual practices in relationships. Consequently, gender inequality in South Africa has been seen as a great contributor to the increasing number in HIV infections amongst women. Therefore, it has become important to understand the factors that contribute or drive men to be involved in risky sexual behaviours. While sharing those sentiments, Shai, *et al*., (2012) does acknowledge that there is no single factor that can explain why men involve themselves in risky behaviours. But rather, that there are multiple factors that contribute to such practices and behaviour (Shai, *et al*., 2012: 1-2).

"The gender expectations placed on boys tend to emphasize control through aggression...the ability to dominate becomes a display of manhood. Only by involving boys and men in a redefinition of manhood will we effectively challenge these patterns of domination and control" (Kaufman, 2001; 10).

Dominant masculine ideals and attitudes have been identified as contributors of risky sexual practices. "These ideals about gender greatly influence the formation of masculine gender identities and their role in legitimizing and promoting male ascendency over other men and women in society, including their partners" (Shai, *et al*., 2012: 2). When there is equality in relationships, then there will be some level of consistency in terms of safer sexual practices. This is so because risk sexual practices have been linked to gender inequality (Shai, *et al*., 2012: 2). "Thus, to make progress towards eliminating violence against women, we will need to change men – men's attitudes, behaviours, identities, and relations" (Flood, 2011; 359).

2.6 INVOLVING BOYS AND MEN TO FIGHT VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

Gender interventions focusing on men in South Africa have historically mainly paid attention on two issues, violence and the transmission of HIV (Jewkes, *et al*., 2015: 115- 116). While those were the main things that have been focused on, other aspects include the absence of fathers, lack of employment and many other interventions have focused on immediate goals such as reducing the scourge of VAW, Gender Based Violence (GBV), reducing the transmission of HIV, while seeking to change the societal gender practices and attitudes as a long term goal (Jewkes, *et al*., 2015: 116). Interventions that seek to change the ideals of masculinity have been found to be effective in issues of gender equality (Jewkes, *et al*., 2015:119).

According to Jewkes, *et al*. (2015: 118) it is important that "the relational construction of gender is critical, and it is much more likely that interventions that engage both men and women in critical reflection on gender identities, roles and practices will be successful," It has come to be acknowledged that oppressive hegemonic masculinity is not only constructed by men, but that even women do contribute to the construction and the maintenance of oppressive masculinities (Morrell, *et al*., 2013: 16). Jewkes, e*t al*. (2015) points out that it is important for interventions to engage men's vulnerabilities in order to have them involved rather than just blame and judge them. "It is generally not possible to reach and retain men in participatory processes without engagement with men's vulnerability and positive aspects of masculinity and positive aspects of masculinity, so it is essential for interventions to balance reflection on the power, vulnerabilities and oppression of hegemonic and positive aspects of men's aspirations" (Jewkes, *et al*., 2015: 118).

There is a growing literature (Berkowitz, 2004; Chant & Gutmann, 2000; Flood, 2011; Kaufman,

2001), that shows that the inclusion of men in programmes to fight VAW is important as men have a vital role to play. Consequently, there are a growing number of interventions that focus on the role of men in ending violence against women (Berkowitz, 2004a:1). Throughout the world, the importance of involving men in fighting VAW is acknowledged (Flood, 2011:359). “There is a growing consensus in violence prevention circles that to end this violence, we must involve and work with men. While men have long been addressed in secondary, and tertiary based interventions as perpetrators, now they are also being addressed as ‘partners’ in prevention" (Flood, 2011: 350).

Although there is a growing consensus on the inclusion of men, there are concerns that the inclusion of men will take away women’s resources and the focus will no longer be on women but on men (Flood, 2011; Kaufman, 2001: 11). Even though this might be a potential issue to be concerned about, there is a feminist rationale for including men in the prevention of VAW. Firstly, it is acknowledged that it is men who perpetrate violence against women, therefore, it becomes important that men be involved and engaged (Flood, 2011: 359). Secondly, it is going to be important that men be involved so that the constructions of masculinity can be redefined. For it is the constructions of masculinity that contribute to the violence against women, this needs to be looked at from all levels of society. Therefore, "we have no choice but to address men and masculinities if we want to stop violence against women" (Flood, 2011:359).

Kaufman (2001: 11) shares the same sentiments as Berkowitz (2004a) in stating that boys and men need to be involved in prevention of VAW and this is mainly because boys and men are likely to listen to other boys and men, This involvement or inclusion has to go beyond just men speaking on television or on the radio, men have to actively participate (Kaufman, 2001: 11). “Through active involvement, boys and men will feel they have a personal relationship to the issue and a stake in the process of change. Such a feeling, in turn, will unleash greater energies and unlock new resources that can be used to end the violence” (Kaufman, 2001: 11). Another reason for involving boys and men that is hardly talked about is that even young men have witnessed either their mother or a female in their own lives being violated. This has been shown to have the same impact as having had a direct experience of violence or “better, it is a form of direct experience” (Kaufman, 2001; 11).

Berkowitz (2004a: 1) argues that all men have a role to play in ending violence against women and for men to take up their role; they must realise and acknowledge their potential for violence against women. Berkowitz (2004a) goes on to state that not all men commit violence towards women, but all men do create an environment that allows for all men to be perpetrators. "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 cause of violence" (Berkowitz, 2004a: 1). Men's involvement can take three forms, the first one being the primary form that is involving men that are not committing violence. Secondly, through the secondary form, involving men who may potentially be in a position to commit violence towards women and thirdly, the tertiary form, which involves men who are already committing violence (Berkowitz, 2004a: 1-2). This type of involvement however has to occur in single groups of men. Berkowitz (2004a: 2) further defines prevention "as any program or activity that reduces or prevents future violence against women by men."

Prevention programmes that are educational can be held either once or in regular sessions. Such programmes may directly focus on key areas of violence and these may include sexual assault, harassment, stalking and rape. Indirectly, such programmes may focus on raising awareness in men about such areas of violence; inculcate attitudes and behaviour that will offer women protection against violence. Further, prevention programmes may focus on providing different ways of thinking about what it means to be a man. It is important to involve all men in the prevention of all forms of violence against women even though it would be wiser to do so by focusing on one form at a time. These forms may include, sexual harassment, sexual assault, domestic violence etc. (Berkowitz, 2004a: 2). Unfortunately, there are very few campaigns that are intended to reach out to boys and young men at an early stage while they are still forming their masculine identities (Kaufman, 2001: 10). Berkowitz (2004a: 2) reveals that literature on programmes focusing on changing men's attitudes on violence have been shown to be effective, the change in attitudes however is only for a few months. However, programmes that focus on only providing information have been found to be ineffective (Berkowitz, 2004a: 2).

Evaluation of studies that have been conducted on violence prevention programmes have revealed that effective programs share the following factors: the first aspect being that effective violence prevention programs approach men as partners rather than as perpetrators in addressing VAW. Secondly, a programme becomes effective when men take responsibility in the prevention of violence against women. They also become effective when held in small groups of men and when held by a man relevant to their age, this is because men tend to listen to other men. Fourthly, it has been found that effective programmes create an environment that enables interactive discussions where there is an open sharing of ideas and perceptions. An interactive environment also enables the challenging of dominant discourses of masculinity, the strengthening of alternative masculinity values that are against the oppression of women and the suppression of men. Further, this includes an environment where men are encouraged to talk to other men who display violent attitudes and

behaviour (Berkowitz, 2004a: 2). Lastly, these different programs have shown that "work with men must be in collaboration with and accountable to women working as advocates, educators, and prevention specialists" (Berkowitz, 2004a: 3). The above factors were only evaluated in single groups of men.

Literature on prevention is showing that a language of blame towards men is not an effective way in fighting VAW, rather it may produce unwanted results (Berkowitz, 2004a: 3). "It is important in the work that we avoid any tendency or any temptation to use language of generalized guilt or generalized blame. Yes, boys grow up with a set of privileges as males in a male dominant society. We want boys and men to learn about that, to confront that, to disavow those privileges, to see how women have suffered and, paradoxically the price men have paid for those privileges" (Kaufman, 2001: 12). Using a generalised language and using the blame game does not assist in the fight against women's violence. Also, the mistake with such language is that it assumes patriarchy and sexism to be an individual act rather than systematic and institutionalised (Kaufman, 2001: 12)."Language that leaves males feeling blamed for things they have not done, or guilty for the sins of other men, simply will alienate most boys and men. It will promote backlash. It will push these individuals up against a wall. It just will not get us anywhere" (Kaufman, 2001: 12).

This is not to say that the ideals that necessitate VAW should not be confronted, but that confrontation should allow men to self- reflect and takes responsibility and they can do this if they are not pushed away. "Thus, men should take responsibility for acting as perpetrators and bystanders of violence and the best way to accomplish this is to encourage men to be partners in solving the problem rather than criticising or blaming men" (Berkowitz, 2004a: 3). Literature reveals that most men already do not feel at ease with some of the attitudes and behaviours of masculinity they have learnt. Blame only puts men on the defensive; therefore, effective programmes create an inclusive environment that enables men to be part of the solution and not the problem. This is possible in a non-blaming and judgmental environment where interactive discussions are held (Berkowitz, 2004a: 3). "The common element in successful prevention programs for men is the opportunity to participate in an experience where men are encouraged to honestly share real feelings and concerns about issues of masculinity and men's violence" (Berkowitz, 2004a: 3). This becomes effective because men get to hear other men's views and in so doing challenge and encourage men who are perpetrating VAW an opportunity to reflect and confront their attitudes (Berkowitz, 2004a: 3-4). Again, these are suitable for single gender groups.

Brecklin and Forde (2001, cited in Berkowitz, 2004a: 4) concluded in their evaluation study of 43

university rape prevention programmes that single gender groups are more beneficial for both women and men than mixed groups. The same sentiments were also shared by five other literature reviews on rape prevention programmes (Berkowitz, 2004a: 4). “One of the main arguments for separate gender workshops is that the goals for violence prevention are different for men and women. Despite this being true in some settings, it may be necessary or more appropriate to offer violence prevention in mixed groups” (Berkowitz, 2004a: 4). In mixed groups however, the facilitators must try to dim the tension that may rise between women and men, “avoid potential victim-blaming, not give information about victim-risk that could be useful to perpetrators, and avoid approaches that are blaming of men” (Berkowitz, 2004a: 4). Prevention programmes that have been evaluated on mixed groups and those that have been successful have been those of boys in high school, the success of those however has not been compared to other programmes on either at university and in other settings (Berkowitz, 2004a: 4).

Berkowitz (2004a: 4) reminds us that this emphasis on men’s role in preventing violence against women has been made possible through women’s sacrifices and so it should not be about competition, but it should be an alliance between women and men that seeks to end violence against women. This is why it is important for male facilitators on programmes that seek to prevent VAW to be accountable and to collaborate with women and to create platforms for women in their programmes. In order for this to happen, it requires that men need an openness and willingness to learn from women (Berkowitz, 2004a; 4).

Berkonwitz, (2004b) further reveals five philosophies that programs intended to prevent VAW should hold. The first being *fostering empathy for victims.* “Presenting stories of victims in person, by video, or through interactive theatre, can help create such understanding and empathy” (Berkowitz, 2004b: 3). Secondly, *individual change*. This individual change focuses on equipping men with skills in managing anger, the privileges that comes with being a men, communication and consent. Literature has shown that a lack of these skills can lead to violence and so equipping men on them can help reduce VAW (Berkowitz, 2004b: 3). The third philosophy in programmes that seek to prevent violence is that of Bystander *Intervention.* What this aims at achieving is to teach men or women on how to intervene in cases of violence against women by other men. “Men who are likely to commit violence are men who over-identify with traditional masculine values and roles and who are especially sensitive to what other men think” (Berkowitz, 2004b: 3). Through encouraging and teaching men to intervene in cases of violence committed by other men can lead to a change in the culture with regards to how men relate with each other and women (Berkowitz, 2004b: 3). Fourthly, the programme needs to focus on the *Re-Socialization Experience*. “Socialization focused programs explore the culture and societal expectations of men

that influence how men are taught to think and act in relation to women" (Berkowitz, 2004b: 3). Lastly, the programme should look into *Social Marketing and Social Norms Marketing.* This speaks to correcting toxic perceptions that men hold with regards to how they are perceived by other men. It has been shown that men have a huge influence on each other, as a result, men will only intervene in issues of VAW if they perceive that other men see it as something good or see it as something that a man should do (Berkowitz, 2004b: 4).

