

**Sexual harassment in the workplace: A case study of
women's experiences at Walter Sisulu University (WSU),
Eastern Cape**

By

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**Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
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Declaration

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, in the
Graduate Programme in

Gender Studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa.

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. All citations, references and borrowed ideas have been duly acknowledged. I confirm that an external editor was used and that my Supervisor was informed of the identity and details of my Supervisor. It is being submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the School of Social Sciences, College of Humanities, University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. None of the present work has been submitted previously for any degree or examination in any other University.

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Dedication

This project is dedicated to my mother, Mpho Goba and my late father, Shaka Goba, and my siblings and late siblings, in particular, Fikile Edith Goba.

I also dedicate this project to my husband, Themba and my children Noluthando, Zanele, Thabile, TJ, and Liyema.

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I have accumulated godly, professional and personal debts for having been able to produce this project. I am indebted to more people than I can possibly thank personally for having been able to produce this project. The patience and commitment they have all shown has been essential to seeing this volume emerge amid our several transitions and competing demands. I am happy to have this opportunity to express my gratitude to them.

God

I thank God my Saviour for having sustained me till the very end. He is ever faithful, miraculous and awesome. I encountered tribulations during this study; had it not been for His mercy, I would not have been able to reach the completion stage.

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Gender- Based Violence Workshop

I would like to applaud the following professionals for having hosted a workshop that addressed Gender-Based Violence (GBV) from 21 to 23 April 2010, and shedding light on the issue of GBV: Professor Anshu Padayachee, the CEO of the South African-Netherlands Research Programme on Alternatives in Development (SANPAD); Professor Lebo Moletsane, a Researcher at the Human Science Research Council; Ms. Jess Foord, a victim of rape; Dr Moses Buthelezi; Ms Marie Odendaal; Dr Lubna Nadvi, a political activist and lecturer at UKZN; Professor Kriben Pillay; Ms Munira Osman, a Law Lecturer; Mr Anthony Collins and Professor Rob Pattman. This workshop was hosted by the UKZN's Leadership Centre. According to the statistics from the HSRC, one out of three women is a victim of some form of abuse in South Africa. Experts in the field of GBV painted a bleak picture of the status quo in South Africa with many claiming that, despite the existence of the most progressive legal framework against gender violence, incidents of this form continue unabated (UKZN Online Vol.4, Issue 10).

Walter Sisulu University (WSU) I remain indebted to WSU for giving me permission to conduct this study and for allowing me to mention the name of the institution (WSU) for this dissertation. I am especially grateful to the participants who gave generously of their time to make it possible for this study to be completed. The participants shared their experiences and ideas with me. Their concerns for women's personal safety sustained the momentum of chapter seven. Their policy recommendations have given substance to this report and their participation enriched the project greatly. I am also indebted to those institutions which supported me when I asked for permission to conduct preliminary studies.

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Worst day in the library

Each time I went into the study carrel, I enveloped myself with books. It became worse if the day had not been a very profitable day for me; for example, if, after eight hours, I had only written two pages. On days like these I would be frustrated and feel panic-stricken about a lack of progress. I will never forget one particular day-18 May 2009. The library staff always alerted the students when the library was about to close. On this day, I was locked inside the library-alone. I must admit I heard the announcement that the library was to close. Being immersed in my books, I looked at my watch and just thought the librarian's watch was wrong because it was thirty minutes before the closing time. I did not listen to the next announcement regarding the closure and continued working. I then got tired and was preparing to leave. I got the shock of my life when I opened the door and it was pitch dark. I screamed as there were strange sounds. It was as if the library was full of students paging through books. I went down the steps shouting "Open! Open! Open! Where is everyone...?" I was shivering. I went to the glass doors. I knocked on them. There was no one. I continued to shout. No one could hear. My own clothes and shoes scared me. I took the shoes off. After a while I remembered that I had one of the librarian's contact number, (Ms Nomusa Bhengu's). By that time, I was sitting on the steps and all the computers were 'singing...' the books were 'paging. I could not believe what I was hearing: computers 'singing' and books 'paging!!' I phoned her and she arranged for Ms Catherine Dubbeld, who was a Howard College campus librarian, to open for me. Within five minutes after I had spoken to Nomusa, the library's lights went on. Did I scream!! I jumped and screamed. Then came a voice. Sorry, it is me. Are you alright? Please do not panic. I have come to open for you. If I had not met Catherine before, I would have fainted. I never knew that when you have a panic attack, a lot happens in your ears.

On the following day, the news had spread in the library. They all laughed at me: What happened? We are so sorry...I thank you Catherine and Nomusa. I wonder what we would do without cell phones! Ever since this incident, I have been careful. I check my time regularly. I even liaise with someone from the issue desk about not locking me in the library. 'Once bitten twice shy...'

Friends: Pholile Sowazi, Martin Ngundze, Den Sibanda, Sindile Dube, Mbali Majola, Zanele Mfusi and Linda Brown and Joyce Kamanzi

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My family: My parents, my aunt, my cousin, my husband, children, and helpers

I am thankful to my parents, Shaka and Mpho Goba, who aided my journey through school. My parents kindled in me the light of education during my childhood years. Goba, Mbambo, Mcengelele, Mageza, I salute you! May my father continue to Rest In Peace!

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My note of advice to all women

Let us all try and fight any kind of masculine domination collectively. Together we can break the silence of sexual harassment. Sexual harassment prohibits us from shaping our femininity. We can provide models to think about the world and act on what we think. Let us think as one about freedom and struggle.

I expect that some readers will not like my results, but I hope that all will agree with my conclusion that our ability to understand and deal with gender issues is of vital importance.

Abstract

This study looks at sexual harassment of women on the staff at Walter Sisulu University (WSU) in the Eastern Cape, a province in South Africa. The topic also has relevance for other institutions which fall under the Department of Higher Education and to the world of work generally where women are usually more vulnerable than men to this type of unsolicited attention.

Despite the Labour Relations Act (LRA) of 1995 and the Employment Equity Act (EEA) Act 66 of 1995, sexual harassment is an insidious problem which often goes unreported.

When permission was granted to conduct this study at WSU (see Appendix E), 25 female academics and 10 female members of the support staff agreed to participate. Qualitative research was the methodology used and included face-to-face interviews with the above individuals and also focus group interviews.

Participants felt demeaned by the fact that gender was used as a form of social control. Patriarchal issues in society were seen to be linked to male domination and thus power and privilege for the perpetrators.

In academia most disciplines now have feminist associations. The study draws from, and contributes to, bodies of knowledge that fall under gender studies: anthropology, history, sociology and psychology. In addition, there are references to the postmodern feminist theory, the radical feminist theory, and theories pertaining to sexual harassment.

This is an effort to make a contribution to research on this type of chauvinism, and it is hoped that the findings, when published, will elicit appropriate action at WSU and in other affected environments where this scourge rears its head.

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BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

The study presents sexual harassment experiences at a higher educational setting. The study is based on how women academics and women support staff experience sexual harassment at Walter Sisulu University (WSU). The effects of sexual harassment amount to a pattern of disadvantage that falls principally on the shoulders of women. Given my experience again in the interviews, I developed sensitivity and insight into the problems of sexual harassment at WSU. I believe that getting to grips with this critical issue is an essential part of the armoury required to effectively combat women's predicaments and gender inequality, not only at WSU, but in the world of work. From a feminist perspective, Gutek (1985: 9) points out that sexual harassment reflects a power relationship, constitutes economic coercion, threatens women's economic livelihood, reflects the status of women in society, asserts the woman's sex role over her work and parallels rape. Feminist perspectives see violence against women as a result of structural inequality. Commaraswamy (1996) says the scholar (not named) and The United Nations Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women puts this view persuasively in the report on violence against women where the scholar argues: "at its most complex, domestic violence exists as a powerful tool of oppression. Violence against women in general and domestic violence in particular, serve as essential components in societies which oppress women, since violence against women not only derives from, but also sustains the dominant gender stereotypes and is used to control women, in the one space traditionally dominated by women, the home." Kastl and Kleiner (2001: 56) point out that sexual harassment has always been a problem accompanying sexual attraction between men and women.

Even though my study belongs to the discipline of Gender Studies, it draws and contributes to other bodies of knowledge which are Anthropology, History, Psychology and Sociology all of which are seen in the practices of social life. Antrobus (2004: 9) states that in academia most disciplines now have feminist associations. As the blurring of boundaries between disciplines within social sciences and between social sciences and humanities has increased, and cross-disciplinary studies have been encouraged, the debates over methods of performing research are

many and varied. All the said disciplines have, in one way or another enriched my study's understanding of the phenomenon under investigation. Again, though Gender Studies is a relatively new phenomenon in higher education, it is today well established as an interdisciplinary field of study which draws on knowledge from the humanities, the social sciences, medicine and natural sciences (www.brief-history-of-gender-studies). Like all academic disciplines which incorporate theories, this study has also made references to postmodern feminist theory, the radical feminist theory and theories that pertain to sexual harassment. The said theories are important in understanding the many material and symbolic phenomena related to gender.

First and foremost, gender can be understood as the meanings that a particular society gives to the physical and biological traits that differentiate males and females. The discipline of anthropology is well suited to investigate this kind of variation. Mascia-Lees and Black (2000: 1) state that variation in gender roles has been the particular concern of feminist anthropology. Mascia-Lee and Black (2000) point out that because of a subfield within anthropology, one is committed to understand that systems of gender oppression analyze forces of exclusion and work for social change whereby males are differentiated from females.

History and women cannot be dealt with separately because sexual harassment shapes women's history. During the revolution of 1848, French women, attempting to play a public role, turned to the past with a two-fold goal: to reconstruct the process of their own exclusion and to include their demands in political continuum. Women who sought to participate in the creation of a new society were silenced. Their participation in events was denied or trivialized; their names forgotten or discredited. The rapid rewriting of history is one element of the patriarchal reaction that triumphed (Primi 2006: 150). Therefore, any woman can find traces of collective action when she takes her history into account. History is also helpful for any women to know how South African women were empowered following Beijing's Declaration and Platform for Action. A search for women's history necessarily involves re-defining and enlarging traditional notions of historical significance whereby women were discriminated against because of their gender.

Psychology draws from the traditional empiricist approach of the 1970s through the introduction of the feminist standpoint and later to the radical disjuncture of the postmodern turn in the 1990s. This is the year that informed the underlying assumptions about what it is to be a feminist science, hence a unification of female voices both within psychology and across all disciplines which are important in political and intellectual goals (Gergen 2001: 10). Psychology looks at a gender identity and around that perspective, the notion of what constitutes differences between men and women becomes evident. Psychologists however began to take another look at the assumptions about qualities of men and women that underpinned the discipline of psychology. This, in turn, led to the introduction of gender as a topic (Rogers and Rogers 2001: 50).

Sociology and the other social sciences have been concerned with stratification and human inequality since the formation of the discipline in the 19th century. Marxism is more than just a form of communism; it is a complex theory of history and social change in which inequality is a central concept and concern (Healey 2003: 13). Sociologists look at gender roles or societal expectations about proper behavior, attitudes and personality traits. Patriarchy or male dominance has been traced in societies where women, in many ways, are treated as minorities or as a separate minority group. The voices of the minority group have generally been repressed, ignored, forgotten or trivialized. Men on the other hand claim prestige and power. Sociologist Steven Goldberg (1999), for example, argues that some gender characteristics are universal. He concludes that males are more aggressive and control leadership positions and power structures (Healey 2003: 23). Gender is a tenacious and pervasive force that organizes social institutions or the rules that constitute some area of social life. Therefore, gender cannot be understood without having understood the relevant social life because as gender is produced, social life unfolds. Wharton (2005: 85) asserts that gender-segregated work environments spilled over into the social lives and activities of the working class, which some have characterized as more gender-segregated than those of the middle class.

In this study, I will use the word ‘participants’ to refer to ‘research participants.’ This is because this study has individuals who are not necessarily ‘research participants’ but have somehow

participated in this study in one way or another. The relationship between the researcher and the research subject(s) received scrutiny from a number of feminist researchers (Code 1981; Farran 1990; Oakley 1981; Seller 1994 and Stanley and Wise (1983, 1993). Aitchson, (2003: 23) says the attempt to refer to subjects as participants is to create a less hierarchical relationship within the research process by recognizing those being researched as partners or collaborators. This is reflected in interviews. In my view the less hierarchical relationship helps the flow of an interview and an unthreatening relationship helps participants to be relaxed and thus elicits more information. It is normal that initially the participants are a bit reticent, especially regarding sensitive topics like this. Also, I will use the term 'participants' because feminist research acknowledges the significance of the researcher or writer in shaping the research process and written outcomes.

In some areas of chapter seven in this study, I will however, use the term 'victims' instead of using the term 'participants.' The reason is that chapter seven is a concluding chapter in which I will be looking at sexual harassment interventions which are initially ideal for the 'victims' and their concerns and the term 'victim' is a person who has been harmed. On the contrary, a 'participant' could have been harmed or not harmed. Also, in the same concluding chapter, I will also use the term 'woman' to generalise the findings because sexual harassment is a violent behaviour towards all women. This is then a study based on examples where women are victims and men are perpetrators, which is another reason of the extensive literature. This report basically demonstrates that despite the existence and acknowledging the fact that there are female-male, male-male and female-female forms of sexual harassment, existing literature and studies overwhelmingly present male - female forms of sexual harassment. Nana (2008) asserts it is estimated that at least half of all women experience sexual harassment in their working life. Vetten (2008) says the number is even higher in South Africa following a survey conducted by the Institute of Directors that puts the figure at 76% (<http://www.csvr.org.za/articles/artcostl.htm>).

The reason I chose to embark on the study is that since 2003, there has been very little research on sexual harassment in South African Higher Education. Instead there has been a wave of research on secondary violence within secondary and primary education, alongside material on becoming gendered (usually through masculinities) in educational spaces (Bennet, 2009: 11).

My decision to include women support staff in the study is that studies of sexual harassment have paid little specific attention to support staff domains. Coates, (1998: 67) points out that in an important sense, secretaries, receptionists (personal assistants) as well as flight attendants and hostesses all make their living by representing an organization. This means conducting any research should not be restricted to prestigious or higher-paid occupations only. I then thought it would be wise to consider some of the ways in which sexualization and sexual harassment may be understood in the specific context of support staff employment hence the need to marshal their involvement in the study.

Exposure to victimization of women not only brought into focus my own femaleness, it also allowed me to see through the existing versions of femininity that surround us women, hence the passion and the need for the study.

With reference to discrimination of women: the amnesty agreement that was incorporated into the Interim Constitution as a ‘historic bridge’ between the apartheid past and a democratic future based its concerns in the pursuit of non-discrimination and a respect for human rights. Ross (2003: 9) points out that the new government pledged to create a law through which to deal with amnesty in the interest of understanding but not... vengeance, reparation but not retaliation and *ubuntu*¹ but not victimization. The purpose was to deal with violation of human rights. There have also been widespread gender-based violence awareness campaigns in schools in South Africa (Wolp, et al., 1997; Vally, 1998; Mukasa, 1999; Human Right Watch, 2001). Gender-

¹ Ubuntu is a Nguni word which has no direct translation into English. It is used to describe a particular African worldview in which people can only find fulfillment through interacting with other people. Thus it represents a spirit of kinship across both race and creed with united mankind to a common purpose (<http://africanhistory.about.com/od/glossary/g/ubuntu.htm>).

based violence occurs frequently and in most societies. It is now recognized at international level as a violation of human rights. O guli-Oumo, et al., (2005: 5) say many governments have ratified international human rights standards, as well as endorsed declarations, and appropriate regional and national plans of action. The national plans of action emphasize a world free of violence against abuse of women.

High levels of violence in all forms have been experienced by many people in South Africa (Jewkes and Abrahams, 2002a; Morrell, 2001a: 1231-1244). According to a survey for the period 1998-2000 compiled by the United Nations, South Africa was ranked first for rapes per capita. More than 25% of South African men questioned in a survey published by the Medical Research Council (MRC) in June 2009, admitted to rape; of those, nearly half said they had been raped by more than one person. It is estimated that five hundred thousand (500 000) women are raped in South Africa every year with black women being more likely to be raped (<http://african>). The relationship between gender and gender identity that pertains to masculinity is what feeds the high level of violence against women. Research done by Wood, Maforah and Jewkes (1998) explored notions of masculinity and control over women's sexuality and coercive sex. The findings were that men beat women to maintain certain self-images and social evaluations. Jewkes and Abrahams (1989) argue that the problems of rape in South Africa have to be understood within the context of the very substantial gender power inequalities which pervade society. Reeves-Sanday (1981) says there is a correlation between interpersonal violence and rape in South Africa. Rape and sexual coercion form one part of the broader problems of gender-based violence. In South Africa the right to gender equity is included in the present constitution to ensure that both males and females are accorded the rights not to be discriminated against directly or indirectly by anyone on grounds including race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social security, origion, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth.

I have perceived it necessary to study the fundamental facts about what women have suffered. In 1970 the term 'sexual harassment' was coined and the birth of the political struggle was given a

measure of impetus at the 1995 Fourth World conference with Beijing's Declaration and Platform for Action. Women's studies came into being with the development of the 2nd Wave of the feminist movement towards the end of the 1960, at the time when a Higher Education system was well established in advanced capitalist countries (Kemp and Squires, 1997: 135). The political struggle is marked by the time when the National Women's Coalition was given a strong mandate to proceed with a new agenda in South Africa after the completion of the Women's Charter which was adopted in 1994. In the midst of a declining situation in women's movement, what appeared to be a golden opportunity presented itself. The Fourth United Nations Conference on Women was held in Beijing in September 1995. South African women started preparing for this Conference early in 1994-an ideal opportunity that seemed to be an opportunity to strategically strengthen the women's movement, cement the working relationships between women in government and civil society and generally empower South African women (www.agenda.org.za). At this Fourth United Nations Conference in Beijing to strengthen women's movement, women remained marginalized. Debbie Bonnini, a Sociology and Industrial Labour Studies scholar at the University of KwaZulu-Natal was invited to Beijing by Women's Studies International to participate in sessions on Women Studies. Karin Martin is an Associate Professor of Sociology and Women's Studies at the University of Michigan (Stones: 2008). Bonnini and Karin are relevant in this study because they stood up and supported other women in their struggle, and to me that is being radical. Stones (2008) reports that Bonnini gave a report that daily protests were part of Beijing's experience, but ultimately it was not a 'warm fuzzy' feminist get together. She describes the conference as an event of the world stage of international politics with all the rules, compromises and power politics that accompany such events. She asserts that the ordinary woman from a grass root based Non Governmental Organization was not able to have her say or make her voice heard in a way that would meaningfully influence the Platform for Action.

The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action adopted at the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women, describes sexual harassment as a form of domination. I shall therefore briefly start my discussion by stating how in primitive times women suffered.

I will then narrow my discussion down to sexual harassment at WSU. This is because in all the areas to which women have been exposed, they have experienced sexual harassment. By going back to the history of the domination of women I am implying that the search for women's history is not simply a search for some object which has previously been neglected. The writing of women into history necessarily involves redefining and enlarging traditional notions of historical significance. To include and account for women's experiences surely rests on the extent to which gender could further be developed as a category of analysis. The position of women in Africa is shaped and sometimes is severely circumscribed by formal structures, officeholders and interests. At the same time, however, women do construct their own histories within the nature of constraints, and their activities subsequently affect both the capacities of states and their coherence (Parpart, 1989: 186). Lovett (1989: 23), who agrees with Parpart (though she writes on the United States of America and not on Africa) reports that if the issues of state and class formation are to be fully understood, these issues should have been seen as gendered, that is, as having differential impacts on women and men.

In 1800, women played a significant part in the creation of the modern state system in South Africa, but they have not been able to establish regular channels of access to decision makers. Lovett (1989) continues to say that the forces that brought about the institutionalization of a new set of formal agencies in the public arena were marked by their male complexion. She reports that the centrality of women for the reproduction of labour and maintenance of the economic bases of traditional society worked to curtail the migration of women in East, Central and Southern Africa. Though women were attached to the land, they were deprived of control over its resources. Marjorie Mbilinyi of Tanzania corroborates her findings like Lovett's (1989). Mbilini (n.d.)² asserts that women were marginalized in the new towns of North Tanzania and the peripheralization was sanctioned through the careful construction of cultural codes that buttressed males.

² The abbreviation (n.d.) is used to denote no date (<http://libweb.anglia.ac.uk/referencing/harvard.htm>)

Since the birth of the contemporary gender equality political struggle in 1995 during the women's movement in Beijing, women have made gains, albeit slowly, in the political arena. Women's political mission was to challenge patriarchal³ control and reclaim their rights at work. If a woman wants to survive patriarchy she had better act 'feminine' (such as being submissive) or else she is subjected to a variety of cruelties and barbarities. The variety of cruelties includes woman battering, sexual abuse, female genital mutilation (FGM)⁴ and other cruelties. Fran Hosken was a temporary advisor on FGM, a major health problem that includes painful sexual intercourse, urinary problems, etc. She urges more support for African women working for the abolition of FGM.

Feminists have always believed that patriarchal domination starts with the economic subordination of women in the household and the economy and their struggle focuses on transforming the position of women in the sexual division of labour. Pat Horn, who focuses on feminism, asserts that some feminists believe that male violence lies at the heart of patriarchal domination, so their feminist struggle prioritizes the issue of violence against women as the core issue (Empowering Women for Gender Equity, 1995:73).

Even though women have made their own history, they have always made it under the male dominated state which warps women's ability to make history on their own terms. This means women make history under the conditions which are not their choices. Linking these choices with sexual harassment, it means most of what women appear to do freely is chosen in very limiting circumstances where there are very limited choices left. Consider a colleague at WSU who forces himself onto a woman and pushes her for his sexual advances. Such an action expands the concept of domination⁵ and coercion in that a woman's desires become distorted and manipulated by social influences. Women are then unable to have free choices.

³ Patriarchy means literally the rule of fathers. The traditional use of the term in social science means that the formal power over public decisions and policy making is held by man (Ruth 1964: 44).

⁴ Female Genital Mutilation is a deeply rooted tradition performed to suppress women's sexuality and control their productive function (www.feministafrica.com).

⁵ Domination involves control or power which can be seen in the economic, political, and social spheres of society (Superson, 1995:399).

Certain kinds of women's experiences require more than short-lived social intervention because their testimonies await an opportunity of expression. The social and cultural locations from which women have spoken may be fraught with anger and may render women vulnerable to retribution. Thenjiwe Mtintso, who addressed the Women's Hearing of the Commission that had to do with sexual violence held in Johannesburg on 28th July 1987, suggests that sexual violence on the African continent was represented in the hearings and in public discourse, as a defining feature of women's experiences of gross violations of human rights (Ross, 2003: 24). These hearings were identified as an experience about which women could and should testify and about which they would testify under certain conditions. This shows that women have not chosen their lives freely, or how they wish to be treated; their choices are limited. For example, a woman may continue to live with a man who batters her, but the choice to remain with an abusive man is not a free one. It is a choice between evils in a severely-constrained situation which she has not chosen. An example here is a woman who continues to stay with an abusive man because of economic condition. She is unable to look after herself and is forced to depend on a abusive relationships. In this way, she and many other women are oppressed. This oppression of women is something consisting of, and accomplished by, a network of institutions and material and ideological forces which force women into the service of men. One cannot underestimate the power of oppression; however, women can still continue to develop talents in spite of other people's discouragement and disapproval.

Many women find the opportunity to be at work a difficult one because of sexual harassment. This is the opportunity to be able to accumulate work experience and to be allowed to enter into the service sector and other parts of the economy. Antrobus (2004: 9) states that in academia most disciplines now have feminist associations such as Anthropology, Economics, Political and Social Sciences among others. Within these disciplines, whether women are organized into feminist associations or not, women in the academic field are doing important theoretical and empirical work that deepens understanding of women's realities and produces the analyses and insights that strengthen the work of the activist. It is worth noting that such work is of critical importance for the sustainable development of society. It is important that the work of women is

noted, particularly regarding the developments that are in the workplace which are gender sensitive.

Kimmel and Aronson (2000: 256) point out that perhaps the most dramatic social change in industrial countries in the twentieth century has been the entry of women into the workplace. This means the image of the breadwinner husband and the homemaker wife has slowly and steadily evaporated. Despite the collapse of the doctrine of separate spheres (work and home), the workplace remains a dramatically-divided world where there is occupational sex segregation and persistent sex discrimination. All these are problems faced by working women. Workplace inequalities are among the most persistent and pernicious forms of gender discrimination. The influx of women into male spheres threatens the differentiation of men and women and men tend to resist. Numerous studies have documented men's resistance to women 'entering' their job domain (Kimmel and Aronson, 2000: 264). Sometimes the resistance is simply exclusion. At other times it is subtle barriers that block women's advancements or overt gender harassment which is based on patriarchal ideology. The patriarchal ideology is particularly powerful because through conditioning, men usually secure the apparent consent of the very women they oppress. The oppression is seen in institutions such as the family, the church and the academy, each of which justifies and reinforces women's subordination to men with the result that most women internalize a sense of inferiority to men.

The background to this study takes the following diagrammatic shape which is represented in Figure 1. It provides distinctive gender-related forms of female subordination by men as is the case in sexual harassment. Almost all illustrations that are reflected in this study in chapters one, two, three, four, and six are self-created for the purpose of demonstrating and enhancing my arguments. However, two Figures in chapter three have been borrowed, they being Figure 6 and Figure 8. Figure 6 has been copied from the yahoo website. Figure 8 has been borrowed from Peitchins (1989) but edited. I will elaborate on the said Figures in chapter three.

sexual harassment in shaping women's history

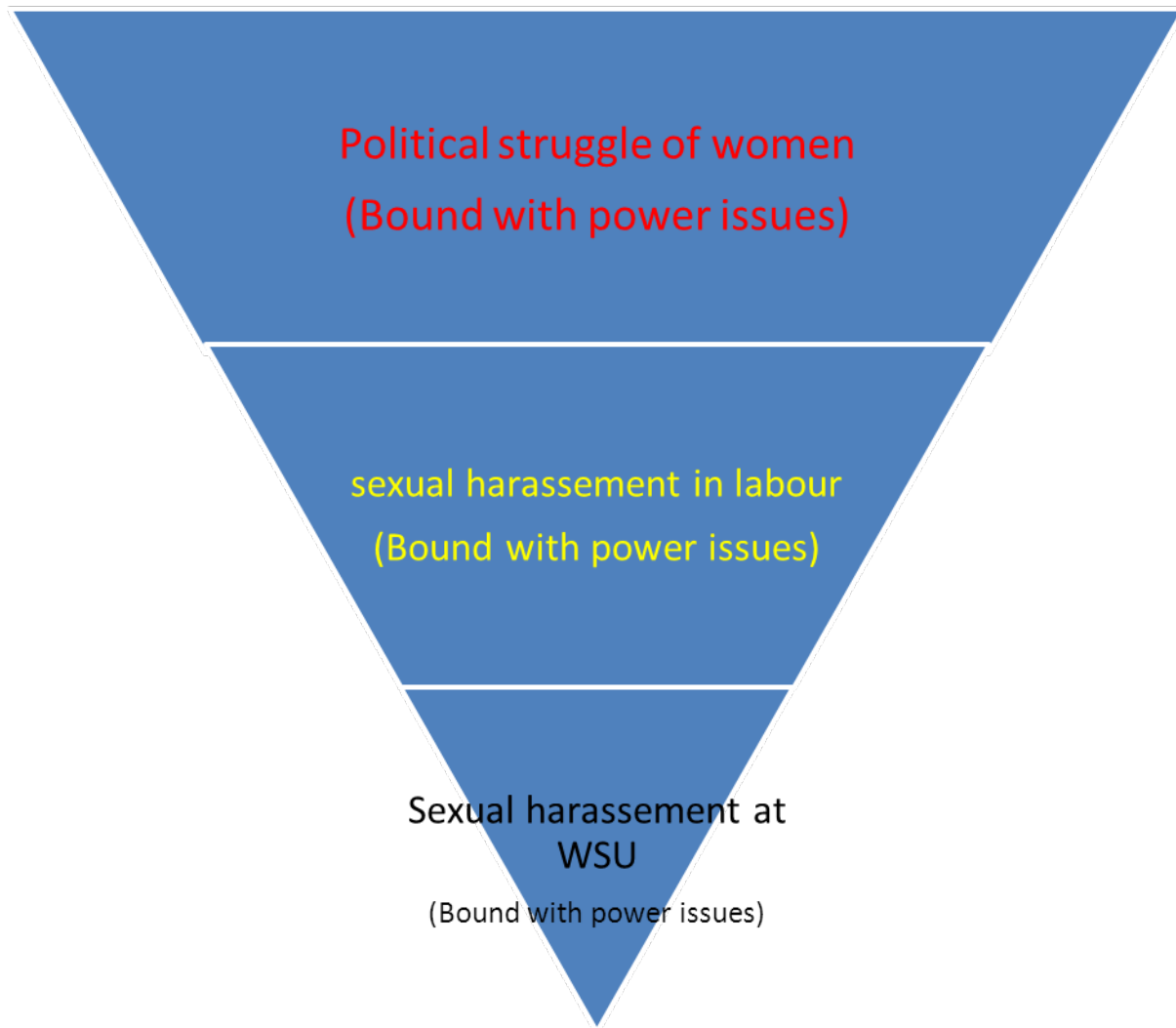


Figure 1: Sexual harassment shaping women's history.

1.1 Male power taking several forms

Figure 1 depicts the assertion that male power takes several forms to oppression. Power is used as a tool to sexual access in all forms of women oppression. Forms of oppression range from politics (when women gathered during a political struggle in Beijing in 1995 to economic forms (when women are in the labour force). Oppression has also taken place at WSU. This means power manifests itself to male sexual violence and in particular, to sexual harassment at WSU as my study has proved it. Chafetz (1999: 407) states that education empowers women and reproduces gender inequalities. The diagram attempts to show that women have been part of the diverse historical operations of sexual harassment from the time they were joined in the political struggle until the time they were exposed to education, making a relationship between gender and educational access. At WSU women have limited social roles. In short, the prevailing ideas about femininity or womanhood have affected women's lives. As the diagram stands, it shows that though my study is on sexual harassment at WSU, it has also noted how women have suffered in history and how issues of sexual harassment explain notions of female complicity in gender subordination.

The first stirrings of the Women's Movement were felt with the publication of Mary Wollstonecraft's, *A Vindication of the Rights of Women in 1792*. The Women's Rights Movement in the United States was born during the drive for the abolition of the slave trade in 1787-1823, particularly in the activities and writings of the Grimke Sisters in the 1830s. It culminated in the winning of the vote in 1920. Ruth (1980: 444) asserts that because women had exhausted themselves in the fight for suffrage, the movement died. This was until Betty Friedman's *The Feminist Mystique* brought the Movement back to life in 1963 to the time when the National Women's Coalition was given a strong mandate to proceed with a new agenda after the completion of the Women's Charter which was adopted in 1994. Ruth (1980: 444) says the conceptualization of the Women's Movement that strikes her as most helpful and more constructive is simply that of 'women moving forward with greater strength and freedom both in their awareness and in their socio-political position.

The diagram further shows that women have been potential targets of violence at any place, be it in a political or economic context. This means sexual harassment illuminates the history of

women's freedom and that in political struggles and the labour force, women's performances are governed by gender-they are women and should be silent and self-effacing. In this vein, I perceive sexual harassment as emanating from three avenues: the political struggle of women, sexual harassment in the labour force and sexual harassment in the political struggle at WSU, hence the nature of Figure 1. The said Figure draws attention to distinguishing between women's oppression and male domination and indicates that women's oppression is bound up with issues of power. I am highlighting these issues from a feminist perspective; that is, the postmodern feminist perspective. The postmodern feminists argue that our language only allows for she/or he/or him and so on and that our identities are largely confined to rigid gender definitions. These definitions shape women's experiences politically, economically, socially and otherwise (Ward, 1997: 93). Figure 1 therefore also explains that understanding sexual harassment requires recognition that harassment is central to maintaining women's subordinate social, economic and sexual status. In short, what I am implying is that women's sexuality has shaped their experiences in politics, economics, socially and otherwise. In this discussion (as well as in chapters two and three and in some parts of chapter five), I present some of the participants' voices and link them with the discussion) so as to make sense out of the generalizations and the discussion. The participants' voices using pseudonyms will be analyzed in chapter six. The generalization in participants' voices on the said pages means that data is presented throughout this study because issues are better confirmed as data is brought together with the discussion.

Some of the participants' comments emphasized negative outcomes such as a wish to take sick leave for a few days as an escape from sexual harassment. Several times during interviews most WSU participants attributed men's behaviour to their seniority. The majority of participants reported that sexual harassment was a major problem at WSU. They asserted that even though they were aware of what constituted sexual harassment, sometimes they were confused as to what words or actions constituted sexual harassment because of the myths about sexual harassment. (I will therefore write on the myths regarding sexual harassment in chapter two). Despite the reports that sexual harassment was a major problem at WSU, some participants had not yet taken drastic measures to report this behaviour. The few participants who admitted to have reported the behaviour to a senior woman academic pointed out that the reports were

simply ‘swept under the carpet’ because nothing was done about the report until the participants decided to leave the cases hanging. Participants used several terms that had to do with sexual harassment during interviews. I was able to observe, visit, talk and listen to women’s matters which concerned sexual harassment. The data that is reflected in my report speaks to the literature review and the empirical study focuses on the voices of the participants.

I will note eleven sexual harassment terms in this current chapter. The terms will be reflected by using a Figure which I have named Figure 2. The eleven terms will also be reflected in chapter five and in chapter six of this study, respectively and will be accompanied by Figures as well. The terms which are ideal for this study and which I cannot disentangle from the study were emphasized during interviews. The terms hold value to this study and should be viewed as inseparable concepts. They are the basis of the whole study because they were compiled by the participants’ voices. Victims at WSU (like any other women) talked and shared their sexual harassment experiences and they reinforced the sense of themselves as powerless objects and reactors rather than actors. The participants’ reinforcements made it easy to “make chunks” of their utterances into the eleven meaningful terms. Coates (1996: 117) tells readers that she sums her views from her women participants, that is, how women talk. She says women talk constructively in a joint effort; they share construction of talk in the strong sense of talk that they do not function as individual speakers. In other words, the group takes priority over the individual and the women’s voices combine (or meld) to construct a shared text. Like Coates (1996), I also combined participants’ sexual harassment voices and produced eleven terms. Their utterances then become remarkable because the terms that they voiced are identical to sexual harassment terms. The participants’ chunks of utterances enabled me to meld their voices and come up with the following eleven terms: unwelcome-ness, offence, lowering of personal dignity, patriarchy, sex/gender roles, sex objects, subordination, domination, power, demeaning and inferiority complexes. The terms play a significant role in making me realize that they feel the yoke of being ‘women’ and they are alienated⁶. Tong (1989: 99) points out that, not

⁶ Tong (1989: 99) defines alienation as a ‘profound sense of separation that arouses ‘hostility’ which in turn leads to fear and finally to ‘enmity.’

surprisingly, these negative feelings intensify man's desire to control, not only nature but also women.

The saying of 'men are men and women are women' means that there is a difference between sex (biological make up) and gender (which are the roles that society has presented for the two sexes and the inequalities). This division is perceived to be natural as it is rooted in biology. Unfortunately, in turn, the division produces profound psychological, behavioural and social practises which promote gendered inequalities. Rider (2005: 96) asserts that the division is perceived to be natural by scientists because of the pre-natal development which notes the following: Males receive an X chromosome from the mother and Y chromosome from their father. Females receive X chromosomes from both their father and mother. Early in prenatal development both XX and XY fetuses have identical gonadal structures with the capability of developing into female or male. Linking this discussion of sex hormones with sexual harassment, Siann (1994: 52) states that one of the most heavily-researched aspect of the relationship between sex hormones and behaviour has been the link between male hormones, particularly testosterone, and aggression. Proponents of biological determinism have argued that the reason that males are, in general, more violent and aggressive than females, is that the male hormone, testosterone, is linked to aggressive behaviour.

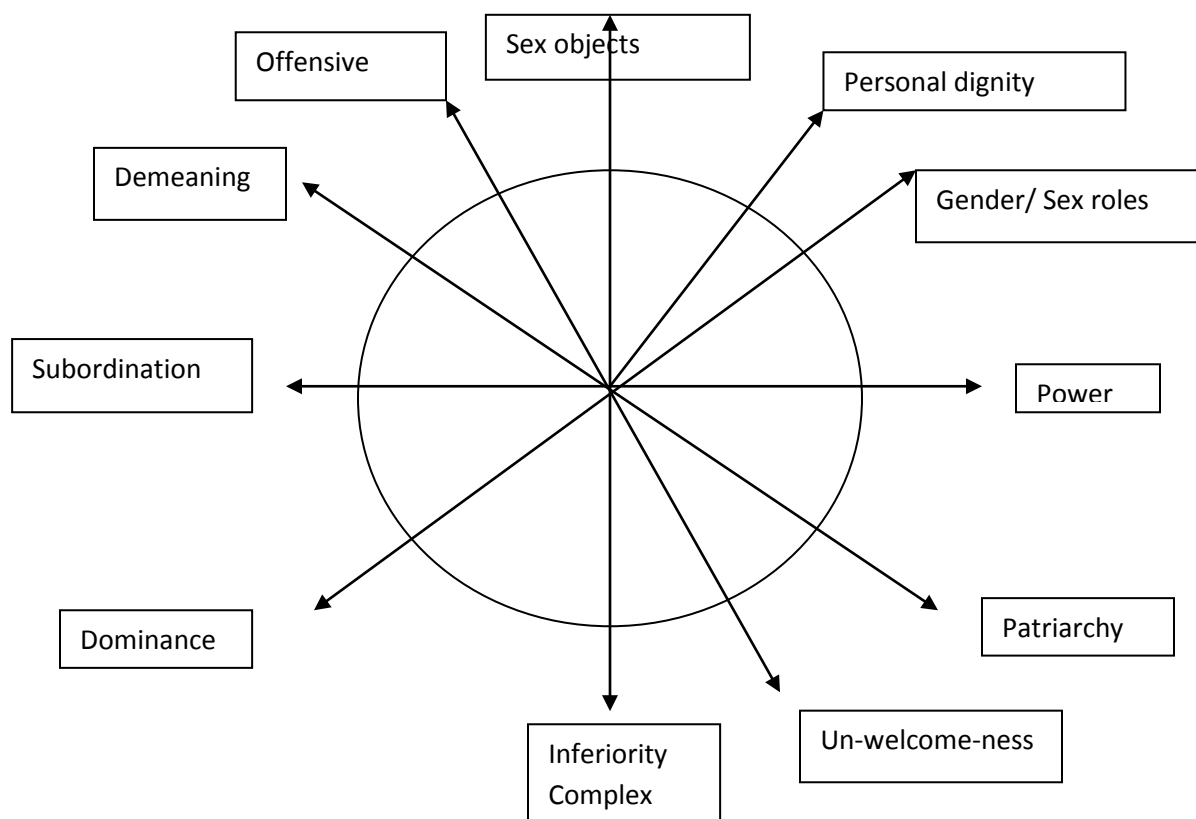


Figure 2: Sexual harassment terms derived from WSU research participants' data

The above eleven terms were often used during interviews.