An example of a programme that is a success throughout the world in working with men to end VAW is the White Ribbon Campaign (WRC). The WRC was founded on the philosophy that "while not all men are responsible for committing VAW, all men and boys must take responsibility for helping end it…we work with women's organizations and urge men to listen to the voices and concerns of women" (Kaufman, 2001: 13). The WRC went as far as putting an emphasis on public education and offering educational materials for boys and men. These include different activities such as putting out adverts and posters working in collaboration with men, involving boys and men from community levels, schools, universities, local sport teams etc. The most important aspect of these different activities has been "giving boys and men the structure, the encouragement and the tools to work as allies with girls and young women" (Kaufman, 2001: 14).

2.7 ALTERNATIVE MASCULINITIES

Hegemonic masculinity does not only affect women negatively, it also affects men as well. The same system that gives all men privilege in society and oppresses women is the same system that suppresses men. This is evident in men's health and men's quality of life. Therefore, changing hegemonic masculinity will be beneficial for both women and men (Jewkes, *et al*., 2015: 115). Hegemonic masculinity as a socially constructed ideal and not a "natural" ideal, it means that it can be changed (Jewkes, *et al*., 2015: 118). Morrell, et al., (2013: 8) share the sentiment that hegemonic masculinity is not biological but that it's based on socially constructed cultural ideals. The fact that ideas about what it means to be a man have changed over different epochs goes to show that masculinity is socially constructed (Connell, 2005). Therefore, this means that alternative masculinities (masculinities that are not oppressive to women and suppressive to men) can be developed and adopted (Morrell, *et al*., 2013: 8).

According to Shefer, *et al*. (2015: 105), young men have a willingness to explore alternative masculinities, a way to perform their masculinity and sexuality in a way that is not oppressive to women and suppressive to men. Research has fore grounded alternative discourses of masculinity; however, these alternative discourses of masculinity are surrounded with uncertainty and vulnerability. The uncertainty and vulnerability comes from fears and concerns about what peers,

older men, families and the community will say. Therefore, the silencing, the teasing and the undermining of alternative discourses of masculinity creates uncertainty in young men on what they should do (Shefer, *et al*., 2015: 101). Consequently, young me are uncertain on how to challenge dominant discourses, and they find themselves in a struggle of trying to negotiate between dominant and alternative discourses of masculinity (Shefer, *et al*., 2015: 101- 102).

Society has entrenched hegemonic ideals which are constantly being enforced through peers, families and older men (Shefer, *et al*., 2015: 101- 102). Shefer, *et al*. (2015: 102), adds that "Young men's performance of masculinity therefore is centred on disguising desires and vulnerabilities that contradict expected male performance by actively engaging in dominant male sexual practices" vulnerability and fears in young men reveal an inherent instability in achieving or living up to hegemonic ideals of masculinity. Young men's masculinity is embodied by fear of not being seen or perceived as man enough. So, in order to feel accepted or to be perceived as man, by both other men and women, young men often experiment with their gender performance and sexuality in line with dominant discourses. The pressure to perform dominant masculinity is even revealed in how male friends relate with each other. Men essentially hold up a façade of dominant masculinity with each other even to the detriment of their own feelings and health (Shefer, *et al*., 2015: 102 -103). Thus, working with young men is potentially an important resource, not only is this an important strategy of fighting VAW, but also a strategy to also eliminate men's fears and vulnerabilities (Shefer, *et al*., 2015: 106).

Ideals that hold the notion that men ought to dominate women are spread in social groups and this is found in many societies. These ideas influence how social groups behave, relations of power and behaviour. Therefore, if there has to be any change, it has to be in the ideals of hegemonic ideals (Jewkes, *et al*., 2015: 113). Men, who live according to these ideals, do so because they benefit from what Connell calls the patriarchal dividend (Coles, 2009: 31). Jewkes, *et al*. (2015: 113) however, argue that in as much as men do benefit from the "patriarchal dividend', men do have a choice on whether they hold up a dominant position over women or to go against such patriarchal practices. For most men however, this choice seems to be limited by a lack of exposure to different ways of thinking or ideals on how to be a man (Jewkes, *et al*., 2015: 113). Thus, it then becomes important for programmes that want to change men's current ideals; they expose them to alternative ways of thinking of what it means to be a man.

2.8 CONCLUSION

This chapter has made practical and effective use of Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical work to understand how a selected sample of young men at Rhodes University negotiates their

masculinities. While this study's generalizability may be limited due to the sample size, the intention was to draw conclusions about the negotiation of masculinities in the field of higher education in South Africa. In this regard, Bourdieu's conceptual framework of habitus, capital, and field was utilised in describing and discussing how young men in university negotiate their masculinities and how the field of masculinity and that of higher education intersect with one another. The literature has investigated how hegemonic masculinity as one form of dominant masculinity interacts with different dominant masculinities in the field of higher education. Furthermore, it has also investigated how dominant masculinities enable violence against women (VAW), gender-based violence (GBV), sexual harassment and rape with specific reference to educational programs that seek to "liberate masculinities". Lastly, this chapter has investigated alternative masculinities and what role they can play in fighting VAW, GBV, sexual harassment and rape.

CHAPTER 3: DATA PROCESSING AND ANALYSIS

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter aspires to provide an analysis of the data collected for this research, with the hope of contributing knowledge to expand understanding on how male students navigate or negotiate their masculine identities within the field of higher education, at Rhodes University. Firstly, the chapter will briefly give an overview of the participants who were part of this study. Secondly, it will use a thematic analysis to analyse the data and it will explain the findings through Pierre Bourdieu's theory. Secondly, the chapter will delve into the presence of patriarchal and dominant forms of masculinity and alternative masculinities present in the participants. Furthermore, this chapter will look into the multiple masculinities, vulnerabilities, uncertainties and difficulties experienced by the young men in negotiating their masculinities within the higher education space. Furthermore, it will look into issues of interaction, inclusion and improvements of the consent talks. Lastly, it will delve into the re-adjustment and fear of consequences of the university's policy.

3.2 BRIEF OVERVIEW OF PARTICIPANTS

There were 15 interviews conducted for this study, 14 were with first year male students, and the fifteenth was with a senior official of the University. The young men were between the ages of 18 and 25 years. All 14 students stayed in the university's residences. All of the participants in the

study are identified using pseudonyms; this was done to maintain the participant's anonymity and confidentiality.

3.3 PATRIARCHAL AND DOMINANT FORMS OF MASCULINITY

For over two decades, scholars in South Africa, in health sciences and humanities have focused on boys, men and masculinities. This focus has sought to change and re-adjust dominant forms of masculinity amongst boys and men (Ratele, 2015). This focus has also been seen in the increase of interventions and programmes focusing on boys and men seeking to solve issues surrounding dominant masculinities. Dominant forms of masculinity have been implicated in many social ills such as HIV/AIDS, violence, VAW, substance abuse, homophobia and poor pass rates (Alemu, 2015; Gqola, 2016, Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007; Mfecane, 2010; Shefer, *et al*., 2007; Shefer, *et al*., 2015). Ratele (2016) has argued that young men's masculinities are in a "crisis", hence there's been so much focus on boys and men in order to solve the problems that are related to masculinities (Lindergger & Maxwell, 2007).

Some of the participants revealed that they were exposed to patriarchal and dominant forms of masculinities while growing up. When asked what ideas they had about what it means to be a man while they were growing up, they revealed that being a man was described along patriarchal and dominant discourses. These ideas were either taught or learned at home, from family members, circumcision school, church and peers in society.

Kudakwashe, Vusi and Matthew revealed that they were exposed to traditional and patriarchal definitions of what it means to be a man. Kudakwashe understood manhood to be defined as being a provider, someone who has a job and is regarded as the leader of their family Vusi shared similar sentiments and stated that he understood manhood as being hardworking and being the dominant provider. Similarly, Matthew understood being a man as being the protector and the one person people look up to for some sense of safety.

> KUDAKWASHE – "I spent a lot of time at home, so obviously my father is Shona and my mother is Shona. So, I had a traditional look that a man is someone who has a wife, who has kids, who can take care of his wife and kids. He's got a job and a man is someone who I guess his just in charge of like a whole lot of things that's going on around him".
>
> VUSI- "But from my own understanding, to be a man it's to be a person like...for instance, if you have a family, you have to be hard working and you have to work hard in order to provide for your family".
>
> MATTHEW – "Uhm, I come from quite a Christian background. So, it was always like

I'm protecting like people that are vulnerable. So, if you are in a family that would be your wife and kids. Uhm, yeah".

As it can be seen from the above extracts, being a provider and protector was a dominant theme that emerged in some of the participants that were exposed to patriarchal and dominant forms of masculinity.

3.3.1 DOMINANT DISCOURSES OF SEXUALITY

Simthembile and Xolani also revealed that they were exposed to traditional discourses of what it means to be a man; their manhood was defined according to their Xhosa culture, which is going to circumcision school. Together with Zuko, they also revealed hegemonic elements. The literatures show that one of the two main elements of hegemonic masculinity is the appraisal of having sex with women (Shefer, *et al*., 2007; Coles, 2008; Connell, 2015). The hegemonic ideal is also associated with the notion that men are superior to women (Morell, *et al*., 2012). As previously argued in Chapter Two, hegemonic masculinity has become a standard for dominant forms of masculinity through which boys and men form their masculine identity, anything far from this standard is seen as far from real manhood. Therefore, to establish this manhood identity the encouraging of sexual violence or multiple partners and unsafe sexual practices is something that is normalised (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007). These elements are revealed in the participants as they defined being a man meant having sex with women, having multiple partners and that a man is superior to women.

SIMTHEMBILE – "Yoh, uhm, the thing is being a man neh, from a young age you know okay like [you are a] boy...And then you go to the circumcision school, this changes your perception. Sometimes it's okay, it makes you better, other people it makes them better you see. If you just separate the nonsense from the wrong things they've teaching, you see...Like, things like to be a man you have to have sex [with women]".

XOLANI – "So, growing up, I grew up in the location. So basically, first thing, being a man, it's culturally based, you have to go to the bush and to initiation, yeah. So that was the first step that I only knew, that okay if I do this, then I'm a man. And then growing up in the Kasi [township]...being a man you are recognised by having like maybe girlfriends, you know, being popular, you know, all those things. All those peer pressure things that we grew up amongst. So that's how we viewed being a man is like".

ZUKO – "To be a man...it's like this neh, ekasi [in the township] there's this thing that perhaps, a man is superior to a girl. So, it was like that. So, a man was seen as being superior

to a woman. So, I grew up in such a situation".

The presences of dominant discourses of masculinity were further revealed in the ideas the young men held of male sexuality before the consent talks. Although some of the participants who were initially exposed to dominant forms of masculinity revealed later on that they went on to perform alternative or healthy ideas of masculinity. While most of the participants revealed that they were exposed to alternative or healthy forms of masculinity growing up, some of those who were exposed to these alternative or healthy forms of masculinity however revealed to have later went on to perform dominant forms of masculinity. This is revealed in their sexual practices through which they performed their masculinity. Simthembile, Zuko, Xolani and Vusi were among the participants who initially revealed that they were exposed to dominant forms of masculinity, they are amongst the participants who went on to perform their masculinity according to these dominant ways. When asked what ideas they had about sexual relationships before the Consent Talks, they answered as follows:

> SIMTHEMBILE – "First of all, I didn't know that a boyfriend could rape a girlfriend. I didn't know that, even like before I came here...thoughts that I had was normal teenage thoughts, that to be a man, to be classified cool, you have to have a girlfriend, you have to have unprotected sex".
>
> XOLANI – "It was like we are on the hunt for girls. As in the township you know, we will keep on interchanging girls, today it's this one, tomorrow it's this one and stuff. But then I haven't been, I wasn't an aggressive guy, or I was actually understanding when a girl was like no let's not do this, okay I'm not ready".

Simthembile reveals that he had thought that rape was something that was done by a stranger and that could not be done by a boyfriend. Even though he did associate being a man as being cool, and having unprotected sex. The same sentiments of unsafe sexual practices are shared by Xolani who revealed that he was gentle with girls, but had multiple partners. The above extracts reveal the sentiments echoed by Shefer, et al., (2015) on local literature, with regards to how male sexuality has been privileged and how male sexuality has hindered safe sexual practices.

> ZUKO – "The ideas I had was that if perhaps you and a girl agree on having sex and when you take the girl to your room and then she decides to change her mind, you then force her because she had agreed to it".
>
> VUSI – "Uhm, what I had in mind was that, uhm, if you get a girlfriend or if you are married, then you have to ask for it like if you wanna have sex for instan. You ask for it

and if you don't get it, try by all means to get it".

While these extracts reveal that young men are not able to take a no, this is seen by the constant theme of seeking to persuade a girl or force her into having sex. This also speaks to the sentiments echoed by Connell (2005) that masculinities are constructed in such a way that boys and men have a right to sexual pleasure. So, young men who become violent towards their girlfriends or partners and are acting out of entitlement and this is something that is learnt from older males or their fathers in society.

The same dominant discourses of masculinity shared by the above participants are also shared by Nceba and Zolani below. Nceba has also revealed the inability to take a no and echoed the same sentiments as Zuko and Vusi and revealed the theme of seeking to persuade or convince a girl for sex. Zolani echoed similar sentiments as Simthebile that he thought by virtue of having a girlfriend, sex was "automatic".

> NCEBA – "Before the Consent Talks, it was a matter of like you know, you meet a girl and you talk to her and stuff. And you will be busy trying to persuade her and stuff...trying to convince when she said maybe said no and you still tried to convince and stuff".
>
> ZOLANI – "I thought that like in a sexual relationship, like maybe between two people you see. Like when you want to have sex with your girlfriend you see, like you will do it because she's your girlfriend".

As can be seen above, these dominant discourses are exactly the ideals that the consent talk's programme seeks to transform, that is, to liberate masculinities (Ratele, 2016) from patriarchal discourses and thus curb occurrences of rape on the Rhodes University campus.

When the senior official of the University was asked on how the male students have received the consent talks and what the most asked questions are, the official revealed the same theme on how young men are not able to take a no. The official responded and stated that:

> "With regards to the issue that I gathered from the males, is the...it takes us back to the patriarchal attitudes as well. I picked up that male students...it was quite obvious because they asked questions about the no. They can't take no for an answer. There were talks around a small no and a big no and I would be like, a no is a no...And for me, that resonates with patriarchal attitudes and mindsets that need to be changed. We must bear in mind that women in our society have been socialised to be carers, have been socialised to be kind, they might be saying no, but in a kind manner and the man might not be willing to accept that no".

3.3.2 THE BURDEN OF PATRIARCHY

When I asked an official of the university who had been engaging with the students on what are some of the factors that contribute to VAW according to their experience, they stated the following:

> SENIOR OFFICIAL OF THE UNIVERSITY – "During the Consent Talks as I was engaging with the students, [there] were conversations, and, in most instances, alcohol did come as a factor. It is quite likely that in most instances' things happen when students or individuals rather have lost judgement of their mental faculties. Another factor that we need to be working hard in trying to deal with is the factor of patriarchy. Patriarchy is very rife, we must bear in mind that our students are individuals, but they are coming from the community and South Africa is a patriarchal society. Values that students bring themselves are the values which have been assimilated during their socialisation in those communities".

The official echoed similar sentiments to those found in the literature regarding patriarchy. Literature shows that the privilege that men are given by patriarchy is one of the factors that have been identified as a cause of VAW. The second factor that has been identified is the pressure and demand put on men by the same patriarchy to perform dominant masculinities (Kaufman, 2001). As evident in (3.3) young men exposed to patriarchal and dominant forms of masculinity defined being a man as a protector and a provider. Further young men in a patriarchal society are socialised and encouraged to take up dominant forms of masculinities. These include being physically fit, competitiveness, heterosexual, the objectification of women and abuse of alcohol (Coles, 2008), being tough, being courageous (Morrell, et al., 2013), risk taking, smoking, the use of drugs, sexually active and violent behaviour (Shefer, *et al*., 2007; Connell, 2015), entitlement to sexual pleasure (Connell, 2005) hence hegemonic. Although most boys and men are subordinated by the hegemonic ideal, "they support it, are regulated by it and use it to judge other men's conduct" (Lindergger & Maxwell, 2007: 96). This becomes a burden when dominant people are at the centre and those who do not fit in the dominant way of behaviour are pushed towards the margins. This further becomes a burden when they come to the university space, especially in programmes like the Consent Talks which calls for the change in their habitus.

This relates to Pierre Bourdieu's theory discussed above. Bourdieu sees society not as one entity but as a constellation of different "semi-autonomous" fields (Mottier, 2002). As already noted, Barrett (2017) observes that Bourdieu uses the concept of a field as a metaphor for different social contexts or "domains of social life" (Coles, 2009: 35). Bourdieu goes on to reveal that a field constitutes agents that either conserve or transform the status quo and that each field operates

according to its own rules. Through this framework, it can be argued that gender is a field, and this may also include culture, religion, economics, politics, education, etc. Although fields are autonomous, they intersect and influence each other. The field of gender constitutes two subfields, the subfield of masculinity and femininity (Coles, 2009). Research and popular discourse however have created these two fields in a binarised manner, with the subfield of masculinity as a site of domination. While the subfield of femininity is a site of subordination (Coles, 2009).

Therefore, boys and men who operate in the subfield of masculinity are the dominant group in the field of gender. While girls and women operate in the subfield of femininity and have become the subordinated group. The methods of this domination are done through different ways, in ways that define girls and women in line to men interests. This is also done through methods such as determining the rules of what is capital and of course, this is also determined in line to boys and men's interests. Bourdieu refers to the concept of capital as any resource that can give you an advantage or a higher position in society (Coles, 2009; Kon and Sharp, 2017). And within the field of masculinity dominance, control, having sex with women and risk taking is defined as capital (Shefer, *et al*., 2007). Although the subfield of masculinity and that of femininity are in a struggle of power against each other. The subfield of masculinity is in its own struggle, where boys and men are constantly fighting to live up to the standard of what it is to be a man or according to that which is considered to be capital within the field of masculinity (Coles, 2009).

Bourdieu (1995) reminds us that agents within a field occupy a position and each position carries with it a different habitus and a likely course of behaviour and action for each agent. Put differently, each field goes on to produce its own habitus (Moi, 1991). Habitus is simply a person's way of being, tendencies or socialised norms or predispositions that guide a person's behaviour and thinking (Barrett, 2017; Moi, 1991; Calhoun, *et al*., 2012). Therefore, boys and men's attitudes, behaviour and actions are determined by the field of masculinity in conjunction to what is defined as capital in the field. Thus, boys and men's attitudes, behaviour and actions cannot be separated from their field and that which is capital in the field (Grenfell, 2008).

3.4 EXPOSURE TO ALTERNATIVE MASCULINITIES

While literature and dominant public discourse is filled with narratives about toxic masculinities, most of the participants revealed that they were exposed to alternative or healthy masculinities and went to perform their masculinities in line with alternative masculinities. This can be revealed in the extracts below.

Simthembile revealed the presence of dominant forms of masculinity as seen above (3.3). He revealed that he was exposed to both dominant and alternative masculinities, however the above

extracts on ideas of sexuality (3.3.1) reveal that he went on to perform his masculinity in line with dominant forms.

> SIMTHEMBILE – "Well, from my experience, I can think, I'm rational; I can separate okay the nonsense I was taught [from the circumcision school] and what I was taught by my actual father. According to the custom, uhm, no matter what you do in life, always respect women because you came out of your mother, it was your mother who gave birth to you. So, respect your sisters. Things like that.

The following participants reveal that they were initially exposed to alternative masculinities; these were learnt at home, from their parents, older siblings and from their culture. So, being a man for these young men meant that a man is not above women, a man respected woman, viewed women as equals and that men feel emotions.

> HLOMPO – "Actually, to tell you what it means to be a man would be me telling you what my mom taught me...like not seeing women as the objects, to be the ones that are domesticated to be doing these domestic duties and stuff. So, she taught me in a way that I shouldn't see myself above a woman".

> LEHLONOLO – "So the idea, what I took from being a man was looking at my older brother. I looked at my older brother and then yeah, he was quite carrying, he wouldn't impose himself on anyone, he viewed women as equals, yeah".

The above participants share similar sentiments and like most of the participants in the study, were raised by households headed by mothers. What it meant to be a man for Hlompo was something he was taught by his mother. While Lehlonolo learnt from his older brother. Hlompo's mother taught him to view women as humans, to know that a women's place is not bound to the kitchen as dominant discourses would have men and women believe and that a man is not above women. Lehlonolo's brother taught him that being a man meant being carrying, equal to women and to not impose himself on anyone.

> TINASHE – "I guess from where I can stand from, I use my dad as an example, fatherly figure. As in how he basically treats a woman, not just the ones he knew, but also the ones he didn't know, and he was always polite, gentle and always shared respect to women. And always asked for anything regardless of where we were. So, I guess, in that point of view, that where I learnt how to, that's how I learnt to be a man basically...."

> ZOLANI – "Uhm, when I think of what it is to be a man, like it's a person that is able to take responsibility, you see. A person that has respect for everyone and receives the same

respect he gives to other people. Some other things like, to be a man, you must respect women and respect the kids and everything and other people".

The above participants also share similar sentiments. Tinasha comes from a home with both parents; his ideas of what it means to be a man were learnt through observing his father's conduct on how he not only treated women but everyone around him. So, what it meant for him to be a man was to be polite, gentle and respect for everyone. Zolani on the other hand was raised by a single mother; he too echoes similar views as Tinashe. He states that being a man means showing respect to women and everyone around you.

KAMU – "Okay, from a Swati culture, a man is always about works, your deeds, ja, its mainly based on once you do good or once you do certain things which like show maturity, that's when you are labelled that you are now maturing and you are becoming a man".

Kamu is also another young man that was raised by a single mother. His ideas of what it meant to be a man was influenced by his culture. And being a man for him meant producing good works and maturity.

MALWANDE- "In the house, like they taught us like it's okay to feel emotions, it's okay like to you know cry, it's okay to not hold back your emotions and stuff like that".

Yet another young man that hails from a matriarchal household. His ideas of what it means to be a man were learnt from home and he was taught that it's okay for a man to their emotions.

As seen above, families, parents (mothers and fathers), older siblings and culture play a role in modelling healthy masculinities. This means that families, parents (mothers and fathers), older siblings and culture have an important role in socialising and in shaping young men. Contrary to popular belief, these young men have also demonstrated that men do display and appreciate healthy masculinities and emotions as well. It's important to note that these are young men from different cultural backgrounds.