Figure 2 above illustrates that through violence, perpetrators hold little respect for their victims and are encouraged or tolerated in following their personal agendas. Whilst perpetrators follow their agendas, exploitive situations also exist whereby victims suffer the consequences of sexual harassment. Victims are turned into sex objects, their personal dignity is lowered, their gender role as women is abused as men exercise their power over them. They are dominated because of being in inferior positions. The act of sexual harassment which they find demeaning and offensive and un-welcome is through the exercise of sexual exercise and sexual advances.

CHAPTER ONE

1.INTRODUCTION

This chapter entails a discussion of how women have suffered sexual harassment (in their working lives) in the past and in academic settings, in particular. The chapter looks at how sexual harassment in the workplace has placed women as a group at a substantial disadvantage relative to men. There is also a discussion on the problem statement, the rationale of the study, the key questions that pertain to the study, the objectives of the study and how the thesis is structured.

As women's history became more entrenched in the academy, women continued to suffer harassment at work. Gillow (2003: 3) says the impact of harassment at work is quite often cited as leading to poor performance, increased levels of absence and poor motivation. In some instances women fail to collaborate with men and work as part of a team resulting in failure to be productive. It is estimated that at least half of all women experience sexual harassment in their working life. Vetten (2008) says the number of sexually-harassed women is even higher in South Africa, according to a survey conducted by the Institute of Directors that puts the figure at 76% (<http://www.csvr.org.za/articles/artcostl.htm>). Joubert, et.al., (2010) assert that sexual harassment policies are generally in place in higher education institutions without any indication of its effectiveness as determined by the awareness of the policy. Their study was aimed at investigating the awareness levels of academic staff members at higher education institutions in South Africa. Their research design, approach and methodology was a cross-sectional survey design that was conducted amongst one hundred and sixty one (161) academic staff members, representing ten (10) higher education institutions in South Africa. This was the first study ever to be conducted as there was no other study in South Africa that had attempted to measure the awareness levels of academics and its impact on the management of sexual harassment (www.sajhrm.co.za/index.php/sajhrm/article/view/310).

Gupta, (2004: 3) points out that the term 'sexual harassment' fails to have specifics, and the law (when the term is dealt with legally) does not deal with ambiguous and amorphous cases. As a concept, sexual harassment has evolved and it has been difficult to define it precisely. Sexual

harassment definitions and other subjective definitions of sexual harassment describe it, at least in part, in terms of subjective of the victim, making unwelcome-ness to the victim a necessary condition for sexual harassment. Thus, in order to prove she has been sexual harassed, she has to prove that the perpetrator's behaviour was unwelcome. Roberts (1979: 110) asserts that the courts adopt a 'reasonable' person standard to determine when the harassment rises to an actionable level. It is difficult to know how the courts can, without attempting to provide a mathematically-precise test, prove that a victim is reasonable or not.

The result of a study by Koss, Gidycz & Wisniewski (1987) across thirty two (32) United States Colleges, showed a high incidence of and prevalence rates of sexual violence against women. They state that since the age of fourteen years, 53% were victims of some form of sexual abuse. Only 27% reported that they had been victims of rape or attempted rape. Daniels (2002) studied perceptions of sexual harassment amongst Stellenbosch University students. The study revealed that students did not have a clear understanding of what constituted sexual harassment. Females at Pretoria Technikon reported a significantly higher incidence of the experience of unwanted sexual activity on campus than males (Hoffman, 2002). At the University of Cape Town, a Committee of Enquiry into sexual harassment was established in response to a concern that both sexual harassment and violence against women were occurring on campus. Ramphela (2002) states that students did not have a clear understanding of what constituted sexual harassment. Females at Pretoria Technikon reported a significantly higher incidence of the experienced unwanted sexual activity on campus than males (Hoffman, 2002). At the University of Cape Town, a Committee of inquiry into sexual harassment was established in response to a concern that both sexual harassment and violence against women were occurring on campus. It was found that 45% of female respondents had experienced some form of sexual harassment within one month of being at university. At the University of the Transkei (UNITRA) which is now known as part of WSU after the merger that took place in July 2005, two UNITRA lecturers, Mayekiso and Bhana (1997) conducted a study aimed at assessing students' perceptions of what constituted sexual harassment to ascertain students' experiences of sexual harassment. They also wanted to find out if there were any significant gender-related differences in their perceptions and experiences of sexual harassment. Mayekiso and Bhana (1997) raised a concern that sexual

harassment had become a serious problem in educational institutions and further pointed out that sexual harassment was prevalent at this institution (the WSU). They maintained that very few cases were reported formally. They further stated that in 1996 only four cases of attempted rape were reported and that sexual harassment of students by academics was also formally reported. These incidents were perceived as an abuse of power in the lecturer–student relationship.

The European Union issued a Recommendation and Code, the EC code, to identify harassment by reference to the motive of the harasser and how it affected the person who was subjected to the harassment. The EC code contains terminology which describes sexual harassment as offensive, demeaning and affecting a person's dignity (Williams, et al., 2003: 4). The code defines sexual harassment as 'conduct of a sexual nature or other conduct based on sex affecting the dignity of women and men at work'. Williams, et al., (2003) say this code is explicit in indicating that the conduct is unacceptable in the workplace if: the harassment is unwanted, unreasonable, offensive to the recipient of the conduct or the decision regarding the recipient's training, employment, promotion or salary is dependent upon whether the conduct is rejected or accepted; or of the result of the conduct is to create an intimidating, hostile or humiliating work environment for the recipient. In short, what the definition means is that the harasser's intentions could emanate from emotions which could be meant to embarrass the victim, feel sexually harassing to the victim or done to exercise power or authority, especially in working conditions. Also, the motive could be for the harasser's own sexual gratification or where the harasser is seeking sexual favours. Sexual harassment as a behaviour is seen as a manifestation of power relations where women lack such power because most of them are in more vulnerable and insecure positions, for example, being a woman worker on the support staff. These positions affect women in the labour markets. Underlying this position, one cannot deny that women are harmed and weakened by social conditions. This means that when a woman's means of support is waged labour, then she has little choice but to take jobs where toleration of sexualised aggression is part of the job. One could say that sexual harassment stems from gender stereotyping and gender bias or sexism. Regarding this view, the Employment Equity Act states that work should not be based on sex differences (Herbig, 2004). This means that acts of sex

discrimination in the workplace have placed women as a group at a substantial disadvantage relative to men. These are the conducts that enact a demeaning conception of women's status.

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) 1995 defines sexual harassment partly as 'behaviours that have the purpose or effect of unreasonably interfering with an individual's work performance' (Herbig 2004). Hughes and May (1995: 402) define sexual harassment as a 'class of annoying or unwelcoming acts undertaken by one person (or group of persons).' Aggarwal and Gupta (2000: 118) define sexual harassment as any sexually-oriented practice that endangers an individual's continued employment, negatively affects his or her work performance or undermines her sense of personal dignity. Amongst many other definitions of sexual harassment which I will highlight in chapter three of this study, I prefer the Equal Employment Committee 'Guidelines of Sexual Harassment' which were adopted by the EEOC in the United States of America in 1980. It defines sexual harassment as 'unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favours, and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature where: (1) submission of such conduct is made explicitly or implicitly a term or condition of an individual's employment, (2) submission to, or rejection of, such conduct by an individual is used as the basis for employment decisions affecting such individual (3) such conduct has the purpose or effect of unreasonably interfering with an individual's work performance or creating an intimidating or hostile working environment' (Welzenbach, 1986: 23). This definition focuses on power and the work environment and is aligned to my study. Also, it aligns with the context of my research as it has enabled me to build a research problem. Women's experiences and the economic consequences of sexual harassment in the workplace have suggested that sexual processes are a powerful force in the construction of women's positions in the labour market.

The configuration of gender, power and sexuality poses particular problems when located at work. Men tend to be bosses from all angles in the workplace. On the contrary, women have to be sexualised as part of the job where men's economic advantage is enhanced through such sexual objectification. When women point out that sexual harassment is one of the employer-employee daily relations which have to be responded to, then how they relate to their work is

negatively affected. They have to balance work and improper sexual harassment in any workplace situation. Sexual harassment exemplifies and promotes practices which disadvantage women at work. They are degraded, and worse, they are kept in their specified inferior job positions and kept sexually in thrall to men. MacKinnon (1979: 209) points out that sexual harassment expresses and reinforces a sexist-stereotyped perspective that women hired for women's jobs are to be at the service of men in every way, are fair game for male sexual advances, and owe men sexual liberties-all of which work to their disadvantage as women workers. However, Adkins (1995: 63) points out that MacKinnon's definition does not demonstrate or explicate that sexual harassment produces gender division within the labour market because women provide men with structural economic power in relation to women. Men then use power to abuse women. I agree with Adkins (1995) because sexual harassment cannot be separated from economic relations in any workplace. For example, most participants at WSU agreed that whilst they had to attend to their job settings, some perpetrators, in turn, made sure that they have to be given some attention by engaging in sexual harassment behaviours. In institutions (labour markets), there are gender divisions which are a product of economic divisions. If there was no gender segregation at work, it means sexual harassment would not be regarded as one of the problems of a patriarchal system.

Portrayals of sexual harassment and their narration will be addressed in chapter three. The definitions will be supported by a brief generalization of participants' voices. I will generalize participants' voices because this chapter is not a discussion of participants' views. The voices will be narrated in chapter six of this study. Sexual harassment takes two forms: in one form of sexual harassment, the 'quid pro quo' sexual harassment, the offender may put a threat for non-compliance with his sexual request, according to Farrar, et al., (2003), Lindemann & Kaude (1992), Palmer (1992), Verespej (1995). In the other form, the 'hostile' environment sexual harassment, the perpetrator may display inappropriate and excessive affection towards the employee. The former category could include a woman being told to have sex with her boss in order to keep her job and the case of the employee who gets fired when she responds unfavourably to her boss's overture (Baxter & Hemle 1989). In this category, the harassed needs

to be in a position of authority over the harassed employee. In the hostile category, the claims are less clear cut.

Without diverting attention from the focus of this study, I will briefly quote some sexual harassment cases which occurred in the United States and other cases that occurred in South Africa in order to show that sexual harassment is a global phenomenon. Bahun-Radunovic and Rajan (2009: 297) in reviewing violence and gender in the globalized world, point out that in *violence and gender*, gender mainly serves as a proxy for women. In chapter six I will show that gender (the term that I will use as a variable and as a subset) is used to signify and suggest that it is socially constructed rather than biologically-based. Bahun-Radunovic and Rajan (2009) maintain that gender is embedded in social, cultural, political and economic spaces-shapes daily lives in different ways but ones which are intrinsically linked with violence. Jenson, et al., (1989: 55) point out that feminist sociologists widely recognize that gender plays a role in the sex-typing of occupations and has an impact on women's and men's experiences of work and their orientation to work. Women sociologists, Evans (2003) and Freedman (2002) say women united in the feminist movement to fight back against sexual harassment, women battering, job discrimination and other problems (Brinkerhoff, et al. (2005). The feminist critique of male-stream sociology argued that sociology had been mainly concerned with research of men and that it generalized from male experience to the male population. Areas of concern to women were overlooked or seen as unimportant, such as domestic violence, domestic labour, etc. Abbot, et.al., (2005) point out that where women were presented, they were presented in a stereotypical way or gender was added as another independent variable without being critically addressed. Rood, (2002:2) points out that in the year 2000, USA and UK surveys had between 49% to 90% of sexually-harassed working women. In South Africa the first sexual harassment court case was in 1989. Other cases were filed in 1997 and 1998 respectively. In all these cases women were the victims (Rood 2002).

Howard (2007: 34) points out that many Americans were first exposed to the issue of sexual harassment in 1991. In 1998, the then President of the United States was the subject of a sexual

harassment lawsuit brought by Paula Jones. In addition, Special Prosecutor Kenneth Starr's lurid report revealed that the house President had engaged in a sexual relationship with White House intern Monica Lewinsky inside the Oval Office. President Clinton's credibility became the subject of heated national debate and the central issue of his impeachment trial.

In August 2004, New Jersey Governor, Jim McGreevey, was charged with sexual harassment. His victim stated that McGreevey had used his considerable power to forcefully engage in sex (Howard 2007: 34). These high profile cases have been helpful in raising the public's awareness of sexual harassment and to show that sexual harassment is common.

The crime unit in Pretoria asserts that though research into the extent of sexual harassment is limited, one survey suggested that 67% of working women have experienced sexual harassment. According to another, 76% of female respondents had been harassed (source not provided).

It is worth noting that sexual harassment can be misused as an act of revenge. For example, in one case, Robinson (2007) reports that Mavuso Msimang, the Home Affairs' Director General, was accused of sexually harassing Ursula Wagne. She slammed Msimang with claims of sexual harassment totalling R500.000 in damages. Wagne had a history of psychological problems. At one point she was booked off by the clinical psychologist. Msimang had suspended Wagne on a list of disciplinary charges. The secretive nature of her case made it difficult to the charger. Robinson (2007) reports that gender expert, Lisa Vetten, points out that, 'generally, any work place or criminal law is open to abuse and can be used in malice.' However, the Minister of Home Affairs, Nosiviwe Mapisa-Nqakula, asked the media to wait until the case was in court. Democratic Alliance MP, Marianus Swart was quoted as saying Msimang's appointment displayed a surprising lack of respect for the rights of women. Msimang's appointment was seen as analyzing means whereby South Africa constitutes gender equality. Without neglecting Msimang's allegations, it is wise to consider critically some cases whereby victims have histories of psychological problems, however, this does not mean that victims with psychological problems cannot be sexually harassed.

Some sexual harassment cases that featured in the South African media involved high profile people. I will only quote a few cases of sexual harassment in these sections, though some of them are not from institutions of higher learning. Other cases will be narrated and analyzed in chapter three:

1. Masombuka, (2008: 3) reports that the Pretoria High Court ordered Sam Rampedi, the head of the Local Government and Housing to pay Thato Mocumie a lump sum of R90 000 in damages of sexual harassment. The incidence happened when Rampedi told Mocumie that ‘she belonged to him’ and suggested that they have an affair. Rampedi then accused her of poor working performance after she rejected his advances.

2. Oelofse reports (2008) that Elmare Fourie sued the municipality for more than R32million in the country’s biggest sexual harassment claims. In the summons Fourie said she was sexually harassed in 1999 by Kenny Leluma. When she refused to withdraw her allegations, she was dismissed from her job in February 2001. The case was dismissed by the High Court because it had become ‘prescribed’; if she had a case she was supposed to file it within three years of the alleged abuse in 1999. They had this cloud hanging over their heads since 2008. Leluma, who denied Fourie’s accusations from the start, Fourie had never had a case to begin with. Leluma said he had been vindicated—first in an internal hearing, then when the criminal case against him was thrown out of court when Fourie’s story ‘changed from day to day.’

3. In the case of Maepe vs Commissioner for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration and another (CLL Vol 17 June 2008), Israelstam (2008: 2) reports that a receptionist had accused her senior of having professed his love for her, blown kisses and told her that he clutched her photo to his chest.

4. In another case, de Boer (2009) states that a senior Durban Metro Training Academy (name only known to the Daily Dispatch) was accused of several acts of ill discipline pertaining to sexual harassment. The complainant was still in the job amid concerns that his continued employment was damaging the already embattled service with the accusation of subordination, unbecoming behaviour and sexual harassment.

5. Makhafole (2009) reports that Mogale City Human Resources Manager, Humphrey Mmemenzi, was accused of being a sex pest. Four women have laid charges of sexual harassment against him. Now the women and six other municipality employees have laid a charge of intimidation against him with the Krugersdorp police. One of his alleged victims said: *We got hold of his statement to be submitted to the investigator. In it he threatened all of us and said we will follow him to the grave within three to six months. He also said that his life is in danger* (Sowetan, 2008). Krugersdorp police spokesperson, the Captain confirmed that a case of intimidation had been opened against Mmemenzi and said policemen were investigating. In the statement Mmemenzi claimed that throughout his long career he had been subjected to insults. He claimed that on his arrival at Mogale City's HR department his 'uncompromising stance towards corruption had caused a lot of hatred on the part of his colleagues.' The four women who had laid charges against the 53-year-old in October of the year accused him of fondling them when they went into his office. The Independent Municipal and Allied Trade Union (Imatu) co-ordinator on the West Rand, Shado Shongwe, said that according to Municipality Manager Dan Matshitiso, Mmemenzi had been suspended on the previous Monday. According to Mogale City sources, Mmemenzi was suspended with pay pending the investigation, but when asked to comment, Matshitiso denied that Mmemenzi had been suspended and referred Sowetan reporters to spokesperson Bongani Gaeje, who declined to comment.

6. A principal of a Durban school (name withheld until a man has pleaded) has been charged after having asked a pupil to have sex with him at a private venue. After having reported the incident the school is said to have victimised her by withholding information about teaching vacancies (Sunday Tribune, 2009: 1).

In the meta-analytic results that were designed to examine the job-related, psychological and physical outcomes of sexual harassment, it was found that the impact of sexual harassment negatively affected job-related outcomes, psychological health and physical health conditions. De Wet (2007) asserts that despite legal and constitutional provisions prohibiting sexual harassment in schools, there seems to be a culture of silence and acceptance surrounding sexual

harassment. Emanating from the feedback from this research, participants pointed out that this was also the case with them: be silent and accept sexual harassment. The fact that sexual harassment was unquestionably present at WSU during the time of data collection, necessitates that the institution keeps and practices a policy so that gender equality is a part of the WSU policy.

In another study by the United Development Programme it was pointed out that the South African doctrine of vicarious liability should be extended and be viewed within the context of constitutional values such as equality, freedom and dignity (United Nations Economic and Social Council).

1.1 Problem statement

Sexual harassment of women at WSU is evident (from the participants' voices) as there are informal reports stating that male superiors, in particular, coercively initiate unwanted sexual advances to women at work. The informal complainants assert that sexual harassment does take place at WSU and that the perpetrators are well known by most senior personnel. The complexities of gender roles and psychological ill-being are evident among women (academics and the support staff). From my close interaction with the participants during interviews, most participants pointed out that male dominance and female submission was the norm at WSU. Participants maintained that even if it is known who perpetrators are and what they do, no disciplinary actions are taken. Participants preferred not to report the behaviours because no actions took place. As most radical feminists would say 'women will never be men's full political, economic and social equals until heterosexual relations are entirely egalitarian' - a state of affairs that is not likely to be achieved as long as women's sexuality is interpreted in terms of men's sexuality-as if Eve had indeed been made only to service Adam's every wants and need (Tong, 1989: 110). Freeman (1984: 9) states that sexual harassment is committed by 'academic men' who are among the mostly highly-educated members of society. At WSU, sexuality could be a crucial issue for the feminist movement because aggression and the need to dominate form a routine part of what is accepted as normal male sexuality. Through interviews with the participants, I learnt that male violence against women at WSU seemed to be the norm and

legitimized in sexual practice through the assumption that when it came to sex, men are by nature aggressive and dominant and women were by nature passive and submissive.

Understanding sexual harassment requires recognizing that it is central to maintaining women's subordinate social, economic and social status, and that it is closely related to other feminist issues. Another component of sexual harassment has also to do with the ills of a patriarchal system as has been previously discussed. In general, men and women seem to have differing perceptions about appropriate behaviours at work. This means there is a gender gap in understanding the attitudes and reactions to overtures from the opposite sex.

1.2 Rationale for the study

The concentration of the study has been on women because of their disadvantaged position; men are seen as the perpetrators of female subordination and victimization. Due to victimization, women have undergone a great deal of psychological ill-being.

Research of this kind is needed to explore invisible experiences of victims which would indicate and demonstrate the presence of the flow of sexual harassment behaviour. The study examines victims' cases which WSU neglected. Findings of this study will contribute to the body of gender research in victims' cases. It is also expected that a study of this kind will generate useful information on gender-sensitive issues that will, hopefully, decrease the number of victims in workplaces, and in particular, the cases at WSU. Such revelations could also lower gender stereotyping and gender bias or sexism, and thus enhance harmonious gender relations and improve productivity by both men and women at WSU. Furthermore, interventions will help in eradicating the role played by patriarchy in sexual harassment and can create awareness that sexual harassment is motivated by a strong need to control and aggressively exert power over the victims.

1.3 Key questions addressed in the study

The following questions lie with the recognition that sexual harassment has aspects of gender oppression. Sexual harassment is connected to control and domination, the foundation on which patriarchy is laid. Patriarchy is at the root of victims' misery and injustices which all lead to the destruction of the victims' dignity. Paxton and Hughes (2007: 26) assert that women have been oppressed throughout history and patriarchy is still not an outdated concept. Sexual harassment is therefore seen as part of the system of structured power and oppression that constitutes patriarchy and patriarchal social relations.

Interview questions emanate from the following key questions:

1. Are there any inter-relations between power and patriarchy? Has patriarchy and power played a role in sexual harassment?
2. What are the characteristics that influence the marginalized position of women at WSU?
3. What are the myths regarding sexual harassment? How do women perceive and understand sexual harassment categories?
4. Can your identity, as a working woman be fully comprehended without the significance of seeing yourself having to be submissive to the perpetrator of sexual harassment?
5. How is power used as retaliation in respect of women's jobs?
6. Is the management aware of sexual harassment behaviours at WSU?
7. How many gender-based policies are you exposed to? Do these policies include a sexual harassment policy?

1.4 Objectives of the study

The objectives of the above questions have to do with how women experience sexual harassment at WSU. The objectives focus on sexual harassment as a social behaviour that has to do with gender.

The study seeks to understand how women academics and women support staff experience sexual harassment at WSU. The study will attempt to examine and analyze how gender, power relations and patriarchy are related to sexual harassment behaviours. The specific issues the study intends to focus on and examine are outlined in the objectives below:

1. To explore inter-relationships between power and patriarchy.
2. To determine sexual characteristics and their influence in sexual harassment.
3. To find out about the effects of victims once they are submissive to their perpetrators.
4. To indicate forms of gender socialization and an impact on sexual harassment behaviour.
5. To identify how gender, as a variable, plays a role in sexual harassment.

1.5 Structure of the thesis

The structure of the thesis is in line with the research questions. It is made up of eight chapters and is structured as follows:

Background to the study

The background of the study demonstrates how sexual harassment experiences are relevant to the higher educational setting at WSU.

Chapter one

This chapter introduces the study and the overview of the study. It discusses how sexual harassment in the workplace has placed women, as a group, at a substantial disadvantage relative to men. There is also a discussion on the problem statement, the rationale of the study, the key

questions that pertain to the study, the objectives of the study and how the thesis is structured. The chapter has two illustrations (Figure 1 and Figure 2) which correlate with the study.

1. Introduction

Chapter one introduces the reader to the history of sexual harassment and how women have suffered in the world of work, in general.

Chapter two

This chapter discusses the major issues and perspectives of the study. It has two Figures which depict the marginalized positions of women. The chapter also relays eleven sexual harassment terms used by the participants. In addition, it looks at how power is interrelated with patriarchy at WSU, how women are in a marginalized position and the effects that lead to the reasons why victims resort to a submissive state.

Chapter three

Chapter three covers sexual harassment literature that has been reviewed: the primary and the secondary literature. The chapter also explores gender disparity and analyzes how gender interlinks with work and women at WSU. The chapter also discusses a brief history of sexual harassment, the development of sexual harassment as a concept and the effects of practice in higher education and how sexual harassment is depicted. The chapter has three illustrations (Figure 6, Figure 7 and Figure 8). There is also a discussion on sexual violence statistics in South Africa and what the Republic of South African Protection Bill entails.

Chapter four

This is a chapter which covers research methodology chapter. It discusses research design and its methods, forms of interviews employed, and the analysis of data. The chapter has two illustrations (Figure 9 and Figure 10). The chapter also includes a discussion on the significance of the study and the sampling methods, methods of data collection and ethical issues as well as the problems that were encountered at the research site.

Chapter five

This chapter discusses sexual harassment as a type of social behaviour and how power and oppression are bound to have effects on human interaction. It also discusses theories that inform the studies and theories that were used in the study as well as the effects of sexual harassment in organizations. It comprises of one illustration (Figure 11).

Chapter six

The aim of this chapter is to discuss seven themes which made this study unique. The chapter also analyzes 35 WSU women. The chapter has one illustration (Figure 12). This figure analyzes the reasons why *gender* is a variable in the discussion on sexual harassment and why *gender* is seen as rooted in sexual harassment. It has one illustration (Figure 12).

Chapter seven

This chapter deals with conclusion and recommendation. It presents a summary of findings and discusses proposed recommendations that could assist in making possible changes to attitudes, policies and to the general attitudes of employment.

Chapter eight

This is a chapter which allows for reflection. I have embraced my femininity and women studies as my passion by having constructed a text on the topic that is close to my heart.

CHAPTER TWO

2. THE MAJOR ISSUES AND THE PERSPECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The chapter highlights the major issues addressed in the study and discusses the perspectives in which they are explored. The major issues emanate from the research questions as they are presented in the background section and the introductory chapter. The major issues include the following: sexual harassment as interrelated between power and patriarchy, sexual characteristics that have influenced the marginalized position of women at WSU, women and power control at WSU, effects of WSU victims' submissiveness to their perpetrators, psychological impact, myths regarding sexual harassment and forms of sexual harassment. In this discussion, generalized participants' arguments that correlate with specific facets and themes of this study are used to advance the discussion on the data and the extensive literature used in this dissertation. Power, which is the central point, is a tool that is used by perpetrators to have sexual access to the victims with full knowledge that their positions (accorded by gendered/patriarchal power, physical masculinity, management, hierarchy and control) gives them the upper hand. It is for this reason that the term "power" and all other terms that are related to the behaviour of sexual harassment as they are reflected in chapter 1 (Figure 1), will be referred to in this study repeatedly. The study of this nature cannot have any discussion without a discussion on the terms in question.

2.1 Approach adopted in the presentation of data

The level of acquaintance among participants influences participants' contribution, especially in any workplace. This was found to be the case, in particular, at WSU. The effect of familiarity on the site of the research is that a researcher can even hold informal interviews. My informal visits led me to be able to collect data (through participating, observing, visiting and talking to the staff) dates as early as 2007 because I was familiar with the university's employees. Formal interviews flowed easily and quickly simply because almost anyone knew everyone at WSU as it is not a huge institution. Having participated and visited some of the participants, it was easy for me to choose the right participants for my study and I was fortunate that most of them were still

employees at WSU. Hennik, et al.,(2011: 151) state that participants can also be recruited from pre-existing groups and therefore have a high level of familiarity with one another.

The data is extensive and I have presented it throughout the chapters. In this case, it is not necessary that I have a separate chapter on a raw data.

One of the questions that I posed to the participants had to do with the strategies that they apply when they are faced with the behaviour related to sexual harassment (see Appendix F number 3). This question was a way of finding out about the ways the participants exercised agency. The information on this will be reflected in chapter six which covers data analysis.

2.2 Interrelationship between power and patriarchy at WSU

Dworkin (1974) argues for the overthrow of patriarchy through active refusal to collaborate with the structures, institutions, and practises which uphold masculine power and its abuse (Trew and Kremer, 1998: 32). The radical feminist perspective states that neither a traditional liberal feminist approach nor a Marxist or socialist feminist approach provides an adequate analysis of the complex structures that interact to subordinate women. Radical feminism therefore views patriarchy as the cause of women's subordination and oppression. Dowding (1996: 300) explains about the interrelationship between power and cause. He says power and cause are intimately related. Indeed, some of the earliest analysis of causation used this concept of power to make things happen as a metaphor to help explain the nature of causation in the natural world (Berkley 1962:94; Hume 1975: 32-40). To decide to move one's arm to throw a ball shows the conjunction of 'decision to move arm', 'the moving of the arm' and the 'moving of the ball.' When we see one ball moving and hitting another ball, we expect the second ball to move in response to the collision with the first. This is how I relate Dowding's (1996) example to this study. Sexual harassment (power) has causal effects (cause) on victims. When the perpetrator sexually harasses his victim, he uses his power. The effects of his power such as unwelcome-ness and view women as sex objects are the cause.

Barth (2008: 278) explains Michael Foucault's view about power which is diffused throughout societies. He held a widespread belief that societies have 'repressed' their natural desires. He said "repression" of sexuality constituted sexuality as a core feature of human identities. Seidman and Alexander (2008: 29) say Foucault as well as Habermans, Marx and Weber understood that nations interacted because they studied societies more or less in isolation from one another. Foucault learned about the formation of the human subject at the intersection of knowledge and power. He reveals a disciplinary power that is diffused throughout society and may even be said to work in specific institutions because of the wider generalization and acceptance. The power to discipline depends upon the limited authority of a certain practical expertise; the power of discipline refers to our generalized concern to measure and adjust our conduct in relation to norms. In his writing, *The History of Sexuality*, Foucault asserts that there was a tendency to imagine a general prohibition and silence concerning sexuality. There was talk of the importance of sexual liberation; connections were drawn to the workers' struggle and the women's movement. Political programmes traced its linkages to social revolution. In *The History of Sexuality* we learn that: Relations of power have affected even what we take to be our innermost experience of ourselves, our 'secret' desires (Seidman and Alexander 2008:29, 278). Foucault also draws a number of themes from his work and presents three analyses. He speaks of 'The Dangerous Individual' and points to a danger that he considers troubling by listing the following elements as constituents of that "danger":

- i. A society which links together the power to punish.
- ii. A public concern with social dangers.
- iii. The various institutions arrayed to probe and define one's individual truth.

He asks: 'Does this not give society rights over the individual based on what he is and on what he is by nature?' Through this analysis, Foucault noticed that power motivates to justify its function of controlling the dangers hidden in human behaviour. Regarding this study, the power in sexual harassment is the human behaviour. For example at WSU, most participants pointed out that it was power that perpetrators made them feel inferior. Nosisa asserted that power worked at WSU as perpetrators wanted women to be sex objects and women were subordinated. No-College, a friend of Nosisa pointed out that the power of man consistently brought feelings of

fear, shame and anger to the surface. According to Foucault, sexual behaviour came to be conceived as a domain of moral experience. Feminist authors, engaged in rethinking the utility of traditional concepts of power, have reacted to Foucault's understanding of power in diverse ways, reflecting their concerns with the nature of patriarchal forms of power, their use and abuse, and the need to revise and rethink power so that it serves an emancipatory role in the lives of women. Power here expands the definition to include not only coercion and domination, but also power as the expression and a capacity to act (French, 1985; Miller, 1986). It links with the oppression of women by men.

The oppressed/oppressor relationship runs through the body of bell hook's work and becomes one of the most pressing concerns in her scholarship. hooks, a feminist writer and educator (womenhistory.about.com/od/quotes/a/bell_hooks.html) resumes an analysis of 'patriarchal power' in *Feminist Theory From Margin to Center*, where she conceives of power as conditioned by existing social hierarchies, or what she refers to as 'capitalist patriarchy.' WSU victims strive to cope with their subordination in the most effective way possible because despite all this, they are expected to work from the early hours of the morning. The long hours of work mean that the victims have to cope with sexual harassment. I am of the opinion that victims could be spared this unsolicited behavior once through the development of a sexual harassment policy. Gupta (2004: 23) asserts that once a sexual harassment policy is developed, it has to be effectively communicated to all employees through education and training strategies.

Marilyn French (1985) was a radical feminist. She was known as a feminist fiction writer who wrote best sellers. In one of her books "Beyond Power on Women, Men and Morals" she traces and she attacks the roots of social ills and asserts that no patriarchal institution be spared: capitalism, religion, law, education, medicine, the family, media, government and corporations (www.fragmentsweb.org/stuff/lofrench.html). She suggests that power became linked to domination and control with the construction of male identity designed to compensate for the ambiguous and limited role of men. Bell and Klein (1996: 240) maintain that male domination and female subordination are bound up with power. They say the male power modes of sexuality

construct women's sexual and reproduction lives to conform to male dictates. What has been pointed out by these varied authors in relation to power is that it has negative effects on victims of sexual harassment as it resonates with the experiences shared by the participants of this study. Most women mentioned that power is embedded at WSU. In essence, power, control, dominance and oppression are the social representations of patriarchy. Harrington, et al., (2008: 121) famously claimed that women are disproportionately interrupted by men and that these interruptions are displays of dominance and control. The said terms will be narrated in chapter five in the pursuit of framing the theories of the study and to show how being a victim of sexual harassment emanates from the said terms. Aitchison(2003:28), in the same vein, states that male sexual power is seen as the root of patriarchal power. Acknowledging existence of power and control over women, radical feminism has paid particular attention to patriarchal constructions of society to sex-role stereotyping, heterosexism and compulsory heterosexuality, the institution of marriage and practises of pornography, prostitution, rape, sexual abuse of women and children and other forms of abuse including domestic violence.

Walby (1990: 177) states that patriarchy is seen as preceding all other forms of oppression. Patriarchy, as a term, is used in a great variety of ways. Morgan (2006: 52) asserts that the term has been discussed as an 'ideology which arose out of men's power to exchange women between kinship groups; as a symbolic male principle; and as the power of the father (its literal meaning). It has been used to express men's control over women's sexuality and fertility; and to describe the institutional structure of male domination.' The word 'patriarchy' presents problems of its own because it continues to imply a universal and historical form of oppression and obscures the need to recognise not only biological differences but the multiplicity of ways in which societies have defined gender, hence the behaviour of sexual harassment at WSU. Rowbotham, (2006: 52) maintains that 'patriarchy' implies a structure which is fixed, rather than the kaleidoscope of forms within which women and men have encountered one another. Dekeseredy & Schwartz (1988) argue that patriarchy is a hierarchical social organization in which males have more power and privileges than women. Patriarchal ideology is the belief that it is natural and right that women be in more inferior positions than men. Koralewski and Conger (1992) conducted a study in Indiana with the aim of investigating what influences men to rape women. The results

revealed that men who upheld traditional roles and who lacked empathy for women in sexual relationships were more likely to be sexually aggressive in their relationships.

Patriarchy at WSU reflects the basic components of hierarchy that create visions in which sexual difference implies subordination and oppression. Then power of oppression contains the possibility of unequal relations between men at WSU. The understanding of the concept of patriarchy should point to a strategy to transform the whole web of psycho-social relations in which masculinity and femininity are formed. Nevertheless, by so saying, it cannot be denied that 'patriarchy' is not theoretically and practically essential to women's history. During interviews it was apparent that patriarchal ideology of sexual harassment at WSU leaves a kind of paralysis of consciousness in which women are unable to trust their counterparts. It is hoped that once WSU takes action of the gender-based violence in practice, the victims will not be tongue tied and paralytic about their own identity. The participants' perceptions seemed to be locked into their own social potential at work.

The effects of economic development on women naturally differs according to the nature of society in which it takes place, and the stage of development which has already been attained in higher learning institutions and at WSU, in particular, where men and women work together. The patterns of work development which are being followed in much of the educational institutions in the modern world are not particularly favourable to women. Social and economic changes in the world of academy coincide with a conscious, dynamic and sustained effort to enlarge the role of educators (both male and female) and further improve their status in the evolving traditional sector and to ensure for them (men and women) a more equal place in the modern educational sector. This is a way of creating a sharper awareness and a more critical consciousness of the old social practice and the old roles. In all corners of the academic world, women position themselves in academy and undergo changes. They become aware of their totality and concentrate on capturing themselves in their own image with full consciousness and position in the world of academy or the world of work in general.

Referring to the 'position of women in academy' is to use convenient shorthand for a complex and highly variable reality. To assess this variable, one could consider such factors as the way in which boys and girls (or men and women) are valued by their family and society, the control which women are able to exercise over their own lives and how they are controlled by others. Conflicting versions of women's roles now clash in the old debates about girls' education. Traditionally, the questions were: 'Is it worthwhile for girls to go into higher education if their real destiny is motherhood? Should they be given a different kind of education which will equip them for domesticity?' The prevalent assumption was that women were somehow naturally destined for pure domesticity. A contrary point of view is that women still continue to move into colleges and still enter higher education in large numbers hence now being on a par with their male counterparts as university academics and university support staff, supporting the adage that if you educate a woman you educate a family.

Minas (1993: 106) says power in the workplace is the capacity to have an impact on one's environment, to be able to make a difference through one's actions. More power for women means that women have access to resources and to the position from which these resources are controlled. The higher learning institutions are a good example of this power issue. Although women's problems with access to the workplace are far from over, there is an increasing recognition that men still wield the power in the academy. Had it not been for men exercising their power negatively, sexual harassment might not be as prevalent. Even though women have entered the workforce in droves in the past generation and it is generally agreed that they add enormous value, WSU's organisational definition of competence and leadership is still predicated on traits stereotypically associated with men deemed to be decisive. Powerful, visible men of high status at WSU have been said to create discomfort among many participants. This is the power that is imposed on participants. They fail to grasp the totality and to concentrate on capturing their own image. Power restricts participants. It affirms their dependence upon the word of the powerful, hence, keeping them locked against themselves. Thomas and Kitzinger (1997: 1) point out that sexual harassment is a crucial issue for feminists. Men's use of sexuality in exerting control or exercising power over women at home, in the workplace and in other arenas has been at the centre of the feminist struggle. According to some academic participants,

such as Ayanda, Luyanda and Nozamisile, they referred to sexual harassment as obviously damaging careers and altering their attitudes toward WSU as an institution and as having long-lasting effects on the perceptions of men and sex. This means that its most insidious aspects are its influences upon participants' self images because their perpetrators force them to endure it.

Minas (1993: 373) asserts that higher education has been able to ignore consequences of sexual harassment because the victims' damage and pain are often felt years later, long after women have left the institutional environment and forfeited their claims to its protection. Minas (1993) says control and power are vital to a man's positive self-image. Thus men learn at an early age to compete for power and to establish their place both at home and in a work setting. Power control is learned by modelling the behaviour of fathers and other men who have also learned that being powerful is an essential part of being a man. Numerous assumptions, expectations and attitudes then emerge from these stereotypes. O'Neil (1981) identifies some of these assumptions. They include: men are biologically superior to women and therefore have greater human potential; masculinity rather than femininity is superior, masculinity and dominance is a more valued form of identity; masculine power, dominance, competition, and control are essential to proving one's masculinity; vulnerabilities, feelings and emotions in men are signs of femininity and are to be avoided; interpersonal communication that emphasizes human emotions, feelings, intuitions, and physical contact areas (also considered feminine) are to be avoided; sex is a primary means to prove one's masculinity; vulnerability and intimacy with other men are to be avoided; men's work and career success are measures of their masculinities; men are vastly different and superior to women in career abilities, therefore men's primary role is that of breadwinner or economic provider whilst women's primary role is that of caretaker of the home and children. The above stereotypes and many others persist; they are also prevalent in higher education settings, thus perpetuating women's subordinate roles and vulnerability to sexual harassment in higher education institutions.