3.4.1 THE ACCEPTANCE OR REJECTION OF DOMINANT OR ALTERNATIVE MASCULINITIES

The acceptance or rejection of either dominant or alternative masculinities seemed to be influenced by an exposure to an environment that encourages the performance of either dominant or alternative masculinities. When the young men were asked if they still held on to the discourses, they were initially taught on what it is to be a man, whether they were dominant or alternative masculinities, they responded as below.

Kudakwashe revealed that as he grew older, he went on to reject the initial ideas he learnt growing up, ideas that were based on patriarchal and dominant forms of masculinity, this is shown in the extract below, it is also supported by the extract above on (3.4), this is also shown by the extract (3.4.1) below on how he performed his sexuality,

> KUDAKWASHE – "So, culturally a man is entitled to a lot of things, like in the Shona culture, you are allowed to have more than one wife. Essentially your wife belongs to you and those kinds of ideals are the ones I have kinda left behind and I have said no, I'm going to try, coz they are humans at the end of the day. They are not objecting you can claim and ja, these are some of the things I have left behind".

Simthembile responded that it was subjective, he didn't quite state whether he rejected or accepted either the dominant or alternative masculinities as he shows that he was exposed to both. How he performed his masculinities however as seen in extract (3.3.1) reveal that he performed his masculinities in line to dominant forms of masculinities.

> SIMTHEMBILE – "The thing is, that is subjective, it differs from person to person from how they think. Coz it depends on whether you are...like if you are controlled by friends or you are able to hold the principles that you were taught. Even the principles you were taught might also be also wrong, you see. That's why I'm saying it's kinda subjective".

As can be seen above, Kudakwashe and Simthembile are showing some agency in the construction of their masculine identities. While their own societies may have prescribed what kind of manhood they must take, they have demonstrated that they can be able to choose not to perform their masculine identity inline to what has been prescribed to them.

In the extract below, Xolani initially revealed that he had been exposed to dominant forms of masculinity and when he was asked if he still held on to these ideas of what it is to be a man. He revealed that he still held on to them, he found himself still attached to the same ideas; this is seen in the extract below.

> XOLANI – "Well, I think the first part of going to initiation school, I think it's very fundamental to me and I think it has helped me to become a man...I still believe there are values in the sense of being kinda in a way, the way you dress and stuff. And being relevant and you know and being able to be seen...like, I'm with a girl or those kinds of things. I think, there's still that thing that's at the bottom of my mind that okay, even though I have now evolved as a person and have new teachings. But then there are still those things that okay, you grew up in the township, you know. And where's your girlfriend, why don't you

have a girlfriend and stuff? Ja, there are these kinda attachments".

Tinashe and Kamu had revealed that they were initially exposed to alternative ideas of what it is to be a man and this can be seen in their discourse in their extracts in (3.4) above and it is further supported by how they performed their masculinity or their sexuality in (3.4.2).

TINASHE – "Yeah, I hold them very dear to my heart. Ja, its standard values I like to keep, yeah".

KAMU - Ja, ja, I do".

Vusi had revealed that he was initially exposed to alternative masculinities of what it means to be a man and he learnt this from his brother. How he performed his sexuality however reveals a masculinity that was in line with dominant masculinities this can be seen in (3.3.1).

VUSI – "Ja, basically, coz it's what I learnt from him [uncle],...So, I basically hold them".

3.4.2 ALTERNATIVE DISCOURSES OF SEXUALITY

The following participants initially revealed that they were exposed to alternative masculinities and they have continued to hold on to these healthy masculinities as can be seen in the extract below. This can also be supported by extracts in (3.4.2)

HLOMPO – "So, I've been in multiple relationships where some of them lasted for a year and some of them lasted for seven months where there was actually no sexual contact. Like, I couldn't even apply pressure to a woman telling her, you know, we need to have sex and whatsoever. I mean I'm 25, I've been around, so, having had a consent talk like...having not had it at all, my mom taught me respect. With that, I apply it everywhere".

LELETHU – "Uhm, okay, I would say personally, I was brought up proper, my mom taught me exactly how to be towards a female counterpart. So, I was always proper..."

The above extracts reveals the role mothers are playing in encouraging and enforcing healthy masculinities. Both Hlompo and Lelethu reveal that they were taught and brought up by their mothers to respect women and everyone else.

TINASHE – "For me, I've always been leaning more to sticking to one partner at a time, coz I feel like its way better and in terms of respect and just common respect for general people".

LEHLONOLO – "Before the Consent Talks obviously, I knew that you needed to ask for consent, you couldn't impose yourself on women".

Contrary to dominant discourses, Tinashe revealed through his discourse that his faithful only to one partner. While Lehlonolo revealed that even before the Consent Talks, a man should not impose himself on a woman.

3.4.3 VIEWS ON THE CONSENT TALKS

Female students on the Rhodes campus have always encountered a culture of machismo and that of sexism (Maylam, 2017: 281) as early as the 1980s (Rhodeo 1992, cited in de Klerk, et al., 2007: 121). A survey was conducted in 1999 by the Student Services Council (SSC) and it revealed that 13.4% of students had encountered sexual harassment on campus. The University over the past years has had several cases of rape (Maylam, 2017: 282). Female students have consistently complained and protested over issues of gender inequality, sexual harassment and rape (de Klerk, *et al*., 2007). It was after a high profile rape which occurred in May 2004, were a first year female student was gang raped, that the university developed a holistic approach to handling gender issues. The case revealed the university's failure in handling young women's concerns (de Klerk, *et al*., 2007; Maylam, 2017: 282). Rather, the university blamed women "because sometimes when they say no, they mean yes" (Activate 2000, cited in Maylam, 2017: 282). A protest on campus broke out following the case and a petition that had a list of demands and recommendations was signed. In response to the protest, the university formed a task team and it recommended an educational programme to teach about sexual harassment, sexist behaviour, rape and racism.

Yet, another rape case occurred in 2007, occurred, this case was handled better than the 2004 case and the rape survivor had received support from the university (de Klerk, *et al*., 2007: Maylam, 2017: 282 -283). With the emergence of the #RUreferencelist in 2016, Rhodes University was in the spot light again on issues of rape, young women were protesting about the culture of rape on campus. As from 2016, student's leaders and wardens requested staff members who were regarded to be knowledgeable on issues of gender, sexual harassment, rape culture and racism to hold talks with their students (Sexual Violence Task team, 2016). It was these talks that later came to be called the Consent Talks.

When I asked the participants about their views on the Consent Talks, most of the young men found the Consent Talks offered by the university enlightening and helpful. This is both the young men who held dominant and alternative discourses of masculinity. All the young men who held dominant discourses of masculinity found the talks very enlightening and eye opening. While some of the young men who held alternative discourses of masculinities also found them eye opening with regards to certain dimensions they were not exposed to. While others found them boring because they were touching on issues, they found were obvious, but did acknowledge that

perhaps not obvious for everyone since the students come from different backgrounds.

> KUDAKWASHE – "I think they are a necessity; they are very beneficial because for me, with the views that I have, they still opened up many different aspects to not just sex but interaction with people, with girls in particular. They opened up new dimensions to something I never thought about, things I used to take for granted and used to think that's just the culture or no it's just the way things are. To actually say it's not the way things are, this is what people make it to be, but it's actually meant to be like this".
>
> HLOMPO – "I think and feel that they are very necessary because we are young...So, I feel like the Consent Talks are very necessary, like as a constant reminder, these things happen on a daily basis and at a very high rate, you know, were you find people abusing women in all kinds of ways. So, I feel like the university is actually doing a great job with offering these Consent Talks because people find themselves in situations sometimes and they don't even know that they sexually harassed someone".
>
> KAMU – "They are very much necessary".

The above participants performed their masculinity in line with health masculinities, yet, they still found the Consent Talks necessary. This is mainly so because they felt that they were bringing awareness to things they took for granted or wrong things they might be doing but didn't know they were doing.

> NCEBA – "It is very helpful, because if you don't get taught...not to touch a stove when it's hot. But you still ask yourself why shouldn't I touch the stove, you then decide to touch it, it will burn you and then you learn...So, the Consent Talks aim is to explain why, it doesn't just say don't treat women badly or don't do this, it explains why and the actual depth in it".
>
> ZUKO – "I think they are important because they are showing the young men a different perspective. So that they change from their current perspective which is toxic".
>
> MALWANDE – "So like, for me, I think like consent talks are very important coz like, they teach people to especially students, to you know, ask for anything, like they shouldn't force it, if you force it, the effects will be great".

In the above extracts, Nceba, Zuko and Malwande also share similar sentiments. In the sense that they find the Consent Talks helpful and important because they aim to teach, explain why young man should treat women well, why they should ask for consent and in so doing changing their "toxic" perspectives.

XOLANI – “Well, I feel that the Consent Talks are, I think they should continue coz we come from different backgrounds. Maybe a person, another person is from a background that were never even taught that you should respect girls and stuff. So, now, we come with the township mentality, we whistle at them, those stuff”.

VUSI – “I really think they are really good, especially coming like where you coming from, high school. Coz you from different backgrounds and we are not taught the same things. So, the Consent Talks they kinda like enlighten us to what is happening in the real world, in terms of sexual things like the consent things. Like you have to ask before you can have it and you don’t have to force yourself and stuff”.

ZOLANI – “I think it's important coz as I had already mentioned, we come from different communities and we are taught different things, you see. So, the Consent Talks are important, they are trying to teach on what must be done or try to make people question whether their thinking is the correct way or not. So, the Consent Talks I think are important for those reasons”.

The above extracts share the same sentiments in that the Consent Talks are important because different young men in the university space come from different backgrounds and therefore have different ideas about consent. Some young men might not have been taught on how to treat women, the Consent Talks become important because it enlightens them about consent and on how to treat women. The above extracts serve as evidence to the importance of the Consent Talks programme and as proof that young men’s discourses of masculinity need to be transformed. The above extracts serve as evidence to the importance of the Consent Talks programme and as proof that young men’s discourses of masculinity need to be transformed.

Simthembile, Lehlonolo and Lelethu also found the Consent Talks helpful, however only to a certain extent. Simthembile felt that they while they provided in-depth detail about consent; however, he felt that young men were restricted in the Consent Talks, and this is further revealed in his extract in (3.7). Lehlonolo and Lelethu’s felt that the Talks are not really making any change and thus a different approach needs to be implemented to bring about change.

SIMTHEMBILE – “They are helpful to a point, ja, they give you insight, they give you those finer details that you thought were right but were not okay”.

LEHLONOLO – “Ja, I think the Consent Talks are helpful to a certain extent, but I think like Consent Talks won’t just be able to change a men’s ideology, has been raised for like this 18 plus years and then, I don’t think 2 or 3 talks will actually change his perception on

what he views women".

LELETHU – "I feel like they are helping raising the awareness right, but there's nothing changing. So, I feel like a different approach is needed. The Consent Talks are still needed; they still need to be in place because it still raises awareness and all of that. But if nothing is changing, then a different approach much also be implemented into those consent talks".

Tinashe and Matthew shared similar sentiments. Tinashe found the content of the Consent Talks to be very important however he felt like they were boring. Matthew also found them boring and felt like he already knew what he was being taught.

TINASHE – "Uhm, I feel like I can say they quite boring, but not in the sense of what they are talking about...But Consent Talks as a whole I think, sure they might be boring but they are necessary and for me that's what I've always seen them as".

MATTHEW – "Uhm, I don't want to say I find it a bit funny, but it's not really helpful to me. I mean, a lot of the stuff they talk about is just...I don't want to say obvious, coz a lot of people are not raised like, were they are taught you should...but sometimes it is a bit obvious, yeah. I don't really take it very seriously, coz a lot of the stuff they talk about its stuff that I already believe in or stuff I already know, yeah".

The above extracts come from young men who were taught at home not only to respect women but to respect everyone. They were also taught about sex at school and this is revealed in their discourse.

3.4. 4 LESSONS FROM THE CONSENT TALKS

The participants, when asked what new knowledge they gained from the Consent Talks, they revealed more aspects of dominant discourses of masculinity. The dominant discourses emerged out of comparison between what they learnt in the consent talks versus what they learnt either back home, from their families, culture, society, media and religion. Further, they revealed how this new knowledge has helped them with regards to relating to other people and girls in particular.

HLOMPO – "You know, sexual harassment neh, before these Consent Talks, might just think it's just cat calling, it's just maybe looking and starring. I learnt that its way deeper than that, you know...but now where I'm from, the township, once someone doesn't want to engage in particular a female, in a conversation with a guy they don't know, you know. We tend to get violent; you know. We swear sometimes, you know, they mug them, you know, take whatever it is that they have from them and stuff...of course, it has helped me a great deal, it has helped me a great lot... Ja, just because you know, she's visiting me,

does not mean that she's here to engage in sex with me, you know".

NCEBA – "Some of the things the Dr Mentioned...some things you don't know even notice that you are doing eh and you are acting on those things, but then, you don't realise that it's bad...I would say, knew knowledge would be that when a girl comes over, she doesn't owe you anything...Yesses, things you do, you don't realise you are doing the wrong things, until someone points it out eh. But I've learnt quite a lot".

The above extracts reveal how the Consent Talks have assisted these young men to be conscious of the little things, they were doing that they didn't know were wrong. Hlompo has learnt that just because a girl is visiting, it doesn't mean that she should engage in sex even if she's changed her mind. Similar sentiments are shared by Nceba as he states that one of the things he has learnt is that when a girl visits, she doesn't owe anyone anything, meaning that she's doesn't have to have sex if she doesn't want to and he has to accept that. This ties in with what has already been mentioned above about how masculinities are constructed in such a way that boys and men have a right to sexual pleasure.

SIMTHEMBILE – "Basically, consent, before I came to Rhodes, consent was not, was non-existent, consent ja, has been drilled into our minds with all these pictures and posters and talks. So, every time before doing anything, consent comes into mind. So, ja, consent has made me better I guess...there's that boundary that has been set everywhere, you know. And then, if you just about to misstep it, then your mind goes back to consent, just the word".

VUSI – "Uhm, basically concepts that I did not know of and didn't understand back then and now I do understand. So, the concept and the way we should treat our sexual partners...Uhm and understanding the laws that relate into the whole relationship thingy, like the consequences of you causing something".

The above two extracts reveal that the two participants were not aware of consent and having been informed of what consent is this has also made them to be conscious of the consequences of violating that consent.

KUDAKWASHE – "Well, from the Consent Talks, you view women differently now. Like from a cultural point of view where you are told that this is a man and a woman. A woman is beneath you and less than you, now you are like no, men and women are on equal footing. They have rights in the same way they have rights. When they speak out, they deserve to

be heard in the same way that we deserve to be heard".

TINASHE – "In terms of being a man, were the Consent Talks have helped me, I think it's just a different way of viewing things. A different way of viewing people as a whole, but more especially a different way of viewing women. As I'm still trying to get rid of the constant media things, objectifying women, the songs we listen to, the media we watch, treating women as objects rather as people. Where these Consent Talks come is, they bring you back to reality and make you realise, for me that women are people as well, very much like any other men if I can say it like that. And they deserve to be treated with respect in the same capacity. And for me, that's what I've learnt pretty much from the consent talks".

Kudakwashe and Tinashe state that what they have learnt from the Consent Talks is a different way of viewing women and all people in general. They now view women as equals and seeing women as human like any other human and that they deserve to be respected.

XOLANI – "those they actually went through the steps of consent, of how it has to be continuous, of how it has to be all the way, of how both parties should be involved, should be consenting to the deed, of how one should be comfortable. And you know ekasi [township] neh, when you with a girl and she doesn't want to maybe have sex with you, you try and persuade her in a manipulative way and try to, you know. Try to make her agree to what you trying to do. So, now here I've actually learnt that, that's actually manipulation. You can't actually do that coz now you are coercing them into doing something they initially didn't want to do. But now I've learnt that okay, that's manipulation and it's wrong, it's against the law. So, I've learnt that okay, my kasi [township] tendencies or my kasi [township] skills now don't actually apply".

LEHLONOLO – "As I said earlier about the consent thingy, consent is always continuous; it can be revoked at any time, that's basically what I have learnt from the Consent Talks".

ZOLANI – "I think in these consent talks, there's a lot I have learnt you see. As I had mentioned that, there was a thing that was mentioned about joy enticement and stuff. In the Consent Talks, I was taught that joy enticement can be a right thing to do, however it can also be wrong especially if you doing it to a person who did not want to take part in sex and now through joy enticement you are trying to persuade them into doing what they initially did not want to do. Ja, I think its things like that".

As it can be seen in the extracts above, Xolani and Lehlonolo have highlighted that they have learnt that consent is continuous, it's not a once off thing but that it must be given all the time. Xolani

and Zolani have also mentioned that the Consent Talks have helped them to be conscious of the wrong things they were not aware they were doing and as a result this brought up the theme of persuasion. Were young men because they cannot take a no, they try to convince and persuade the girl into something she doesn't want. Another similar wrong Zolani became conscious of was that of joy enticement. In all, the Consent Talks, have been beneficial to the young men and has made them of what is accepted and not accepted in treating women.

> ZUKO – "Yes, there's a lot of new knowledge and it has helped me, and it has opened my mind to new perspectives. Even to things like gay men, as it is said in the Bible...So, I have learnt not to judge people according to my culture...So, we don't all believe in the same thing, so, a person can do what they want".

Zuko has revealed that the Consent Talks have also assisted him in gaining a new perspective. In addition, he has also learnt not to judge people according to his own culture because people believe in different things.

Matthew revealed that he didn't really learn anything new but still acknowledges that even though that's the case, it doesn't mean they are not helpful to other people.

> MATTHEW – "Ja, nothing really. Not that they have not been helpful to other people, but yeah".

3.5 MULTIPLE MASCULINITIES

Most of the participants revealed that there were differences between ideas of what it means to be a man within the university spaces versus from where they come from. Through their responses they revealed multiple masculinities.

Xolani and Vusi revealed that their definition of what it means to be a man was defined according to their own cultures and so when they came to the university space they were exposed to multiple masculinities. When they got here, they realised that masculinities are constructed differently from culture to culture.

> XOLANI – "Ja, ja, there's a big difference, now when I came here, I had that mentality that a man is someone like this. Somehow, I based my manhood on culture and tradition. But then now when I came here at Rhodes there were different cultures, different people, different backgrounds. So now, I had to adapt that okay this guy didn't go to initiation school but then it's not his culture. So, now what qualities does he have to show that he is a man? That's where I learnt that okay these qualities, I was taught at initiation school are the actual qualities that people have, like respect, you know. Honesty, integrity and those

kind of things".

VUSI – "Ja, I think there is, coz like university first of all is a very diverse place. So, people have different concepts for what a man is coz we from different backgrounds. Like for instance, for example, Xhosa people, they define a man as a person who actually went to do circumcision traditionally. So, they define being a man in a different way and I as a Zulu guy I define as a man, as a person who has a family and who is able to provide for the family and work hard for it, you know in a good way".

The above extracts echo the same sentiments found in the literature with regards to the construction of masculinity. The meaning of masculinity cannot apply to all men, what it means to be a man in one society will not be the same in another society. So, what it means to be a man is constructed differently according to society, age, class, race and culture. This goes on to reveal that there are multiple layers of masculinity. Further, the meaning of masculinity changes throughout an individual's life. Furthermore, masculinity differs in terms of how different men understand it and how they perform it (Coles, 2009). Although different man may construct and perform their masculinities differently, they still negotiate their masculinity in relation to hegemonic ideals. This negotiation "involves the process of positioning themselves in relation to hegemonic version of masculinity, and appropriating these hegemonic ideals, as a central mechanism for establishing and maintaining an acceptable masculine identity" (Morrell, *et al*., 2013). The concept of masculinity is essentially a social ideal of what it means to be a man and places pressure on all men to aspire to live up to this ideal (Morrell, *et al*., 2012).

The following participants in the extracts below have gone on to reveal that within the university there's no one definition of what it means to be a man and that it encourages alternative masculinities. While the larger society or different societies are strongly identified with their own definitions of what it means to be a man. Through the participant's discourses, they have revealed that there are differences between the values taught in the university space versus what they are taught back in their societies. For the most part, the participants have revealed that toxic traits of masculinity are learnt from society.

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taught back in their societies. For the most part, the participants have revealed that toxic traits of masculinity are learnt from society.

> HLOMPO – "I'm from a township where if you are a guy, you must have trophies, there must be things that you do, you must do some robberies, some kind of murders, you must do something that's gonna make you earn the title of being a man, you know. So, here in university having come across the entire diversity, that aspect of what it is to be a man, what it is to be a man, is what we come across every day".
>
> NCEBA – "Ja eh, totally, ekasi [in the township] even like small cases like cat calling, here its more exaggerated than ekasi [in the township]. Like there's, Yoh, a lot that you learn a lot from this space that you have to re-adjust to really because you are used to the way's things are done in the township...Mara, here, it's not as you know, not as relaxed. You get taught values that, things that you didn't even notice are what they are when you do them and you realise, oh, this is naturally wrong, you know...You get taught different things, you re-adjust obviously, probably that's going to stick to you".
>
> LELETHU – "Yeah, there's a huge difference, coz ekasi [in the township] I'd say you don't get reprimanded of any conduct, you act however you want in comparison to here with the rules and everything on how to act, which is for some people becomes too much. That why you have those Consent Talks because people can't follow rules right...whereas when you are here, you have rules in place to actually guide that. So here there are consequences, whereas when you are there, you can act how you want, nothing is going to happen to you basically".

Hlompo, Nceba and Lelethu in the extracts above felt that there is difference in ideas of what it means to be a man within the university space as compared to their own societies. Hlompo reveals how toxic masculinities are enforced from where he comes from. Nceba reveals that within the Consent Talks, he has been made conscious of the wrongs he doing but was not aware of. While Lelethu feels that the difference is that young men in the township or back in society can act anyhow because there are no consequences, whereas here in the university space there are consequences.

> ZOLANI – "Ja, some ideas are similar, some are different. There was an example in the Consent Talks about a girl who is wearing a short skirt. Like in the township, if you saw a girl wearing a short skirt, you could stare at her for as long as you wanted. But when we got here, we were taught that staring at a girl you are making her uncomfortable or something. And that can also be regarded as sexual harassment or something. We were

taught that when you see a girl with a short skirt you must just look with a sense of appreciation and not for a long time".

Zolani felt that there are both similarities and differences

> KAMU – "Ja, ja, I think there is, you see facts like back home patriarchy still exist. Ja, like here in varsity it doesn't exist, we were taught since O-week that get rid of that mentality. Ja, don't, don't, like get it out of your system. Ja, it doesn't exist, ja, which is something which I've learnt in varsity...patriarchy, nah, shouldn't conform to that".

Kamu also felt that there were differences in ideas of what it means to be a man in the university space as compared from back in his society. He thought that the main difference is patriarchy. He felt that in society patriarchy still exists while in the university space patriarchal tendencies are discouraged.

> MALWANDE – "I'm, guys from Ekasi [the township], Yeah, I think they treat me differently because guys Ekasi, like you know, they yeah, guys Ekasi treat me different because like, I'm like...No, you shouldn't express, you shouldn't cry. You shouldn't cry. But here in this university you do what you want, you can cry you can have male friends that will understand you because like this is a big university. So, like yeah, this is like an open space for you to pour out your emotions and your problems and not hold back your emotions".