Millet (1989: 96), a radical feminist, argues that total male control of the public and private worlds is what constitutes patriarchy. Millet (1989) states that male control must be eliminated if

women are to be liberated. She points out that to eliminate male control, men and women have to eliminate gender-specifically, sexual status, role, and temperament as it has been constructed as gender patriarchy. She stresses that despite all attempts to coerce women, women have never been brought under the complete control of men. Tong (1989: 101) argues that power is not in out of itself, but only when it appears as power-over.

2.3 Women's marginalized position at WSU

Gender-related workshops generate momentum in any institution where practices of sexual harassment behaviour have been identified. This suggests that WSU should also have dialogue followed by operational steps if it (WSU) is to bring about real change. Findings from this study indicate that behaviours of sexual harassment at WSU carry with them the masculine mystique and value systems. O'Neil (1981) points out that these systems comprise a complex set of values and beliefs that define optimal masculinity in society which is carried from childhood until a man is in the world of work. These values and beliefs (or the stereotypes) are learned during early socialisation and are based on rigid gender role stereotypes and beliefs about men and masculinity, hence, sexual harassment at WSU linking the exercise of power, control, dominance and oppression to the instability of participants. The constructions of values and beliefs construct a new meaning at work because WSU participants have positively interpreted, subverted and internalised the constructions of values and beliefs and have realized that sexual harassment behaviours have also to do with the interpretations in question. Findings from this study indicate that negative gender issues at WSU continue to be a tightly-constructed system and still resonate as fundamental dynamics of power that keep participants marginalised. The above stereotypes persist at WSU's social settings as strong and even decisive influences in the values of both men and women; the models become standards that perpetuate the victim's marginalization. On balance, Minas, (1993: 367) states that feminists are of the opinion that it is best to reserve the term *coercive* for cases of sexual harassment that involve specific threats or offers, especially if these threats or offers are made in the context of the workplace or academy as in the case of WSU.

Feminists like Farley (1987), MacKinnon (1979), Millet (1989), and Spencer (1980) argue that values and beliefs regarding women and femininity somehow permit the behaviours of sexual harassment. An important factor in understanding women's responses to harassment is the education and socialization of females. Much of modern educational theory derives from the work of Jean Jacques Rousseau. His more informative aspect of his theory addresses itself to the education of women and stems from the view that men are active and strong while women are passive and weak. From this, he argued, it follows that women are intended to be pleasing to men. As a result of biological differences, men and women possess different characters (Blumhagen and Johnson, 1978: 13). These are the burdens that are imposed by sexual stereotyping. Some of the participants at WSU see a link between their vulnerability and marginalization to sexual harassment. They say they have diminished confidence. They are always taken less seriously when they raise issues of sexual harassment. From an analysis of participants' stories, two particularly vulnerable groups arise: minority women (in cases of support staff) and women who are employed in traditionally-male fields.

2.4 Effects of WSU victims' submissiveness to their perpetrators

In higher learning settings, stereotypes about women that people hold may be mostly negative in that people can perceive an academic setting to be sexual harassment free. For example, women's perpetrators and other male counterparts perceive them as stereotypically feminine even if they are truly assertive and independent. Some participants at WSU argue that they are judged in terms of characteristics appropriate for the job they are in, especially the personal assistants and the junior lecturers. Matlin (1993: 157) says once women have been lured to work, they are discriminated against (with regards to their sex) and often have nasty experiences. Matlin (1993) is supported by the participants' views. They say their understanding of sexual harassment requires them to recognise that the behaviour is central to maintaining them as subordinate beings. Farley (1978) argues that sexual harassment keeps women in subordinate states. Sexually-harassing behaviours have the effects of controlling women by making them subordinate, less autonomous and less capable of resisting. WSU participants point out that they are more accepting of sexual harassment in public places, but sexual harassment at the workplace is more disturbing. It becomes an irritant, a source of embarrassment and discomfort because the

encounters are on-going. The behaviour therefore becomes a form of discrimination as it becomes a barrier to an individual's freedom of movement, full employment or opportunities at work. Not only is sexual harassment a common problem at WSU, the participants considered it as a violation of human rights and an affront to their dignity as persons. Brittan (1989: 152) points out that the concept of dignity is equivalent to the concept 'human.' If you strip a person of dignity, you strip of her humanity. Brittan (1989) argues that without dignity *men* would be *men* (as a biological object). He would no longer be human. This means dignity is implicit in the power of human intentionality. Stanley (1997:223) points out that in its strongest sense, it means human dignity is: *The respect worthiness imputed to the humankind by reason of its privileged ontological status as creator, maintainer, and destroyer of the world.*

Herbert (1989: 114) summarises the effects of sexual harassment as follows: victims suffer from depression, fear and feelings of guilt thus causing victims to feel miserable, lack confidence and be unable to perform. He continues to say that women create strategies in the pursuit of avoiding the situation. Larkin (1994: 103) asserts that sexual harassment is 'one of the most important ways in which inequality impacts on women's mental health and the emotional consequences get played out in a variety of ways.'

2.5 Psychological impact

Emotional consequences get played out in a variety of ways because some participants talk of WSU being an unsafe environment for women hence feeling insecure and uneasy. With the enormous work for both academics and the support staff, some participants such as Xolisa, Sonke, Bakhona and S'thembele (though they did not express this in the same manner) said they were unable to concentrate fully on their job responsibilities because they were emotionally stressed. Stressful conditions result in feelings of humiliation, anxiety, fear, anger, anguish, powerlessness and depression. Physical reactions such as headache, insomnia and hypertension can set in. These symptoms, in turn, increase absenteeism, and lower productivity levels and can be a consequence of their stress.

2.6 Myths regarding sexual harassment

Backhouse and Cohen (1981) state that through the history of women at work, sexual harassment has been grossly misunderstood. A number of the more predominant myths about sex on the job still find widespread acceptance despite the fact that they bear no relation to reality. Because of the fact that men have a monopoly on power in the work force as well as in society at large, women become dependent on men both in society and in the work place. The following are the myths regarding sexual harassment.

2.6.1 Sexual harassment as a game

Amongst other complaints raised by some WSU participants is that their perpetrators view sexual harassment as fun and fail to understand why women (victims) find the behavior of sexual harassment so upsetting. Other victims point out that their perpetrators say it should be complimentary if a woman goes through the 'pleasures' of sexual harassment. The victims assert that the perpetrators even say they must act like normal beings because a 'normal woman' would be flattered when she is sexually harassed. Some victims report specific effects of being called 'abnormal' including the following: being trapped in a corner, being defeated when they have not fought, having a diminished ambition to work and to have intimate relationships, the job becoming stressful and diminished ambition to be productive. Also, the physical symptoms set in. They include: nervousness, and phobia about the unknown. They report that the sexual advances are embarrassing, intimidating and demeaning. There seems to be a direct relationship between the jobs that the victims hold at WSU and their sex. In other words, the perpetrators consider victims' work as invisible. I think once victims or any working women is labeled as inferior and a second class employee in any labour force it is possible to be less productive. Jenson, et al., (1989) point out that male employees serve as the model for working life. Since males were largely free from giving birth and easily available in terms of time and location, they were considered first class employees for any employer. In these respects, all WSU participants say they are less protected at work. Ruth (1961: 84) asserts that in a society where men have controlled the conceptual arena and have determined social values and structures of institutions, it is not surprising that women should have lost the power to name, explain and define for themselves the realities of their own experiences.

Since sexual harassment is seen as a game for the perpetrators, they do not understand the pressure and conflict that is involved when women have to face unwanted sexual advances at work. For example, some participants mentioned that their confidence is impaired. The expression of a vital and common principle of perpetrators, which includes the view that women are adorable and exquisite, are nothing but male-identified ideals of women which rest on one basic presupposition that women are to be completely defined and understood within their biological capacities, that is, sexual and reproductive capacities. What it means is that victims of sexual harassment are expected to accept the place that is constructed for them by their perpetrators. It means that however hard the participants try to aspire to a space of their own, some of the patriarchs perceive them as refusing their appointed labours and intruding on male territory.

The participants find their confidence at work severely impaired because of perpetrators who see sexual harassment as trivial. Chapman, et al., (1978) say if sexual harassment at work is as trivial and funny as some men claim, one wonders why women who resist harassment are punished. Chapman's (1978) answer is that sexual harassment is not trivial. In this way, women's economic livelihood is threatened and subordinated. Scott, (1988: 33) points out that theories of patriarchy have directed their attention to the subordination of women and found their explanation for it in the male 'need' to dominate the female.

2.6.2 Sexual harassment as a normal sexual interest

Some WSU participants announce that their perpetrators perceive sexual harassment as the norm. It seems that perpetrators explicitly connect their sexual interest with gender and power as a primary way of signifying their masculinity. Political power refers to but has also established the meaning of the male/female opposition in the work place. Through massive political upheavals, political history has in a sense been enacted on fields of gender; that is why perpetrators see their victims as invisible subjects who are fit for sexual harassment. By definition I think men and women should have a uniform interest: that of having to treat and respect one another not only at WSU alone but in all work situations and in society at large as well. I have heard men informally

stating that women like to be flattered about their physical appearance. That could be true but as the statement stands, it is a generalization. According to some participants, they say their perpetrators sometimes even tell them how inferior they are. I think by being continually told of their (women's) inferior status in their interaction with others, women may internalize society's awareness of what their status is. The internalization then becomes ingrained hence victims have a tendency to be timid and use submissive gestures whilst being threatened by the perpetrators who harass them.



Figure 3: Women's revealing dress code

2.6.3 Women are autonomous beings

In Figure 3, I assert that women are autonomous subjects who ought to be free to make their own clothes choices and choose their own world view as well as their way of living in the world. In this sense, no one is expected to dictate that the clothes any woman prefers to wear are too short. It is therefore a myth that when women wear revealing clothes as shown in Figure 3, they are vulnerable to sexual harassment. Women are autonomous beings-they are free to wear any types of clothes.

Manwa (1995: 76) notes that at the University of Zimbabwe (UZ) on 13 November 1992, the dress code was laid down. Students and staff demonstrated against the banning of miniskirts and

challenged male control on campus. Female students were told what they should wear and some form of dress code became classified as indecent. A mob of male students man-handled and ripped the miniskirt-off a female visitor who was accused of being indecently dressed. She was attacked under the pretext of not upholding “African Culture” apparently being African, women are to cover their knees or wear long dresses. This action created an uproar among female students, male sympathizers and the Women’s Studies Association, a fairly small group of female and male academics whose main interest was to incorporate women’s issues into all the academic courses at the university and to spearhead the establishment of the Women’s Studies Institute. A group of students and academics reacted quickly and organized a demonstration in which miniskirts and shorts were worn. They carried placards which read: *yes means yes and no means no, never mistake one for the other. We have the right to do what we want.* They challenged men’s hegemony over the institution of culture and urged all women on campus to stand together and speak bravely against this assault on their rights as women and against all other expressions of sexual oppression confronting women in their daily lives. In short, the demonstration was to emphasize on that women are autonomous beings as are men.

Hadjifatious (1983) points out that any woman who is not interested in sexual overtures has a right to say ‘no’ to discourage any man. A ‘no’ should function as a means of control, to control those men who are of the opinion that the dress code of a woman is the determining factor regarding whether she expects to be sexually harassed or not.

Some participants of the study report that it is not always the case that their clothing is interpreted as an expression of inviting sexual harassment. They assert that sexual harassment is the same in all four seasons of the year. In autumn and in winter they are almost completely covered but still perpetrators continue with the abuse. What this means is that the style and amount of women’s clothing worn are not the determining factors behind sexual harassment.

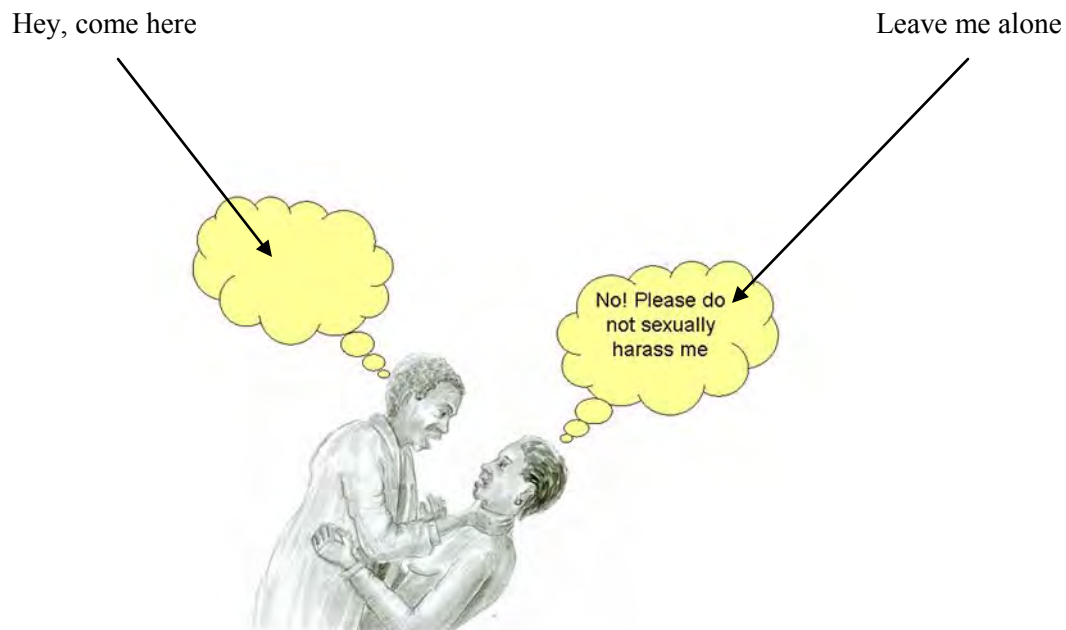


Figure 4: A victim pleading for liberty

2.6.4 A 'no' means a 'no'

The participants of the study pointed out that perpetrators did not seem to understand when they say 'no' to sexual harassment. Once the victim expresses displeasure (as is portrayed above in Figure 4), a victim gets annoyed with the perpetrator's behavior. The perpetrator does not stop despite a victim showing her displeasure about the behavior. He refuses to stop and grabs the victim forcefully even if she says 'no.' Besides their perpetrators having to whistle or shout to distract the victims, they get physical with the victims by grabbing or pinching, hence the scene in Figure 4. Figure 4 shows the perpetrator grabbing and shouting at the victim whilst the victim pleads for liberty. A critical view of Figure 4 shows that a victim really means 'no' when her perpetrator forces himself on her. It is a societal myth that when a woman says 'no', she means

‘yes.’ The existence of this myth is supported by Kemp and Squires (1997: 21) who say some male academics simply do not see women as equals in the social world.

Sexual harassment becomes a burden for women because men think women are able to handle sexual harassment. The participants point out that perpetrators say it is easy for them to control themselves, unlike themselves, (men) who are unable to have any control at a sight of a woman. Besides, the participants assert that the perpetrators say they know that women will always say ‘no’ to sexual harassment, yet they mean ‘yes.’ This is purely an admission that sexual harassment is central to maintaining women’s subordination socially, economically and in their sexual status.

Another supporter of Kemp and Squires (1997) regarding the discussion on women’s exclusion is Oyewumi (2005: 8)-though she talks about women’s exclusion from citizenship in Africa. Oyewumi (2005) maintains that women were excluded from the category of citizenship because ‘penis possession’ was one of the qualifications of citizenship. My understanding is that if women are excluded from citizenship, it means they are not regarded as being part of the social world. Lorna Schiebinger (n.d.) notes in a study of origins of modern science that women were excluded from European scientific institutions. The exclusion meant that differences between the two sexes were reflections that women were not part of the citizenship of Europe.

Dowling (1991: 29) maintains that many injustices take place against women because of their sex. Dowling (1991) says in all societies, women are forced to play a subordinate role in the family and in the workplace; they are the victims of rape, sexual assault and harassment; they are lewdly exploited in the media, and so on. That is why sexual harassment is closely related to other feminist issues like rape and wife battering. These are one of the ways in which male control of women’s sexuality shapes women’s experiences, hence being a problem not only for attractive women but for every other woman who is in the labour force and is part of society at large since sexual harassment is also a societal problem. This means there are no typical recipients of sexual harassment, but the likelihood of being sexually harassed is most closely associated with the perceived vulnerability of the recipient and not her physical appearance.

The presumed female attributes such as women being immature or frivolous (to be indulged in for entertainment purpose) provide a convenient excuse for not taking women seriously. The attributes serve to trivialize the female sex. The trivialization effect also appears in words like stewardess, usherette and poetess, and names such as Jeanette and Henriette. This means a woman is linguistic in existence in many cases that are expressed in essentially male terms. Another example is the tendency of some nouns to refer to woman performing various activities being linguistically marked as derivatives of the male form like a “menopausal” lady, a “menstrual” stage, the “mental” hospital, and others. Most of these nouns and linguistics names and many more trivialize women. Thinking critically about the language can increase victims’ understanding of how the system of social classification which we call gender, confers more power on males (Unger & Crawford 1992: 21). The words that English offers for referring to women make it easy to talk about women in a sexual way. They provide the basis for the formation of the habit of sexual harassment where men see their sexually-harassing behavior as a natural order that women have to endure. There is also a predominant African language that is used at WSU like Ngowami, meaning *you are mine*, or Ncumisa, meaning, *if a man sees you, he smiles because he sees someone who will be his sex-object*.



Figure 5: Sexual harassment knows no status

2.6.5 Sexual harassment is not a no-go area

The relevance of Figure 5 encourages a distorted view of the nature and frequency of sexual harassment in workplaces across a medical institution, a way of showing that sexual harassment

is common, not only in academic institutions but also in medical institutions. Figure 5 is the matron of the hospital. The illustration shows that sexual harassment does not only have to do with women of lowly status on the street. A matron in the hospital is like a supervisor of the wards in a hospital. She occupies a high level on the employment scale. The Figure attempts to show that even women of higher status are being sexually harassed. So regarding low status jobs and sexual harassment, it is a myth that sexual harassment only affects women who are in powerless, in low-paying and/or low status jobs. At WSU, for example, some academics and some support staff personnel have been sexually harassed and they are not necessarily in low-status jobs. Access to victims occurs not because academic seniors ignore professional ethics, but because power and role disparity exist making it virtually impossible for the victims to protest as they would be able to with a male peer. Having been exposed to this profession before, sexual harassment is not a 'no-go area' in medical centres, as already discussed Sexual harassment can happen to women of very high status at any workplace. For example, Paxton and Hughes (2007: 7-8) maintain that Anita Hill, a distinguished Law professor accused Judge Clarence Thomas of sexually harassing her in 1981. The male senators seemed ready to take Judge Thomas's word over professor Hill's without formal or detailed examination of the evidence. Because 98% of the Senate was male, women were concerned that women's perspectives on sexual harassment were not being fully considered. A number of congress women therefore decided to take action. They began by speaking on the floor of the House of Representatives reminding their colleagues that justice required that Hill's allegations be taken seriously. As argued by Barbara Boxer: *Mr Speaker, imagine yourself dependant on another human being for your livelihood. Imagine the power that person holds over you, and beyond that, telling you in detail about pornographic material he had seen. Would you be intimidated? Yes, especially if you were in your 20s and you are a woman in a man's field...And, which court will give that final protection of women from this kind of harassment?*

I do not think that a woman's age counts when someone wants to indulge in sexual harassment. I am saying this because some of my participants were over thirty (30) years of age and they maintained that they were intimidated by sexual harassment behaviours. Besides Hill's narration, there are other cases of women who refuse to be made slaves of sexual harassment. It is

worthwhile to quote these cases even if they are not from the higher educational settings and they do not relate directly to the main focus of this study. A lot could be learnt from these women and how they have been vocal about their victimization. It is therefore essential to make a brief reference to them. By quoting these examples I am reinforcing the view that sexual harassment is widespread. Almost all workplaces experience sexual harassment in one way or the other. WSU is like all other organizations and institutions where gender equity should be acknowledged. There should also be a valuing of feminine dimensions at all institutions be they academics or not.

The gender equity problem is conceptualized in terms of the feminine voice having been silenced. Women are disadvantaged because women and femininity is devalued when behaviours of sexual harassment set in. In sexual harassment behaviours there are differences which are based on masculinity and femininity and it is these differences that are to be recognized and that cause power dimension of such oppositions; even more so because according to the South African sexual harassment statistics in the workplace, approximately fifteen thousand sexual harassment cases are brought to the Equal Employment Opportunity Cases (EEOC) each year where 100% of women claimed the harasser was a man (www.sexualharassmentfirms.com). In Foucault's 1982 essay, (*The Subject and Power*) his analysis was that power acts differently on subjects in different situations. Also, power acts differently within the life of a particular subject as she moves from one social context to the next (Aronowitz and Giroux 1986). Sexual harassment therefore will not be reacted to uniformly, by all victims. From this one would assume that possibly employers and the management generally at WSU have possibly not yet realized that women have a strong career commitment and a capacity for job performance as men. Authorities should therefore hear the victims' voices and meaningfully act on them. Furthermore, stereotypically feminine qualities are not strictly relevant to the requirements of the job. It is not all women who prefer to be silent about their victimization. When I realize the strength and pervasiveness of sexual harassment and the influence that sexual harassment has on women's choices, I understand better why so many women have chosen, and go on choosing, situations that cause discomfort and reduce their freedom. An example would be a woman who agrees to sexual intercourse because her boss will dismiss her if she does not comply. It means this woman

agrees to a perpetrator's sexual demands not because he chooses to, but because of the strength of sexual harassment.

There are women who are exceptional, simply by not allowing themselves to be bullied by perpetrators. Exceptional women are women who have lived happy, creative and unconventional lives because they fought for their rights in spite of other people's discouragement and disapproval and a daunting lack of resources; these women have accomplished things that, almost universally, are considered both impossible and unsuitable for a woman.

An important factor in understanding women's responses to harassment is the education and socialization of females. The education system from pre-school through to tertiary level reinforces women's dependency and reliance on authority. Women learn not to be trusting but to entrusting themselves to authority, including teachers and parents. Women will then submit to the professor or senior academic because as women they should be obedient. I watched this behaviour of little girls when I visited one of the crèches about three months ago. An elderly teacher playing with three to four-year-olds said, *all girls should stand behind the boys because the boys must run towards the fence. Boys, remember, if you fall you are not supposed to cry so that you will grow up to be big men.* This is but one example of role definition and reinforcement that is instilled in children from an early age. Later in life this acceptance leads to gender dominance and subordination. The teacher was not aware of what she was instilling in the young ones. Fraser and Nicholson (1998) argue that the conception of social criticism that was initiated by Francois Lyotard regarding the institution of philosophy was too restricted to permeate or initiate a critical grasp of gender dominance and subordination. Other multiple characteristics in women that embolden harassers include economic status, physical characteristics and marital status. From this analysis of sexual harassment at WSU, however, victims said it was a myth that the above characteristics lead to victimization. Victims asserted that everyone could be subject to sexually harassment and it was not true that they (victims) underwent sexually-harassing experiences because they were easily available or imply responsive to sexual advances. Participants said their vulnerability as women made sexual

harassment a betrayal of trust. Closely related to women's feelings of powerlessness are those of guilt; women felt they maybe responsible for letting harassers be near them.

Underlying these myths is that many assumption that sexual attentions to women are flattering because they indicate that men find women attractive and they are therefore more of a woman, more feminine and more desirable. Underlying this is that men are expected to take the sexual initiative and they exercise this right as a test of manhood from a young age. At the same time, women's attitudes and socialization can be detrimental to women's self-concept and ability to cope.

The workplace suffers when the victim's productivity lowers. Hadjifatiou (1983) points out that as a consequence of the above myths about women means victims of sexual harassment may feel guilty about their reactions to the behaviors that other people consider trivial; often they are ashamed to tell anyone in case they are blamed for encouraging the perpetrator. Fear of embarrassment and humiliation from co-workers or employers can be more distressing than the incident itself and can prevent victims from reporting the incidents.

Swisker, (1992) says feminists are prone to assume that a woman threatened with the loss of one job has little prospect of finding another. If it happens that a woman loses her job because she fails to acquiesce in sexual demands, she might find herself having to knock at different doors for employment. Banks (1986: 49) reports that better employment for women may be said to have originated with the foundation in 1859 of the Society for the Promotion of the Employment of Women. The main aim of the foundations was to widen and improve opportunities for women in skilled and professional employment and its activities ranged from the printing trade to the medical profession.

2.6.6 Men have stronger sexual desires than women

Superson (1991: 401) asserts that sexual harassment that is perpetuated by myths is taken to be normal. It is not seen as sexist and is, in turn, not counted as sexual harassment. The sexual desire story is a myth. Superson states that the truth is, first, that women are socialized not to vent their sexual desires in the way men do, but this does not mean that these desires are weak or less prevalent. Secondly, sexual harassment has nothing to do with men's sexual desires, nor is it about seduction. Instead, it is about oppression of women. She says, indeed, harassment generally does not lead to sexual satisfaction; instead it often merely gives the harasser a sense of power.

2.6.7 Women either welcome, ask for, or deserve the harassing treatment

Regarding this topic, Superson (1991:401) refers to a case in law: the plaintiff initially reacted favourably by smiling when shown lewd drawings of herself after her professor's requests to go out for drinks. The plaintiff thought she had to appease the physician when she was called by sexual nicknames.

Another case is that of a flight attendant who was denied legal recourse because previously she had openly discussed her sexual encounters. The court concluded that 'she is a kind of a person who could not be offended by such comments.' In the first case, the court exonerated the defendant by saying 'given the plaintiff's admittedly favourable responses to these flattering statements, there was no way anyone could consider them as 'unwelcome.' Was this a combination of caution, power and subordination which is more in keeping with the spirit of making women sex objects?

A woman's phase of activity is no longer centred solely on production and home, hence having a sense of contributing equally to the household economy by taking a job outside of the home. The separate spheres and separate roles (in cases where a husband and wife are both in the labour force) are not supposed to imply discrimination or hierarchy. Even if a mother does get a job at a

nursery school or is a helper in one of the residential areas, no sphere is subordinate to the other. This is because women are entrusted with considerable responsibility, in particular those of raising children. The reason why this study dwells on the importance of women's work is because women experience inequality in the labour force. Many experience harassment in harsh, ugly, demeaning and even debilitating ways. Most victims of sexual harassment enter a journey of heartache and triumphs (I think especially of those who have shared with me their WSU sexual harassment experiences). What happens to a man who is convicted of sex charges?

Some of them (because they hold senior positions) retain their employment. The female victim is not always as fortunate. Msomi (2005: 8) reports that South Africa is still a long way from gender equality. She says the society is catapulted into a world that judges people not by character and ability but rather on gender and/or race. Msomi (2005) also points out that women are not just the power behind the throne. They are capable of wielding the power by means of improving themselves academically and otherwise.

I will give two examples which occurred in learning institutions; these reflect Msomi's (2005) views. Piliso (2005) reports that Dr Isaac Amuah, was charged with rape, two accounts of sexual assault, three counts of unlawful restraint and also failure to appear in the relevant courts. Amuah also allegedly made sexual advances towards a student in his flat on 23 April 1993. The woman's claims were reported to the college's sexual harassment office leading to his arrest on 20 May 1993. Piliso (2005) points out that Amuah raped an algebra student while he was an assistant professor at the Manchester Technical Community College in Hartford, Connecticut. That December the court allowed Amuah to travel to South Africa (he was in USA then) to spend Christmas with his family. He did not return to America. Instead he secured a director's post at the Foundation for Research Development in Pretoria. Even though Amuah was eventually suspended after details of rape charges emerged when the college held a hearing, he was able to enjoy Christmas with his family. The media did not give details of where the alleged victim was when Amuah was allowed to enjoy Christmas with his family (Sunday Times, 2005).

The reason that this story made it to the news was because of Amuah's association with Nelson Mandela as he is Mandela's son-in-law. Many similar stories do not get such coverage.

Another example is that of Mr Theuns Botha. The story is reported by Hawkey (2009). He says Botha had been a headmaster of the Hoer Volksskool Heidelberg in the South East of Johannesburg. He was found guilty of sexually abusing two former pupils. After a day, the convicted rapist (Botha) was back at his desk. Botha was later granted bail by the Benoni Magistrate's Court shortly after he was found guilty of the rape and the indecent assault of two former matric pupils he had taught at other schools more than 20 years previously (I –Net, www.inet.co.za).

I am using these examples in the pursuit of highlighting gender inequalities and how perpetrators act in a sense of male entitlement which is linked to patriarchy. Johnson (1997: 67) points out that gender inequality, relative to power are inherent in sexual harassment situations. He maintains that when a male manager interprets his authority as a legitimate basis for sexually coercing a woman he supervises, he draws on a patriarchal ideology that goes far beyond job description. Bowker, (1998) points out that Southern African education systems, whether in South Africa, Lesotho, or Zimbabwe, do not reside outside the cultures, social structures and ideological positions that shape the expression of power and male violence.

2.7 Forms of sexual harassment

Workplace sexual harassment is at least nominally regulated by a broadly-drawn federal law in the United States of America. This is a law that has the potential to control, if not eradicate the problem of sexual harassment in the workplace. Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (as amended) makes it illegal to discriminate against any individual with respect to his compensation, terms, conditions or privileges of employment because of such individual's race, colour, religion, sex or national origin. Roberts (1979: 105) points out that in 1980 the Equal Employment Opportunity (EEOC) issued guidelines that interpreted Title VII in order to prohibit

two distinct types of sexual harassment, namely; the ‘quid pro quo’ sexual harassment and the ‘hostile environment’ for sexual harassment.

2.7.1 ‘Quid pro quo’ sexual harassment

‘Quid pro quo’ is a Latin term which essentially means ‘this for that’. In the context of sexual harassment it refers to the situation whereby a person in a position of power or authority either explicitly or implicitly offers a benefit or reward to a subordinate in exchange for sexual favours (Gupta, 2004: 11). Gupta maintains that alternatively, ‘quid pro quo’ harassment may take the form of a sexual proposition coupled with a threat or reprisal if the proposition is refused.

Some WSU participants said that they experienced this type of sexual harassment. They said gender oppression was rooted in material gain and it was expressed in their supervisor’s attitudes. These attitudes are supported and perpetuated by an ideology which subordinates them (the victims). The participants pointed out that they were faced with the predicament that was made more complex by being inextricably linked with other variables like culture (whereby perpetrators always expect them to be submissive because they are women). Not only were they psychologically affected, their personal dignity was also affected; the term (personal dignity) was brought up during interviews. Most participants pointed out that even if some women academics occupied important and very high positions in the institution, they were still viewed as sex objects. Basically, they said perpetrators denied them their autonomy, something which was very degrading to them. This kind of behaviour contributed to their oppression. It is a cause and an effect of their oppression. It is a cause because they are expected to acquiesce to the perpetrator’s sexual advances. It is an effect because once they are employed and they become victims of oppression, there is a belief that according to the perpetrators, they must become their sex objects and that is reinforced by the way their perpetrators treated them in the passages. They said sexual harassment did not end in passages. It also took place in their offices in that a perpetrator could enter an office not for any academic work, but to show off his sex organs. With these views, WSU perpetrators surely need to change their focus from demeaning victims to management of education. Participants narrated their experiences with despair and disgust on their faces, and some nodded their heads in support of other’s utterances in focus group interviews.

Being in a situation in which much of women's work is taken out of the home, women are able and willing in large numbers to join the labour force. The willingness of participants at WSU is, however, like being conscripted by the perpetrators of sexual harassment instead of economic misfortune. Davies (1975: 144) points out that in fact, going to work is in many ways simply more attractive than staying at home. She asserted that there is not enough work to keep a woman full time in many modern homes especially once the children are not at home. Not only are there fewer children, but homes are becoming easier to manage. This is because of improved technology related to cooking and cleaning.

The withdrawal from work can therefore not be a final issue. Saul (2003: 50) maintains that sexual harassment has caused women to quit their jobs, accept less-paid jobs and sometimes leave the workplace altogether. Sexual harassment has played an important role in holding women back. It has created obstacles for women that men rarely have to face in the workplace. The Figures presented are 'pregnant with words.' Women want to be at work as they try to fight off the perpetrators of this abuse. Unfortunately the Eastern Cape has few job opportunities and this means victims have to persevere and stay at work despite many being faced with sexual harassment. Even if a woman gets suspended from work, she goes out to apply for another job opportunity. She does not stay at home. I will relate the details of a sexual harassment case that took place at UNITRA. The sexual harassment case was reported by Booie (2007). The case was between Mokane (a victim) and her senior, perpetrator. Booie (2007) reported what Mokane, a former Community Radio News presenter, did after she had been told to leave. Immediately after she had laid charges of sexual harassment, she did not stay at home. Instead, she joined Mount Ayliff Alfred Nzo Community Radio Station which is in the Eastern Cape. But what happens to the victims who are not as fortunate as Mokane, a complainant who joined the workforce in a short space of time? For most WSU participants, as things stand, there is lack of part-time work, a narrow range of employment and the difficulties involved in re-locating to other jobs because of the recession world-wide, and because a study that was conducted by Makhiwane on 26 July 2011, revealed that the Eastern Cape region is poor. The full story by Makhiwane has been discussed on chapter four. WSU participants' argument is that female employment numbers are

increasing at a faster rate because academic institutions see in them an obvious and important reservoir of qualified lecturers and well-equipped support staff.

Eisenstein (1991: 99) points out that Simone de Beauvoir presented a premise stating that the oppression of women stemmed from their differences from men: their biological functions and the social responsibilities and constraints derived from these and the psychological and social adaptations required of girls to become women. The theoretical basis of this position from this point of view of the social sciences was drawn from the theory of sex role socialization. My view, however, is that we cannot fall into the historical and political traps because of the stereotypes of biology. A vigorous debate about the way forward should take place. MacKinnon (1979) comments on the attempts of women to receive equal treatment. She writes from a liberal feminist approach by saying, *the problem of the inequality of sexes revolves around gender differentiation. The view is that there are real differences between the sexes, usually biological or natural. Upon these differences, society has created some distorted, inaccurate, irrational and arbitrary distinctions regarding sex stereotypes or sex-roles. To eliminate sex inequality, in this view, is to eliminate these wrong and irrational distinctions.* The solution that responds to this diagnosis is that we need to ignore or eliminate these distortions so that women realize their potential as individuals (Mackinnon, 1979: 117). In contrast to MacKinnon's liberal approach, a radical feminist perspective argues that it is doubtful that: *differences or differentiation have much to do with inequality. Sexism is a problem not for gender differentiation, but of gender hierarchy, in which gender differentiation is only one strategy...the problem is...male supremacy and female subjection* (McKinnon 1979: 118).

In support of a radical feminist perspective, women workers can express their opposition to sexual harassment through demanding that harassment and male supremacy be objected to. The liberal feminists and feminist writers, like Wollstonecraft (Aitchison 2003: 24), perceive that differentiation has to do with inequality. They locate the locus of women's subordinate status in society within public structures such as the educational system and the legal system and do not

accept that deeper structural and cultural oppression exists within both the public and private spheres.

Almost all WSU participants did not consciously accept their status of subordination because they talked of their strong economic independence and their strong sense of themselves. They felt that their female interests were challenged and that their independence was attacked. Most participants argued that their wages were of crucial importance to their families' living standards. Besides, their pay increase was in proportion to their length of employment at WSU. If they decided to leave WSU after so many years of employment, they would lose benefits. Most of them were self supporting and they were undoubtedly higher as they are unable to save considerable sums. If they left for other work in industry, their new careers would clearly reflect their economically deteriorating position. They had the opportunity for wage advancement at WSU and they would not like such an opportunity to be narrowed. It is plausible to contend that women, who are forced to resign from work, are further cut off by emotional ties and economic responsibilities from their families. They change their status, from being a worker than a housewife, a status that nowadays contributes to the disjuncture of work and home life for many women.

In 'quid pro quo' sexual harassment there is little to suggest that women who meet sexual conditions ever receive job benefits. This suggests that employment sanctions simultaneously prohibit and compel compliance with employment-related sexual advances (MacKinnon, 1979: 36). This also means that no matter how a woman wants to evade sexual harassment, she is unable to conceptualize a world where gender is not a constraint. This implies that men believe that sexual advances can take place at the workplace, no matter what. The problem about acquiescing is that if a man decides to sue for sexual harassment the perpetrator would deny that she was ever sexually harassed because there was no sexual coercion. A victim's case would then encounter little sympathy and probably lose legal support. Getting deeper into acquiescence: in 'quid pro quo', one would not believe that a woman who acquiesces would just be promoted by using sex; not today when promotions are based on merit. For example, a support staff

woman at WSU cannot be promoted to a lecturing position. What does this mean to WSU women? A woman's contribution to unwanted sex is a disadvantage to their side of the bargain. The two sides of the story are: sometimes a woman might not be promoted because she does not meet the requirement or, the promotion is open to both men and women. If a man qualifies, sometimes he gets the post. However, in the light of the above, I am not implying that sexual harassment is not rife at WSU and also that the treatment of the victims is derived from the application of a gender-based criterion. The fact of the matter is that the employer treats a person less favourably than others on sexual grounds. Having to consider that women are committed to multiple roles and expend a great deal of effort, fulfilling dual role obligations, sexual harassment does not only have disadvantageous effects at the workplace, but families also suffer because a wife, a sister, a mother becomes heavily burdened with family constraints. It should be a matter of importance amongst feminists inside and outside of the academy to improve the status of women in the workplace; women's affairs and women's concerns need attention. Bell & Klein, (1996: 70) point out that radical feminism has always emphasized that women experience patriarchal oppression differently in relation to a complex web of power relations.

My understanding is that the emotional injuries of participants are based on sex because they are women. The perpetrators under which they are disadvantaged see them as women. This means that being a woman in the eyes of the perpetrators includes or carries a connotation that a woman should be oppressed. In sexual harassment it does not matter whether a victim has been sexually harassed only once. They are sexually harassed as women. Their academic record becomes irrelevant and it does not mean that their victimization can only be understood outside of an academic position context. Rather, it means that 'sex' is made up of the reality of the experiences of both academic and support staff women. The experience of sexual harassment is therefore a composite unit rather than a divided unitary whole, such that each woman, in her way, represents all women.

Most participants reported that once there was a rejection of sexual advances, they received sudden allegations of job incompetence and poor attitudes which were used to support employment consequences. They also raised the point that their insubordination was embodied in their refusal to go along with their perpetrator's propositions. They (victims) said there was little to suggest that employment sanctions simultaneously prohibited and compelled compliance with employment-related sexual advances. Even if they did or did not comply with sexual harassment, they faced the consequences. This statement becomes quite questionable as far as 'quid pro quo' is concerned: Do WSU participants in fact obtain economic security or desirable occupational advancement in exchange for sexual favours? Most often, some participants asserted that their perpetrators did not return favours. The latter implication is that whenever women were advanced on the job, an exchange of sexual favours had to occur. Some participants said that although some women acquiesced to sexual advances it was better not to comply because they would not be able to complain that they were sexually harassed.

This statement, however, does not mean that women get to the top by sexual means. It is only that some positional power play exists at WSU that is coercive or even abusive to women workers. Positional power is the authority derived from an office or title in an organization. It is power that could be used to entice people to the organization or to expel or exclude them.⁷ I perceive the whole problem at WSU as having to do the operation within a universe of the political discourse in which women are defined by their perpetrators, not as the equals, but rather as different. Women's employers at WSU tend to view them as being at the margin of the labour force. The problem at WSU is that even if victims were to relay their concerns to higher levels, the higher staff levels are invariably male-dominated. At the other end of the spectrum of sexual harassment in quid pro quo sexual harassment, WSU women's participants' bodies are often a matter of property owned by their perpetrators. Victims become insecure about their competence at work and their employment may begin to seem as though the job is an excuse to keep her available as long as she is sexually compliant.

⁷ Keller, D, Stuart, R and Rao A, (1999:61). Gender at work: Organizational Change of Equality. USA, Kumaran Press Inc.

Non-compliance becomes problematic if sexual harassment is a working condition when one considers opportunities for rejection, both immediate and long term. In this respect, the focus is on masculinity, given that the perpetrators of sexual violence here are men, Connell's milestone work on Gendered Power (1987) showed how gender was a concept of power and how being a man conferred power. Not that all men at WSU share this power and are responsible for oppressing women. Men do, however, benefit from the system of patriarchy which indirectly bestows the power reward.

Connell (1987) provides one of the most productive accounts of how to incorporate power into an analysis of masculinity. He applied Gramsci's notion of hegemony to gender relations and produced valuable analytical insights about the nature of masculinity. Central to this notion of hegemonic masculinity is the subordination and control of women, hence the 'quid pro quo' sexual harassment having to do with understanding and contesting patriarchal power relations due to its insistence on the relationship between meaning and power and the importance of subjectivity.

Simone de Beauvoir's writes: - *there is nothing wrong with passion. It just should not be allowed to consume our lives, or it should be channeled into political struggles*(Jahenne, 11). She says previous representations of women both in literature and films produced by men have mostly portrayed female character that ascribe to traditional phallographic perceptions of love (in which a woman is only complete through her total surrender or subjection to a man as the masculine subject grants transcendence to the feminine objectified other). However, Bemberg's productions constantly subvert and deconstruct romantic or hegemonic visions of the feminine in favour of more autonomous and independent gender relations in which women either refused to be 'the other' to the male subject, or they embraced their alterity without falling victim of the hierarchical subordinations. This is the case with 'quid pro quo' sexual harassment.

2.7.2 Sexual favouritism

This type of sexual harassment occurs when a person in authority in the workplace rewards only those who respond to his or her sexual advances. Although those who are not approached for

sexual favors are not harassed, they are discriminated against because an employee who is available for sexual favours is being rewarded for no other reason than sexual availability. Even the employee who is not available for apparently consensual sexual conduct is therefore an unwitting victim because s/he is a hostage to on-going compliance (le Roux, et al., 2005: 40).

Sexual favoritism falls under 'quid pro quo' harassment because this type provides an environment for the emergence of cross-sex interactions, romance and sexual harassment. The mutual activity of the men and women at WSU does affect cross-sex workplace sexual harassment through the eroticized atmosphere at work. Even though bureaucratic rules do not prescribe sexual harassment at WSU, the institution does provide a potential environment for sexual harassment. This, however, does not mean that perpetrators have a right to carry on with the sexually harassing behaviours. Sexual harassment at WSU comes as an asymmetrical or non-reciprocal interaction. The behaviours are not for any other reasons other than the consequences of sexism and exploitative power relationships between victims and perpetrators at WSU.

2.7.3 Hostile work environment harassment

In many cases, the conduct complained of does not relate to a specific sexual proposition. Rather, it is gender-specific conduct that impacts negatively upon an individual. A hostile work environment may be created even in the absence of direct harassment of a specific employee. Examples of hostile environment include images from a computer screen, posters like pin-ups or quotes and discussions via email or in person in the workplace. These are all examples of conduct that can make an individual feel uncomfortable on the basis of sex (Gupta, 2004: 13). The victims pointed out that their daily chatting with members of the opposite sex was related to the sex structure at WSU whereby they were all in complimentary and token groups. The victims further assert that sometimes as they are all co-workers, they would receive help with personal problems at home from any work mate of the opposite sex. For men, however, daily contact with women is enough to establish a cross-sex friendship which the victims do not deliberately plan. Victims found that the problem of a hostile work environment was harassment was impossible to argue about and more so because they were aware that management lacked clarity and disciplinary measures regarding sexual harassment behaviour. They believed that there were to

be programmes designed to combat gender inequality, there would not be the demeaning of their status as women at WSU.

My view about this demeaning status of women is the lack of balance between work and home life; a priority at WSU and it is important for everyone so that gender inequality is abolished. Accordingly, workshops should be designed to explore issues of gender at WSU, to begin dialogue in order to create cultural change so as to expose taboo subject at WSU; those subjects and attitudes which turn women into objects of sexual harassment. WSU can change this balance by making sure that women employees enjoy their work without having to be threatened that if women fail to acquiesce into sexual advances, they might lose their employment.

Taboo subjects at WSU should be acceptable topics of discussion. The workshops could be a turning point and a pivotal event in the life of WSU. There could be discussions, videos and case studies that could begin to expose gender attitudes at play at WSU. I believe the workshops would also highlight aspects of hidden assumptions and would generate momentum for dialogue with operational steps if WSU is to bring about real change. I think about all this because moving forward equality at WSU career developments is fundamental and employees should move forward without barriers.

Gender issues should not be for potential women only but should begin to affect the overall corporate culture of WSU, thus helping even potential employees to find a transformed WSU work environment; even smaller aspects are important when a woman speaks. All that management needs is to be creative and flexible in developing coaching and mentoring capabilities in gender equity.

Kanter (1997) argues that bureaucratic organizations are structures of power from which women were excluded. The key, therefore, is to enable women to acquire powerful positions. Male

homosociability⁸ would have to be overcome, but getting women into positions of power and authority means equipping them for such jobs via training in assertiveness, getting the right credentials, and ensuring that recruitment to promoted positions is a scrupulously fair process. The focus has to be on women as individuals, their characteristics, and how the right characteristics might be gained in order that they might progress through the organizational hierarchy (Davis, et al., 2006: 258).

The reason why I am quoting Davis, et al., (2006) here is that globally, organizations were gendered, claiming in particular, that bureaucratic hierarchies were inherently ‘masculine’, embodying qualities of dominance, hierarchy and abstract rationality (Ferguson, 1984). Thus ‘feminine’ qualities were not appropriate or effective in relation to career success as against ‘masculine’ organizational contexts. This essentialist approach contradicted the conventional ‘feminine’ modes of working; these being based on co-operation and friendship, as against “masculine” bureaucratic hierarchies (Marshall, 1984). Having pointed out these gender issues, gender analysis at WSU could give insight into the meanings of values attached to masculinity and femininity.

⁸ The preference of man for working with people like themselves (Concise Oxford English Dictionary: 683)

CHAPTER THREE

3. LITERATURE REVIEW

The aim of this chapter is to review previous studies, in the current area of research, that pertain to sexual harassment. The structure of the literature review is informed by the research questions that have been stated earlier in chapter one of this study. This chapter covers the following aspects: Brief history of sexual harassment, development of sexual harassment as a concept, and definitions of sexual harassment. The chapter also explores gender disparity and analyzed definitions as an indication of how a woman's gender interlinks with work and women at WSU. Gender disparity involves the idea that femininity and masculinity are organized into gender or sex roles. Linking femininity and masculinity to sexual harassment is because the ideology of masculinity subordinates women to men. Although this is not the chapter for discussions, brief references to WSU data will be made by means of generalizations as has been done in chapters one and two. The value for the brief narration of participants' utterances is that they capture an understanding of the discussion. This analysis will be connected to the qualitative analysis of the interviews to enhance definitions of sexual harassment. Whilst generalizing participants' utterances (as I have done in chapters one and two), I will explore gender disparity as a root of inequality at WSU. The argument from the participants that WSU is not a sexually-neutral entity is a contentious argument which has far-reaching implications, not only for WSU victims but for working women in general.

3.1 A brief history of sexual harassment

The reason for this brief history is to explain how men have used their sexuality in exerting control over women in other arenas, other workplaces and at WSU, in particular. The context of this narration is to show that sexual harassment has long been witnessed in the workplace even before the term sexual harassment was published. Sexual harassment has been at the centre of the feminist struggle for a long time. In 1970 the term sexual harassment was coined in the North of the United States (Farley, 1978; McKinnon, 1979). By 1976, the term sexual harassment came into regular use (MacKinnon, 1979). Martin (1979: 54) says that since then there has been

growing recognition of sexual harassment, with its pervasiveness and its negative consequences, as well as an emerging view that sexual harassment is a serious social problem. Millet (1977: 23) points out that men use the sex act to express their power over, and contempt for, women; this is a form of humiliation and control over women. On the other hand, Hearne (1998: 3-5) says making sense of men's behaviour necessitates placing men in a social context. This entails considering men's power relations to women in that general context. Hearne (1998) says men's violent acts are being increasingly recognized for what they are-a severe social problem. Yet the recognition appears to do little to reduce men's violence against women, or, indeed, other kinds of violence perpetrated by men.

Sexual harassment has been practiced since the advent of waged labour (Phoebe, 2001). Mackinnon (1979) says the law against sexual harassment is a practical attempt to stop a form of exploitation. It is also one test of sexual politics as a feminist jurisprudence of possibilities for social change for women through law. Sexual harassment as a legal claim, is a demand that state authority stands behind women's refusal of sexual access in certain situations that previously were a masculine prerogative. For feminist jurisprudence, the sexual harassment attempt suggests that if a legal initiative is designed from women's real experience of violation, it can make a difference (Swisher, 1966: 163). Because of sexual harassment having been practiced since the advent of waged labour, the legal definition of sexual harassment can also include how Labour Relations recognize sexual harassment at work.

The history of sexual harassment dates back at least to the time women first traded their labour in the market at the beginning of the seventies (Paludi and Barickman, 1991). Backhouse, et al., (1981) point out that during the Industrial Revolution (between 1750 and 1850) in Britain, the appalling working conditions nurtured a very ripe environment for sexual harassment. A number of royal commissions were set up to investigate the plight of the working class. None of these investigations examined the prevalence of sexual abuse. Instead they inquired into the question of immorality on the part of working women. The complex of radical socio-economic challenges which took place in England in the late 18th century brought about an extensive mechanization of

production system. The system resulted in shifts from home-based hand manufacturing to large-scale factory production. Slave women's physical labour and their sexual favours belonged outright to their male masters. Slaves had no legal right to refuse sexual advances from their masters. This sexual privilege spilled over to the slave owner's neighbours, visitors, and younger sons. Lower-class males, acting as overseers in the employment of the slave owner, also exercised their sexual prerogatives with slave women. Gross manifestations of sexual harassment were obviously a recurrent feature of the slavery system. Hadjifatiou (1983) points out that Frederick Engels, who studied the connection between power relations and sexual harassment of women working in the factories, says individual women who fought against sexual exploitation were rarely successful. He points out that these women worked under nearly intolerable conditions. On top of these conditions, they suffered sexual harassment at work. He says although sexual exploitation of young girls by men in power was a source of outrage among female workers, few could afford not to play by the rules of their masters. In 1844 Engels (n.d) analysed the conditions of the working class in England and wrote:

The employer is sovereign over the persons and charms of his employees. The threat of discharge suffices to overcome all resistance in nine cases out of ten...if the master is mean enough his mill is also his harem.

The many women who experienced sexual abuse in the factories and shops suffered their humiliation and fear in private. Engels is supported by Eisenstein (1991: 71). He argues that the theme of women and power is one that has been a constant element in feminist theory in Britain since the resurgence of the women's movement in the 1960s, however, once women working in factories and shops were unionized and union grievances committees were set up, charges of sexual abuse became one of the major complaints made by female workers to union officials. The attitudes of many union organizers, however, were similar to those prevailing in society at large. The attitude was that sexual harassment was a female problem and not a crime against women. The working conditions in the factories during the nineteenth and early twentieth century were highly exploitative and clearly conducive to gross manifestations of sexual harassment (Backhouse, et al., 1981). The practice of sexual harassment contributed to the premature deaths of an incalculably large number of working women. In addition, the climate of

the times made it extremely difficult for a woman accused of sexual wrongdoing to clear herself since mere accusation tended to smear her reputation irrevocably. Subsistence wages contributed to the mortal danger sexual harassment posed for these early working women.

To refuse invariably resulted in retaliation, which commonly ended in either a decrease in present wages or losing the job altogether - the sure road to starvation. At the same time, to accept was sure damnation; after this, marriage was out of the question and future employment was also forbidden. Prostitution was the only remaining option (Farley, 1978). Public discussion of sexual harassment of working women in the factories revealed class antagonism and power. Whenever it was admitted that working women were suffering from sexual abuse on the job, discussion would focus on the fact that the first generation of industrial chiefs belonged to the uneducated classes. Radkte and Stam (1994: 4) say power must be analyzed as something which circulates, or rather as something which only functions in the form of a chain. What they mean is that individuals are the vehicles of power, and not its point of application. An analysis of power as akin to understanding the deep meaning of power and patriarchy.

During the twentieth century trends in the workforce have witnessed an even greater number of female workers employed outside the home. Women from the poorer classes have always worked outside their homes, but growing numbers of middle and upper-class women, both single and married, have entered the workforce in recent years. Dublin (1979: 99) reports that in the United States, in October 1836, women's earnings in factories were reduced by the management who had placed the entire burden of inflation on women workers. Women then marched around the town of Lowell in New England because they felt they were made slaves at work and they protested. The protest was a way of revealing the pains that they were exposed to as "slaves." The song enlivened the protesters' march and the lyrics recalled the earlier turn out:

Oh! Isn't it a pity, such a pretty girl as I should be sent to the factory to pine away and die?

Oh! I cannot be a slave; I will not be a slave, for I am so found in liberty, that I cannot be a slave.

The structural change in the workforce, with a great expansion of white-collar and service industries, provided a large number of new jobs of the sort traditionally thought of as female, and the growing numbers of working women filled with these spots world-wide (Backhouse, et al., 1981). These jobs included those of secretary, typist, filing clerk, telephone operator, waitress, cook, nurse aid, and maid. These jobs have been under-valued, and are characterized by low pay, little chance for advancement, high turnover, usually no union protection, and few benefits (Clarke, 1982). Rather than being distributed evenly over the occupational structure, women continued to be slotted into a few jobs and have remained practically absent from most others. These slots increased the incidence of sexual harassment at work because there were simply more working women to be harassed (Backhouse, et al., 1981). Sexual harassment is a practice that is still virtually unchallenged, largely as the result of a wide social acceptance of such behaviour. For evidence of this we have only to refer to the countless jokes and cartoons about women's work that characterize much of our popular culture (Farley, 1978).

As already stated, it was only in 1970 that there was a name for this collective experience (Stanko, 1958). The effort toward creating awareness began when feminists labeled the previously- unnamed problem as 'sexual harassment,' thus challenging it as an accepted behavioural norm. Surveys documenting the prevalence found out that severity and deleterious consequences of sexual harassment bolstered the problem as a legitimate cause for concern. Public concern was raised by surveys showing that victims suffered psychologically and economically as a result of harassment experiences. In addition, research exposing the costs of sexual harassment to business helped raise organizational concerns. Finally, feminists like Kramarae (1981); Lakoff (1975); and Spector (1980) who were interested in women's talk added to the problem's legitimacy by identifying the role of sexual harassment in perpetuating women's inequitable social and economic status. These efforts to name the problem and document its individual, institutional and socio-economic consequences helped to establish sexual harassment as a legitimate problem (Livingston 1982); Coates 1998: 216). Sexual harassment at work therefore has become a common topic of discussion and women have begun to demand that such abuses cease. There are many theories relating to why this is such a recent phenomenon. One is that since more women are working, there are more instances of sexual

harassment and that this has brought the problem to a head. Another is that middle-class women have begun to recognize that they will continue to work outside their homes for most of their lives; they take threats to their working status—such as sexual harassment—seriously. Women are less afraid to challenge sexual harassment in the work-place and to fight against injustice. Finally, as the first brave individuals fight back to stop the perpetrators of sexual harassment, the public attention focused on their cases causes media and public discussion about the realities of sexual abuse and intimidation on the job (Backhouse, et al., 1981).

3.2 Development of sexual harassment as a concept and the effects of its practice in higher education

Sexual harassment is a term that is identified by feminists as crucial to their cause and as one manifestation of a larger patriarchal system in which men dominate women (Farley 1978; MacKinnon 1979). Farley (1978) asserts that sexual harassment remains virtually unchanged. Sexual harassment is practiced worldwide and there are various terms for it. For example, the Japanese call sexual harassment ‘seku-hara’; Sexual harassment is regarded as a form of sex discrimination.

In 1977 in the United States of America, a sexual harassment court case determined that sexual harassment constituted sex discrimination—when women become the target of their supervisor’s sexual desires because they were women (Date-Bah 1997: 130).

Gilligan (2001: 61) talks about sex objects and maintains that the statistics on sex objects discriminates against women and they end up being sex objects as the vast majority of rape victims are women. Gilligan (2001: 61) continues to argue that this violence throws light on the psychology both of gender roles and violence. Since 1970s, millions of women and men around the world have added sexual harassment to their daily lexicon. Backhouse, et al., (1981) say that women take threats to their working status—such as sexual harassment—more seriously. Thomas and Kitzinger, (1997: 2) point out that the term was subsequently adopted in the United Kingdom in the early 1980s. Wise and Stanley (1987: 30) say ‘there seems to have been no mention of any

such animal as 'sexual harassment' in the English press, certainly none that we could find, before reporting of American sexual harassment cases and the review of feminist and feminist-influenced books on the subject at the end of 1979'. In the middle to late 1960s a scattering of courses focusing on feminists' issues began to appear on college campuses. In 1970 the term women's studies or feminist studies was first used to refer to them⁹. According to several sources (Alliance Against Sexual Coercion, 1981; Kramarae and Treichler, 1985; Weeks, et al., 1986; Wise and Stanley, 1987), the term sexual harassment was initially coined in the mid 1970s in Ithaca, New York, by a group called Working Women United, formed under the leadership of the Human Affairs Program at Cornell University.

Attempts to seek legal redress of sexual harassment had appeared between 1972 and 1974 and helped to set the stage for naming the problem (sexual harassment). The case of Carmita Wood who was an administrator at the university and had left her position because of being sexually harassed by a well-known faculty member was a case that generated publicity and research. Wood was subsequently denied unemployment benefits. Wood's case became a referral case. It became the national information whereby counselling and referral service were centred for victims of sexual harassment in the greater New York area (Thomas & Kitzinger, 1997: 2). Between 1975 and 1979 a series of North American publications and groups addressed issues of social coercion, unwanted sexual attention and (increasingly) sexual harassment marking a broadening of attention from the more extreme forms of sexual violence. Catherine MacKinnon's book, 'Sexual Harassment of Working Women' was circulated around women's group and feminists' organizations from the beginning of 1975 and was tremendously influential (cf Weeks, et al., 1986; Minson, 1991 cited in Bacchi and Joze, 1994: 268). Lin Farley who taught a course on 'Women and Work' had identified in her research a form of male behaviour in the work place which she said, *required a name and sexual harassment seemed to come about as close to symbolizing the problem as the language would permit*. In MacKinnon's (1979: 1) words, *lacking a term to express it, sexual harassment was literally unspeakable, which made a generalized, shared and social definition of it inaccessible*.

⁹ Florence Howe, (ed.) Tamar Berkowitz, Jean Mangi, and Jane Williamson (old Westbury, N.Y. Feminist Press, (1974).

Sandra McNeill's British feminist description of a 1980 workshop on 'Women and Work' at which the topic of sexual harassment was raised uttered: *We discovered we had all suffered from this, plumbers or university lecturers. As women after women cited incidents we breathed out a sigh of relief. We had (almost all) been so isolated. Felt nutty almost in complaining, blamed ourselves for reactions we 'had provoked,' or suffered in confused silence. Now we knew it was a common problem... we must begin collectively to fight back* (McNeill, 1985: 85).

Referring back to McNeill's (1985) statement when she points out that women blame themselves, Susan Wendell, a feminist, points out that feminists have been eager to expose and oppose all forms of blaming the victim, since women are so frequently the victims. She asserts that the various ways of blaming of the victim not only interfere with victims obtaining justice, help, and sympathy when they have been harmed, but also add to their harm by creating confusion and feelings of guilt about their own responsibility for their suffering. For example, it could be that a victim of sexual harassment could be forced or led to relive her victimization again and again in an effort to find her alleged 'contribution' to having been sexually harassed. Nevertheless, once the oppressed recognizes that her perpetrator is responsible, and assigns blame to her perpetrator she most acutely becomes aware that she is a victim; a situation where gender identity takes place in a work situation. Another supporter of Wendell is the radical pacifist suffragist, Mary Sheepshanks. She declares that women must not 'simply bind the wounds that men have made....' (Rowbotham, (1997: 71).

Sociologists point out that through gender identity they are able to explore the variations among different groups of women and men and see how the versions of masculinity and femininity are perceived. The sociologists such as Deborah Cameron and Jennifer Coates care much about how gender individuals interact with one another in the institutions of their lives that shape, reproduce and reconstitute gender (Mills, 1995: 15). In this sense then, sociologists argue that male domination is reproduced not only by socializing women and men, but also by placing them in organizations and institutions in which specifically gendered norms and values predominate and

by which both men and women are then evaluated and judged. Kimmel (2000: 5) points out that gendered individuals do not inhabit gender-neutral social situations; both individuals and institutions bear the marks of gender. My analysis regarding these sociologists' statements is that women and men enter the workplace for similar reasons; in this case either to be a lecturer or a member of the support staff. Eventually they may have different motivations whereby men and women move further and further apart. Through that process of movement, sexual violence remains the most significant and intractable difference between men and women. Overwhelmingly, it is the women who become victims of sexual harassment. That "male-act" sexual harassment is linked to violence is a pressing feminist concern. Anthony Collins, Liane Loots, Thenjiwe Meyiwa and Deepak Mistrey argue against viewing gender violence as a security problem. They note that gender violence needs to be located within institutional culture and social norms. They also note that proposals to reduce gender violence in universities require the establishment of centres that are based on comprehensive understandings of violence beyond to issue of security (www.agenda.org.za).

Phiri, et al.,(1995) in their study of *violence against women in educational institutions* in Malawi, say women have experienced some form of gender-based violence. These authors found that 67% of female student respondents in Malawi had experienced some form of gender-based violence in their homes, workplaces, religious institutions, police stations, prisons, and hospitals as well as in institutions of learning in Malawi. To date, little research has been done to determine the role that gender-violence plays in deterring Malawian girls from achieving their academic potential. In order to get a detailed understanding of the barrier that gender-violence presents Phiri, et al., (1995) in their study, examine both the experiences of girls who are enrolled in primary education and those who are supposed to be, but are not. Bisika, et al.,(2009: 287) say the study also aims to determine the different types of violence that are currently prevalent in Malawian primary schools, in order to identify the perpetrators and their victims, the context in which the violence takes place, and the mechanisms that perpetuate violence against girls in schools. They further report that of those girls and young women who completed the questionnaire, 69.9% reported that incidents of gender-violence had resulted in performance problems at school, with a further 12.8% reporting that it had negatively affected their home

life. Of the 657 respondents who reported having experienced incidents of inappropriate touching, 69.2% stated that the assault had not affected their education, whilst the remaining 38.8% stated that their education has been adversely affected with 3.3% leaving school permanently.

Morojele (2009: 5) in her study of violence in primary schools pointed out that gender violence is often misrecognized, particularly since such school sites are seen as impervious to gender battles. In her study she found that gender violence characterized girls' experiences, with boys being the main vectors of violence and thus compromising the experience of schooling (Bowker, 2009: 5). Bowker (2009) further reported that Chireshe and Chireshe (2009) from Zimbabwe focused on sexual harassment of young women at the hands of male students and teachers. They argued that such violations were allowed to continue; violence and gender inequalities occurred without reporting.

What these results demonstrate is that gender-violence is widespread in education, not only relating to academics or tertiary students; it also affects the education of a large proportion of girls of primary school age. Of major significance is the fact that fellow pupils of the victims perpetrate much of the violence experienced by girls and that violence is prevalent within most schools. While statistically small compared to the number of incidents involving fellow pupils, the prevalence of teachers assaulting female pupils demonstrated an alarming pervasiveness and acceptance of such abuses, despite sexual harassment causing problems for victims. They are adversely affected as personal and emotional concerns are never far away. Freeman (1974: 238) maintains that education significantly affects women's opportunities in work and society. He states that in the nineteenth century during a movement for women's rights, it was thought that higher education would lead not only to equal suffrage for women but also to widespread political, legal and economic forums to benefit women.

Bennet, et al.,(2007) maintain that in the past twelve years, a body of serious research on the impact of globalization on higher education in Africa highlighted the tension between dwindling national resources available for university and technikon subsidies and the need for the

institutions to deliver high quality education in environments protected by the values pertaining to human rights. Sexual harassment in educational settings such as WSU raises particular problems because they involve long-term relationships between the victim and her perpetrator.

Paludi & Barickman (1991) point out that sexual harassment has always been part of the experience of women who work outside their own homes. Sexual intrusions such as lewd comments, inappropriate touching, propositions, and even rape have been described in historical accounts of the daily work life of women. Aggarwal (1987) says because of fear of women losing their jobs, many women have endured sexual harassment at work and they consider it to be a 'normal' occupational hazard. It is difficult to rank sexual harassment in the list of concerns of working women because trying to do so would probably be unproductive. Sexual harassment is a problem worthy of attention because it affects a large proportion of women.

Some participants point out that it is extremely difficult for them to complain about the behavior at WSU. They say they fear that they could make their situation worse and lose their jobs. Superson, (1995: 21) asserts that women in every walk of life are subject to sexual harassment. She even ventures to say that women are sexually harassed on a daily basis. She points out that the power that men have over women has been wielded in ways that oppress women. Harrington, (2008:4) on the other hand, points out that the male dominance and cultural approaches have much in common. Both compared women and men as members of two social groups. The common focus was very much private talk; small groups, and the *who* and *how* of communication. *What* was said and on written texts was relatively rare.

Radical feminists reject the idea that women fit 'naturally' into the domestic sphere, and illuminated insidious sexual division of labour that takes place in the private sphere, putting women at a disadvantage in terms of their labour responsibilities. Radical feminists like MacKinnon (1989: 168) claim that the public/private distinction *treats the private sphere as a sphere of personal freedom. For men, it is. For women, the private is the distinctive sphere of intimate violation and abuse, neither free nor particularly personal. Men's realm of private freedom is women's realm of collective subordination.*

3.3 Depiction of sexual harassment as a practice at WSU

As mentioned in the introduction of this current chapter, the portrayal of sexual harassment will be captured in line with brief supporting interview data and brief views on data. The data will be analyzed fully in chapter six. Personal views will be reflected in chapter seven where I will draw conclusions and make recommendations.

According to Mowatt (1986), no legal explanation of sexual harassment exists in South Africa. On 24 March, 1992, Carla Sutherland, a former researcher in the Equal Opportunity Project at the University of Cape Town, presented a classic case of sexual harassment at the University of the Witwatersrand, in Johannesburg, South Africa. JvM Ltd was the first reported case of sexual harassment in South Africa. It was heard in the Industrial Court in February 1989 (Industrial Law Journal 1989: 755-762). Paludi (1990) states that one of the most persistent problems in sexual harassment literature is the lack of a widely-agreed-upon definition of the concept that is both broad enough to comprehend the variety of the experiences to which the construct refers, and yet specific enough to be of practical use.

The various ways in which sexual harassment has been depicted can be grouped into two categories, namely, the subjective and objective categories which are based on personal views, feelings or judgments. Actualizing '*sexual harassment*' fails to have specifics and the laws (when the term is dealt with, legally) does not deal with ambiguous and amorphous responses (Gupta 2004: 3). Sexual harassment, as a term and practice, has evolved and it has been difficult to define it precisely. Sexual harassment definitions and other subjective definitions of sexual harassment describe it, at least in part, in terms of subjective of the victim, making unwelcome-ness to the victim a necessary condition for sexual harassment. Thus, in order to prove that she has been sexually harassed, she has to prove that the perpetrator's behaviour was unwelcome.

Unwelcome-ness is one area of a sexual harassment theme that was brought up by WSU participants. The participants view their control by men as the first and most fundamental form

of unwelcome-ness. They assert that the behaviour is seen as a form of violence against them (victims). Feminists' perspectives have two important themes in common regarding sexual harassment.

Firstly, feminism places a high value on women because they (women) are considered important and worthwhile human beings. Even if this project does not fall into the domain of philosophy, Kant (1995:3) a man, yet also a feminist, maintains that people should act so that they treat one another with humanity whether in their own person or in that of another as an end and never as a means only. This means, philosophically, that sexual harassment is morally blameworthy. Wirth (1970: 132), in particular, regards sexual harassment as a 'violation' of human rights and an affront to the dignity of the person. Nussbaum (2007) quoted from Halwani, (2007: 49) who is also a philosopher, looks at sexual harassment in a moral way and she writes: *When we women find the courage to defend a stand against brutality and abuse, we are violating every notion of womanhood we have ever been taught. The way to freedom for women is bound to be notorious for that reason alone.* What Nussbaum means here is that the core of women's struggle has been triggered by men who often treat women as mere objects. Men treat women (at least some of them) as tools for male convenience. Secondly, feminism recognizes the need for social change if women are to lead secure and satisfying lives.

Illustrations of sexual harassment are important because they educate the workplace personnel and promote discussion and conscientious evaluation of these experiences. They are also crucial to the process of helping those who have been harassed because most victims do not identify what has happened to them as being regarded as sexual harassment. Palludi, (1990) says one of the most persistent problems in the sexual harassment literature is the lack of a widely-agreed-upon definition of the concept; one that is both broad enough to comprehend the variety of experiences to which the construct refers and yet specific enough to be of practical use.

Sexual harassment claims are not new in academic institutions globally. There have been countless claims of sexual harassment that have been filed through American companies, colleges and universities. Fitzgerald, et al., (1998: 151) point out that long before sexual

harassment was identified as a problem for women students in higher education, it had been recognized as an external barrier to the adjustment of women in the workforce. Elman (1990: 13) asserts that while a women's sexuality is used to coerce her economically, her position of employment is used to coerce her sexually.

Kaplan & Lee (1995) indicate that victims of sexual harassment as well as the harassers themselves are both male and female; they suggest that any and all members of academia are at risk. A statistical study done by the American Association of University Women (AAUW) on colleges and universities reveals that 61% of male college students report having been sexually harassed at their universities. 66% of college students know someone who was harassed, 80% of reported sexual harassment is peer to peer, 51% of male college students admit to sexually harassing someone often or occasionally. 31% of female college students admit to harassing someone in college. (As noted, the percentages of male harassers are higher than female harassers.) These figures perpetuate the idea that women need to be protected from any mention of sex or any sexual behaviour. Bennet, et al., (2007: 26) maintain that sexual harassment in educational settings raise particular problems because they involve long-term relationships between the victim and her perpetrator. Aggarwal (1987: 13) asserts that women have endured sexual harassment at work and they consider it to be a 'normal' occupational hazard. In contrast to taking sexual harassment as a 'normal' occupational hazard, Saul (2003: 51) asserts that sexual harassment has caused women to quit their jobs, accept less well-paid jobs and sometimes leave the workplace altogether. Sexual harassment has therefore played a role in holding women back. It has created obstacles for women that men have rarely had to face in the workplace; some feminists have argued that the reason women have been victims of sexual harassment so much more often than men is that women are stereotypically viewed as sex objects with little worth (Farley, 1978).

Williams, et al., (2003:4) assert that the European Union issued a Recommendation and Code, the EC code, to identify harassment by reference to the motive of the harasser and how it affects the person who is subjected to the harassment. The EC code contains terminology which describes sexual harassment as offensive, demeaning and affecting a person's dignity. The code defines sexual harassment as 'a conduct of a sexual nature or other conduct based on sex

affecting the dignity of women and men at work.’ The code in question is explicit in that the conduct is unacceptable because it is unwanted, unreasonable and constitutes offensive conduct. In short, what the definition means is that the harasser’s intentions could emanate from emotions which could be to embarrass the victim, seem sexually harassing to the victim or even be an attempt to exercise power or authority, especially in working conditions. Also, the motive could be for the harasser’s own sexual gratification or a desire for sexual favours.

Some WSU participants talk of the behavior as a manifestation of power relations where (as victims) they face such power because of being in vulnerable and insecure positions. An example of women who are vulnerable at the university are support staff workers and junior lecturers and tutors. But this does not mean that sexual harassment at WSU is limited to the junior staff only; it can be prevalent at all levels at WSU. Underlying these problems is the fact that WSU participants are harmed and weakened by social conditions. Because participants’ means of support is waged labour, they have little choice but to be in a job where toleration of sexualized aggression is part of that job. Sexual harassment stems from gender stereotyping and gender bias or sexism.

McKinnon (1979) states that the dominance approach to sexual harassment starts from the idea that discrimination consists of the systematic disadvantage of the social group. To understand discrimination against women, one needs to then understand ways in which women are systematically disadvantaged relative to men. A rule of practice is discriminatory in the dominance approach if the practice participates in the systemic social deprivation of one sex because of its sex. The dominance approach to sexual harassment argues that sexual harassment is a practice that contributes to systematically disadvantaging women and is therefore discriminatory (Saul, 2003: 51). This view concurs with the spirit of the Employment Equity Act. It states that work should not be based on sex differences (Herbig, 2004). Participants at WSU state that the acts of sex discrimination at WSU have placed them (participants), as a group, at a substantial disadvantage relative to men. These acts demean them and diminish the perception regarding their status.

Unger and Crawford, (1992) say sex difference as a social reality is constructed by the linguistic categories available by what questions and modes of investigations are considered available, and by cultural ideology. Linguistic terms which are pejorative such as floozy, whore, scarlet women, and many more are used, while young men are said to be at just” sowing their wild oats” – an expression that trivializes their behavior.

le Roux, et al., (2005: 36) maintain that the 2005 Code’s definition of sexual harassment is defined in the following way: Sexual harassment is unwelcome conduct of a sexual nature that violates the right of an employee and constitutes a barrier to equity in the workplace, taking into account all of the following factors:

1. Whether the harassment is on the prohibited grounds of sex and/or gender and/or sexual orientation.
2. Whether the sexual conduct was unwelcome.
3. The nature and the extent of sexual harassment conduct; and
4. The impact of the sexual conduct on the employee.

The 2005 Code indicates that there are different ways in which an employee can indicate that sexual conduct is unwelcome, including non-verbal conduct such as walking away or not responding to the perpetrators. With regards to sexual harassment that is on the prohibited grounds of sex or gender, Tong (1989: 71) points out that women were historically the first oppressed group, that women’s oppression is the most widespread, existing in virtually every known society; women’s oppression is the deepest in that it is the hardest form of oppression to eradicate and cannot be removed by other social changes such as the abolition of a class society. Women’s oppression can cause the most suffering to its victims, qualitatively as well as quantitatively, although the suffering may often go unrecognized because of the sexist prejudices of both the oppressors and the victims. Women’s oppression provides a conceptual model for understanding all other forms of oppression. Wirth (1970: 132) supports the 2005 Code as it regards sexual harassment as a violation of human rights and an affront to the dignity of a person and therefore reflects male dominance.

At WSU, most participants agreed with one voice that gender and sexuality are constructed underpinned by patriarchy because as women, they are assumed to have an existing identity: the perpetrators of harassment understand them through the category of women who are expected to be in stable and abiding terms of sexual coercion. Many participants said the term *women* denotes a common identity, is a troublesome term and a cause of anxiety. In short, women, sex/gender often accompanies the notion that oppression of the university's participants has some singular form discernible in the universal or hegemonic structure of patriarchy or masculine domination. From this definition it is clear from the outset how the aspects of deep structure hinder the accomplishment of gender equality outcomes at the university. Given this stereotypical picture, the organizational culture is sure to create an unfriendly and uninviting environment at the university (Gillow, et al., 2007: 127). Commaraswamy (1996) argues that there are cases where women employees are treated less favourably based on the fact that they are women and have to be treated likewise and their (women's) claims are upheld.

Butler (1990:3) points out that the notion of a universal patriarchy has been widely criticized in recent years for its failure to account for the workings of gender oppression in the concrete cultural context in which it exists. Participants at WSU argue that they hate themselves for not being able to take a stand in the situation because perpetrators wield their power with such confidence and they (victims) feel absolutely helpless. They say they should not feel helpless but the situation at the university compels them to become paralyzed with the feeling that the perpetrators are men and the management is also 'ruled' by men. Regarding workings of gender oppression, Bennet (2009: 9) notes that in order to understand the broad context of discussion on sexual harassment within higher education, it is useful to sketch the profile of current challenges to higher education in the country and to identify key questions concerning gender dynamics, race and the challenges of class. This work-split element devalues women's interest within the organization. The point here is not merely to understand gender inequality but to change it.

The elements of the 2005 Code's definition have different indications. These indications have to do with the unwelcome-ness of sexual harassment behaviors. In the case of WSU's participants, unwelcome-ness is one of the terms that they raise during interviews. They (participants) assert that the behavior continues on a daily basis-it is something that they deal with because not only would it be difficult to prove that the behaviour is unwelcome, it would just be assumed that the victim was lying, especially if she/they had been able to adopt coping strategies. Referring back to the point made in chapter one, some participants say, after having reported such behaviors to a senior woman academic staff, no drastic steps were taken so the participants decided to leave the case hanging. Surely the said participants reported the matter because they needed some sort of intervention to do away with unwelcome-ness. The silence of the senior academic staff member when she receives reports that the juniors were sexually harassed, indicates that for some women, feminist issues do not matter much. If female academic staff decide to be silent about sexual harassment, their silence deters men from taking women's views on discrimination seriously. It also means men will not contribute to positive attitudes to feminism. That is why victims of sexual harassment remain isolated and this should not be the case in any institution and at WSU, in particular.

Victims have a choice about making public what they experience at the university. What emerges from the literature is that there is a discrepancy between what is understood in theory, read about in the media or in policy statements and what is experienced on a personal level. Herbert (1989) argues that she was unable to recognize that she was a victim of the phenomena when she was sexually harassed, and yet, she is theoretically competent about the subject.