Malwande is a gay young man, he expressed that there are differences in ideas of what it means to be a man in the university space versus back in his society. In the township his treated differently as a gay man compared to the university space where he feels that he is able to express his emotions.

The above extracts reveal what is being stated in the literature with regards to how universities are a microcosm of a larger society. As already highlighted that Bourdieu reveals that fields intersect and overlap and influence each other. This interaction of fields can also be seen in the prevalence of VAW in society and the broader societal inequalities manifested in the field of higher education (Gordon & Collins, 2013; Hames, 2009). This reveals that the field of gender overlaps with the field of culture, society, and higher education. It's important to remember that a field is occupied by agents and each position produces a habitus. Meaning that we cannot talk of a field without a habitus, they influence one another (Butler, 1990. Therefore, Rhodes University's management and staff have realised that the habitus of the male students produced by the different cultural fields is one that promotes VAW and therefore it is not in line with the habitus the university seeks to

create. Thus, the habitus of male students is revealed in their attitudes, behaviour and actions towards women (Soro, 2018). This is further revealed in how male students in the university have devalued, sexually harassed and raped female students in the university (de Klerk, *et al*., 2007). Thus, as already mentioned, it is this type of habitus that the Consent Talks seeks to transform.

Kudakwashe revealed that traditionally position is respected more than the actual person, whereas in the university space what was more important was a person's character more than their position or title.

> KUDAKWASHE – *"*Rhodes has actually allowed me to look things from a more an equal footing, because back home, like I said before, it's about who's in charge. And then their word is above everyone else, whether what they say is utter nonsense or what they say is beneficial it doesn't matter. But at Rhodes, now, it doesn't matter if the Vice Chancellor says something, people analyse it first. It doesn't matter even if it's the Vice Chancellor, we first okay what he is saying [is it] viable. These are the kind of lessons I have learnt here. It doesn't matter that you the oldest guy, it doesn't matter if you the richest guy, you still have to say things that are beneficial to everyone, you still have to consider everyone".

Simthembile also found that there's a difference between ideas of what it means to be a man within the university space versus back home or society. The difference being that you have to be conscious of your words and of your actions. This consciousness Tinashe points it to the fact that women in the university space are educated.

> SIMTHEMBILE – "Big time, ja, because here in varsity, you kind of understand and you kinda of taught and you are taught to watch what you are saying and watch what you do because everything can be taken away from you just like that, you know...But then at home, things like, I cannot really say peer pressure, but things like that, still happen...Yoh dog, that girl and stuff, like ekasi [township], it's the environment doesn't really know about things concerning consent and all of that. So, I'm just saying Rhodes and back home its two different things. But then it depends on the person to adjust that [to] what they have learnt here at Rhodes".

> TINASHE – "I guess here you have to be politically correct, for me that's been the biggest change. In being a man from where I 'am and being over here. And also, the women here in university you have to be a lot careful. And I think the biggest difference if I can say, it's the education. People here are more informed, uhm, especially women and that obviously great...they know what's appropriate and what's not and that's also a big difference...So, in terms of being a man here and being a man at home, its similar, but it's

quite different. The fact that you have to be more aware, gentle, stuff like that, yeah. Be more correct when you say stuff".

As it can be seen from the above extracts, it is clear that the participants are moving between two different worlds. There's a difference in discourses about what it means to be a man and this is relative from culture to culture. As a result of the exposure to the university space which is filled with different people from different backgrounds and societies the young me are learning not to view people from the lenses of their own culture. The above extracts are also revealing that the young men are negotiation a new masculine identity and acquiring a new habitus.

Zuko and Lehlonolo felt that there were no differences; it depends on how people are raised from each household.

ZUKO – "I don't think there's a difference".

LEHLONOLO – "I personally don't think so, I think from home it just depends on how you were raised with many different households, coz there are some people who were raised like me. I have friends who were raised and friends and then friends who are different from me, who are like other people in the university. I don't think it's the entire place of where I'm from; I think it's just specific households that will shape how you treat women".

3.6 VULNERABILITIES, DIFFICULTIES AND UNCERTAINTIES

Although there's so much focus on boys, men and masculinities, there's been little focus on the vulnerabilities and difficulties that boys and men experience. This is by no means a way to overlook women's pain caused by men, but to say that it will serve as a strategy for change (Shefer, et al., 2015). In order to be able to reach men and retain them in fighting VAW it's important that their vulnerabilities and difficulties are engaged in order to have them positively reflect on the harm they cause women (Jewkes, 2015, Shefer, *et al*., 2015).

The first vulnerability that emerged from the participants was that most of the participants in my research came from matriarchal families and were raised by single mothers, the fathers were either deceased, divorced or parents separated from an early age.

HLOMPO – "Being raised by women only in the house, there was actually no man in the house".

NCEBA- "Uhm, so I was raised by a woman alone".

XOLANI – "I was raised by a single mom".

VUSI – “Uhm, I didn’t like have a father who...a person I could relate to, who can show me what it means to be a man”.

ZOLANI – “Basically, a person like I have mostly spent my time with its my mom, you see”.

LEHLONOLO – “I grew up, I occasionally did visit my father right, but I grew up mostly with my mom and my brother”.

KAMU – “I grew up in a Christian family and I was the last born and I lived with my mom”.

MALWANDE – “I personally, I learned it from my grandmother. Because like yeah, my grandmother has been my inspiration since like day one. She was there and yeah; she was there when she raised me and stuff like that...And my aunt too and my mother. Yeah. They did have like bit of influence in my life, but the most important one is my grandmother. Yeah”.

The above extracts, not only do they reveal a vulnerable aspect of the participants; young men raised by single mothers. They also enforce the theme of absent fathers which is a common phenomenon in South Africa. Further, the above extracts enforce the theme of mothers playing a positive role in enforcing healthy masculinities.

3.6.1 DIFFICULTY AND UNCERTAINTIES

Hlompo, Xolani, Vusi and Nceba pointed out that the difficulties they faced were with regards to being raised without a father and the uncertainty of not knowing exactly what it means to be a man. These can be seen in the extracts below:

Hlompo also goes to reveal that he longed to experience the feeling of having a father do things for him.

HLOMPO – “Being raised without a father, you know. Being raised without a father who can be able to you know, do some certain things for you...but growing up without one, you know, having to hear some people say my dad did this, my dad did that, you know. I also longed for that kind of feeling”.

Xolani also goes on to reveal that because there was no father, he looked up to “guys on the streets” who were his role models.

XOLANI – “So, the male figures that I looked up to where the guys on the streets. So, ja,

it wasn't really like structured and solid that a man should do this, a man must do that".

In addition to being raised without a father, Vusi in the extract below reveals that he had challenges in having confidence with regards to interacting with other young men.

> VUSI – "For me, growing up without a father obviously. So, I couldn't know anything like that close to being a man. So, it was pretty much hard for me to actually communicate with people because I was usually with my mother and I got three sisters. So, there was no interaction for me with other guys, coz I didn't know how to communicate with other guys, you know. So, yeah".

Nceba reveals that for him, the difficult thing that he has experienced as a young man, inline to growing without a father, was not knowing what exactly it means to be a man or not having a male figure that will teach him how to be a man.

> NCEBA – "I guess difficult part is not really knowing what it is to be a man, you know...So, I feel like, not having a male figure in my life to teach me how to be a man, that's been my challenge, you know. As a young man, like not knowing what it is to be a real man, let me say a real man".

Tinashe, Matthew and Lehlonolo pointed out that, what was difficult for them was society's expectations. Tinashe and Matthew felt that patriarchy was suppressive because as a man they were expected to live up to certain standards and do certain responsibilities. While Lehlonolo felt that the difficulty was the expectation that all men must fall in one box or one definition of masculinity.

> TINASHE – "I guess it's what society expects of you, especially if you with a woman...Ideally, it's a man's job to step in and counter that threat. I feel like, it's these kinds of expectations that just make it hard being a man, you are expected to be able to do certain things and behave in a certain way".

> MATTHEW – "I mean, a lot of responsibility seems to fall on our shoulders to be the ones to provide and protect, yeah".

> LEHLONOLO – "Basically, trying to, because society defines a man in a certain way, a man has to do this; a man has to do that which is quite difficult, coz I don't think everyone will fit into that exact particular box for them to be considered a man. So, the hardest part of being a man is trying to fit in with every other man around. Coz for example, like some people they say that men aren't supposed to be sensitive and things like that, but then obviously, it can't be like that for everyone. So, the hardest part in being a man is trying to

fit in and try to be that exact model of what a man should be like".

Kudakwashe, Zolani and Zuko felt that the difficulty they faced was around making the Independence and maturity. Kudakwashe and Zolani felt that being away from home is difficult and now they must make decisions on their own. Zuko also reveals a similar concern and that is maturity. When you move from being a boy to manhood you find yourself having responsibilities.

> KUDAKWASHE – "Coming from an environment where you don't even need to make decisions for yourself, my mom was always there, my dad was always there and my brother. Now, I'm in a position where I have to think for myself, I have to start saying okay this is actually what I want, this is what is good for me, this is what's bad for me. Ja, just being able to decisions for myself to determine between right and wrong. Without anyone having to tell me that look, this is right, and this is wrong".

> ZOLANI – "Uhm, as young men we face a lot of difficulties, coz sometimes as young men we tend to make wrong decisions...and do things that we are not supposed to do."

> ZUKO – "Responsibilities, like we moved from being boys to being man. So, when you become a man, you are given responsibilities. Certain things then become your responsibility, because you are no longer a boy, you must now show that you are now a man".

Kamu felt that he didn't experience any difficulty as a man.

> KAMU – "I never really had that much of a point to prove. I don't think there was something hard or difficult about me being a man".

Malwande is a gay young man he reveals that he experienced homophobic attitudes from other young men back in society. He was shamed and emotionally attacked for being gay. As some of the elements of hegemonic masculinity have been mentioned above, one of those hegemonic elements is actually homophobia (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007)

> MALWANDE – "Like Ekasi [in the township] for me, like the difficult part is that I had like, I have no male friends except for my brother. Yeah, and I couldn't interact with them more, I couldn't like vibe with them because of their values that were instilled in them. And number two, oh, I was shamed for like putting out my emotions and stuff like that and crying. They said no, you are a girl, you shouldn't do this, you shouldn't do that. But yeah, that was it. The shaming was one of the things that I faced being a man and being myself. Yeah being myself like I don't like Kasi [township] people because like here, I'm being myself like all the time. And then when I get Ekasi [in the township], I'm just a completely

different person because of the values, like, that were instilled in me and the things that were taught in their homes, and we shouldn't do this, shouldn't do that, stuff like that. I think like yeah and adjusting to like getting to know people like from Ekasi [township] was being difficult. Yeah".

Some of the vulnerability and uncertainty experienced by the participants are revealed in (3.7) thus the themes of (3.6) and (3.7) are overlapping.

3.7 INTERACTION, INCLUSION AND IMPROVEMENTS IN THE CONSENT TALKS

Most of the participants accepted the content or what they were taught in the Consent Talks. However, they revealed that there was no participation between the boys and the girls in the Consent Talks, if there was, there would be tension between girls and boys. Therefore, most of the participants revealed that they sought a healthy interaction and inclusion with the female students. This was evident when they were asked on whether is there anything; they wish could be changed about the Consent Talks?

Hlompo, Matthew, Xolani and Lehlonolo shared similar sentiments on how there was a lack of participation or interaction between females and males. Lehlonolo further made an example of a healthy interaction or participation that took part once between the females and the males add how he wished the consent talks were to be conducted in such a manner.

HLOMPO – "I actually feel like they are okay, of course it can only get better with time, right now, I'm not sure what you could add there, you know. Maybe, I don't know how we could as a university encourage participation, you know. Encourage not only males, but females as well, to partake to these Consent Talks...like strategically or I don't know, just to encourage participation so that we can actually be on the same page all together".