The nature and the extent of the sexual conduct at WSU allow participants to speak with one voice. Though different questions allowed women to focus on issues sequentially, most of them presented a comprehensive list of what they thought regarding the social conduct. They pointed out that they were not encouraged to report their sexual harassment cases and also mentioned that even if they were encouraged to talk about sexual harassment behaviours they would rather not; as they would not be safe because to date the institution had no sexual harassment policy

that could protect them from being sexually harassed. They said the impact of sexual conduct on them as victims emanated from their position as women. They felt disempowered, controlled, dominated and oppressed. If ever the two (the victim and the perpetrator) had a dispute, the outcome would depend not only on how empowered he was, but also on the strength of the perpetrator's personal disposition to exert power over others. The participants revealed that gender roles were not simply different. They were differently valued. The attempts to do away with the hierarchy that define men as more powerful than women at the university have focused on the meaning of power and that alone has had an impact of the sexual conduct of participants; it in fact has contributed to participants subordination.

During the late 1960s and 1970s several radical feminists located the source of women's subordination in female biology. The most plausible accounts were put forward by Firestone (1970) in 'The Dialectic of Sex' (1970). Firestone (1970) argues that the human reproductive biology has prescribed a form of social organization called 'the biological family.' This family is characterized by a child dependent on mother and a woman dependent on a man.

Farley (1978) describes sexual harassment as a behaviour in the workplace which men use to gain power and which includes 'staring at, commenting on or touching a woman's body, requests for acquiescence in sexual behavior, repeated non-reciprocal propositions for a date, demands for sexual intercourse, rape.' Lips (1991: 10) says the feminist debates (debates not described) have been extremely useful in expanding the notion of what power is, why it is important and how an individual or a group might achieve it. Yet, in terms of the individual, the debates have succeeded only in highlighting, not in resolving the uneasiness about power or the seeming contradictions between the limiting, oppressive power of one person or a group over others, and the liberating, energizing power of discovering one's own strength or the collective capacity to act.

Obviously there should not be a problem about how people attain power as long as the power that one holds is not used oppressively, but protectively; harassment is when power is used oppressively. The problem with power is the emphasis on a dualistic mode of thinking in which

femininity and masculinity are seen as opposites; with femininity at the weak, submissive, nurturant pole and masculinity at the strong, powerful, individualistic pole.

MacKinnon (1979) argues that sexual harassment refers to the unwanted imposition of sexual requirements in the context of a relationship of unequal power. Central to this concept is the use of power derived from one social sphere to lever benefit or impose deprivation of another. When one is sexual, the other material, the cumulative sanction is particularly potent (MacKinnon, 1979:1). What MacKinnon means is that the initial behaviour does not involve a sexual act, unlike Farley who correlates men's reward with power. MacKinnon argues that the reward is one of a sexual gain whereby the perpetrator utters sexual suggestions or jokes, indulges in leering or goggling, brushing against a person's body, squeezing, pinching, a quick kiss, or an indecent proposition backed by the threat of being sacked and forced to have sexual relations. MacKinnon's (1979) definition is sexualized because according to her, sex is an end in itself.

In Jagwanth, et al., (1994: 36), MacKinnon (1979) argues that the horizontal segregation, vertical stratification and income inequality compared with men in the work place make women vulnerable to experiencing harassment. Horizontal segregation refers to the clustering of working women in a small number of job categories that are traditionally associated with women such as nurses, teachers and secretaries. Vertical stratification means that women tend to be employed in low-ranking positions that are dependent upon the approval and goodwill of male subordination for hiring, retention and advancement.

Bennet, et al., (2009: 85) state that campus-based research on sexual harassment and sexual violence presents a window into the culture of heterosexuality within higher education. While it is critical to note that such a culture may offer a person access to an important, life-enhancing and deeply pleasurable relationship, a focus on sexual harassment and sexual violence allows certain tensions of gendered dynamics to be brought to the surface, possibly named as 'abusive' and identified as core zones for intervention, both for the sake of those likely to become abused

and for the sake of higher education itself. Some participants at WSU reported that there were patterns of gender-friendly developments; for example, the ones that promote a gender-friendly work environment had not evolved since they had been employed by WSU about five years previously. I perceived that women's lives at the university were extremely enclosed despite the fact that modernization has entailed a partial breakdown of traditional barriers because demands of a growing economy continue to draw some women into economic activity outside the home. It is, however, unfair for women to be separated from their productive lectureship post and their personal assistantship because of sexual harassment. The participants believe that until the tacit approval of male violence is undone at WSU male dominance and sexism will prevail. Until the violence against women ceases and the authorities finally create an environment in which violence is no longer acceptable and conceivable, male supremacy will remain a fact of life at the university. Walby (1990: 130) says that across the nation, sexual harassment has become a major issue in higher education as media coverage and public awareness have increased dramatically (Kraus, et al., 1993).

Bennett (2007: 87) maintains that since the early 1990s, there have been a number of important studies on the nature and practice of sexual harassment and sexual violence in higher education for all women in education in South Africa and neighboring countries. The department of Higher Education and Training, Minister Blade Nzimande, responded to a report which concluded that racism and sexism were 'pervasive' at South Africa's institutions of higher learning. This report was commissioned last year by Nzimande's predecessor, Naledi Pandor, after the widely-condemned racist incident at the University of Free State. A group of student videotaped black female workers who were forced to eat food on which one of the students had pretended to urinate (www.lawlibrary.co.za/professional_update/2009/06-02/useful_links-South_Africa.htm). Other universities professed optimism about the potential for their policies on sexual harassment to carry more transformational power. The University of the Western Cape (with the most long-standing policy) pointed to the fact that some survivors had in fact drawn on policy processes to challenge perpetrators successfully. The Western Cape incidence has been a broad historical narrative concerning the ebb and flow of feminist interventions at international, national and local levels. ([www.feministafrica.org/index.php/gender-is over](http://www.feministafrica.org/index.php/gender-is-over)).

Gillow, et al., (2003: 6) assert that the definition of sexual harassment in the United States encompasses 'unwanted verbal, non-verbal or physical conduct of a social nature. This is taken straight from the Code of Practice. 'Physical conduct of a sexual nature' is commonly regarded as meaning 'unwanted physical contact ranging from unnecessary touching, patting or punching or brushing against another employee's body to assault and coerce sexual intercourse.' 'Verbal conduct of a sexual nature' may include unwelcome sexual advances, propositions or pressure for sexual activities, continued suggestions for sexual activity; continued suggestions for social activity outside the workplace after it has been made clear that such suggestions are unwelcome; offensive flirtations, suggestive remarks and innuendos or lewd comments. Such behavior defines women's role as sexual objects rather than work colleagues.' 'Non-verbal conduct of a sexual nature' refers to the 'display of pornographic or sexually-suggestive pictures, objects or written materials, leering, whistling or making sexually-suggestive gestures.' These behaviours make women feel uncomfortable or threatened and undermine the position of a woman who seeks to deal with her fellow employees with professional dignity. In order to establish sexual harassment within the meaning of this definition, the claimant will have to show two ingredients- that she has suffered verbal, non-verbal conduct of a sexual nature (which would include e mail harassment as well), leering, sexist remarks; generally speaking the overture is unwanted. (This is a subjective test dependent upon the complainants' state of mind, making sexually-suggestive gestures. There are workplace crèches, job sharing, career break schemes, and training opportunities).

The concern that was raised by some participants was the conceptions of themselves as good employees of WSU who were connected to very deep-seated and very personal processes of having been adopted by their perpetrators; they suffered loss of dignity and their humanity was being abused. The participants perceived that their dignity and humanity was abused.

It is incumbent on men and women at WSU to treat one another with respect and dignity in order to grow all the employees of WSU so that there is productivity. Kant (1995: 3) maintains that

people should treat another person with humanity as an end and never as a means only. The participants said that they were insulted by the language that perpetrators used such as ‘doll, baby’ because the said language was inappropriate. They were ultimately blamed if they disregarded sexual abuse and discriminated against if they ignored overtures or objected to abuse.

Blaming the victim is one particularly destructive bias. Victims’ blame may be one form of the fundamental attribution error. In practical terms the gender lens at the university focuses on dimension of the organizational culture that has a differential impact men and women at WSU. This includes behaviours covertly promoted by some members of the management at WSU especially that of treating women as sex objects. The gender lens should focus on the more feminine elements of support, caring and improving sexual social relations at WSU. Management should have realized how uncomfortable victims are with the status quo. Victims’ experiences can reveal not only different ways of working but also innovative practices. It would also help to question aspects of the working but also encouraging unnoticed by the mainstream.

This study found that sexuality at WSU seems to be the basis of maltreatment as the women participants reported being defined as sexual objects. In many countries sexual harassment has become a major issue in higher education as media coverage and public awareness have increased dramatically. There has also been a considerable amount of research examining sexual harassment in higher education (Wilson & Kraus, 1993; Maihaff & Forrest, 1983; Cammaert, 1985; Metha & Nigg, 1982; Allen & Okawa, 1987) <http://www.highbeam.com/doc/IGI-55409990.html>. Splender (1980) notes that the identification of women with sex is a conflation of the category of women with sex/not granted freedom and autonomy as it is purportedly enjoyed by men. What this means is that sexuality at has become the key to the definition of women in the work of radical feminists.

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), 1995 presents sexual harassment partly as a 'behaviour that has the purpose or effect of unreasonably interfering with an individual's work performance' (Herbig, 2004). Hughes and May (1995: 402) define sexual harassment as *a class of annoying or unwelcoming acts undertaken by one person (or group of persons).*

Aggraval & Gupta (2000: 118) portray sexual harassment as 'any sexually-oriented practice that endangers an individual's continued employment, negatively affecting his/her performances, or undermines her sense of personal dignity.'

According to Bell and Klein, (1996: 1) say at core, radical feminists are in agreement that under patriarchy, women cannot be full self-determining human beings unless there is a commitment to transforming society so that women may enjoy their full personhood. Regarding these definitions of sexual harassment, perpetrators at WSU are able to control the conceptual arena of their victims hence victims find their work having been interfered with by the perpetrators' masculine perspective. Besides that, perpetrators perceive their victims from a masculine perspective, but, also, that given the nature of socialization, most members of society perceive women from the prevailing masculine perspective. It is this masculine perspective that is in men that perpetuates the naming of women at WSU. Women are demeaned through being made sex objects. The naming of women victims can adversely affect them if perpetrators control social institutions; they can determine behaviour and attitudes which can be gender-oppressive issues. le Roux, et al., (2005: 36) say sexual harassment violates the rights of an employee and constitutes a barrier to equality in the workplace, taking into account all the gender issues that oppress women.

Women as social beings subjected to attitudes at those institutions frequently adopt the images wrought by the naming. Most often women are unaware that the ideals and visions by which they live are not of their own creation. They enter into the world of pink and white ruffles; the world of dolls, the world of behaving like a lady, the world of loving strokes for submission, the world

in which a woman is expected to be quiet, a world of Barbie dolls, the world of applause for being picked, etc. During this time and before women can question anything, they have already inhaled an environment that teaches them a vision of femininity which becomes so pervasive and complete that it appears real and appears to be their own. Femininity becomes so much a part of women. By the time women are old enough, wise enough and angry enough to discard it, the seed that was planted in their infancy becomes a part of women. Having said this, however, this does not mean that women are unable to reject this seed. This is why there are women who have been, and are still beyond the culture of accepting the image as their own and are able to be upfront with their victimization of sexual harassment issues in their workplace. For example, in a much-publicized matter, UNISA academic Margaret Orr took her sexual harassment claims against her perpetrator (the chairperson of UNISA's council) to the high court. It was settled by accepting a commitment by UNISA to donate R50 000 to a bursary fund and a contribution of R430.000 to her legal costs. The prospect of payments of this nature should be enough reason for employers to sit up and take note that sexual harassment is also management's responsibility.

Another is the case of Professor Pumela Msweli-Mbaga. The case is reported by Naidoo, (2006). He reports that Msweli-Mbanga levelled allegations of sexual harassment at the University of Kwa-Zulu Natal's University Council chairperson, Dr Vincent Maphai and the vice chancellor and principal, Professor Malegapuru Makgoba. Naidoo (2006) also reported that it had been a turbulent 2006 for Higher Education in the province. He said the year was peppered with controversies that in most cases had little to do with academia. The University of Kwa-Zulu Natal that was rocked by several conflicts and scandals, the most recent relating to allegations of sexual harassment, victimization and gender discrimination levelled at Vice Chancellor Malegapuru Makgoba and Council Chairman, Vincent Maphai, as referred to earlier.

At the university of Kwa-Zulu Natal a survey was taken to gauge the level and types of sexual harassment on campus. The survey was intended to provide the basis for the establishment of a policy on sexual harassment. A study that was conducted by Nomcebo, O. Simelane entitled

“Sexual Harassment: A Case Study of the University of Natal outlines the survey and the subsequent policy development processes”.

Masanja (2001: 78) reports that as part of the liberation of South Africa, the Gender Task Force was established at the University of Fort Hare in 1992. The first problem that Fort Hare had to face was the high level of violence against women on the campus. The Gender Task Force was transformed into the Gender Forum as the number of members increased. The Forum focused on Gender issues within the University and its neighbouring community. Fort Hare used workshops to develop gender-related policies. It then developed a gender resource centre to conduct research and document any gender inequalities.

What needs to be understood is that radical feminism is global and that it is and always has been driven by issues that the theory arises from the practice of all women regardless of classes, creeds, color or disposition. Piety (1992: 28) asserts that sexual harassment is a serious problem at universities globally. She points out that when she arrived at the prestigious Eastern University in Denmark to complete the work of her PhD, one of the professors in the department began to harass her. The sexually suggestive remarks made to her were in private and in front of other professors in the department. She says she made a point of procuring a copy of the university regulations concerning sexual harassment. She was surprised to discover that there was no prohibition on sexual relations between professors and students. As long as this professor's repeated requests for a date were phrased politely and involved no overt threat to her situation as a student in the department, they did not fall under the heading of behavior that was prohibited.

Warchol (1998) reports that college and university campuses are microcosms of the larger communities in which they reside, and as such, campuses experience the same problems faced by all communities, including sexual assault. From mid 2005-2006, Bennet, et al., (2002) point out that the African Gender Institute (AGI) carried out a project that showed that within higher education, sexual harassment assumptions continue to have an impact on women. Bennet (2002) stresses that there should be a need to recognize that gender operates at the level of culture,

sexuality and epistemology as these are the zones in which access to 'being a human being' is negotiated through long engagements with construction of 'manhood' and 'womanhood.'

In addition, unless participants believe that they have some power in their lives, it makes no sense to think of themselves as responsible for their victimization. They do not choose to be the victims. Regarding women's choice, the radical feminist philosopher Marilyn Frye (n.d.) writes:

As some brand of radical feminism, I am committed to the view that the oppression of women is something that women do not choose. Those of our activities and attitudes which play into women's oppression are themselves strategies we are forced into by the circumstances of oppression we live with..... What Frye implies here is that women are forced into the services of men. Women do not walk away freely from this servitude in that they continue to feel guilty about their victimization and see the power and responsibility of the perpetrators, match that of their victimization and conclude by blaming themselves instead of blaming the perpetrator.

Tong (1993:364) is of the view that sexual harassment is 'unwanted sexual attention which is coercive. It is non-coercive when the intent is simply to annoy or offend the person.' She continues to explain that gender harassment is the more general category into which sexual harassment falls. The intent of gender harassment is to keep women in their place of subordination. As feminists, Tong (1993) says that there are two types of sexual harassment: These are coercive and non-coercive sexual harassment. Coercive sexual harassment includes sexual misconduct that offers a benefit or reward to the person to whom it is directed as well as sexual misconduct that threatens some harm to the person to whom it is directed. An example of coercive sexual harassment would be a perpetrator who offers his victim promotion on condition that she provides a sexual favour. In contrast, non-coercive sexual harassment would be, for example, a perpetrator (who is a boss) who demotes his victim; for instance, from being a senior support staff member to being a junior member of the support staff, who will only deliver hand mail to offices unless she performs sexual favours. With regard to the academic staff, a victim could be demoted and teach only the bridging courses and be assigned to teach first year modules only in classes with a large number of students, even if the victim qualifies to teach final years students.

The paradigm case of coercion is the use of physical and psychological restraint. Threats of physical or psychological reprisal are also coercive to a lesser degree. Tong (1993) reports that feminists maintain that sexual advances that threaten some harm to the person to whom they are directed are clearly coercive. For example, it is coercive to say: *If you do not go to bed with me, I will demote you.* Assuming that the victim has not been secretly longing to sleep with her boss, she would not freely choose to change her situation to one in which the only way not to be demoted is by sleeping with him. The perpetrator then becomes guilty of sexual harassment because he has coerced her into a very tight corner and mostly because a coercive sexual advance is by definition an instance of sexual harassment. In contrast, in non-coercive sexual harassment, the perpetrator's primary aim is not to get a victim to perform sexually for him but simply to annoy or offend her. In this case, victims do not provoke their perpetrators (by reporting the harasser's behaviours); the behavior can include staring, breathing heavily or making strange noises around the victim. On balance, feminists are of the opinion that it is best to reserve the term coercive for cases of sexual harassment that involve specific threats or offers, especially if the threats or offers are made in the context of the workplace or institution. Minas, (1993:365) says this is, however, not to suggest that feminists think that cases of coercive and non-coercive sexual harassment are always less serious cases of coercive sexual harassment.

Some participants at WSU said that it was demeaning to be shouted at and be insulted by a perpetrator who wanted to distract your attention at work and concentrate on his sexual advances. They also said that the issue of sexual harassment involved the power and the role disparity which existed. They were disempowered, controlled, dominated and oppressed by a group of men. In addition to these burdens imposed by sexual stereotyping, many participants experienced other pressures at WSU. Some victims thought of irregular socialization as the core of the behaviour. Others thought the exploitation was aggravated by gender issues.

The assumption about the question to be asked that patriarchal discourses are created and maintained, rather than a focus upon how individuals become socialized is shared by Splendor (1980, 1983) and MacKinnon (1982). MacKinnon (1979) points out that the law against sexual harassment is a practical attempt to stop a form of exploitation. Yell and Grieshaber (1998) note that gender is a process which begins at birth and is continually shaped, molded and re-shaped throughout life.

From mid 2005 to 2006, the African Gender Institute (AGI) carried out a project which allowed research teams in Three Southern African Universities to explore the effectiveness of official campus policies on sexual harassment in the complex climates of diversity, discrimination and opportunity that characterizes contemporary higher education institutions. The three institutions involved comprised one where the initiation of the sexual harassment policy occurred in the early 1990s (the University of Western Cape), and two with relatively new policies (the University of Botswana and the University of Stellenbosch (Bennett, et al., 2002) <http://www.feministafrica.org>. Bennet, et al., (2002) argue that while there is a little evidence that policies on sexual harassment in Southern African Higher Education institutions have been integrated into campus-based discourses on citizenship or democracy, this could be read as a complex commentary on the location of feminist activism within Southern African Higher Education. They report that over the past five years many South African Institutions of Higher Education have moved through a combination of restructuring initiatives and projects explicitly dedicated towards the improvement of the quality of life on campus for educators and learners. In the past ten years a body of serious research on the impact of globalization on higher education in Africa has highlighted the tension between dwindling national resources available for university and technikon subsidies and the need for the institutions to deliver high quality education in environments protected by the values pertaining to human rights. The general research on gender and globalization has exposed, in particular, the assumption of structural adjustment programmes concerning women's labour, identity and mobility, and researchers noted that within higher education, these assumptions continue to have an impact on women's access to full equality of opportunity (<http://www.feministafrica.org/uploads/File/Issue-8/08-issue8-article5.pdf>).

Bennett, et al., (2002) continues to report that many feminist researchers have stressed the need to recognize that gender operates at the level of culture, sexuality and epistemology. These are the zones in which access to 'being a human being' is negotiated through life-long engagement with construction of 'manhood' and 'womanhood' upon which the possibilities of society itself is resting. They also wanted to find out if there were any significant gender-related differences in their perceptions and experiences of sexual harassment.

With regards to the responses from many participants at WSU, sexual harassment has been one of the most powerful routes taken to analyze WSU's culture. Through this study I was able to illuminate the axes of power at WSU. The power-play affects deep structures and mental models at the university thus affecting a change in sexual harassment behaviours. Power remains continually at play through thinking differently and in trying to make the university a sexual harassment-free institution. There is provocation that perpetuates the play of power that circulates as a languaging subjects shaped by the language.

Warchol (1998), states that college and university campuses are microcosms of the larger communities in which they reside. As such, campuses experience the same social problems faced by all communities including sexual assault. Students, staff, and faculty alike are at risk of sexual victimization. Faculty and staff not only provide resources for victims but are also vulnerable to sexual assaults themselves. Warchol, (1998) says a national victimization research project sponsored by the United States Department of Justice reported that approximately fifty one thousand (51 000) employees are raped or sexually assaulted each year. She points out that informing staff members about available resources is a proactive way of ensuring their prompt access to treatment and services.

Rider (2005: 504) defines sexual harassment as referring to 'unwelcome advances, requests for sexual favours and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature.' According to American Psychological Association, the various types of harassment can be distinguished:

1. Gender harassment: general sexist statements that convey insulting or degrading attitudes about women. These would be examples of obscene jokes or humour or about sex or women in general.
2. Seductive behaviour: unwanted, inappropriate and offensive sexual advances. Examples include repeated unwanted sexual invitations, insistent requests for dinner, drinks or dates, persistent letters, phones calls and other invitations.
3. Sexual bribery: solicitation of sexual activity or other sex-linked behavior linked to a promise of reward; the proposition may be overt or subtle.

4. Sexual coercion: coercion of sexual activity or other sex-link behaviour by threat of punishment. Examples include negative performance evaluations, withholding of promotions and threat of termination.
5. Sexual imposition: gross sexual imposition or sexual assault. Examples include forceful touching, feeling, grabbing and rape.

Rider (2005) says much of the research on sexual harassment in academic settings has focused on colleges and universities. In an introduction to a workshop on researching gender and institutional culture in African Universities, Teresa Barnes summarizes a core ‘gender challenge’ for higher education institutions. Barnes (2005) (n.d.) writes:

Scholarship has exhaustively demonstrated that a crucial aspect of colonialism project was the feminization of the African man, and thus a crucial aspect of post colonialism has been a search for a new man.

To the extent that the project of regaining ‘the nation’ (in some post colonies) or fashioning it anew (in others), Barnes (2005) says the project was deeply woven with concepts of wresting indigenous masculinity away from demeaning social engineering projects; the university has been a prime site of struggle over gender meanings in a new age. The addition of women to this men’s club is thus not only a statistical, but also an extremely meaningful social and symbolic exercise which is by its very nature, dynamic, challenging, and likely conflictual, hence the manifestations of sexual harassment at WSU.

The analysis of the context in which Barnes (2005) writes means that the authorities need to engage manhood and womanhood in higher education so that there are debates concerning relationships between men and women. Such debates concern identity, authority, and critically, the prevalence of sexual harassment as part of university life. At WSU sexual harassment behaviours have allowed tensions in respect of gendered dynamics to be brought to the surface by the participants and other victims who did not form part of my formal interviews. The picture that I have regarding sexual harassment at WSU is mirrored in many forms of sexually-abusive interactions that can be found simultaneously within most higher education

institutions. Each campus could be differently constituted in terms of its geographical, institutional and political location and the demographics of its academics-population, but the concerns of sexual harassment are consistently identified. This point is raised because I conducted preliminary studies at WSU (which was UNITRA then), the Border Technikon in East London, (see appendix C) the Border Technikon in Butterworth and the University of Port Elizabeth (NMMU) – (see appendices A and D).

The preliminary study at UNITRA was conducted in the Department of Health Sciences. I opted for the said department because it had more lecturers than any other department at UNITRA (see appendix D). It was therefore convenient for me to complete my research there. The request to undertake the study at UNITRA in the said departments was copied to the Dean of the Department of Health Sciences, the head of the Nursing Department, and the head of the Health Promotion Department who was one of my participants. I was looking forward to interviewing the head of each of the said departments, but each time I made appointments with them, I would find them busy. I wanted to hear their views as the head of departments as well. The higher education institutions in question are all based in the Eastern Cape. The participants' feelings about the behaviours involving sexual harassment were the same as those at WSU. I had also asked for permission from Rhodes University's Registrar Academic to conduct a study but I was refused entry. The Registrar at Rhodes University sent me an e mail to say that The Admin Sub-Committee of Council did not approve my request (see appendix B). I misplaced the approval letter from the Butterworth Technikon, however, permission to conduct my study at Butterworth was granted by Dr Sonn who was the Registrar Academic of Butterworth Technikon then.

The topic of my preliminary study was: *The experiences of sexual harassment in the workplace: A study of men and women academics*. In the recent study at WSU in 2009, I perceived a need to add women support staff because I had not come across a research study where women support staff were included as part of the participants in the studies on sexual harassment. Teferra and Altbach (2004: 31) assert that there is an excessive number of non-academic staff in African institutions. They say while the non-academic staff of African Educational Institutions is crucial, their disproportionate presence takes away the resources needed for the basic functions of universities. They point out that efficient management and administrative systems are of

paramount significance to the productivity and effectiveness of any enterprise. Also, Date-Bah (1997:130) says sexual harassment constitutes sex discrimination and women become targets of supervisors' sexual desires because they are women.

Booi (2007: 3) reports in Daily Dispatch that a senior Manager at the radio station appeared in Mthatha Magistrate Court in connection with sexual offences. This manager was Nthabiseng Mokane's supervisor at WSU (when WSU was the UNITRA). He had asked to have sexual relations with Mokane who was now a new radio presenter at WSU. The alleged sexual offence had been going on since 2006. Mokane's refusal of her manager's sexual relationship led her to be dismissed from work. Her letter of dismissal read: *Due to some unanticipated behavior, it is herewith my duty to advise you that your services have been terminated.* Mokane's perpetrator was charged but later released on warning that he must appear in court. Mokane gave up her career as a radio presenter.

Paludi (1990) states that sexual harassment claims are not new in academic institutions globally. Mayekiso and Bhana (1997) conducted a study at the University of Transkei (UNITRA). They were both lecturers from the Department of Psychology at UNITRA. Their study was aimed at assessing students' perceptions of what constituted sexual harassment so that they were able to identify experiences of sexual harassment. UNITRA had no sexual harassment policy at that time.

In 2008, the following extract was part of the Report of the Ministerial Committee on Transformation and Social Cohesion and the Elimination of Discrimination in Public Higher Education Institution. Given both the subtle and insidious forms of gender discrimination and harassment being experienced by female students on several campuses, it is recommended that institutions take serious steps to both protect and promote the interest the interest of women. These could include gender sensitization, campaigns aimed at everybody, and confidence-building training programmes, aimed at women in particular. This is a challenge to changing institutional culture rather than keeping quiet about the issues. The reality of this extract is that tertiary institutions are not islands of goodwill where those in power always use their positions

with integrity. They exist within a patriarchal society that is slowly recognizing that women are not simply sex objects.

There was another sex scandal at WSU that was reported by Majangaza (2011: 7) in the Daily Dispatch. Majangaza reported that classes at WSU came to a halt at Zamukulungisa WSU campus in Mthatha. Students claimed that lecturers demanded sex from female students in return for the release of their marks. Students were also preyed upon because male lecturers wanted sex with them in exchange for passes. Students asserted that an alleged perpetrator was not suspended and he remained in class and accused female students of talking about him in the paper. The lecturer threatened to get back at his victims one by one. Majangaza (2011: 5) also reported that a female 3rd year Public Management student at the Zamukulungisa campus approached the Public Protector in Mthatha to complain that the male lecturer refused to give her marks because she refused to have sex with him. The student claimed she had passed everything except his course.

The Vice-Chancellor of WSU, Professor Marcus Balintulo confirmed that investigations were underway but declined to say how many lecturers were involved. The Daily Dispatch believed that as many as five (5) lecturers may have been implicated. Impatient students however, called for the Minister of Education, Blade Nzimande to intervene, claiming that some of the cases dated back to 2007 had not been properly resolved. (www.hsrc.ac.za)

The following sexual harassment case involves a victim whom I was able to trace in 2009 after she had narrated to me how she was repeatedly sexually harassed by one perpetrator at the then UNITRA from 1992, while she was employed at UNITRA. She said her case of being a victim of sexual harassment ended in court in 1992. (I have been unable to trace the reference number of this case and will therefore withhold the names of the people concerned). I will use pronouns 'she' to refer to a victim and 'he' to refer to the perpetrator, however, this by no means implies that women cannot sexually harass men or that men cannot sexually harass other men. She said she tried to stop him on several occasions when he started to sexually harass her. He laughed and said that even if she reported him to the employer she would not win the case and, even worse,

was that he had been friends with the employer for years. He added that the employer would only believe him not her. (Other female employees working under the same boss had also laid complaints of sexual harassment against the same perpetrator). All the above cases reveal that at WSU, sexual harassment has been an ongoing issue and that most victims' cases were not attended to.

The other perpetrator, a lecturer, kept on sexually harassing the same woman until she nearly fought him. On the following day when she arrived at work, police (all men) advised her that she could lay counter charges against him instead of trying to get an interdict. Despite all this, sexual harassment did not stop and he dragged the case on by not availing himself at court during court days. She said he used every trick to make her look the guilty party. She later heard that he was spending most of his time going to court without her knowledge. In the end, they were both found guilty. The sexual harassment, however, continued. She said finally the then UNITRA introduced a Domestic Violence Act. She was then able to get restraining orders against him but did not receive any help from her employer. She then approached the University's Legal Advisor who told her not to discuss the situation as it would be an invasion of his (perpetrator's) privacy. She maintained that her ordeal lasted for two and a half years whilst she was studying for a post graduate degree. She pointed out that on one occasion she had to call the flying squad but did not receive any assistance. Four of my participants reported that the same man (as reported by the victim) had sexually harassed them but they were too scared to testify against him at the university because they knew they would have 'played with fire.' (Their services would have been terminated). Wolpe, Quinlan and Martinez (1997) identify gender violence as a major obstacle to the achievement of gender equality in South African education. Pernicious forms of gender violence include physical, verbal and sexual assault and everyday forms of harassment which go mostly unreported. Sherrard (2007: 14) says employers should have anti-harassment policies and procedures, which amongst other things, provide that complainants making complaints in good faith are not to be penalized in any way.

To show commonality of sexual harassment in learning institutions, another sexual harassment academy case (though it is not a WSU's case) was reported by the Tribune Herald News, (2006: 3). A Newland's mother, Saras Harichandre, and a student at the Durban Institute of Technology, Natasha, a seasonal employer, were sexually harassed. Natasha pointed out that the incident left her 'emotionally traumatized, hurt, disgusted, sick, and that her reputation had been diminished.' Yet another sexual harassment case is alleged to have occurred at Glenhills Primary school. A Kwa-Dukuza principal and his deputy were issued with suspension orders and escorted out of the school following allegations of sexual harassment and corporal punishment.



Figure 6: Picture of Ramcharun and Pragalath (taken by Jackie Clausen)

Marching Orders: Glenhills Primary principal Dr Anil Ramcharun and his deputy, Eshwarlall Pragalath, back, were asked to leave the school this week by Department of Education circuit manager, Mbuyiseni Ntuli, left. Picture: Jackie Clausen

The Provincial Department of Education officials visited Glenhills Primary School to issue the principal, Dr Anil Ramcharun, and his deputy, Eshwarlall Pragalath, with the orders. Ramcharun was accused of making verbal and physical advances towards female staff, and Pragalath is accused of administering corporal punishment to two pupils. Members of a task team set up to investigate the allegations had a two-hour meeting with Ramcharun and Pragalath. Head of the task team Yunus Ramcheron said that the principal and his deputy were suspended pending a disciplinary hearing.

Another sexual harassment case was reported by Hlatshwayo (2007). He stated that a sexual harassment survivor, working for the National Association of People Living with Aids (Napwa), had urged women to stand up and fight against the vice. Jabulile Mkasi reported having been sexually harassed twice whilst she was looking for a job. Mkasi went public about her sexual harassment ordeal during the launch of the sexual harassment external stake-holders seminar at the Mpumalanga Regional Training Trust, east of Nelspruit. Mkasi argued that in one instance, a man in a high position, whom she had asked about vacancies in his institution, told her that sex was the simplest way that could help get a job. In another instance, Mkasi had asked for employment from a policeman at the South African Police Station. Again, the policeman told Mkasi that sex was the answer. Mkasi asked women not to succumb to sex for jobs. She said that she regretted having denied these men sex because she did not have a decent job. Nevertheless, she said that she was proud that she still had her dignity.

Regarding sexual harassment, there are a number of reasons why Higher Education institutions must provide sexual-assault-prevention education, assume a role in the development of individuals, foster character building and help to understand their roles and responsibilities (as institution of higher learning) in an academic world. Accordingly, the feminist-article website points out that institutions of Higher Education also sponsor and support a number of social organizations which are frequently associated with high profile sexual assault crimes (<http://www.feministafrica.org/uploads/file/issue-08/08-issue8-articles5.pdf>). Gupta (2004:23) maintains that once a sexual harassment policy has been developed, the next step is to ensure that it is effectively communicated to all employees. This can be accomplished through a variety of education and training strategies.

Rose and Anderson (2007) in their study of sexual harassment in the United States state that fewer women file claims for sexual harassment. The perpetrators at the universities, and in

general, fail to see that every human being is to be treated as ends in themselves and not as means. To treat another merely as a means that exists for one's own ends is to disregard the victim's wants and wishes. Persons have to be respected because they are ends in themselves. Not only have women entered the workforce in unprecedented numbers at the university, but they have done well in many professions through having become better educated. They have achieved the passing of significant anti-discrimination legislation, and have become more sexually assertive. Pointing to such signs of progress means these women have actively voiced all in their demand, yet many suffer sexual harassment at WSU.

Are women continually perceived as sex objects? The following diagrammatic presentation, (Figure 6) explains how among the list of oppressed groups, women are certainly to be considered unique. Many are made to feel worthless as human beings. This man freely stands on a woman as if he is standing on a stone which is an object. His stance signals an orientation and attitude which reinforces the stereotypical views of the role of a woman's gender. I will give two examples of how some terminologies carry with them negative connotations that make women as objects. The two examples are from Hearne (1998) and Mills (1995). Hearne (1998: 28) points out that the terminology used in conceptualizing violence is very important empirically, theoretically and politically. He says the term 'domestic violence' remains the most popular way of talking of men's violence to known women throughout much of the world. He says this is especially so in the United Kingdom, in journalistic discourse and in policing. In doing so, he says the problem of violence is reflected as though unrelated to men or a man in question. In a way this also diverts attention from who does what to whom, as if it is someone other than a man. The reporter thus shies away from the naming and recognition of *men's* violence. In short, the danger in conceptualizing violence is that it appears as if men cannot be violent.

Mills (1995: 105) has her views regarding the negative connotations of women's private parts. She says 'vagina' is derived from the Latin for 'sheath'- a place to keep a sword. Although the word does not retain the meaning, 'a sword's sheath', this female organ was originally named in such a way so as to suggest that its only purpose is penetrative sex with men. The implication of this is that a woman is not really in control of her own body – a suggestion reinforced by the fact that when a woman is in labour, the name of this part of the body changes to 'birth canal';

this distracts attention from the sexual function and focuses on the reproductive function. The assumption is that a vagina is primarily not for a woman's use, but for the use of a man or a baby. It then remains an object.

It is inappropriate that the participants have to live with and love their oppressors despite the fact that the perpetrators, the highly-educated men in the helping professions of the university still treat them as objects. Victims are perceived as 'objects' that have to be used, 'things' that belong on the floor, women with no intrinsic worth and victims in their own right.

According to Soanes & Stevenson (2006: 1498), a thing is 'an object that one need not, cannot or does not wish to give a specific name to.'



Figure 7: A perpetrator standing on a ‘thing’-treating a woman as an object

3.3.1 Women as sex objects

Take note of how freely and relaxed he is when standing on a ‘thing.’

Dworkin (1974:23) notes that most women, all too often, function at least some of the time as tools for male convenience, pleasure and self-affirmation. Gilligan (2001: 61) maintains that it is very clear that women are seen as sex objects. Halwan (2007) says the radical feminist, Andrea

Dworkin insisted in 1974 that the battle against sexual objectification (a ‘battle to be waged by ‘asserting one’s humanness every time, in all situations’) is the core of our struggle.

The hierarchical nature of WSU is coupled with patriarchal cultures of leadership. This is why there are multiple zones of seniority that operate within the institution both at personal assistant level and at academic level. Women who are considered as ‘juniors’ are consistently vulnerable to unwanted sexualization by senior men. The institutional climate is inhospitable to the university’s participants because of the prevalence of sexually harassing behaviour. Academic women are not only faced with upholding of quality education or an effective personal assistance job. They are also faced with different norms about gender and sexuality that jostle for recognition and dominance.

Regarding patriarchal cultures, Johnson (1997: 5) states that a society is patriarchal to the degree that it is male dominated, male identified and male centered. It also involves, as one of its key aspects, the oppression of women. Mills (1995: 85) states that where there is a mirror of patriarchal societies, there is evidence of contamination with sexist meanings.

Stoller (1989) as quoted from Williams (1989: 12), studied gender disorders in men and women and describes in detail the conflict males experience over establishing masculinity. He notes that during infancy, both boys and girls are ‘emerged’ with their mothers; they actually sense themselves as part of her. This symbiosis establishes a sense of femininity in all infants, thus posing an eventual problem for males, who have to renounce this identification later in life. Stoller (1989: 12) writes:

I suspect the problem boys have with creating their masculinity from the protofemininity leaves behind a ‘structure’, a vigilance, a fear, of the pull of the symbiosis and the opposing urge to separate out as an individual, as a male, as masculine...Much of what we see as masculinity is, I think, the effect of that struggle. For much of masculinity, as is well known, consists of struggling not to be seen by oneself or others as having feminine attributes, physical or psychological. One must maintain one’s distance from women or be irreparably infected with femininity. What

Stoller means here is that gender identity development may manifest itself in adult life, hence, the onset of sexual harassment directed at the opposite sex.

Rider (2005: 11) asserts that radical feminists believe that society perpetuates male dominance and that women struggle against this oppression in all realms of their lives. Thus, society's actions must be viewed through the lens of gender. Radical feminists further believe that sexism is ingrained in patriarchal institutional structures and is the underlying cause of discrimination and oppression based on sex. They believe that for women to gain power, basic societal institutions must be restructured or overturned. In contrast to this view, liberal feminists believe they can work within current social institutions to bring about the requisite legal reforms. Radical feminists believe that existing systems are so skewed in men's favour that they cannot be corrected. Instead, patriarchal systems must be abolished and new egalitarian systems installed. The contrasting views of radical and liberal feminism means the obstacles to the success of feminism are thus still enormous. They are an indication of the depth of the problems, and the difficulties that women encounter in working effectively and well with another in the academic arena-in part because of their minority status.

le Roux, et al., (2005: 32), define sexual harassment according to the 2005 code. He defines sexual harassment in the following way: Sexual harassment is unwelcome conduct of a sexual nature that violates the rights of an employee and constitutes a barrier to equity in the workplace, taking into account all of the following factors:

1. Whether the harassment is on the prohibited grounds of sex and gender and/or sexual orientation;
2. Whether the sexual conduct was unwelcome;
3. The nature and extent of sexual conduct on the employee.

As far as unwelcome-ness is concerned, a victim may walk away or may not respond to the perpetrator to show that she does not welcome his sexual advances. This is a form of non-verbal conduct. The harassment may, however, consist of a single incident and there may be no opportunity to communicate that the conduct is unwelcome. The Code also provides that where a complainant has difficulty indicating to the perpetrator that the conduct is unwelcome, the complainant may seek the assistance and intervention of another person, such as a co-worker, superior, counsellor, human resource official, family member or friend. It can happen that the

victim has passively dealt with on-going harassment without telling anyone and in these circumstances, not only is it difficult to prove unwelcome-ness, but it is so often assumed that a victim is lying simply because she or he adopted a passive coping strategy in the past. I think the first response to a victim who decides to report sexual harassment after having adopted a passive copying strategy is usually one of 'she is lying.' I am being reminded of WSU participants. They reported their harassment to a senior person but she decided to sweep the scenario 'under the carpet.' The participants chose to keep quiet but not because they wanted to protect their perpetrators; the senior personnel member did not want to talk about sexual harassment behaviour. There was no possibility that the junior academics would have pushed their seniors to divulge the incidents.

Reference can also be made to two stories about prominent figures, involving rape and sexual harassment. The Argus (2006) reported that the South African President Jacob Gedleyihlekisa Zuma was accused of rape (deputy President then). A former Ambassador to Indonesia, Norman Mashabane, was accused of sexual harassment. In December 2005, Zuma was charged with raping a thirty one (31) year old woman at his home in Forest Town, Johannesburg. The alleged victim was from a prominent ANC family, the daughter of a deceased struggle comrade of Zuma's, and she was also an AIDS ¹⁰ activist who was known to be HIV¹¹ positive. Zuma denied the charges and claimed that the sex was consensual. Zuma's victim ended up being deemed a liar. Mashabane was accused of twenty two instances of sexual harassment by seven women. The foreign minister, Nkosazane Dlamini-Zuma, cleared Mashabane of all charges. Except for the fact that Nkosazane Dlamini-Zuma showed she did not fit neatly into feminism, did Mashabane's elite status cloud Dlamini-Zuma's reasoning? She acted on the strength of her personal disposition to exert power over Mashabane's victims by clearing Mashabane of all charges. These cases show that there is dissatisfaction with the condition of women's lives and opportunities, coupled with a belief that women's disabilities arise not from nature itself, nor indeed from any of the ills which afflict humankind as such, but from the way in which women's desires and abilities have been made subordinate to the needs, desires and interests of men. The

¹⁰ Acquired Immune Deficiency syndrome (www.aidsinfo.nih.gov)

¹¹ Human Immunodeficiency Virus (www.aidsinfo.nih.gov)

struggles to do away with the hierarchy that defines men as more powerful than women have encouraged a focus on the meaning of power.

The definition of unwelcome-ness endorsed by the United States Equal Employment Opportunity Commission is that the conduct must be unwelcome ‘in the sense that the employee did not solicit or incite it, and in the sense that the employee regarded the conduct as undesirable or offensive.’ le Roux, et al., (2005) also report that to determine whether the conduct was unwelcome, the following factors may be relevant:

1. Whether the complainant willingly participated in the conduct.
2. Whether the complainant made her/his supervisors aware that in the future such conduct would be considered unwelcome.
3. Whether the period of time has elapsed between the occurrence of the conduct and the complaint indicates a specific reaction.
4. How the complainant responded—with outright rejection, with initial rejection and later acceptance, with initial acceptance followed by later rejection or ‘soured romance’ or coerced submission.

Regarding violence of men, Heare (1998: 5) reports that *men’s violence are being increasingly recognized for what they are—a severe social problem. Yet the recognition appears to do little to reduce men’s violence to women, or indeed, other kinds of men’s violence. The problem of men’s violence to known women has now been named, and men have been named as the problem. Men’s violence to known women and the pain, both physical and emotional, of that violence have been made public.*

Sherrard (2007: 14) says employers are vicariously liable for the acts of their employees unless they can show that they took such steps as were reasonably practicable to prevent the employee from carrying out the acts in respect of which the complaint is made.

Date-Bah (1997: 133) defines sexual harassment as ‘unwanted conduct of a sexual nature, where either the rejection or imposition of such conduct can have negative employment consequences for the victim, as well as undesirable effects on the work environment.’

I am of the opinion that stereotypes are still alive and well at the university and that femininity is still considered a negative and that gender rules continue to break down to create that unwanted conduct from sexual harassment perpetrators. The emphasis here is on the victims who should plan and take more responsibility for their freedom at WSU.

Clearly, all these definitions of sexual harassment reveal the essential characteristics of sexual harassment as being conduct of a sexual nature which is unwanted by, or unwelcome to, the recipient and that distinguishes it from friendly behaviour which is welcome and mutual. The verbal, non-verbal and physical acts vary according to cultural and social practices, and the social context in which they occur but all acts are severely humiliating. For instance, in some cultures, physical touching upon greeting or communication may be normal social behaviour, while in other societies this would be interpreted as a sexual advance, whether wanted or not. This is not to imply that a women’s explicit rejection of sexual advances should be regarded as a sign of her positive interest in the person making them. Regarding this humiliation, Rider (2005: 504) points out that research on sexual harassment in academic settings has focused on colleges and universities and the act is severely humiliating. MacKinnon (1979: 47) concurs with Rider (2005). MacKinnon (1979) says sexually-harassed women feel humiliated, degraded, ashamed, embarrassed and cheap, as well as angry.

The participants respond to discrimination in employment in ways common to discriminated groups in all societies throughout history. It is true that women are now entering into professional and proprietorial occupations such as being academics, lawyers, physicians, researchers, accountants and so on. There are even equally increasing numbers of women who start their own enterprises in various services and retail fields. But as long as women continue to

be sexually harassed and discriminated against at work, and are besieged by sexual harassment, the relative absence of women from the higher echelons of business, government and institutions will persist. And, as long as the university's women in the higher echelons (such as the professional arenas, management and supervisors) are insensitive or do not speak out about the social problem of sexual harassment at WSU, no junior lecturers and personal assistants will reach the top of the hierarchical pyramid which other senior women have reached. The following diagrammatic figure, namely, Figure 8 represents the distribution of women at the university. Some participants, such as the support staff on the bottom of the pyramid in Figure 8 state that they report sexual harassment to women who occupy the two top echelons of Figure 8. These are the women who decide not to deal with the problem but 'sweep it under carpet.' They should be noting that as a great deal of time is spent at work, it is vital that workers continue to be productive. Productivity can only be boosted by good social relations at work. Peitchins (1989: 102) uses the following diagrammatic presentation that shows the occupational distribution of women in the workplace generally. I telephoned and e-mailed a senior Human Resource personnel in WSU and asked him to furnish me with the statistics of the employees at WSU. I wanted to compare the said statistics to Peitchin's illustration in Figure 8 so that I could see how the distribution of working women at WSU is. I am still waiting for the said personnel's feedback.

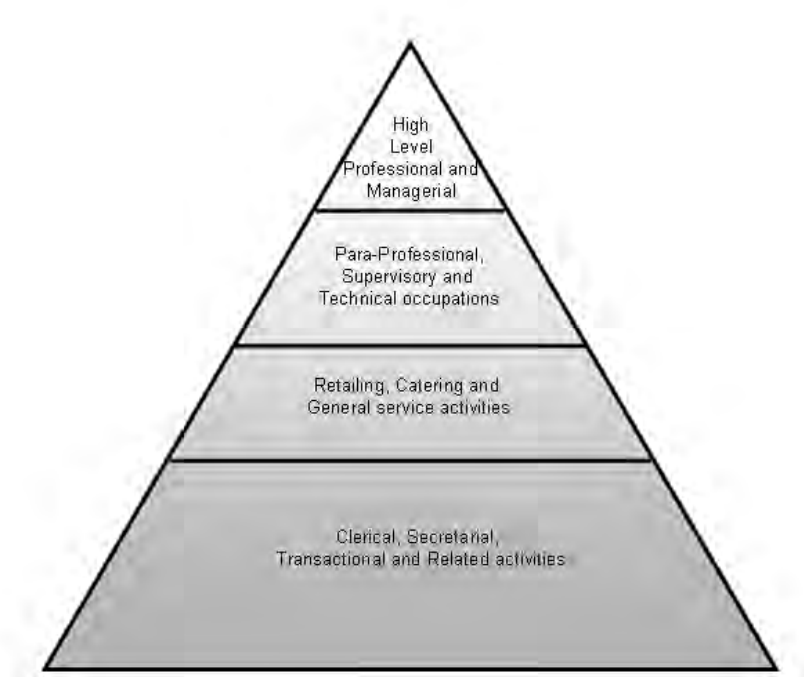


Figure 8: Occupational distribution of WSU women

3.3.2 Women's occupational positions at WSU

Peitchinis (1989) presents the above illustration (Figure 8) and the different occupations in a hierarchical manner. Peitchin's (1989) illustration is edited by separating the occupations by lines and shading of occupations to correlate with the discussion of how sexual harassment can injure the self-esteem of victims by not allowing them the opportunity to reach the higher echelon in institutions. The shading goes from dark at the bottom of the pyramid to light at the top of the pyramid. Academic institutions like WSU are no exception to this. The light shading at the top of the pyramid means only a few women at WSU are higher up the pyramid. Peitchinis (1989: 63) points out that the experience of women as workers in the labour market is common the world over, regardless of the political system. He says differences do exist, but the characteristics common to all in employment are more revealing of the true positions of women in the world of work than are the distinctive characteristics.

Regarding Figure 8 Teferra and Altbach (2004: 31) assert that there are excessively high numbers of non-academic staff in African institutions. They say while non-academic staff of African Educational Institutions are crucial, their disproportionate presence takes away the resources needed for the basic functions of universities. They point out that efficient management and administrative systems are of paramount significance to the productivity and effectiveness of any enterprise.

Gutek (1988: 123) points out that men and women together in a formal work organization provide an environment for the emergence of informal cross-sex interactions, friendship and romance and sexual harassment. They say that sexual harassment occurs as a result of an eroticized atmosphere at work. Gender becomes constructed through the practices of power.

Radtke and Stam (1994: 12) point out that gender and power emerge as ubiquitous aspects of social relationships while Llewelyn and Osborne (1990: 104) argue that the experiences of women in the work place should be undertaken with an awareness of the ever-present backdrop of deeply resistant practices relating to sexual discrimination.

Human Rights Watch Report (2001) maintains that South Africa reportedly has one of the highest rates of violence against women in South Africa. This violence in turn places a heavy burden on the education system in the country. Before considering the prevalence of sexual violence and sexual harassment of learners in South Africa, it is critical to analyze the current statistics relating to sexual violence against all women in the country. The violence statistics indicate that “on a daily basis in schools across the nation, South African girls of every race and economic class encounter sexual violence and sexual harassment at school that impedes their realization of the right to education. The sexual violence statistics in South Africa will be dealt with in point 3.4.

3.4 Sexual violence statistics in South Africa

Richards, (2001) says the following statistics are gleaned from various studies referred to in a recent Human Rights Watch Report regarding South Africa. South Africa has one of the world's highest reported rates of violent crimes committed against women. In some areas 77% of surveyed women said that sexual violence was very common. 68% of these women had personally been subjected to sexual harassment-at least once at school or at their place of work. 25% of young women in another survey admitted to having had sex with a woman without her consent before she was 18years of age. Most South African rapes go unpublished because it is one of the most under-reported crimes and because it has one of the lowest conviction rates. In the late nineties, 40% of the people who reported rape and attempted rape committed against them were girls younger than 17 years of age. A more recent study reports that more and more girls are being raped before they reach the age of fifteen years old. Of all the reported crimes that were committed against South African children in 1998, the most common one was rape. In one area, statistics show also that in about 40% of cases, sexual violence was committed by children. About one half of the young men believed that if a girl said 'no' to sex, she really meant 'yes.' One third of men and women who were surveyed did not think that to force sex on someone you known is an act of sexual violence. Some of the girls did not know that they had the right not to have sex against their wishes. More than 10% of teenage boys thought that gang rape was cool and a game. Reasons why young men rape girls included wanting to put her in her place, to teach her a lesson and to break her pride. The fact that such incidents still occur over and over in women's lives should not be surprising. Research studies of various types have indicated repeatedly that the occurrence rates for assault, coercion and harassment are high in mixed-gender environments and in both casual and committed heterosexual relationships (www.erp.org.za.htm/issue).

The Republic of South Africa has introduced a Bill that protects orders against harassment. The Republic of South Africa Protection Bill, (2010) is related to this study. This Bill is broad, therefore only issues that are related will be mentioned in this study. The Bill includes children who are not part of this study.

3.5 The Republic of South Africa Protection Bill

The Republic of South Africa Protection Bill (2010) is to provide for the issuing of protection orders against harassment; to amend the Criminal Procedure Act, 1955, so as to provide for an increase in the amount which may be fixed by a magistrate in respect of a recognisance as security to keep the peace; to effect consequential amendments to the Criminal Procedure Act, 1977; to amend the Domestic Violence Act, 1998, so as to provide a mechanism to subpoena witnesses to attend proceedings in terms of that Act; to effect consequential amendments to the Firearms Control Act, 2000; and to provide for matters connected therewith.

The Bill of Rights in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, enshrines the rights of all people in the Republic of South Africa, including the right to equality, the right to privacy, the right to dignity, the right to freedom and security of the person (which incorporates the right to be free from all forms of violence from either public or private sources), and the rights of children to have their best interests considered. These rights afford victims of harassing behaviour an effective remedy against such behaviour.

Definitions and application of the Act:

‘complainant’ means any person who alleges that he or she is being subjected to harassment;

‘harm’ means any mental, psychological, physical or economic harm;

‘harassment’ means directly or indirectly engaging in conduct that causes harm or inspires the reasonable belief that harm may be caused to the complainant or a related person by unreasonably following, watching, pursuing or accosting the complainant or a related person, or loitering outside of, or near the building or place, where the complainant, or a related person resides, works, carries on business, studies or happens to be:

1. Engaging in verbal, electronic or any other communication aimed at the complainant or a related person, by any means, whether or not conversation ensues; or
2. Sending, delivering or causing the delivery of letters, telegrams, packages, facsimiles, electronic mail or other objects to the complainant or a related person or leaving it where it will be found by or given to, or brought to the attention of the complainant, or a related person.
4. ‘Member of the South African Police Service’ means any member as defined in section 1 of the South African Police Service Act, 1995 (Act No. 68 of 1995);
5. ‘Minister’ means the Cabinet member responsible for the administration of justice;

6. 'Peace officer' means a peace officer as defined in section 1 of the Criminal Procedure Act, 1977 (Act No. 51 of 1977);
7. 'Respondent' means any person against whom proceedings are instituted in terms of this Act.

The Protection from Harassment Bill, 2010, provides primarily for the granting of a protection order against harassment. The Bill also seeks to effect certain amendments to other legislation but only the Domestic Violence Act will be quoted. The Domestic Violence Act, 1998 (Act No. 116 of 1998), seeks to provide for a mechanism to subpoena witnesses to attend proceedings in a domestic violence matter. The strategic focus of the Bill is transforming justice, state and society and access to justice. The Bill will also contribute to the fight against violence suffered by women and children. The Bill was drawn up in consultation with the following Departments:

The Department of Social Development, the National Prosecuting Authority, the Commission on Gender Equality, academics, members of the legal fraternity and representatives of various NGOs.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. RESEARCH DESIGN

This chapter involves deductive reasoning to deduce or develop a deductive conceptual framework which is used to guide researchers in the process of data collection. The task in the design cycle deals with the processes of deductive and inductive reasoning which alternate continuously and are in constant interplay with each other. Research methods have been discussed as well as interview methods that have been employed. There is also a discussion on the significance of the study and how data was collected. Ethical issues have been discussed as well as some of the problems that were encountered at the research site.

Babbie (2007: 57) mentions that deduction is the ‘derivation of expectations and hypotheses from theories’ and induction is the ‘development of generalizations from specific observations.

Research design relates directly to the testing of a hypothesis. Bless, et al., (2006: 7) point out that a hypothesis is a specification of the most adequate operations to be performed in order to test a specific hypothesis under given conditions. Gilbert (2008: 56) maintains that a hypothesis is a tentative answer to ‘why’ and, sometimes, ‘how’ research questions. Yin (1994) defines a research design as an ‘action for getting from here to there, there being answers and between here and there being a number of major steps which include a collection of data analysis.’ Social research can be conducted within a quantitative or a qualitative context. The choice of methodology is about its suitability which is directed by theoretical principles. Sarantakos (2005: 134) maintains that factors (amongst others) that are in favour of a qualitative methodology are chosen when:

1. There is a need to study reality.
2. The researcher intends to present the information gathered, not as numbers or formulae, but verbally, in a detailed and complete form.
3. The researcher wishes to approach reality without preconceived ideas or pre-constructed designs and patterns.

The qualitative methodology that guided this study also guided me to follow certain procedures in order to be able to analyze data. According to Naidoo (1993), methodology allows the researcher to reach conclusions and to move away from speculation to scientific findings which are facts. In other words, findings are facts which have been tested and proven true as in social research. Bailey (1982: 3) defines social research as being concerned with gathering data that can help answer questions about aspects of society and enable us to understand society and / or the philosophy of the research process. Other researchers such as Letherby (2003: 5) argue that a method is a technique, a tool for doing research, for gathering evidence, for collecting data. The data collection used in the study includes the following: Women's lives as WSU employees, face-to face interviews and face-to face focus group interviews.

4.1 Research methods

Brewer and Hunter (1989) argue that each method of data collection could lead to potentially-valid empirical and theoretical generalizations about society and social life provided it is appropriately applied.

I was granted permission by WSU to conduct this study on 19 of August 2005. I could not undertake this study immediately and formally because of financial constraints and ill health. In 2007, I was granted a scholarship by the National Research Foundation (NRF). It was then that I formally started to work on my proposal which was passed by the UKZN Higher Degrees Committee in the same year of 2007. Through ill health again and some tribulations, I was only able to continue with my studies (the formal writing up only) on the 25 May, 2009. The formal data-gathering process took place at WSU from 4 March to 21 April 2009. According to all the participants, the university had no sexual harassment policy, even gender policies did not exist. I did not want to believe that such an established university did not have a sexual harassment policy. I suspected that possibly the participants were not aware that the sexual harassment policy existed. On the last day of my interviews I made an appointment with one of the executive members' assistants. I notified her of my study and conducted an informal interview with her.

She confirmed that a sexual harassment policy did not exist at WSU but she assured me that it was in the pipeline.

The data methods applied in the study include the following: participants viewing their lives at WSU, face-to-face interviews and face-to face-focus group interviews.

4.2 Women's lives at WSU

It has been through formal and informal interviews that I understood women's lives. Session of with these women armed me with rich data. At WSU some of women's lives have been extremely enclosed and modernization entails a partial breakdown of traditional barriers in which the demands of a growing economy draw many women into economic activity outside the home. Singer and Baddeley (2007: 177) point out that the life story is the construction of a coherent and a purposeful self-concept, or what Erik Erikson, a pioneer in personality psychology, calls *identity*. Erikson says the life story is not simply an expression of the underlying construct of identity, but the fundamental way in which we know ourselves and, to a large extent are known by others. This means the stories we create of our lives are forged from the available repertoire of cultural myths and society.

Rosenthal (1987) points out that interviewing is a form of qualitative research through which we legitimately gather information that we can further analyze and publish (Bar-On, 1996: 9). Mouton (1996: 166) says people are symbolic objects for themselves. They construct, judge and modify themselves as social entity. Women's lives and experiences have perspectives and plans that emerge from interplay between a socially-constructed self and a socially-constructed environment. I could link this with WSU women's life stories; they render their environment, which is transformed by a rendition, and they construe their environment as new. What this means is that (women) in telling their stories see their environment from a new perspective. This then emphasizes fundamental features in victims' social life. Their social reality is based on symbolic interactionism which is a sociological tradition that applies to social research. Moutton (1996) says that in symbolic interactionism people reflect and view the symbols which they then apply to their social reality. Anthropologists, Claude Levi-Strauss, Clifford Geertz, and

Bronislaw Malinowski, known as the structuralists, created a convincing impression of 'being there' when collecting life stories. They are known for participative observation. They plug into the life of the subject as the only valuable method of fieldwork. In my data collection, (listening to women's lives), even though there was no participative observation, using symbols such as nodding and shaking heads in anger about their awful feelings, I could detect the vagrancies of their thoughts, that nigrescent thing; the self, had been dented (Czarniawska, 2004: 107). I nodded with understanding at how participants were emotionally dented. Nodding is one aspect of non-verbal communication (NVC). Lacey (1998: 11) points out that NVC is a particularly important channel of communication which all human beings-with the exception of those who are severely mentally ill-use, often use unconsciously. As anthropological writing is relevant to all social sciences, the anthropological premise became common to all social sciences. The anthropologist such as Bronislaw Malinowski, say the 'other' is here, is literate and has a voice. In narratives then his or her voice plays a crucial role. I will explain more about the voice (participants' narratives/ data analysis) in chapter six of this study.

In chapter five of this dissertation, I will discuss sexual harassment as a social behaviour and the social representations of power. The said discussion is in pursuit of magnifying the prominence of gender as a reality in sexual harassment and power relations which define gender. The intention of this discussion will be to explore and understand the respondents' experiences as *women* at WSU before dwelling on them as *victims* of sexual harassment in data analysis. Even though my study is not about all women at WSU, I thought it would be worthwhile to choose this method (where victims talk about their womanhood at WSU) alongside other methods. This choice (women's lives at WSU) is to show how the process of gender identity influences the behaviours (relating to sexual harassment) at WSU. My interest lay in trying to grasp the totality of women's sexual harassment; to see whether their womanhood projected an image of invisibility and whether the perpetrators perceive victims as invisible human beings and treat them as objects.

The main reason behind wanting to listen to these stories was to elicit rich qualitative data as the stories were uniquely and individually constructed. Noting what women say about themselves is much more illuminating than any other research method. One sits down and the participant tells one about herself as a woman employee at WSU. Most tell one about an inability to relate to their inner selves, inability to connect language and ideas which make them see themselves in relation to a continuum or as part of a body of WSU employees. They use borrowed concepts such as: powerless, sex object, inferior, subordinate, non-personal dignity, etc. These concepts do not fit the shape these women feel themselves to be. Through these concepts WSU victims clumsily stumble over themselves and struggle to be effective at work because they are 'stiffened'. Whilst in the process of being stifled, sexual harassment easily prevails.

May (2001: 22) points out that women's experiences of themselves are reflections of dominant social relationships. Though experience is a beginning point for research, for standpoint feminists, experiences must be situated within the wider context of women's lives in general. May (2001) points out that within standpoint epistemology there are two emphases: Firstly, women's lives are an excellent starting point upon which to base research as they occupy a marginalized position within society and can therefore 'look in' as a stranger might to a new social scene. Secondly, there is emphasis on the scientific study of society where the aim is to place women's experiences within a wider theory for their location in society. In this way, it becomes a feminist stance and one which does not marginalize, but promotes the cause of women in general. Women's experiences and feelings are valid.

Stones (2008: 31) points out that we see history and large structures of society in individual experiences and we understand individual fulfilment and suffering through those heavy forces. Even though this dissertation will not discuss what participants' said about their lives at WSU, some of the information (data) that I gathered from them reflects on participants' lives as employees of WSU, however, data is analyzed with caution. For example, participants' names, ages and the length of employment are kept confidential. This is to ensure that the dignity and self respect of participants has been preserved. As Rosenthal (1993) points out, life stories and

life histories are always dialectically linked. The term, life story, is commonly applied to the narrated story by the other. The life story refers to the interpretative and presentational work of the researcher. Goodson and Sikes (2001) argue that there is a distinction between life stories and life histories. Roberts (2002) observes that such distinction is usually difficult to maintain in practice. Atkinson (1998) defines a life story as a story a person chooses to tell about the life he or she has lived. It is told as completely and honestly as possible. As a researcher I had to be sensitive to the fact that the participants felt embarrassed and bitter about the harassment and were confused about their own identity; they were virtually like immigrants on a lien (WSU) territory. The life history on the other hand, is usually taken to refer to the collection, interpretation and report on a life, that is, how the story is told or how the individual constructs his or her past experiences.

During the interviews I discussed the study's research focus with the participants. I was able to collect women's life stories by firstly asking each respondent to tell me her life story as an employee of WSU. We sat and I started a womanly talk about 'how they felt about being women and how society sees them as women. In a way, this reflection prepared them for interview questions. Before I could even ask them about their womanhood at WSU, they had already started interrupting me, eager to tell their stories. I asked them individually to tell me how they felt being a woman at WSU. As I was listening to their stories, I made sure not to disturb them but just kept nodding without a word. After the narration, I then posed my interview questions using open-ended and unstructured interview questions. I must say their narration as women employees at WSU was a surprise as they argued that they did not speak of themselves. Instead their hierarchical notions of gender difference spoke of themselves, causing their employment to be imbued with an analysis of patriarchy. They said their choices of liberty that would suit them as women were treated as objects buffeted by patriarchal control. They wanted to rise above adverse circumstances to shape their own lives -ways at WSU- by being respected and not treated as sex objects. Amongst other factors of concern, except hierarchy, which they thought led to their abuse, victims came up with other themes which influence sexual harassment at WSU. Besides hierarchy, they also mentioned desperation, intensity, repetition, aggravation, culture and poverty. These were actually the themes that made this study unique. They admitted

that they were desperate for work because the Eastern Cape region is poor. That means the employment opportunities are scarce, hence the irritation caused by the behavior of sexual harassment. They also maintained that Xhosa culture perpetuated the abuse because Xhosas believe that a woman should always be submissive; their perpetrators abused that culture. They said those were the reasons that lay behind a repetition of harassment and made issues of sexual harassment so intense.

Self-reflexivity forms a part of this study. In chapter eight I did not want to disentangle myself from this research. Reflexivity in chapter eight is in a poetic text with a heading "*Free her, free women.*" Reflexivity involves a process of self-consciousness, that of researching for one's own position in the research process. Alasuutari, et al., (2008: 90) maintain that exploring the way people talk about their lives is important for many reasons. In my narrative approach I will show how my lenses have allowed me to be able to perceive how much the world has actually allowed a patriarchal culture at WSU to flourish. Through interviews, I developed lenses which provided me with insight into a patriarchal ideology at WSU.

4.2.1 Face-to-face interviews

Interviewing plays a vital role in data collection where respondents express their own thoughts in their own words. According to Punch (2005: 155), interviews are a very good way of accessing people's perceptions, meanings, definitions of situations and construction of reality. Furthermore they are one of the most powerful ways of understanding others. The primary advantages of interviews are that they provide far more detailed information than what is available through other data collection methods, such as surveys. They also provide a more relaxed atmosphere in which to collect information; people might feel more comfortable having a conversation with you as opposed to filling out a survey form. Surveys might not provide sufficient information and unfortunately a researcher is unable to delve for more answers.

The interview techniques involved individual face-to-face interviews and face-to-face focus group interviews. Feminist research interviews are a hallmark of qualitative research. I had unstructured and semi-structured interviews. Unstructured interviews are just that. I had a

predetermined structure that allowed me to pose the questions and thereafter had to decide and judge what next should follow the posed question. The semi-structured questions are those questions that come in between. The interviews leave some spaces for following up on interesting utterances or topics when they spontaneously arise. This means I gave my participants a 'free rein' and they could vent their anger when relating to their experiences. Rugg and Petre (2007: 138) point out that if you give your respondents a free rein, they are liable to come up with interesting information but it is a nightmare to code. Participants are also liable to shy away from all sorts of other interesting points that might have emerged if one had been more direct. I do not think the theme of the study would have allowed me to draft questions which were directive. It is a theme about which one would like to hear more stories and observe patterns in sexual harassment without having to be direct with the questions. I might have missed information that could not have been captured as many stories and terms of sexual harassment that were captured formed my study. Besides, the experience that I had with the structured questions was that the structured interviews that I used as my interview technique some years ago were unclear, ambiguous and elicited responses from the respondents that were unintelligible. Even though structured questions are easy to construct, the responses are not always easy to collate, or even appropriate for the study.

Regarding the lives of the women at WSU, the nature of sexual harassment is sensitive for any feminist researcher and at the same time interesting, particularly when respondents tell their own stories and use their own terms. Doucet and Mauthner (2008: 328) maintain that it should be noted that feminist researchers have embraced patriarchal characteristics in their work. Firstly, they have long advocated that feminist research should not be just *on* women, but *for* women (De Vault 1990, 1996; Fonow and Cook 1991, 2005; Ramazanoglu and Holland 2002; Reinharz 1992; Smith 1987, 1989, 1999; Stanley and Wise 1983, 1993). Secondly, they have advocated that feminist research should be concerned with issues of broader social change and social justice (Fonow and Cook 1991, 2005). For example, Beverly Skeggs argues that feminist research is distinct because it 'begins from the premise that the nature of reality in western society is unequal and hierarchical' (Skeggs 1997:77). Ramazanogly and Holland (2002: 2-3) note that feminist research 'is imbued with particular theoretical, political and ethical concerns that make

these varied approaches to social research distinctive' Thirdly, feminist researchers have actively engaged with methodology innovations through challenging conventional or mainstream ways of collecting, analyzing and presenting data (Code 1995; Gelsthrope 1990; Lather 2001; Lather and Smithies 1997; Mol 2002; Naples 2003; Richardson 1988, 1997) . For example feminist researchers engage with the intersections between feminist theory and methodologies and turn their attention to the studying and understanding of women's lives. Dorothy Smith (1974) notes that within Sociology there is a disjunction between how women find and experience the world, beginning from their place and the concepts and theoretical schemes available to define that world.

4.2.2 Focus group interviews

A focus group interview is a group interview in which more than one person is interviewed simultaneously. Madriz (2000: 836) describes a focus group as a 'collective rather than an individualistic research method that focuses on the multivocality of participants' attitudes, experiences and beliefs.' Typically, the participants in a focus group are relatively homogenous and are asked to reflect on a particular issue. I am certain that having participants to respond in a social context provides honest and responsible comments. The reason why I had to undertake both face-to-face interviews and face-to-face focus group interviews is that the only time I could conduct interviews was usually during the lunch hour where, fortunately for me, the victims would be sitting together for lunch. Stewart and Shamsadani (1990: 203) assert that focus group interviews allow the researcher to interact directly with research participants thus providing opportunities for the clarification of responses, for follow-up questioning and for probing of responses. Focus groups have a unique advantage of giving more room for the voices of participants and they decrease the influence of the researcher on the interview. This advantage informed the choice of the method for collecting data from both the academic and the support staff women of WSU. They were provided with opportunities to explore and gain more insight into themselves as women. I was also advantaged by adopting focus group interviews because it meant saving time.

4.3 Sample/unit of analysis

The unit of analysis becomes particularly important when the sample with which to work is drawn-up. The unit of analysis is the person or object from which the social researcher collects data. The data from such a unit can only describe that unit, but when combined with similar data collected from a group of similar units, the data provides an accurate picture of the group to which that unit belongs (Bless, et al., 2006: 72).

Data was collected from thirty five (35) WSU respondents. Twenty five (25) women academic staff and ten (10) WSU women support staff were interviewed.

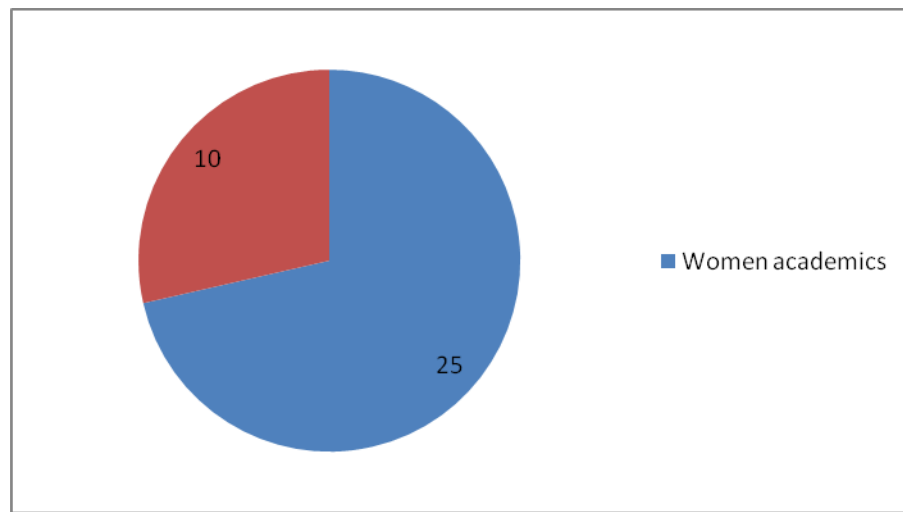


Figure 9: Women academics

Women academics made up two focus groups of four ($2 \times 4 = 8$). The remaining 17 participants were interviewed individually in face-to-face interviews making a total of $8 + 17 = 25$ women academics who were interviewed. A focus group of ($2 \times 4 = 8$) were women support staff participants. The remaining two participants as individuals made a total number of 10 women support staff ($8 + 2 = 10$) who were the participants. In total I had thirty five participants ($25 + 10 = 35$).

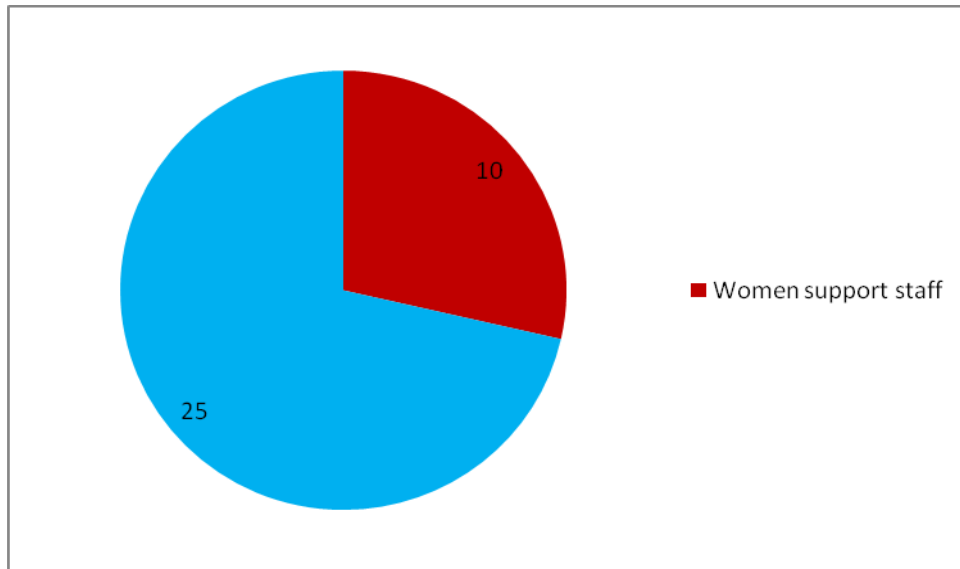


Figure 10: Women support staff

The Walter Sisulu University is comprised of the following four faculties:

1. Faculty of Sciences, Engineering and Technology
2. Faculty of Business and Management Sciences
3. Faculty of Health Sciences
4. Faculty of Education

4.3.1 Location of WSU

WSU is one of the four campuses. It is situated in Mthatha which is a former internally self-governing Black African homeland on the South east coast of South Africa. It falls under King Sabata Municipality. It was designated a semi-autonomous territory in 1963, granted nominal independence in 1976 and was dissolved and reintegrated into South Africa in 1994. The majority of the population was Xhosa speaking. According to the Constitution of the Republic of Transkei, Xhosa was the sole official language (www.answers.com/topic/transkei).

On 1 July 2005, Walter Sisulu University was established as a new university. Fikeni reports to the Mail and Guardian (2011:40) that WSU is a historically-disadvantaged institution. Fikeni says WSU has a unique and painful history. It is the only three-way merger spread over so wide an area that also tries to integrate three poorly-resourced institutions- a university and two technikons, East London Postdam campus which is about 240km - from East London to Queenstown about 230km - and from Queenstown to Mthatha is about the same distance. Marcfarlane also reports to the Mail and Guardian (2010: 40) that the vice-chancellor of WSU, Marcus Balintulo, pointed out that money was uppermost in his mind. On his appointment in 2007, he maintained that there were layers of deprivation that afflicted the Eastern Cape region and inevitably, the institution. It would have been realistic if Balintulo could also have attended practically to the issues of sexual harassment and put them uppermost in his mind.

Based on the university's history, and by virtue of it being named after a struggle hero of the era apartheid era, Walter Sisulu's new flag signifies a radical change for the former merger partners. In addition to bearing the new university's logo, the flag flies vertically in a break away from the traditional horizontal flag and is flown as a pair at each campus, bearing the logo against both black and white backgrounds.

Jennet (2009: 10) says WSU is among 23 universities in South Africa which is largely deprived of the resources it needs to cope with massive increases in student demand. Being strategically located along the Indian Ocean within the Eastern Cape, WSU straddles a vast spectrum of the urban and rural divide of the region. One of the institution's goals is to foster community and university engagement in order to strengthen the government's ability to aid the Eastern Cape Province. This provides WSU with a platform to engage actively with the drivers of development so that an appropriate programme and research mix can be formulated that will profile the advantages of both university and technikon programmes. Additionally, it is envisaged that WSU will be a strong, vibrant and viable institution with a host of investment and growth opportunities for research and development partnerships between the academic, governmental, non-governmental and corporate environments. This will guarantee the advancement of the national agenda for protracted delivery. In the changing landscape of South Africa, WSU is confident that it can build the foundations of a proud legacy for future generations in this century of African

Renaissance. The question that is posed by the study is: will WSU achieve the above cited goals if the issue of sexual harassment within the institution is not addressed? The reason why I have these doubts is because (according to some participants) sexual harassment has been prevalent at WSU from as early as 1992 and the university has had no sexual harassment policy even when I collected data in 2009. Subsequently, the media reported sexual harassment scandals that were reported by WSU students in 2011. *See chapter 3 for a full story.*

4.3.2 Significance of the study

WSU is the only university in the urban-rural region of the Eastern Cape Province in Mthatha. It is the beacon of the region and most people want to associate with the university. The Eastern Cape has a rich history which has places of diverse landscape. It is a province in South Africa with two large cities, namely, East London and Port Elizabeth. The location of WSU is in the region which is the birth-place of prominent South African politicians like Nelson Mandela who was South Africa's first Black President (from 1994-1999). Other prominent South African politicians who were born from the region include: Walter Sisulu, Oliver Tambo, Govan Mbeki and others, as well as the late Raymond Mhlaba who was the first Premier of the Eastern Cape. The current Premier of the Eastern Cape Province is Noxolo Kiviet of the African National Congress. Other South African powerful political figures like Steve Biko, Chris Hani, Thabo Mbeki and others, were also born in the Eastern Cape. The capital city, Port Elizabeth, was a crucial centre of the anti-apartheid movement.

The university became the first South African institution to graduate clinical associates. It is also the only university in the Eastern Cape Province with a medical school. Although the university was still UNITRA then, it produced the country's first female black chartered accountant, Nonkululeko Gobodo and her colleague, Sindy Nkonki-Zilwa. Also on the list are prominent business people such as Gloria Serobe and the chief executive of African Bank, Thami Sokutu. Prominent sports personalities include Makhaya Ntini a cricket hero and the Ndungane twins are well-known our rugby players (www.mg.co.za/education).

Mthatha is part of the King Sabata Municipality which falls under the Oliver R. Tambo (ORT) District which is situated in the north-eastern part of the Eastern Cape Province. The district incorporates large portions of the former Transkei's inland and the coastal areas.

Though the district is rich in history, it is the poorest district in the Eastern Cape in terms of all poverty measures. It is also one of the poorest regions in the country. It has the lowest Human Development Index (HDI) of 0.45 and the highest poverty gap (2 231 million) in the Eastern Cape. The number of people living in poverty is also high in the district (64.6%). Unemployment in the region is at 65.5%. The literacy rate is at 42.2% (<http://www.olf.org.za/region/mthatha>). A study of poverty in the Eastern Cape Province that was conducted by Dr Monde Makiwane and Chimere-Dan on 26 July 2011, titled "The People Matter: The State of the Population in the Eastern Cape" (www.hsrc.ac.za) revealed how almost two decades after apartheid the Eastern Cape still remains trapped in "structural poverty." Makiwane stated it was "ironic" that the province had produced some of the country's first African intellectuals but there were no clear attempts to make sure that the Eastern Cape was on a par, in terms of developments with other provinces.

The Mthatha region boasts the highest bridge in the southern hemisphere. There is also a Madiba Route Eastern Cape tour which departs from East London to view the Mandela Museum and see Nelson Mandela's story and life in various visuals and artifacts. There is also an outdoor museum to a pilgrimage of Mvezo in Mthatha (www.google.co.za/search/ecprovince.south africa).

Culturally, the head of the household is the men and women remain under his supervision. The position of the family is hereditary and usually passes to the first born male irrespective of his age. The world of the Xhosa is filled with mystery and myths that surround their daily traditional life. Customs and traditions, rituals, festivals and ancestral spirits form an integral part of their existence ([traditions_and_rituals_Xhosa_culture](#)). Some participants such as Babalwa, Lunga, Mthembeni and Vuyiswa pointed out that in Xhosa culture, women remain under men's supervision and they suspected that the reason why sexual harassment was rife at WSU was because of traditional ways that are practiced by Xhosas in contemporary times.

4.4 Sampling method

The sampling stage is important in data collection because it is the process for deciding who will participate in the study. Babbie (2002: 175) defines sampling as ‘the process of selecting observations.’ Blaxter, et al., (2001) divide sampling into two groups, namely, probability and non-probability sampling. Mann (1985: 121) says sampling saves time and labour and therefore money by reducing the numbers of cases involved. It allows for a concentration of effort on high quality information about a smaller number of cases involved. Mann (1985: 110) stresses that the sampled group stands the researcher in good stead as they are representations of a wider group which will be studied, and as such their characteristics are added together to represent the general picture of the group itself. According to Gilbert (2008: 179), snowball or network sampling is sometimes used to obtain a sample when there is no adequate list to use as a sampling frame. It is a method of obtaining samples of numerically-small groups, such as members of minority ethnic groups, illegal drug users or sex workers. There is no researcher who can easily obtain respondents regarding these topics, including mine, without having networked. In my case I located my respondents through networking which I had engaged in, in preliminary and pilot studies as well as informal interviews. When I opted for this networking, I asked the population if they know anyone else who had been sexually harassed. It then became much easier for me when I had to contact the interviewees because I knew exactly where to go. Fortunately, I did not have a participant who refused to inform me of her ‘nightmares.’ After having interviewed the nominated individuals, I asked them to identify further sample members. Networking begins with a few cases then spreads out on the basis of links to the initial stage. It is like rolling a small ball on wet snow; the ball becomes larger as it rolls and it then picks up additional snow. In short, this means that one case introduces the researcher to another case/s and the case/s to other cases until larger cases become involved. Further to this, I had even contacted women whom I knew personally and who were known to me as victims of sexual harassment. This exercise has had the advantage of placing the interviewees more at ease because I was not an anonymous stranger at WSU. I thus have deliberately chosen to interview women only because they are the most vulnerable to sexual harassment in all sectors of the institution. Snowballing was the only feasible method of finding a sample of sexual harassment victims, a technique that involves personal recommendation. It is useful when the potential subjects of the research are likely to be sceptical of the researcher’s intentions. Gilbert (2008: 180) maintains that the advantage of

snowball sampling is that it reveals a network of contacts that can be studied. A potential problem, however, is that it includes those within a connected network of individuals.

I used a non-probability sampling (called the ‘snowball sampling’) which refers to the case where the probability of including each element of a population in a sample is unknown. Bless, et al., (2006: 100) point out that it is not possible to determine the likelihood of the inclusion of all representative elements of the population in the sample, Terre Blanche (2006: 139) says non-probability sampling is cited as the preferred method as it allows generalization to populations. It refers to any kinds of sampling where the selection of element is not determined by the statistical principle of randomness.

Hennik, et al. (2011:100) state that snowball recruitment (also called ‘chain sampling’) is a method of recruitment particularly suitable for identifying study participants with very specific characteristics, rare experiences or ‘hidden’ population groups who may be difficult to identify with other recruitment methods. In chain sampling there is a key informant/s who directs the researcher to others who meet the study criteria. The number of participants then increase with each person who is recruited somewhat like a growing snowball, hence the name of this technique. This technique is advantageous because potential participants are typically linked to the study by a familiar, trusted person who potentially increases participation in the study.

Researchers often use the convenience samples of undergraduate students or people who volunteer to participate in the research. They also make use of purposive samples which means that sampling depends not only on availability and willingness to participate, but selected cases that are typical of the population. In my research it was easy to get hold of other victims because I already was in contact with a few women academics and a few women support staff who had been sexually harassed. Luckily, they were more than willing to participate in this study and were also willing to direct me to other victims because the problem of sexual harassment at WSU had not been addressed yet. I was then able to gradually accumulate a sufficiently-large sample through contacts and references. That alone, (the accumulation of references and contacts) is called snowball sampling. Sarantakos (2005: 165) maintains that in the snowball approach, the researcher chooses a few respondents using accidental sampling or any other method, and asks

them to recommend other people who meet the criteria of the research and who might be willing to participate in the project. This process is continued with the new respondents until saturation - that is, until no more substantial information can be required through additional respondents, or until no more respondents are available.

In this study I chose those units for a particular purpose. Leedy and Ormord (2005: 206) point out that a study made for a particular purpose is known as purposeful sampling. Purposive sampling may be very appropriate for certain research problems, however, the researcher should always provide a rationale explaining why she/he selected a particular sample for participants. Maree (2007: 80) says snowball sampling is also known as chain referral sampling-a method whereby participants with whom contact has already been made are used to penetrate their social network to refer the researcher to other participants who could potentially take part in or contribute to the study. (Maree, 2007) points out that snowball sampling is often used to find 'hidden populations,' that is, groups not easily accessible to researchers through other sampling strategies. According to Brink (2002), in non-probability sampling the sampling elements are chosen from the population by non random methods. Neuman (2000: 198) refers to snowballing as 'network, chain, referral or reputational sampling.' This sampling methodology was employed for making inferences about a population of individuals who have been difficult to enumerate through the use of descending methods.

4.5 Methods of data collection

The qualitative methodology that guided this study also guided me to follow certain procedures in order to be able to analyze data. According to Naidoo (1993), methodology allows the researcher to reach conclusions and to move away from speculation to scientific findings which are facts. In other words, findings are facts which have been tested and proven true as in social research. Bailey (1982: 3) defines social research as being concerned with gathering data that can help answer questions about aspects of society and enable us to understand society and/or the philosophy of the research process. Other researchers such as Letherby (2003: 5) argue that a method is a technique, a tool for doing research, for gathering evidence and for collecting data.

The data collection used in the study includes the following: Women's lives as WSU employees, face-to-face-interviews and face-to-face focus group interviews.

Both the researcher and the participants carry with them a history, a sense of themselves and the importance of their experiences. May (2001: 21) says that personal experience is frequently devalued as being too subjective, while science is objective. There is so much to be gained from exploring the lives and experiences of women in understanding society and correcting the silence which surrounds women's voices. Before embarking on the processes of data collection, I had already been granted written permission by the Registrar Academic to conduct the said study at WSU.

At the beginning of August 2010, one WSU woman employee informed me there was now a formation of a gender forum at WSU which was run by an academic gender officer; however, she was not aware of any workshop/s that has ever taken place regarding the gender forum. What she knew of was about the existence of the gender forum. Participants did not mention anything about the gender forum at WSU. On 13 September 2010 at 13hrs50, I decided to call the said academic gender officer regarding the gender forum in the pursuit of wanting to know how it worked and if the staff had had an access to it. In our telephonic conversation she told me she was running the forum because of her passion for gender issues. She was talking hurriedly because she was rushing to collect her belongings from her office in order to evade students' protest and I could not obtain much information from her regarding the gender forum. She told me she wanted to see women taking positions, being nurtured, being independent-minded and having skills and ability. She was looking forward to "socializing men" and women by going out to the community to spread the word about the importance of respecting one another. She said that she was going to spread awareness through talks on the subject. The said academic gender officer gave an example when referring to her son. She said, *uyabona, andifuni acinge uba he is better than his wife because he is a man*, meaning, you see, I don't want him to think that he is better than his wife because he is a man. *They should be on a par*. She pointed out that socialization was the key to all the misunderstanding between men and women. She was looking

forward to having a gender forum centre for youth, gender and persons who were physically disabled at WSU. In our conversation, I asked for her permission to use her name in this study and she granted me permission. If she had provided me with written consent that I could use her name, I would have reflected her name and details. She promised to e mail me the gender forum founding document of WSU. She has not yet been able to do so because of the students' protest that continues to take place at WSU. Before she hung up she said *uyabona ke*, meaning, you see, *once I send you this document, you will know I mean business*. At the time of writing up the dissertation I had not received the document.

The study was conducted within the participative and qualitative domain. Denzin and Lincoln (1994) define qualitative research as being multi-method, in focus, and involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter. In more detailed literature, Denzin and Lincoln (1994) state that qualitative methodology attempts to understand thoughts, feelings and emotions by getting to know people's values, beliefs and symbols. This method produces rich and detailed information, and is also capable of capturing the richness of the participants' experiences in their own words. de Vos, Strydom, Fouche and Delpont, (2002) say qualitative researchers therefore aim to describe, make sense of, interpret or construct phenomena in terms of the meanings that the subjects attach to it. The strategy of the study's investigation was explanatory. This meant I could access more information, which I could not access directly. Based on this reality, I have used qualitative measures for a complete description of the social reality in sexual harassment. I have thus conducted this study out of lack of information initially, since sexual harassment is a sensitive study. Exploratory operations were helpful in order for me to elicit more answers and information from the interviewees. Furthermore, it helped me test the validity of my hypothesis. Again, I employed the qualitative approach for a number of reasons: Firstly, the interest in a phenomenon for which the relevant variables have been identified. Moreover, at present there is no sufficient information or research concerning sexual harassment at higher institutions in South Africa, and particularly at WSU, where a study such as this has never been conducted before. For this reason, I had to rely on the descriptions that women (in particular) gave concerning their experiences of sexual harassment at WSU. I also selected the qualitative approach for this study because this study is primarily exploratory and descriptive in nature (Moutton and Marais, 1991).

It is therefore useful to conduct an exploratory study when the researcher has limited knowledge about a given subject or wants to develop a new perspective on it.

Ritchie and Lewis, (2003) assert that other authors argue that qualitative methodology refers to a naturalistic, interpretative approach concerned with understanding the meanings which people attach to actions, decisions, beliefs, values etc. within their social world; and understanding the mental mapping process that respondents use to make sense of and interpret the world around them. Qualitative research concentrates on words and observations to express reality and attempts to describe people's natural situations. Studies done by Monett, et al, (1998: 221) state that qualitative research methods are an attempt to gain access to personal and subjective experiences. In comparison with my research topic, Grinnell (1988: 186) agrees with the above statement that, 'the qualitative method focuses on describing and comprehending the subjective meaning of the events to individuals.' Because of the study being exploratory, it provided evidence of how research women victims suffer the consequences of this endemic issue and the aftermath severity; the impact of this act on their performance at work as well as on their psyche is included.

As the literature has revealed, many authors have agreed as well that qualitative research is a generic term for investigative methodologies described as ethnographic, naturalistic, anthropological, field, or participant-observer research (Baily, 1997). It emphasizes the importance of looking at variables in the natural setting in which they are found; interaction between variables is important. Detailed data is gathered through open-ended questions that provide direct quotations. The interviewer is an integral part of the investigation (Weseen & Wong, 2003: 46). This differs from quantitative research which attempts to gather data by objective methods to provide information about relations, comparisons, and predictions and attempts to remove the investigator from the investigation (Smith, 1983). Bailey (1997) states that the significance of qualitative research consists of setting stress and describing and understanding complex phenomena. It investigates, for instance, the relationships and patterns among factors or the context in which the activity happens. It focuses on understanding the full many-dimensional pictures of the subject of investigation. It is also used, according to Fine, et al., (2003) to denote

approaches which are supported by a set of hypotheses concerning the way the social world functions. It deduces many of its basic principles from the perspective that there are fundamental differences between the science of the human world and the science of the natural world, and consequently there is a need to use distinctive methods.

The chosen theories and qualitative method of investigation are relevant and appropriate for this research because the victims' lived experience of ongoing sexual harassment require a narrative methodology. This methodology was approached from a gender-based violence perspective which affords the opportunity to critically analyse and comment on various significant social issues. It is ultimately an investigation into constructed lives, so as to, 'provide answers to questions of theoretical interest to a particular social science discipline' (ibid). Moreover, Haralambos and Holborn (1995) advise that methodology is concerned with both the detailed research methods through which data are collected, and the more general philosophies upon which the collection and analysis of data are based. Sarantakos (2005: 344) states that the characteristic of qualitative analysis is that it deals with data presented in words; it contains a minimum of quantitative measurement, standardization and statistical techniques (Engel & Weggening, 1991). It also aims to transform and interprets qualitative data in a rigorous and statistical manner (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996: 3). Beyond this there is no consensus as to how qualitative analysis should proceed and what makes an acceptable analysis. Davies (2007: 10) asserts that qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretative, material practices that make the worlds visible. The researchers turn the world into a series of representations through field notes, interviews, and a naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of meanings people bring to them (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003: 4). This applies to my study; it could only be undertaken in the natural setting where respondents narrated their experiences of sexual harassment at their place of work, the WSU.

Collecting data using a qualitative approach was in the pursuit of making sense of feelings, experiences, social situations or phenomena as they occur in the real world. For example, sexual

harassment happens in the real world and therefore should be studied in the natural setting. A 'real world' and 'natural sitting' are the principles behind wanting to study individuals and groups as they go about their lives. Terre Blanche, et al., (2006: 287) point out that one should not disturb the context unduly but attempt to become a natural part of the context in which the phenomena occurs. This can be achieved by entering the research setting with the necessary care and engaging with research participants in an open and empathic manner. In the qualitative approach I gained an increasing understanding of the phenomena under investigation. I discovered that my respondents were reticent at first but when I probed for more answers in an empathic manner they felt increasingly free and I was able to ask specifically: for example by asking, 'Who else has been sexually harassed?' The participants were obliging and even mentioned names of the victims who had already left WSU. Leedy and Ormrod (2005: 134) maintain that the methodology in a qualitative study continues to evolve over the course of the investigation. They assert that despite this fact, qualitative research requires considerable preparation and planning. They stress that qualitative research serves one or more of the following purposes (Perhskin, 1993):

1. Description:

It can reveal the nature of certain situations, settings, processes, relationships, systems, or people.

2. Interpretation:

It enables a researcher to (i) gain new insights about a particular phenomenon, (ii) develop new concepts or theoretical perspectives about the phenomenon, and/or (iii) discover the problems that exist within the phenomenon.

3. Verification:

It allows a researcher to test the validity of certain assumptions, claims, theories, or generalization within real-world context.

4. Evaluation:

It provides means through which a researcher can judge the effectiveness of particular policies, practices or innovations.

Qualitative studies do not allow researchers to identify what causes this or that or what were or would be the effects of this and that. For example, questions such as, 'What led you to be a

victim of sexual harassment?’ Or ‘Why did the perpetrator only choose you to be his victim?’ These questions are only dealt with in the quantitative approaches, especially experimental studies where questions of this kind are answered. Once having gained new insights about the phenomenon studied, it becomes easier to move to a clearer understanding of posing the problems and also to be able to develop ideas of the significant lines of relation. The researcher is also able to evolve conceptual tools in the light of what one is learning about the area of life, and is able to analyze the situation. Corbin and Strauss (2008: 66) point out that analysis involves what is commonly termed coding, that is, taking raw data and raising it to a conceptual level. Coding is the verb and codes are the names given to the concepts derived through coding.

In short, qualitative research illuminates the fluidity and complexity of the research meaning. It also draws on the characteristics of this design as well as the background utterances of the respondents during their life histories at WSU as women. Principles of feminist research methodologies also guided the study. In accordance with feminist studies’ methodologies and approaches propounded by Miles (1983), feminist research is different from patriarchal or male-dominated research and raises the issue of subjectivity versus objectivity, arguing that feminist research cannot be value-free. Feminist research methodology expresses a commitment to confronting power differentials through the establishment of non-hierarchical research-researched relations (Reinharz, 1992; Neuman, 1997). The design and approach I have adopted enhances the quality of the study as well as the usefulness and applicability of the study’s findings.

4.6 Validity and reliability

Terre Blanche, et al., (2006: 90) point out that in its broadest sense, validity refers to the degree to which research conclusions are sound. They say that to evaluate the validity of the proposed research, the researcher should think about the anticipated findings and conclusions and ask how she/he could be wrong. They also say reliability is the degree to which the results are repeatable. This applies both to subjects’ scores on measures (measurement reliability) and to the outcomes of the study as a whole. Individuals will score similarly on reliable measures on numerous

occasions. Similarly, the same set of results will be obtained repeatedly in replications of the study if the study is reliable. Bless, et al., (2007: 160) state that validity and reliability are important to every instrument because there should be accuracy and consistency techniques in every research project.

Exploratory interviews are considered to be highly valid because they allow the researcher to discuss issues with the respondents at greater depth. This was the case with my respondents as I sat down with them and a discussion took place. Bless, et al., (2007) also say that the reliability can be reduced if there is a good deal of subjective interpretation of the interviewees' responses. In this case I did not encounter difficulties as far as the interpretation was concerned. My respondents were fluent in English. Scheurich, (1997) argues that there is a need for objectivity in scientific and social research. The typical justification for validity judgement is to ensure quality, trustworthiness and legitimacy. Bynner and Stribley assert that the concern for validity and reliability in qualitative data can be of great help in the development of analytic insights. Hammersley (1990: 142) posits that validity means truth and is interpreted as the extent to which an account accurately represents the social phenomena to which it refers. Corbin (2008: 301) maintains that somehow the word 'truth' carries with it a certain degree of dogmatism. He prefers to use the term 'credibility' (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Lincoln & Guba, 1985) when talking about qualitative research. Corbin (2008) points out that 'credibility' to him indicates that findings are trustworthy and believable in that they reflect participants', researchers,' and readers' experiences with a phenomenon, but at the same time the explanation is only one of many 'plausible' interpretations from data. In qualitative research validity is described as 'trustworthiness' which grounds for belief and action. It is like a process of making claims for, and evaluates trustworthiness of reported observations, interpretations and generalizations (Scheurich, 1997: 82). The criterion for such judgements is the degree to which one can rely on the concepts, methods and inferences of the study of tradition of enquiry, as the basis for our own theorizing and empirical research. Maree (2007: 15) reports that qualitative approaches need to be rigorous when a researcher goes out into the field where the individuals live in order to gather their stories and write a persuasive, literary account of their experiences, Farley, (1978: 14-15); Russell, (1984: 274).Caelli, et al., (2003: 12) also emphasize the point that qualitative

approaches need to be rigorous. They also point out that qualitative researchers need to articulate a knowledgeable, theoretically-informed choice of approach and elect an approach that is philosophically and methodologically congruent with the inquiry. Trustworthiness, dependability and credibility are thus terms used to describe the validity and reliability in qualitative research.

4.6.1 Research protocol and ethical issues

I honoured the rights of my participants by ensuring privacy and voluntary participation. The nature of the dissertation was earlier and explicitly explained without deceiving participants. Anonymity and confidentiality were assured, and I made sure not to expose the participants to any physical or mental stress. The respondents' concerns and questions were noted and seriously considered, particularly if there had been a need to review questions. In my research activity, I had a professional obligation to contribute to knowledge about the kind of study I was dealing with, without allowing my experiences to cloud my study. The code of ethics was adhered to before conducting the research so as to protect the welfare of the research subjects.

It is argued that ethical issues are very important in feminist research and especially when dealing with sensitive cases such as rape. Letherby (2003: 68) notes that 'researchers are not the only people involved in research and respondents are also likely to have an emotional and political involvement in the research.' For this reason, it is very important for a researcher to be considerate when dealing with issues involving women. 'Feminists insist that it is not possible for researchers to be completely detached from their work: emotional involvement cannot be controlled by mere effort of will and this subjectivity in research should be acknowledged, even welcome' (ibid). Arrangements to be assisted by the institution's representatives were made. Pre-arranged agreement prior to conducting these interviews with the participants was facilitated.

Given the sensitivity of the topic and since the participants' intimate sexual experiences formed a critical dimension in this study, I explained to them the aims and objectives of this research. I also assured them that their identities would not be exposed. In addition, I also told the respondents that they reserved the right not to respond, or even to withdraw, before or during the interview process.

There are several issues that I considered before conducting this research. These include the following:

1. Informed consent:

The respondents were informed about the study and they were aware that their participation was voluntary. Bless, et al., (2006: 142) state that participants have a right to know what the research is about, how it will affect them, the risk and benefits of participation and the fact that they have a right to decline to participate if they choose to do so. In my case when I requested permission to conduct my study, I stated clearly what my study entailed. Even when the Deputy Registrar Academic responded to my request for conducting a study at WSU, he informed the staff about the theme of my study. The respondents were aware that their participation was voluntary. I read the rules to each participant as they appeared on each questionnaire. (See appendix F, F (1), F (2), and F (3). A sample of a completed questionnaire is in appendix G, G (1), and G(2). Miles and Huberman (1984) stress the need for ethical consideration in qualitative research and conclude that participants should have full knowledge of what is involved and they should know if the study involves harm and risk, whether the researcher is being honest in data collection, whether the study intrudes too much into group behaviours and what the researcher should do if participants display harmful or illegal behaviour.

2. Power relations between the researcher and the researched:

This is another ethical consideration in research especially when carrying out studies involving vulnerable groups that include children, the sick and the poor. In this regard I took every possible precaution to ensure participants will not be harmed as a result of the conduct of a study. I used pseudo-names instead of their identification names. Anthony Giddens has the most fundamental insight into power relations in structuration theory. Giddens says that although domination (and hence subordination) are inescapable facts of social life, power relations between the more and less powerful always involve a mix of autonomy and dependence. To whatever extent the powerful depend upon the less powerful, this dependence can be skillfully exploited as leverage by subordinates to open up some areas of autonomy themselves.

3. Confidentiality:

As another ethical requirement, all information that was provided by the participants was kept confidential. Since I was dealing with sensitive personal information, all the transcripts were stored in an electronic folder and were only available to me.

4. The principle of anonymity:

In this study pseudo-names were allocated to each participant to prevent the information being associated immediately and obviously with the respondents. Prior to conducting this research arrangements were made with the counseling centre for referrals, if participants were to breakdown and need counseling due to their painful experiences of sexual harassment.

5. Discontinuance:

As far as this is concerned, participants were assured that they were free to discontinue their participation at any stage of the study being conducted. Participants were informed that their withdrawal from participation will not prejudice their cases when studies were held. This assurance was given in cases where some participants may feel that their social benefits may be affected if they do not agree to participate or if they discontinue their participation.

6. Deception:

The participants were not deceived of any information that reflected in the questionnaire. Bless, et al., (2006: 144) assert that the following safeguards must be employed: the researcher needs to know that the deception poses no serious or long-term risks and needs to explain the true nature of the deception to the participant in a debriefing which occurs once all the data has been gathered.

7. Ethics in analyzing and reporting:

All the data transcribed were identified by pseudo names, even during analysis no personal names were mentioned.

8. Reporting back to the participants:

Dissemination of information is planned to be carried out after the final submission had been made to the University and had been accepted.

9. Permission to conduct this research:

An ethical permission to conduct this research was obtained through the University research ethics committee; and the institutional approval was received where the study was conducted. A letter was written to the Deputy Registrar Academic requesting permission to conduct this study. I was then able to gain access to participants.

10. Relationship with an institution:

This makes it easier to gain access to the participants. Many institutions have an interest in wanting to know the findings of the research results as it could be one of the ways of informing their practices and policies. In my case, I am positive that my research findings are not only for my interest and my mentor's interest. They will help to make informed decisions about what needs to be changed so that women's lives at WSU can be enhanced and improved. It is of dire necessity to provide feedback to institutions in the form of a research report.

11. Publication of research results:

Publication of this research will be carried out after the final submission had been made to the University and had been accepted. This is an important way of communicating the research to the scientific community.

4.6.2 Methods of data analysis and interpretation

This stage involves categorizing and grouping data into one meaningful solid piece. The analysis and the interpretation of qualitative data is the process of systematically organizing the interview transcripts, field notes and any other collected material and bringing meaning to them. A reflective analytical chapter is in chapter seven.

4.6.3 Problems encountered at the field and limitations of the study

Some of the problems I encountered during the course of the research included problems associated with some of the participants' reluctance to share their lives as women employees of WSU. They were, however, more than willing to respond during interviews except for one participant who initially thought that the interview was a waste of time because nothing would be done by the management even after the research. She eventually participated after her friend had persuaded her to do so. The participant in question will be revealed in chapter six of this study. Women's lives as employees at WSU carry with them the terms that they themselves formed during interviews. The other problem was that two participants denied being interviewed despite having been sexually harassed, despite the fact that I had set up an appointment with them on the previous day and they had admitted that they were victims of sexual harassment. Sometimes I would have to wait for the participants for a long time if they had gone to buy themselves lunch. Lunchtime was an appropriate time for me because I would find the victims of sexual harassment sitting together so I would opt for a focus group interview which, in a way, helped me to finish my interviews earlier than expected. Another problem was the absences of both women academic staff and women support staff on some days. I would make an appointment and on the day of the interviews they would not be there and they would not even inform me of their absence.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. FRAMING OF THE THEORIES THAT INFORM THE STUDY

5.1 Sexual harassment as a social behaviour and social representations of power

This chapter firstly focuses on sexual harassment as a social behavior and the social representations of power. Secondly, the chapter will discuss social representatives of power and, thirdly, the chapter will present theories that have informed the study.

Shepherd (2009: 247) points out that just as power is central to the process of maintaining the fictions of gender as a reality, the relations that define gender are power relations. I have chosen this social focus because within the social discourses, men's violence towards women is constructed as partly, largely, and totally social in its origin, form, content, effects and traces. Also, gender violence in education cannot be discussed without attention to the social conditions and social processes that produce them (Bowke, 2009: 4).

Secondly, the chapter discusses social representations of power. The use of this social framework is strengthened by the work of psychological theories of both Nancy Chodorow and Carol Gilligan. They explain the deficiencies of dominant conceptions of rationality. Rationality is based on or in accordance with reasoning. Chodorow's psychological account is developed from a framework of motherhood. She says mothering shapes male and female psyches (how they reason) differently. She then accounts for gender differentiated modes of orientation. She says girls emerge with empathy and boys do not, hence boys' behaviour and representations of power having to include control, dominance and oppression. She maintains that the impersonal, objectifying, universalizing stance of rationality (reasoning) is deeply associated with masculinity. Gilligan claims that Kendall (2007: 179) says women's experiences of interconnection shape their moral domain and this gives rise to moral voice compliments which is a basis for feminist epistemological writing. Shepherd (2009: 247) maintains that gender can

be understood as a form of identity for the ordering of society, treated as a noun, but also theorized as a verb and recognized as logic. Regarding gender, Butler writes, *we come to understand that what we take to be 'real,' what we invoke as the naturalized knowledge of gender is, in fact, a changeable and revisable reality.* Swann and Maybin (2008: 23) maintain that gender is also seen, not so much as an independent category but as being. It is intricately embedded in other social divisions: race, class, age, sexuality, and so on, all of which are in turn embedded within-and (re-)produced by-structures of power, authority and social inequality. Sexual harassment, as a social behavior, is therefore drawn on to the particular effect of power in the context of domination, control and oppression.

Kemp and Squirel (2006) point out that a critical feminist epistemology is that the ability to take the standpoint of others into account requires more than empathy. It requires institutions and procedures which will allow the voice of others to be articulated. Regarding sexual harassment, the voice of others represents women's voices which are a tool in addressing some feminist concerns. For example, the daytime talk show such as the *Phil Donahue Show* which debuted in 1967, gives women of all classes, races, and educational levels a voice (Wolf, 1993). Hosts such as Phil Donahue and Oprah Winfrey include their largely-female audience in the show themselves, allowing women to ask questions or voice their concerns and opinions about women's issues. They cover topics that are relevant to women's lives such as sexual abuse, divorce and child care. Even though these talk shows are United States based, they are watched all over the world by more than twenty million viewers every day (Nelson, 2002). The two shows focus on issues that Rider (2005: 40) says concern women and often includes the perspectives of African American women such as women's lower socio-economic status, sexual abuse, homosexuality, etc. The pursuit of these shows is to empower women to have a voice and to be televisual feminism. Kendall (2006) broadens the voice of feminism via the television. Kendall (2006) positions the female voice and points out that scholars (she does not mention which scholars she refers to) have identified many important functions served by social talk. She says social talk provides 'the grease that keeps the gears running in an office.' It establishes a friendly working environment, opens the lines of communication for working relations and is part of a friendly loop through which information circulates through the office. Coates (1996: 45) says one of her participants in her interviews on *Talk and women's friendship*, Miranda, says *it's particularly nice to have a sort of shared experience.* Linking these talks with sexual harassment,

means 'gears could be kept running' by supporting the need for women's freedom and a way of seeking support and discouraging behaviours of sexual harassment.

5.2 Sexual harassment as a social behaviour

Hubands (1992) believes that sexual harassment is an aspect of social behaviour and that sexual harassment is socially constructed depending on the personal and situational characteristics of the individual making the judgment. I will use social representations of gender, that is, the sex/gender concept with this social construction. The representation of gender as a term cannot be bypassed in sexual harassment behaviour so I will first explain the concept of gender. According to Browne (2007:1), 'gender is concerned with the ascription of social characteristics such as 'womanly', 'manly', 'feminine' and 'masculine.' Gilligan (2001: 56) points out that being treated as inferior or assigned an inferior position in a status hierarchy leads to feelings of inferiority (shame) and that in turn leads to rage and violence. But then why are women not violent than men? Haven't women been treated as inferior by men since the invention of patriarchy? Gilligan (2001) says understanding why men are more violent than women requires an understanding of the highly-asymmetrical gender roles to which the members of each sex are assigned at birth in our patriarchal culture, and which they are powerfully conditioned to conform to, throughout the rest of their lives by virtually all the institutions of our society.

Gender is not looked at as a conglomeration of personal characteristics but as a culturally-embedded schema. Hence gender is now seen as a cognitive representation of experience which guides behaviours. Femininity and masculinity to the individual becomes a socially-constructed difference between men and women in terms of their power and prestige in society. These are the societal-based realities that are assumed to have an impact on how an individual thinks, acts and feels until gender seems to be appropriate to one sex, (the male sex), hence a woman being thrown into having no sex. She thus feels inferior.

The under-representation of women in high-status roles has been dominated by a huge body of feminist literature. Gough (1998: 19) sees this under-representation as a reality of gender relations. The positions occupied by men and women have been evaluated by feminist writers as

demonstrating inequalities in favour of men. These are the favours that end up making men to see themselves as superior and consequently engaging in sexually-harassing behaviours. WSU participants pointed out that they were situated in a patriarchal institution where their perpetrators were encouraged to be superior, a strategy that deprives them from feeling free. They said they felt inferior because of social and historic structures. Men conspired to cement traditional gender relations, making women feel inferior. Sexually harassment was accepted and practiced without criticism from their WSU employer.

Browne (2007) points out that at the core of 'gender analysis' is a concern with unjust inequalities between men and women. Alvesson and Billing (1997) suggest that using gender as a variable in gender analysis provides a better understanding of patterns of domination, subordination, inequalities and oppression. This means that in data analysis in chapter seven I will first frame the analysis by using gender as a variable. Gender features in shifts in familial structures of sexual harassment. What this means is that we do need to be radicalized, to recognize and challenge the gender role injustices that some of us are too often blind to. By looking deeper at the sexual-social nature, some light can be shed on the social representation of gender-identity and enables one to understand that within modern feminist thought, the standard definition of gender is something like the social meaning given to biological differences between the sexes. Butler (1990: 6) points out that: *although the unproblematic unity of 'women' is often invoked to construct solidarity of identity, a split is introduced in the feminist subject by the distinction between sex and gender. The split is originally intended to dispute that biology is destiny formulation, the distinction between sex and gender serves the argument that whatever biological intractability sex appears to have, gender is culturally constructed; hence gender is neither the causal result of sex nor as seemingly fixed as sex.*

From the above perspective the social representation framework is used in the study, not only for gender conceptualizing and interpreting research findings only. But, gender is a term or a concept that also decentres victims' experiences. The decentring, in turn, supports the development of an inclusive version of sex that recognizes the significance of the experiences of

sexual harassment associated not only with the university's victims, but also with women's victimization at large. It is also to be considered that gender takes on a culturally-specific form against the background of biological sex¹² whereas 'gender' is concerned with the psychological, social and cultural differences between males and females. The feminist psychologists, Unger and Crawford, (1992: 618) maintain that there is no reason to throw away the examination of biological variables if we also examine the cultural meanings of these variables. For example, biological factors produce different body structures that have different implications for men and women. At present only women can become pregnant. Heterosexual relationships have different implications for men and women. Unger and Crawford's perspectives assist in providing an explanation for the biological determinism of women oppression. The configuration of 'gender' and 'sex' poses particular problems when they locate themselves at work where men turn out to be bosses at all angles in the workplace. Geller and Stockett, (2006) in the foreword of the book *Feminist Anthropology* write—*The Transformation of Feminist Theorizing in Anthropology argue that the emphasis that signaled the renewed interest in feminism and women within anthropology had shifted to gender rather than women. They remark that they have come to another point of assessment of centering new approaches to the study of gender from a feminist point of view.* Lampere (2006: 43) points that Micaela di Leonardo (1991) characterized feminist anthropologists as sharing an assumption that gender is inextricably linked to other institutions and discourse such as race, gender, sexuality, age, ethnicity and class. On the other hand, Moore (1994) traces the persistence of the naturalization of biological difference to the initial arguments in feminist anthropology that women's subordinate status was based on culturally-specific reactions to universal female biological processes such as menstruation, pregnancy and child birth.

5.3 Social representation of power in sexual harassment

I have shown in chapter three that participants point out that they felt disempowered, controlled, dominated and oppressed by a group of men. Women's subordinate circumstances influence the terms and conditions under which they are able and willing to offer themselves in a work situation. For example at WSU, sexual harassment impacts directly on victims who find

¹² Giddens (1989:155) defines sex as a biological or anatomical differences between men and women

themselves having to act as labour reserves and having to mobilize according to their perpetrators' needs. Regarding power versus patriarchy, Weedon (1987) points out that power relations, control, dominance and oppression are basic characteristics of patriarchy. Weedon (1987) refers to patriarchy as 'referring to the power relations in which women's interests are subordinated to the interests of men. In patriarchal discourse, the nature and social role of women are defined in relation to the male norm.' The terms (power, control, dominance and oppression) are obvious features at the university at which the victims strive to be whole persons. The victims' wholeness becomes dented as they become 'sex-objects' of their perpetrators. These social relations reflect patriarchal power that exists not only in academic institutions; the social practices are also seen in social practices environments such as at home and in church rather than merely being 'individually determined.

Lewin (2006:120) states that sexual politics appears to be the centre of most of women's lives. Augoustinos and Walker (1995: 288) identified the role played by ideology in the reconstruction of everyday social reality outside the political domain. From this perspective they present ideology as the means by which relationships of power, control and dominance are maintained in any society. Augoustinos and Walker (1995: 288) define the psychological study of ideology as 'the study of social psychological processes and mechanisms by which certain representations and constructions of the world serve to legitimate, maintain and reproduce the existing institutional arrangements, the social and the power relations within the society.' As ideology plays a role in the construction of reality, it is a cognitive construct that permeates a person's consciousness. In sexual harassment this ideology is internalized by the university's perpetrators in the way they dominate and oppress their victims.

Other, (1974), one of the earliest proponents of feminist anthropology, constructed an explanatory model for gender asymmetry. The models are based on the premise that the subordination of women is a universal and cross-cultural phenomenon. The argument of some feminist anthropologists like Ruth Landes, Hortense Powdermaker and Daisy Bates is that women have some innate domestic powers in spite of their apparent subordination and

oppression. Landes made women an explicit object of study because women are able to look after their families well. Powdermaker, a contemporary of Mead who studied with Malinowski (all anthropologists) was a political activist before becoming an anthropologist. Bates was an Irish expatriate. She lived in the Australian bush close to aboriginal people, (Feminist Anthropology: A Reader-Google books-<http://books.google.co.za>). The feminist anthropology has been intimately tied to the study of gender and its construction by various societies, an interest that examines both men and women. My view is that this arena of anthropology reflects crises and conflicts between men and women, and men wanting to control. This is another reason why men's behaviour should be implicitly and explicitly explained like any other social phenomenon.