MATTHEW – "Uhm, I think engaging with the actual people and try to get their inputs and try to like have discussions between the audience. The people that have the kind of beliefs having them speaking as well is also a big help, I think. So, I think just engaging more with the audience and the people".

XOLANI – "Uhm, currently, well, what I noticed, we had the Consent Talks alone as the male res. So, I feel like there's still that, uhm, that divide between us and the girls. So, it's not necessarily about Consent Talks, but then I think there should be initiatives that are put in place that can like enable to interact more with the girls and be comfortable around each other...I feel like, if there was an interaction with the girls and we could actually hear what their concerns are, hear what makes them uncomfortable, hear what they don't like in what

we do or whatever. So that we can have a better understanding and a personal interaction with the people who are actually experiencing the things".

LEHLONOLO – "As I said earlier, I wish like, I think we had this once in a Consent Talk that was very helpful, where our Matthew house, we had a thing with Oriel, a female res, where there was a speaker who came and then they got inside. They got the opinion of both sides, we heard what they viewed, like I think everyone that day, everyone's opinion shared, the girls they came with their point of view, the guys came with their point of view and then we discussed and debated. Then we realised, oh, they came to realise what certain things and we came to realising of certain things".

These programmes have to a large extent exclusively focused on men without including women and when women are included, there have been no sufficient measures to ensure healthy interaction and participation among the young women and men. The only example that has been provided by the participants is that of Lehlonolo as can be seen above, where there was healthy interactions and both parties came to a realisation and learnt from each other. It would be important for future that these programmes include females and measures should be in place to ensure a healthy interaction and debate.

Simthembile also shares the same sentiments as above but reveals the tension that occurs when the females and males meet in the Consent Talks. As above, he also feels because of such conditions, he is restricted and wishes for a healthy environment could be created when females and males meet in the Consent Talks.

SIMTHEMBILE – "Girls are fumed in these (emotional or angered in the Consent Talks), when these chats happen, that's why I say those restrictions, whereby, we just sit down and listen. Because when these chats happen, they are fumed. I guess it sparks up old feelings and all that. They are fumed, that's why we just hold back. So, I don't know how we can solve that, but then a more interactive environment as students whereby we control, maybe students control the environment that might be helpful".

Zolani also shares the same sentiments in terms of the lack of interaction and participation between females and males.

ZOLANI – "For now I haven't seen anything that needs to be changed because the Consent Talks, like it has helpful topics you see. But, maybe, the boys tend to be many and the girls tend to keep quiet most of the time and the boys tend to be the ones who speak, well that is in the Consent Talks I have attended. If we could have more numbers, girls also give

their own views and the boys give theirs, in that way this can be clear of where this is going".

Kudakwashe felt that the first-year male students could be approached and taught about issues of consent and peer pressure early in the year as the first-years are still finding their identity in the university.

> KUDAKWASHE- "In O-week right, when you get here for the first time, that's when your mind is most open. You don't know what to expect, you don't know what to think, you ready to just absorb information...and addressing things like peer pressure...especially in O-week because you trying to fit in with the guys, because you don't know anyone yet. Just to remind people that you don't have to go out drinking, you don't have to go out partying, you don't have to get a girl to come to your room with you for you to be accepted, for you to be cared about and loved in the res and all over campus".

Kamu felt that the Consent Talks could be made compulsory for all first-year students so that everyone can know about these things.

> KAMU – "I'm not sure if they are compulsory, sometimes they are, sometimes they are not, but I feel like, one should be compulsory so that everyone can attend and know about these things".

> VUSI – "Uhm, there's nothing that should be removed or added, should continue as it is".

Lelethu called for harsher measures to be put in place for perpetrators and to create platforms for victims so that their voices can be heard.

> LELETHU – "I think harsher measures on anyone who is reported for such and also people who are experiencing such things right, they need an outlet for that. I feel like there's not enough outlets. Let's say there was a, like a transformation rep in a residence, I feel like they should be given a bigger task in terms of checking up on everyone and especially people who have experienced such things in their life to have that outlet for them is very important, that' what I think":.

When the senior official of the university was asked how the male students received the Consent Talks and what the most asked questions are, the official revealed that they had taken note of the vulnerability of the participants as they have already revealed above. The official stated that*:*

> "Firstly, I must say that with the Consent Talks, what I picked up was that males were somewhat intimidated in terms of asking questions, unless they were having their own

sessions. So, in some residences, Wardens took it upon themselves to have males only for me to address them with regards to the issue".

The senior official of the university in the above extract has gone on to echo the same sentiments as the young man about the tension that exists in the Consent Talks. The official though, reveals that because of this tension, separate sessions are held for the males and females.

3.7.1 AN IMPORTANT ADDITION

Some of the participants stated the following when asked if they had anything to add that had not been touched during the interviews.

Xolani and Lelethu below enforced the sentiments about participation and interaction between females and males. While Xolani felt he had to reiterate what he had said in his extract in (3.7) about participation between males and females so to get girls perspectives and to know what is it they can do to be on the same page.

> XOLANI- "Uhm, well, not really, I just want to reiterate on the point that we should have interactions with the people who are actually experiencing the things, the harassment, the rapes. There should be a sense of trust between us and the girls, especially we in the same DH (dining hall), we see each other every day. But then I still think there's that tension between us and our opposite sex. So, I feel like, we should have programs that especially for first-years. First-years they don't know what happened, they weren't here, they don't know the beef. So, if as they come, we can actually unite them, like the guys and the girls. So that they can be friends, they can trust each other and maybe we can actually protect each other out there in the clubs and stuff. So, I think that would be a really better way to go".

> LELETHU – "Okay, there's this thing that I've seen in the consent talks, especially the ones where it's based on gender based violence, with the larger group where you get cases where everybody gets there and we are speaking and all of that. It's obviously it's a tense environment since the topic is very hectic, but its, the problem that gets me when I'm there is that it's not a together against the gender-based violence problem right. Its women against gender-based violence and against men. And when you get there, you don't get there to add a point or something, you get there and then you will be attacked, that's why I avoid it personally...But since already there's a mentality against men and women against gender-based violence, that for me is also a thing that's going to hinder us from attacking this whole issue here at Rhodes especially. Once you create lines of separation, conflict is going

to arise at some point. It's better it to be us together against gender-based violence instead of women against men, women against violence, that's what I think".

In the extract above, Lelethu also touched on the tension that exists between males and females in the Consent Talks. He further felt that this tension between females and males was a hindering factor with regards to winning the fight against gender-based violence.

Kudakwashe below touched on the irony of how males themselves are raised by women and how they tend to be closer to their mothers and sisters. Yet, they it is the same men who are perpetrators of violence against women.

KUDAKWASHE – "We act like we do not have relations and we go and do all these things, we say all these things about women, we objectify them, we hurt them, we act as if someone were to do the exact same thing to someone we care about that we wouldn't be affected. I think, it's something that we as men neglect a lot and you know. As guys we are actually closer to our moms and we are very protective of our moms or sisters. Yet we are doing this to someone else mom, someone else's potential mom, to someone else sister. So, I think that something as men we need to base it on...we should view every girl as a sister and every woman as your mother".

In the extract below, Kamu felt that the interview could have touched more on masculinity. He felt that the presence of masculinity in the male residences was something that is visible.

KAMU – "Yeah, I think you could have talked more about masculinity. Like it's really a thing, yeah, masculinity is really a thing. So, you could just fill it in the male res. Like that, not really a competition. But they pretended to be, I don't know, to be just manly. It's always here be it here, back home when you're surrounded by guys. [Competition] about anything...being strong in those things, but I don't like it. It depends on the type of company you keep. Because not everyone is like that. Yeah. But there are some people who always trying to be, trying to be dope or trying to be, I don't know, real, niggas, this whole thing, you know. That thing, but not from everyone".

Malwande in the extract below felt that as a gay man and as a member of the LGBTQ community, fathers and male figures in families tend not to be welcoming of gay members in the families. This further enforces how boys and men are controlled and at the same time protect the hegemonic ideal.

MALWANDE – "Uhm, like, you see the LGBTQ community neh, like their parents especially fathers, especially the male people in your family. They are the ones who tend

to be like, you know, homophobic. I hate that word, but mothers, tend to be more accepting and be more welcoming on your new life and your new exploration. If like male people accept like the LGBTQ community, they should accept it and shouldn't be homophobic about it, eish, I have that word shame. They shouldn't be homophobic about it; people must accept people for who they are".

The senior official of the university stated the following when asked if they had anything to add that had not been touched during the interview.

> "My view is that we need to focus on newcomers who are, who still need to adjust to this new environment...I 'am preparing a new approach for Consent Talks for next year. This year it was a power point presentation and I would engage students. I think going forward, I need to give them case studies for them to analyse those conversations so that we can get everyone participating and also from next year I 'am interested on the first years".

3.8 RE-ADJUSTING AND FEAR OF THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE UNIVERSITY'S POLICY

In the extract below, Simthebile seems to suggest that he would be able to go back to his society and be able to apply what he learnt from the Consent Talks. Simthembile seemed to be uncertain about this, as he didn't personally state out right if this is something he would be able to do, but that it would depend. It seems that he is still negotiating his masculine identity, although he might have learnt to adjust in the university space, there's no certainty that he would still apply what has learnt back home.

> SIMTHEMBILE – "Like from back at home, from when I was young, I knew that, look at that girl, Yoh, she's hot, her body is, you know, things like that. Here at Rhodes however you can't do that, it counts as rape, you know. So, I'm uncomfortable touching and all that, but ekasi [township] it's cool, to play with them until they say yes. Here at Rhodes, Yoh...by trying to persuade a girl, that's sexual harassment. But when you go back home, it's something they do on a daily basis. That's why I'm saying, when you go back home you are changed but then, it depends on you if you want to change that or you want to stick to what you were taught, yeah".

Nceba on the other hand states out right that he is applying what he has learnt in the Consent Talks. Nceba reveals that he has been able to adjust his habitus to that of the university and makes the argument that having spent so much time in the university space the teachings are bound to be part of him even when he goes back home. Another aspect that seems to effect change is the knowledge

of the consequences of the law.

> NCEBA – "I guess being here for so long, it just become like second nature, like it gets embedded into your character, that you don't do this, you don't do that...here they teach about consequences a lot. So, you know that okay, I think it gets embedded at the back of your mind that if I do this, even if you are not in this environment. But then in the general world you can see that A and B is wrong, so let me not do this, you know from what you learnt here. So, I guess from what you are exposed here, even when you get back ekasi [in the township] and stuff. You actually, I mean, even myself when I go back home things that I got taught here I'm applying back home, you know".

When the senior official of the university was asked on what indicators are used to assess the impact of the Consent Talks, the official responded as follows

> "That's a tough one; firstly, because Consent Talks are awareness raising activities and the question as to whether does information translate to behavioural change, the answer is a definite no. There is no scientific research that has established the correlation between the two...So, going forward, definitely we need to develop the qualitative indicators as well".

The senior official further added that the plan for next year is to focus only on first-years and have everyone participating.

> "I think if we were to do it that way, it will be better even for us to actually have a baseline for those first-years and then after two, after three years, we could go back to the same people and actually measure the impact that you were talking about earlier on".

The participants revealed that they accepted what they were taught and that there was some level of change, however, it's not certain if the change is solely brought by the acceptance of what they have been taught. It also seems that the fear of the consequences that come with breaking the university's sexual offences policy also did some influence in the change.

> KUDAKWASHE – "This is something back home you never have been taught, you have been taught that if a woman says no, you have to keep trying or something along those lines...because now, not only do you respect women even more, you are also within the law".

Kudakwashe was initially exposed to patriarchal and dominant forms, however, he went on to accept and perform alternative masculinities. In performing those alternative masculinities, he acknowledges that his doing so within the law.