Regarding men's social construction, I see some men as too comfortable to wanting to change; many still cling to what appears to be a God-given right to have women under their thumbs. A common aspect of some men's identity is to take for granted that they must curb women's interests and freedom and rule with iron fists. The fist as an illustration in Figure 11 below represents and recognizes the physical intimidation of the presence of men, their ability to be emotionally and verbally violent as well as their potential for physical violence. Violence is my reference point for the production of eleven sexual harassment terms which have been diagrammatically reflected in chapter two. It is through violence that men practice sexual harassment behaviours. The themes are also to be understood as emerging from the power dynamics that are assumed with social and educational discourses. I captured participants' voices during interviews and grouped them into meaningful themes. Letts and Whytehead (2000), in their foreword to an anthology of poems and prose, say captured voices are filed with a testimony which is wide and various. They maintain that in the pieces that they gather in their poems, some speakers articulate their reality in razor-sharp detail, others are remarkable for their ability to transcend the awful physicality and sing a clear, almost abstract song. Linking Lett's and Whytehead's (2000) descriptions of participants' voices demonstrated different forms of comments. Even though their comments were uttered differently, in essence, they were against the behaviours involved with sexual harassment. Participants' voices expressed emotion which is a key 'female' feature. Regarding women's emotions, Rowbotham, (1973: 7) mentions that Ruth

Benedict, a close colleague and a friend of Margaret Mead, (the intellectual pioneers in Anthropology), wrote in her journal *the emotional part of woman's life is that part which makes her a woman*. Date-Bah (1997: 131) supports Benedict (1973) as she points out that the emotional stress is one of the consequences of sexual harassment for the victim.

Figure 11 below shows that a perpetrator has a preponderant power advantage which obviates open fighting, beating and intimidation before or during the act of sexual violence. This power is shown by the nature of his bent fingers and his face. They carry with them an attitudinal behaviour which is a profound affront to the dignity of women. As the fingers are bent in towards the palm and held tightly, they represent the locking up of women's liberation through sexual harassment. The hands are ready to grab and restrain his victim. The emphasis is on eleven of the sexual harassment terms which include sex object, gender/sex role, power, offensive, patriarchy, inferiority complex, dominance, lowering of personal dignity, subordination, unwelcome-ness and demeaning, which are actually the feelings that women experience after they have been harassed. The arrows coming from the fist indicate that the perpetrators of sexual harassment aim at inducing these feelings within their victims to maintain the perpetrator's position of power. The other fist which is clenched represents victory. The perpetrator celebrates his achievement of making the victim feel the way they feel after being sexually harassed. The face in the said diagram is an expressive gesture of wanting to coerce the victim. Coercion is a distinct characteristic of most sexual harassment behaviours ((Aggarwal (1992: 76). The terms "coerced or forced" imply that the conduct of sexual harassment is pressed against the will of the victim. It is a merciless face that is frightening; it has a terrifying look so that victims acquiesce to a perpetrator's sexual advances unwillingly. The facial expression says "What do u t think you are? If you dare report my sexual advances, you will lose your job and your good reputation."

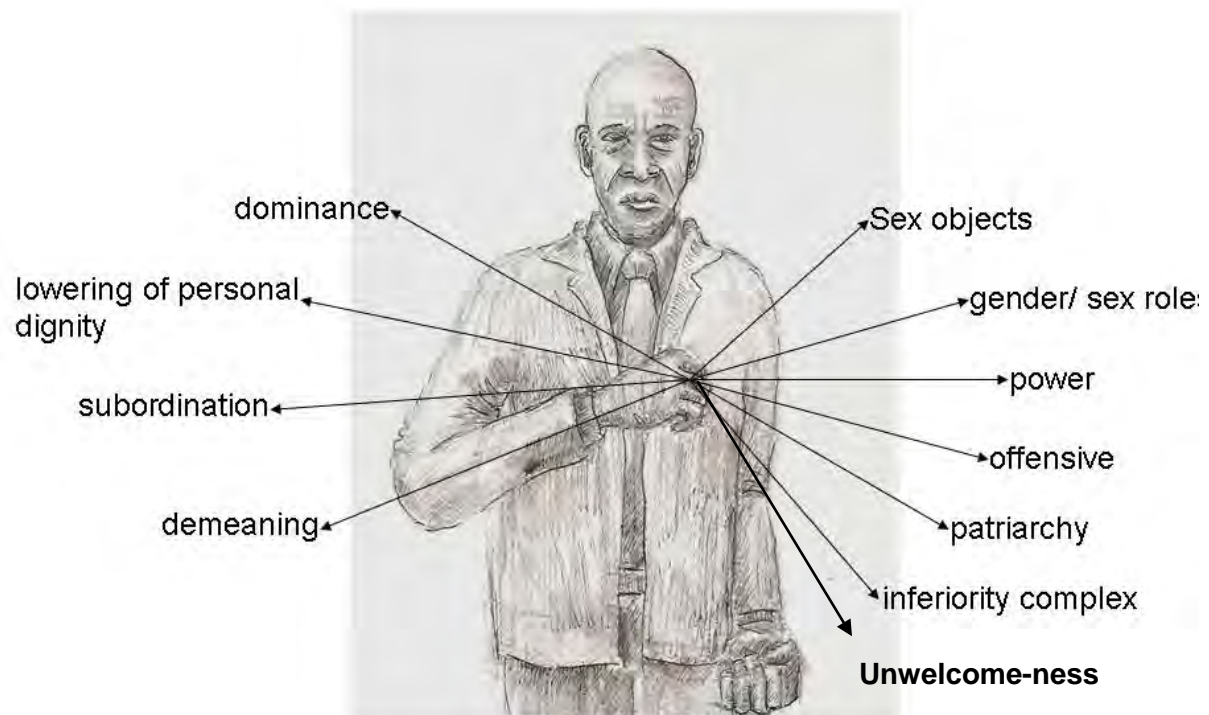


Figure 11: Representation of sexual harassment terms as relayed by study participants

5.3.1 Power and oppression in human interaction

The said terms have to do with the actions of perpetrators. The words and deeds of a perpetrator count a lot. What counts is what the perpetrator *does* with what he says or what he talks about. Kitzinger (2008: 119) introduces Conversation Analysis (CA) and looks at technical matters for gender research. She explores the relevance and value of feminist research on gender and sexuality as well as the broader issues of power and oppression in everyday interaction. She points out that the key interest of CA is in talk not as *language*, but in talk as *action*: that is, what people *do* with talk. The reason for quoting Kitzinger's (2008) CA is to show that conversation analysis offers a powerful and rigorous method for exposing the mundane but insidious oppression of everyday life. It also is the value of CA for feminist research, for research on issues of gender and sexuality, and-more generally-for any research concerned with power and oppression which are produced and reproduced in human interaction.

5.4. Theories informing the study

Introduction

The study draws from post-modern feminist theory, the radical feminist theory, and the theories of sexual harassment mainly, and also the socio-cultural model and the organizational model. All the said theories are inter-connected with men's violence towards women and in particular, sexual harassment. Lewis, (2002: 123) says the postmodern feminist theorists and in particular, Simone de Beauvoir, argue that women are subordinated. The radical feminist, Dale Spencer, is concerned with the differences between man and women, particularly the characteristics of power and authority and the different dispositions. The models of sexual harassment see sexual harassment as a form of sex discrimination because of the problems that are raised (Abrams, 1994; Hajdin, 2002).

The feminist methodological mandate is to allow women's voices to be heard and women's consciousness to be expressed. Gender is constantly interpreted by gender analyst, Joan W Scott, (Kemp and Squires, 1997: 68) as pertinent to the domestic rather than the public sphere. This occurred since gender-linked social characteristics were culturally and personally salient to the manner in which it developed. Using the words of Simone de Beauvoir (1948: 8), she says, *one is not born, but rather becomes a woman. It is civilization alone that produces this creature.* Harrington, et al., (2008:23) state that in gender issues, the focus is on how aspects of gender are produced as salient, represented and also given meaning and significance within everyday life across various cultural settings.

Harding (1986) and other feminist theorists, in general, seek to understand society from the perspective of women and use this knowledge proactively to try to overcome the oppression and disadvantages that women face in daily life. As (Pilcher, 1993) notes, *the word "feminism" is French in origin and dates from the 1980s when feminism began to be used as a synonym for the emancipation of women.* Pilcher (1993) points out that feminist theory of women focus in three ways:

1. It focuses on women's position and experience in society.
2. It applies a woman's perspective to the study of the social world.
3. It criticizes the status quo and works to improve the position of women.

5.4.1 Postmodern feminist theory

Gregson (2004: 102) reports that postmodernists' texts by men are marked by a new awareness of gender issues. Gregson (2004) asserts that the power of postmodernism representation programmes women into patriarchal distortions of femininity, requiring them to submit to dominantly masculine structures. Jones and Barron (2007: 4) maintain that there are some distinct similarities between post modernism and feminism. They both interrogate the inherent homocentric nature of all the fundamental dichotomies that have characterized the enlightened reasoning and Western thinking generally. Feminism needs the subject of 'woman' in order to coalesce or bring together women politics. Postmodernism interrogates notions of subjectivity and in so doing renders it fragmented and 'always' in process. When Jones and Barron (2007) draw on their own research, they mark out certain repercussions, particularly the benefits when postmodern theory is brought into a study that centres on gender, while feminism generally espouses values of the 'left' and adopts critical perspectives in understanding gender identities. Masculinism is closely aligned with the 'right' and with essentialist views. Masculinism argues for 'natural' and biological differences. Holstein (2008: 690) argues that within postmodernism women are in danger of being deconstructed out of existence. Cilliers (1998) states that the literature on postmodern feminist theory has proliferated to such an extent that it has become difficult to know exactly what position it is that one has to engage with. Postmodern is an approach to feminist theory that incorporates postmodern and post-structuralist theory. Lyotard (1984) points out that sometimes the terms 'postmodernism' and 'post-structuralism' are conflated while at other times a clear distinction is made between them, where, sometimes post-modern is used as a rigorous theoretical term, but at other times it is used as a vague term describing the contemporary cultural scene. The postmodern theorists and in particular, Simone de Beauvoir (1948) challenges the status quo whereby women who had acquired some sort of professional degree were not allowed to participate in the public sphere. The largest departure

from other branches of feminism, however, is the argument that sex is itself constructed through language, a view most notably propounded in Judith Butler's 1990 book, 'Gender Trouble.' She draws on and critiques the work of Simone de Beauvoir, Michel Foucault, and Jacques Lacan. Butler (1990) criticizes the distinction drawn by previous feminisms between (biological) sex and (socially constructed) gender. Lewis, (2002: 123) points out that Butler (1990) argues that this does not allow for sufficient criticism of essentialism: though recognizing that gender is a social construct, feminists assume it is always constructed in the same way. Her argument implies that women's subordination has no single cause or single solution; postmodern feminism is thus criticized for offering no clear path to action. Butler herself rejects the term 'postmodern' as too vague to be meaningful.

Although postmodernism resists characterization, it is possible to identify certain themes or orientations that postmodern feminists share. Mary Joe Frug(1992) suggests that one 'principle' of postmodern is that human experience is located 'inescapably within language.' Power is exercised not only through direct coercion, but also through the way in which language shapes and restricts our reality (Frug, 1992: 1045-1064). However, because language is always open to re-interpretation, it can also be used to resist this shaping and restriction, and so it is a potentially- fruitful site of political struggle. Hughes (2000:65) points out that Evans, in her school of difference, remarks: *Postmodern is frequently regarded as a recipe for stasis, if not, indeed paralysis.* Hughes (2000) continues and maintains that although postmodernism is an umbrella term that covers a range of theoretical positions it is certainly the case that postmodernism has been highly contentious regarding feminism. But it does not mean that postmodernism is against feminism. It is able to argue for equality in the treatment of both men and women. Browne (2007: 35) points out that although women in many nations now have more or less the same legal rights as men, women and men in general continue to play different roles and receive different rewards. In general, this works to the disadvantage of women. For example, in the case of WSU's sexual harassment victims (those who went for legal action against their perpetrators) were all at a disadvantage. One victim at WSU left the institution whilst others face continuous victimization. Frug's (1992) second postmodern principle is that sex is not something natural, nor is it something completely determinate and definable. Rather, sex is part of a system

of meaning, produced by language. The language encodes the female body with meanings,' and these cultural mechanisms then go on to explain these meanings 'by an appeal to the 'natural' differences between the sexes, differences that the rules themselves help to produce.' Rejecting the idea of a natural basis to sexual difference allows us to see that it is always susceptible to new interpretations. Like other systems of meaning, it is less like a cage, and more like a tool: it constrains but never completely determines what one can do with it (Mary Joe Frug, 1992: 1045-1075). In accordance with sexual harassment, I would say Frug's (1992) principle means that WSU perpetrators cannot argue that their sexual behaviours emanate from their culture but that the behaviour is purely their need to dominate women.

Whereas modernism was often associated with identity, unity, authority, certainty, etc., postmodernism is often associated with difference, separation, sexuality, skepticism, etc. In this particular study, postmodern is associated more with authority and differences; that is, men being in authoritative positions in work settings. In this instance, their authority gives them power, a tool they (men) use to their advantage (in sexual harassment). Men see themselves as different from women in the way that they handle women as their sex objects.

Postmodern feminist theories imply that no universal research agenda or application of technologies will be appropriate and that various women will have different reactions to technologies depending upon their own class, race, sexuality, country, and other factors. In contrast to liberal feminism, postmodernism dissolves the universal subject and the possibility that women speak in a unified voice or that they can be universally addressed. (Wajcman's, 1991) thoughtful analysis of the social constructivist perspective on gender reveals that some of the issues are embedded in its assumptions. She points out that there is no behaviour or meaning which is universally and cross-culturally associated with either masculinity or femininity. What is considered masculine in some societies is considered feminine or gender-neutral in others. It is not that gender difference does not exist but that it is manifested differently in different societies.

In relation to feminism and postmodernism, Evans (1995:125) has identified postmodernism and post-structuralism as 'feminism's third difference: a difference *within women*.' Evans

distinguishes between the ‘strong’ cultural feminism of Daly and Rich and the ‘weak’ cultural feminism of the feminist philosophers and psychologists such as Ruddick, Held and Gilligan (Aitchison, 2003:31). Postmodernism is aligned with my study as it has to do with patriarchy. For example, how has patriarchy played a role in sexual harassment? As far as the patriarchal status quo is concerned, the question of the marginalized position of women has been clearly responded to in chapter one, section 1.1; whereby I was able to come up with eleven sexual harassment terms that I gathered from participants’ voices.

The view that women’s positions are affected in the labour market corresponds with the Employment Equity Act which states that ‘work should not be based on sex differences’ (Herbig, 2004). In the sexual harassment sense, women are more likely to be sexually victimized than men (le Roux, et al., 2005: 9). de Beauvoir in her feminist and ethical writing states that the person’s sense of himself/herself is violated when he/she is subjected to unwelcome sexual attention.

Ward (1997) concludes that postmodernism is most usefully thought of as an elastic critical category with a range of applications and potential understandings. It is a kind of portable term which enables us to enter a great many ideas about the specific characteristics of the world.

5.4.2 Radical feminist theory

Radical feminists like Dale Spencer continue to argue that, however diverse and varied our experiences may be, women exist as a political and a socially-constructed category whose lives are materially shaped by belonging to that category. Radical feminism is characteristically concerned with the differences between men and women: differences in power and authority as well as different dispositions and characteristics. Alice and Ellen, (1990) say the ‘problem with no name’, the ‘women’s question’, are unwrapped as a number of issues; rape, domestic violence, pornography, low pay, division of labour, domestic labour, child abuse, social and political exclusions and the connection between all these and sexualized

representations. Essentialists and anti-essentialists agree that the liberal political slogan 'equal but different' obviously mystifies the base fact that masculinity is valued over femininity and men are guaranteed sanctioned domination over women. The structures themselves need to be revised and revised according to different values. Some radical feminists like Dale Spencer argue that the appropriate values were those associated with femininity. Others argue that characteristics associated with femininity were a product of the very system to be replaced, hence a 'revaluation of all values' was required. Connecting these arguments was a belief in the real moral equality and value of men and women. This belief in the 'metaphysical' equality of all human beings existed side by side with the beliefs that the two sexes are biologically different and the belief that because social systems change over time, the human subject-who is a result of such social processes-with abilities and characteristics, also changes. This theory of the changing human subject, constituted through her social relations, inaugurated a break from the 'abstract individualism' of liberalism and existentialism and this, in the end, removed from the feminist project its ability to defend its humanist moral position.

The growing distance, the gap, between second wave feminism and third wave feminism, described by Ann Brooks, seems premised on a very rough description of the variety of positions within radical feminist as essentialist and historical (Shulamith, 2003). Tong, (1989) asserts that radical feminists argue that male power is the root cause of social construction of gender. Thus their main concern is patriarchy. The feminists view patriarchy as advocating the oppression and subordination of women in society, and define it as power and control by men over women (Walby, 1994: 63). In turn, radical feminists call for a counter culture which valorizes female identified roles and values, and which will be used to create alternatives to patriarchal societies (Tong, 1989: 89). Radical feminism maintains that women's oppression is the first, most widespread, and deepest oppression. Radical feminism rejects most scientific theories, data, and experiments, not only because they exclude men but also because they are not women-centred. It suggests that because men, masculinity and patriarchy have become completely intertwined with technology and computer systems in our society, no truly feminist alternative to technology exists (Rosser, 2005). Also, radical feminism is a philosophy emphasizing the patriarchal roots of inequality between men and women, or, more specifically, social dominance of women by men.

Radical feminism views patriarchy as dividing rights, privileges and power primarily by gender, and as a result oppressing women and privileging men (Alice and Ellen, 1990). They tend to be more militant in their approach (radical as ‘getting to the root’). Lorraine, (2002) argues that radical feminism opposes existing political and social organization in general because it is inherently tied to patriarchy. Thus, radical feminists tend to be sceptical of political action within the current system, and instead support cultural change that undermines patriarchy and associated hierarchical structures. Alice and Ellen (1990) further stress that radical feminism opposes patriarchy, not men. To equate radical feminism to man-hating is to assume that patriarchy and men are inseparable, philosophically and politically. Moreover, radical feminist theory is to a large extent incompatible with cultural feminism. The reason is that the societal forces it deals with seem so great in magnitude that they make it impossible to identify any innate masculine or feminine attributes except those which are the results of the biological attributes (Lorraine, 2002). In addition to the standpoint of feminism Griffiths, (1999) presents an explanation of radical feminist theory: *the radical feminists focus on the lives and experiences of women...showing how women’s activities are made invisible on the international scene*. These feminists have articulated and explained how men have constructed female sexuality to suit their needs and interests. Firestone (1971), a radical feminist, heavily criticizes the fact that men control women’s bodies and reproductive health. This is one of the mechanisms used by the university’s perpetrators to keep their victims in a subordinate position and make them sex objects. For example, at WSU victims of sexual harassment argue that they have, by and large, succumbed to the male extortion by escaping sexual aggression at the expense of their jobs or by keeping their jobs at the expense of their self respect. They point out that they forfeit their independence and equality either way. Meanwhile, the pervasiveness of aggression has taken a toll on their drive and desire to work and this cannot be quantified.

The argument in these theories is that patriarchy or control should not be irrelevantly practiced as is the case in sexual harassment. Interviews have played a major role in this study in the pursuit of allowing participants to express their own thoughts about how sexual harassment has had an impact on their lives. Victims of sexual harassment at WSU said, with one voice, that they

experienced sexual harassment at work. I gathered their voices and came up with their revelation. The narratives will be analyzed in chapter seven of this study.

5.4.3 Theoretical models of sexual harassment

This part of the discussion is made up of two elements namely: the theories upon which the study is formed and the research methodology used in the research work. The former is introduced by the two main theories: the postmodernism feminist theory and the radical feminist theory. This is followed by the theoretical models of sexual harassment and is divided into two models: the socio-cultural model and the organizational model. Also included are the effects of sexual harassment on organizations and institution, after which comes the meanings and consequences of sexual harassment, then finally the explanation of victims of sexual harassment.

Welsh (1999: 86) states that sexual harassment is notoriously difficult to define and self-reported surveys have to be treated with caution; and more work remains to be done in measuring the extent of sexual harassment. For example, it is a plausible but unproven hypothesis that the number of sexual harassment cases in the workplace has declined in recent years and decades, but that an increasing awareness and empowerment of women workers has led to a greater percentage of cases being reported in surveys. The statistics we observe are a mixture of these countervailing forces. The tying up of sexual harassment with sex discrimination, though the latter has played an important role historically, is now becoming a hindrance. There should be strong laws to prevent discrimination and strong laws to prevent sexual harassment. But it would be unfortunate if the only way to establish sexual harassment is to categorize it as a form of discrimination, because this approach raises a number of problems (Abrams, 1994 and Hajdin, 2002). Employment discrimination by sex has traditionally meant men discriminating against women; for example, consider Farley's (1978) definition: 'Sexual harassment is best described as unsolicited nonreciprocal male behavior that asserts a woman's sex role over her function as worker.' But sexual harassment is a more complex topic. Actually, Lin Farley, among the first to expose the problem of sexual harassment in the workplace, excluded in her sexual harassment definition the fact that men can also be the victims of sexual harassment. She suggests no other term for the sexual harassment of men. Farley (1978: 14-15) and Russell (1984:274) define

sexual harassment as ‘unsolicited non-reciprocal male behavior that asserts a woman’s sex role over her function as worker.’

Theoretical models of sexual harassment rest on a number of assumptions about sexual behaviours in the work place. Levy and Paludi (2002: 71) point out three main theoretical models that incorporate power relations which specify the likely causes of sexual harassment. These are the socio-cultural model and the organizational model. The models view men as being responsible for the incidents of sexual harassment by enforcing gender role inequalities within the social system. Women are then victimized. However, several explanatory models have been suggested to account for sexual harassment in the workplace. These include the natural/biological model, the organizational model, the socio-cultural model (Tangri, Burt, & Johnson, 1982). Although all offer insight into the problem, no one model of harassment behaviour satisfactorily accounts for all types of harassment. The following two, namely, the socio-cultural and the organizational model have been considered.

5.4.4 The socio-cultural model

The socio-cultural model views harassment as the enforcement of gender role inequalities within the social system. The prevailing patriarchal system subordinates the position of the woman to that of the man. Thus, sexual harassment is seen as a tool of domination to keep the woman perpetually subordinated to men. This posits sexual harassment as only one manifestation of the much larger patriarchal system in which men are the dominant groups. According to this model, sexual harassment is an example of men asserting their socially based personal power based on sex. This model gives a more accurate account of sexual harassment since the overwhelming majority of victims are women, and the overwhelming majority of perpetrators are men. Furthermore, the social-cultural model of sexual harassment postulates that sexual harassment of women by men is a result of women’s inferior status in the workplace and society. A sexism theory concerning ambivalence toward women suggests that sexist ideologies are on a continuum from paternalistic views toward women (benevolent sexism) to violence against women (hostile sexism). These two forms of sexism are complementary and widespread across cultures,

reflecting and maintaining the oppression of women (Glick, et al., 2000); that is, many women are able to work and be successful in almost all careers. Nevertheless, they are not barred from pursuing male dominated occupations and roles, but they get into difficulty when they have to choose between caring for a perpetrator's interest and caring for their own employment. In most cultures, women's jobs have typically been extensions of the female gender role (Martin 1995:31). Martin, (1995) suggests that 'the gendered structure of work opportunities and subordination to male supervisors across workplaces make it difficult and costly for female workers to reject the sexual advances of men in positions of authority.' According to many feminist theorists, sexual harassment is a form of discrimination against women as a result of patriarchal systems that treat women as sex objects (MacKinnon, 1979; Tangri & Hayes 1997).

Thus, some men use their power to gain sex. Not surprisingly, the power or status of the perpetrators over the recipient affects perceptions of sexual harassment, with the behaviour initiated by a superior being perceived as more severe than the same behaviour initiated by a peer or co-worker (Blumenthal, 1998: 89). On the other hand, potential harassers may disguise their behaviour as courtship; for example trying to be more private and intimate with the target. The literature on sexual harassment has only recently begun to explore the link between romance and sexual harassment (Pierce & Aguinis 1997). To me, Blumenthal's link is in bad faith because in sexual harassment men find in women more complicity than the oppressor usually finds in the oppressed. Men also act in bad faith by declaring that a woman has desired the destiny he has imposed on her. Peplau (1984: 100) states that in love relationships power also prevails. The man is expected to take the initiative: he takes the woman out, plans activities, provides transportation and pays the bill (though some men nowadays expect a 50/50). Millet (1984) argues that patriarchal norms are pervasive not only in businesses, religion, politics and education. Patriarchy also extends to personal relationships where there is a perpetuation of the power imbalance. Millet (1984) says romantic love does not elevate the status of women; rather, the ideology of love hides the reality of women's subordination and economic dependence on men.

5.4.5 The organizational model of sexual harassment

This model asserts that sexual harassment results from opportunities presented by organizational power. Since most workplaces are defined by power imbalances between supervisors and subordinates, individuals can use the power of their position to extort sexual gratification from their subordinates. Therefore, related to this model are the research findings that suggest that individuals who harass typically do not label their behaviour as sexual harassment despite the fact that they report that they frequently engage in behaviours that fit the legal definition of sexual harassment. They then deny the inherent power differential between themselves and their employees.

In addition to the above, the organizational model of sexual harassment proposes that the structural and environmental conditions found in the workplace will provide opportunities for harassment, or implicitly encourage harassment on the basis of workplace norms, gender bias, and imbedded power relations between men and women. Prior research has shown that workplace norms (Gutek & Morasch 1982), situational factors (Pryor, Lavite, & Stoller, 1993), and workplace climate (Bond, Mulvey, & Mandell, 1993) are all related to victims' reports of harassment in the workplace. The organizational model holds the most direct relevance to workplace harassment behaviour and serves as the basis for the organizational factors in the current study. The cultural and organizational models fit into this study well. On the cultural side that relates to the myths and cultural beliefs, men expect women to be submissive, obedient and to be of service to men. On the organizational part, there are studies that were done by feminists such as Connell (1995) and Pattman (2005). These feminists reveal that women in many organizations are always placed on lower paid jobs and more often managed by men. Sexual harassment in work places has therefore negative effects on the organization. Most of these negative effects result in employees' absenteeism, inconsistency at work and even cause stress to the victims.

5.5 Effects of sexual harassment on organizations

The impact of sexual harassment affects the organization negatively and in the following ways:

- Decreased productivity and increased team conflict.
- Decrease in success at meeting financial goals (because of team conflict).
- Decreased job satisfaction.
- Loss of staff and expertise from resignations to avoid harassment or resignations/firings of alleged harassers; loss of students who leave to avoid harassment.
- Decreased productivity and/or increased absenteeism by staff or students experiencing harassment.
- Increased health care costs and sick pay costs because of the health consequences of harassment.
- The knowledge that harassment is permitted can undermine ethical standards and discipline in the organization in general, as staff and/or students lose respect for, and trust in their seniors who indulge in, or turn a blind eye to sexual harassment.
- If the problem is ignored, a company's or school's image can suffer.
- Legal costs if the problem is ignored and complainants take the issue to court (Boland 1990; Kamir 2005; Heyman 1994; Koss 1987 and Langelan 1993).

The organizational model argues that the existing hierarchical authority relations and structures in organizations are responsible for the incidence of sexual harassment.

The body of literature consulted has documented that in academia as in other work environments, victims of sexual harassment in most cases have been women; though to a lesser extent men have been the targets of harassment too (Dey, et al., 1996). In their sample of faculty staff in the United States, Dey, et al., (1996) report that 15.1 percent of female faculty staff compared with 3.1 percent of male faculty staff experienced sexual harassment. However, much higher incidence rates have been reported for the women, such as 63 percent by Schneider, Swan and Fitzgerald (1997). Schneider (1987) observes that 60 percent of female faculty staff who were included in a study experienced a form of harassment every working day. But, Kelley and

Parsons (2000) suggest that women in the academia must not be viewed as being a homogenous gender group. Rather there are subgroups such as female faculty members, staff, administrators, undergraduates and graduate students. They also report that the perpetrators differ markedly in the case of undergraduates where fellow students are the main culprits, while for the graduate students' male faculty members are often the offenders. Each of the subgroups of women in academia is vulnerable to certain forms of harassment. Kelly and Parsons (2000) found that employees (62 percent) are more likely to experience gender harassment than do students (43 percent), while more students (41 percent) are likely to be the target of unwanted sexual attention than are employees (30 percent). However, students experience sexual coercion more frequently than do employees. Finally, power differentials play a significant role regarding the identity of the victim. For instance, it has been established that female faculties of lower rank are more vulnerable to harassment from either senior faculty members or students (Dey et al., 1996; Kelly & Parsons, 2000). This is consistent with research that indicates that women employed in low status jobs (such as 'blue-collar jobs') and highly dependent on them, experience more harassment than do other women (Riger, 1991). Similarly, young, unmarried, or divorced women are likely candidates of harassment (Popovich, 1988). Though recognized as a work-place malady, and despite its negative physical and psychological effects on victims, sexual harassment incidents are seldom reported by victims. Most victims of harassment exhibit avoidance behaviour, for example staying away from the aggressor or from the environment that promotes such behaviours, or they simply put up with the behaviour. In some cases, victims blamed themselves for the situation, while others confided in friends or family members. Only a few actually filed a formal complaint against the offender (Kelly & Parsons 2000; Schneider, et al., 1997; Riger 1991; Schneider 1987). Victims of harassment, especially women, were often disinclined to report harassment cases because of fear of reprisals, ridicule, perceived indifferent attitudes by the organization, and the nature of the grievance procedure, which may be male-dominated (Riger, 1991; Adamolekun 1989; Schneider 1987).

The above studies have shown that the consequences of sexual harassment even at low levels for the victims could include impaired psychological well-being, such as lowered self esteem, nervousness, irritability, and anger (Popovich, 1988); negative job attitudes, work withdrawal

behaviours may eventually lead to discharge from the organization. Negative outcomes to the organization include absenteeism, decreased productivity, high attrition rate, litigation expenses, and an impaired organizational climate. In academia, female students who experience harassment may exhibit a form of 'job withdrawal' behaviour in terms of changing their major subject choices, altering career plans, or avoiding a threatening situation (Schneider, et al., 1997; Riger, 1991). Harassed female faculty members are more likely to suffer strained work relations, view colleagues as professionally incompetent, and become generally dissatisfied with their jobs (Dey, et al., 1996). At other times, female faculty members have had to suffer detrimental consequences to their academic careers (Schneider, 1987).

Regarding the organizational model and sexual harassment at WSU, the aura of the fighter (as most men know themselves to be) is prevalent, men see themselves as important and, in many ways, perfect. They then have the capacity for violence, lurking beneath the surface of a 'real man.' Actually, most victims at WSU point out that 'real men' are not supposed to sexually harass. On the other hand male perpetrators might see themselves as heroes. A 'real man' is not supposed to be violent. He supposedly has control over events and over himself, thinks logically and should be committed to the right deeds. Participants argue that their perpetrators had become sexual stereotypes. Sexual harassment behaviours seemed habitual. The behaviours have become so imbedded in the social fabric that they did not tolerate rejection of the sexual harassment behaviour.

One senior male during my preliminary informal interview at the NMMU pointed out: *you know if you are a true man you should adopt a manly style. As men, our sense of sexual identity and sexual desirability are powerful components of who we are and what we are worth because ayashaya amadoda uma uzenza umfazi*, meaning, *deviation from sexual norms incurs severe penalties in society and disapproval of other men if you behave like a woman*. In other words, what this means is that the inability or refusal to meet sex-role prescriptions for whatever reason, creates serious conflict for the individual who fails to adopt the masculine role expectations or if he cannot meet them, or if he rejects them on principle. However, I do not want to believe that at WSU those men who are not the perpetrators of sexual harassment would find themselves unpopular or said to be unmanly or unattractive.

Sexual harassment remains wrong for whatever reason, and also illegal, irrespective of the 'manly social norms.' The patriarchal image is embedded in some cultures, hence the sexual harassment behaviour at WSU and in society at large. WSU's perpetrators find themselves tossed between contradictory values and academic requirements with all the accompanying problems and consequences.

Like the socio-cultural model, the organizational model is responsible for incidents of sexual harassment. It enforces gender role inequalities within the social system. In the 21st century, most organizations, and in particular, the university, has departed from a male-centred mode and has literally adopted a new point of view in which women are not to be subordinated by patriarchy. WSU participants are now in an upward curve where they are moving restlessly towards liberation. It is unfortunate that as women are embracing their rightful women images, they encounter males who have a stereotypic vision in wanting to see women in bondage and oppressed by sexual harassment. The stereotypic vision of men masks real women and deprives them of their human strengths and frailties. Sexual harassment at WSU prevents women from perceiving themselves as whole human beings. Not only does sexual harassment erode academic power, it also erodes familial power because as victims of sexual harassment are made sex object at work, victims' work patterns affect the internal dynamics of their families, and other social behaviour and attitudes as well. These are views which Paxton & Hughes (2007: 103) believe they have consequences on women's lives. They point out that they have consequences on women's lives as a whole. They also point out that what people think about women and women's place matters affects women's ability to attain political power. If women are considered irrational, apolitical or incapable of acting apart from a male, they will not be taken seriously as contenders of power. If societal norms suggest that women should stay at home, then women acting in the public sphere may be perceived as rebels harming their families and perhaps even undermining the fabric of society. If women are told they are incompetent, then they may choose to avoid public life and defer to their fathers and husbands for guidance. What Paxton & Hughes (2007) stress, is that arguments about women continue to resonate through the present and affect women as they attempt to gain power.

In organizational structures victims become their perpetrators' sex tools. That is the reason why participants pointed out that the effects of power were not only prevalent at the university but even in other areas not directly sexual; the sexual objectification denies them the status that conduces to their subordination. They argue that once they leave the work setting at the end of the day, their feminine identity and role integrity is endangered; their self-esteem is low in homemaking and in wifehood. The power within the organizational model of sexual harassment should not propel sexual harassment behaviours or to violate woman's physical privacy (that ultimately violates the individual integrity of all women). Rather, wherever women have been placed in an organization, be it in an academic institution or otherwise, women ought to be treated with the same dignity, scope and accuracy as the case would be with men.

In short, the notion of power is a shorthand which, when unpacked, reveals the entire range of beliefs and attitudes inherent in the patriarchal mind set. The gender ideal is amongst other factors which underlie women's disadvantaged position at WSU. The responses of women at WSU have been informed by their prevailing conditions and the nature of the patriarchal oppression they are experiencing. Gasa (2007: 217) asserts that within feminist circles, silence is often seen as the sexiest 'right speech of woman hood'—the sigh of women's submission to patriarchal authority. Murunga (2005: 397) states that post research and writing stage connect the researcher to society through various links. These are dictated by the need for universities to disseminate their findings and knowledge to society through publications, conferences, workshops and seminars. Murunga (2005) asserts that no university is an island cut off from the rest of society; it reflects wider society. What she means is that the academy is part of wider society. Murunga (2005) puts the academy as a workplace and publishers as dissemination channels who have the task of challenging old societal assumptions about woman and gender.

CHAPTER SIX

DATA ANALYSIS

6. INTRODUCTION

Before the discussion of data analysis, I will first discuss themes that were robust during interviews. The background of the specificity of WSU as a research site has rich data. The data carries with it seven (7) themes that made this study unique. These themes were also raised by the participants of sexual harassment in saying they were also the reasons why the behavior of sexual harassment was seen to be enormous at WSU. The themes are desperation, hierarchy, intensity, repetition, aggravation, culture and poverty.

1. Desperation: Most participants raised the point that they were born in the Transkei and they would not like to relocate to any other city because most of their families were in the Transkei. These are the participants who were desperate to work in Mthatha; as they said that there were no job opportunities in the region. They then opt to be silent about issues of sexual harassment.

2. Hierarchy: This is the level of appointment at WSU. Junior employees are manipulated because they have to be subservient down to their seniors for mentoring. They are then manipulated because of the low position that they occupy and they become victims of sexual harassment.

3. Intensity: The behavior (sexual harassment) is intense because the behaviours are ignored. Victims are silenced if they report such behaviours. This gives perpetrators a way to deny the behaviors and no further steps are taken to punish the alleged perpetrators.

4. Repetition: The behaviours are repeated because there is no action taken even when cases of sexual harassment are reported to the seniors. It then becomes easy for the behaviours to be repeated.

5. Aggravation: The behavior is aggravated by the fact that WSU is the only university in the Mthatha region that has many business potential for the employees; which includes opening up of the businesses which will serve the university's population. It is therefore not easy for the whistleblowers to be taken care of because of the power that potential perpetrators have, that

is, the power of being the celebrities of the Eastern Cape, the so-called “business people” or the “elite” who have influence in the community.

6. Culture-The world of Xhosa is filled with mystery and myths that surround their daily traditional life where customs, traditions, ritual, festivals and ancestral spirit form an integral part of their existence (traditions_and_rituals_Xhosa_culture). The head of the household is the man and women remain under his supervision. The victims are then likely to dance to the tune of sexual harassment since they have to bow to a man’s demands. The chances are that sexual harassment behaviors get manipulated by the perpetrators because of being the superiors in their homestead. Culture plays an important role in the choice of life options and can be linked integrates with economic explanations. Chafetz (1999: 46) maintains that concepts such as “women’s work” or “men’s work” are powerful in making jobs seem suitable or unsuitable for females and males and can contribute ‘sex labelling’ at the workplace.

7. Poverty: Due to poverty levels in the Eastern Cape and a high unemployment rate (as has been revealed by Makhiwane in chapter four of this study) victims of sexual harassment decide to internalize the behaviour of which they are victims.

6.1 Data analysis

In this chapter I analyze sexual harassment data of WSU participants by firstly framing the data with the concept of gender. The study deals with qualitative research analysis that led me to understand the complexity of victims’ lives by examining their perspectives in context and understanding a phenomenon of interest. The concept of gender is both a frame and a variable in this discussion so as to anchor the two terms, they being gender and sexual harassment. The value for this idea is to show that sexual harassment is rooted in gender hence the nature of the participants’ narratives that will follow. Narratives include strategies which participants informed me were used when being faced with sexual harassment.

Aitchson (2003: 140) says gender was introduced in the early 1970s to distinguish the acquisition of social attributes from biological ones - for which the term “sex” was reserved.

Harding (1986) identified post-modern feminism as one of the broad perspectives from which research on gender had been undertaken. Gender is concerned with the ascription of social characteristics such as 'womanly', 'manly', 'feminine', and 'masculine' all of which can be seen as culturally variable and not necessarily associated with the sex of an individual. Gender both includes and accounts for women's experiences. This is the extent to which sex roles can be developed as a category of analysis and the analyzing of how gender is connected with sexual harassment. Gender is used as a form of social control, gender and power being intimately connected. As women are not treated in the same way as men, I can explain this