HLOMPO – “They also protect us, they also protect us because tomorrow should one be reported for sexual harassment they get kicked out of the university, they get suspended for however many years, you know. Their student record you know, anywhere in South Africa you can’t pursue, further your studies, you know. You might just catch a case as well, that that’s hindering your employment for your future and all”.

SIMTHEMBILE – “It depends on the person, coz some people do it neh and then they can’t back down because they know what trouble they are in, because every reaction good or bad has consequences. So, getting kicked out of school is one of them. That’s the first thing that goes to my mind...second thing is, I have a sister, so I wouldn’t like this if someone was doing it to my sister”.

NCEBA – “So, if you treat a girl badly, you gonna get into trouble. If you violate her, you're gonna get into trouble”.

VUSI – *“*So, I know that if I do something, uhm, a sexual consequence is going to apply to that”.

The above extracts share the same sentiments, they seem to indicate that the knowledge about the consequences of breaking the law or the university’s policy on sexual harassment not only does it protect victims, but that it also protects potential perpetrators. Therefore, it safeguards potential perpetrators from the feared consequences. Simthembile, adds that he has a sister and so he wouldn’t want to sexually violate any girl because he wouldn’t want that to be done to his sister.

TINASHE – “I guess you always learn something new when they start bringing laws and stuff like that and now you know the consequences...So, it's quite, uhm, empowering if I can say, coz now you know the consequences if you don’t follow the ways of consent and the proper way of doing things”.

Tinashe was one of the participants who found the Consent Talks boring to an extent, but acknowledged that he learnt something new when he was taught about the university sexual offences policy. He felt empowered when he learning about the policy and the consequences of breaking the policy.

The senior official of the university stated the following with regards to the university’s sexual offences policy:

“The university has a policy that was approved by council in May this year. It is a sexual offences policy for students and it is actually looking at the two prompt approach; leg one being the prevention, leg two being prosecution...it is important that students are made

> aware of these matters and of how serious they are in terms of the national legislation, and that in the event students find themselves in the wrong side of the policy they should have an understanding of the consequences thereof. Which is persecution internally or externally".

When I however asked the senior member if there was any indication from the girls if the was any change of bahaviour they saw or noticed from the boys, she responded and stated that girls are still not confident of the processes offered by the university to address their concerns:

> "I am still to see that, what I am picking up from the female students is that they don't have confidence in the Rhodes University prosecution system. They have spelt it categorically that they don't trust our processes and I have been adamant to say to them that if they feel aggrieved about the verdict or sanction that has been imposed, they are most welcome to come for an appeals process. But they never been doing that".

3.9 CONCLUSION

This chapter sought to provide an analysis of the data collected for this research. It hopes to contribute knowledge in understanding how male students navigate or negotiate their masculine identities within the field of higher education, at Rhodes University. Firstly, the chapter has briefly given an overview of the participants who were part of this study. Secondly, it has used a thematic analysis to analyse the data and it has explained the findings through Pierre Bourdieu's theory. Secondly, the chapter has delved into the presence of patriarchal and dominant forms of masculinity and alternative masculinities present in the participants. Further, this chapter has looked into the multiple masculinities, vulnerabilities, uncertainties and difficulties experienced by the young men in negotiating their masculinities within the higher education space. Furthermore, it has looked into issues of interaction, inclusion and improvements of the consent talks. Lastly, it has delved into the re-adjustment and fears of the consequences of the law.

4. CHAPTER FOUR: CONCLUSION

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The objective of this thesis was to understand how Rhodes first-year male students adjust and re-adjust their masculine identity within the university space in light of the Consent Talks Programme. The literature has went on to reveal that young men in the process of negotiating their masculine identity do so by positioning themselves in line to hegemonic ideals to form an identity that is acceptable. Put differently, hegemonic masculinity is the standard or the epitome of

manhood that is used by all men to negotiate their masculinity. Pierre Bourdieu's theory was used for this study to investigate how first-year male students negotiate their masculinity in the field of gender and the university field. This concluding chapter summarises the main sections, it also offers a summary of the findings and inferences, as well as recommendations and conclusions of the thesis,

4.2 SUMMARY OF THE MAIN SECTIONS

4.2.1 CONTEXTUAL CHAPTER

This chapter sought to set the context of the study, used Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical work to understand how young men negotiate their masculine identity in the field of higher education, at Rhodes University. Bourdieu's three main concepts, field, habitus and capital have been used to describe young men's actions, attitudes and behaviour and how the field of gender and that of higher education intersect with one another. The literature goes on to investigate how hegemonic masculinity as one form of dominant masculinity intersects with multiple dominant masculinities in the field of higher education. Further, the literature investigates how dominant masculinities enable violence against women (VAW), gender-based violence (GBV), sexual harassment and rape with specific reference to educational programs that seek to liberate masculinities. Furthermore, the chapter has investigated alternative masculinities and what role they can play in fighting VAW, GBV, sexual harassment and rape. Lastly, this chapter ended with a description of what is happening on South African university campuses and at Rhodes University in particular.

4.2.2 DATA PROCESSING AND ANALYSIS

This chapter begins with providing a background to the study and an analysis and interpretation of the data collected. The data was discussed thematically following the themes outlined in the literature. The themes that emerged were dominant masculinities, multiple dominant masculinities, involving boys and men to fight violence against women, and alternative masculinities. Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical work was used to describe and explain the findings and to understand how young men negotiate their masculinity and how the field of masculinity and that of higher education intersect with one another. The data was also analysed with reference to the differences and similarities with the literature review.

4.3 SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS AND INFERENCES

The findings of the research reveal that some of the participants were exposed to patriarchal and dominant forms of masculinity growing up. While most of the participants revealed they were exposed to alternative masculinities. These were either taught or learnt at home, from family

members, circumcision school, church or peers in society. Both the dominant and alternative masculinities were revealed in the discourses of what it means to be a man and in how the young men performed their masculinities. The dominant discourses that emerged from participants that were exposed and performed their masculinity in line with dominant forms of masculinity defined being a man according to their culture, as someone who is a provider, who has a job, who is in charge of their family and a protector of the family. Additionally, they defined being a man as someone who has sex with women, having multiple partners, and that a man is superior to women. These were further revealed on how some of these participants had performed their masculinity through sexual practices such as unprotected sex, coercive sexual practices and multiple sexual partners. The findings have gone on to reveal that young men are not able to take a no.

Alternative discourses that emerged from most of the participants defined being a man as someone who respects women, is equal to women and that a man is someone who feels emotions. They performed their masculinity through sexual practices such as abstinence, one partner at a time and respect for women's decisions. The acceptance or rejection of either dominant or alternative masculinities was influenced by an exposure to an environment that either encouraged or shunned either dominant or alternative masculinities.

Further, the findings revealed that most of the participants in the study were raised by single mothers and mothers played a role in encouraging healthy masculinities. The findings went on to reveal that families (mothers, fathers, older siblings and culture) play a role in socialising and shaping healthy masculinities. Furthermore, the participants being in the university space have been exposed to multiple masculinities and have accepted the presence of these multiple masculinities and attempted to re-adjust their masculine identities. Contrary to their societies that are strongly identified with their own definitions of what it means to be a man and are not open to other definitions of masculinity. Most of the participants have revealed that toxic traits of masculinity are learnt and acquired from the larger society and that the university space is encouraging healthy masculinities. Most of the young men had uncertainties and difficulty about what exactly it means to be a man, this seemed to emerge from being raised by single mothers. Moreover, most of the participants accepted the content of what was taught in the Consent Talks; they however sought a healthy participation, interaction and inclusion with the female students. Lastly, the study has also revealed that knowledge of the consequences of breaking (the law) university's policy does affect some change in behaviour in potential perpetrators.

4.4 RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Further research needs to be conducted on the wardens and senior officials involved in offering

the Consent Talks. This needs to be done to understand their training levels in the subject matter, understand their beliefs and perspectives and what influence those beliefs may have on the students. In addition, further research also needs to be done on the people who developed and wrote the content of the Consent Talks and to understand from what perspective where these talks developed and see how the content can be improved. Further, research needs to be done on female students to understand their perspectives on the Consent Talks, how these talks could be improved, how best they think their concerns could be addressed and how they would want to engage with the male students.

Based on the findings of the study, my recommendation would be that a healthy participation and interaction between the male and the female students needs to be created. Measures need to be put in place to tone down the tension between the male and female students in order for female students to raise their concerns without the male students feeling attacked. Young men need to be involved and included in the fight against VAW. As a strategy, their vulnerabilities and difficulties need to be engaged and have them reflect on the harm men cause on women and so to play a role in the fight of violence against women. Both the literature and the findings have shown that the university is a microcosm of a larger society, while the university space encourages healthy masculinities. However, society instills toxic masculinities in young men. These were either taught or learnt at home, from family members, circumcision school, church or peers in society. The findings have gone on to reveal that families (parents) and culture play a role in socialisation and shaping of healthy masculinities. Therefore, the logic follows that families (mothers, fathers, older siblings) and culture needs to be engaged in order to encourage healthy masculinities among boy and men. Thus research needs to be conducted on how such societal institutions could be engaged and included to encourage healthy masculinities.

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INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

First Year Male Students:

1. Growing up, what ideas did you have of what it means to be a man? Where did you learn these ideas from? Do you still hold the same ideas even now?

2. What has been the difficult part in life about being a man? What do you wish you were taught with regards to being a man?

3. Is there any difference in ideas of what it is to be a man within the University space vs from your society and what might be those differences?

4. What ideas did you have about sexual relationships as a young man before the Consent Talks?

5. What are your views on the Consent Talks offered by the University?

6. What new knowledge have you gained from the Consent Talks and how has it helped you as a young man?

7. Is there anything you wish could be changed (either removed or added) about the Consent Talks?

8. Do you have anything that you think is important to say that has not come up in the interview?

Senior Official of the University:

1. What is the university's policy on sexual harassment and rape? Do students understand the policy and has it been made accessible to the students?

2. Based on your experience of working with issues of violence, sexual harassment, students and women, what are some of the factors that contribute to gender-based violence, sexual harassment and rape?

3. How have the male students received the Consent Talks and what are the most asked questions?

4. Is there a sense amongst female students that there has been a change of behaviour amongst the male students?

5. What indicators are used to assess the impact of the Consent talks on students?

6. Do you have anything that you think is important to say that has not come up in the interview?

Department of Sociology
Prince Alfred Street, Grahamstown, 6139, South AFrica
PO Box 94, Grahamstown, 6140, South Africa
t: +27 (0) 46 603 8361
F: +27 (0) 46 603 7549
www.ru.ac.za

PARTICIPANTS CONSENT FORM

Name of researcher: Thulani Ntisana

This thesis seeks to investigate how Rhodes University first-year male students adjust and re-adjust their masculinities and sexualities in light of the consent talks whose aim is to "liberate masculinities" and femininities from patriarchal discourse about consent and thus curb occurrences of rape in the Rhodes University campus.

Declaration

- I confirm that the purpose of the research and the nature of my participation have been explained to me verbally and in writing;
- I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason. Also, I commit myself to participate unless some unusual circumstances occur, or I have concerns about my participation which I did not originally anticipate;
- 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, will be kept private;
- I agree to be interviewed and to allow audio recording and transcription to be made of the interview;
- The researcher has informed me that the recording and interview transcript will be erased once the report is written.
- I agree to be interviewed, in the event that I may be at risk or embarrassed, I will withdraw and that counselling will be arranged. In the event that I may need to contact the Rhodes counselling centre (counsellingcentre@ru.ac.za/ 046 603 7070) or the harassment office z.mkhize@ru.ac.za/046 603 8187 the research will assist me.

Signature of participant:

Signature of the researcher:

Date: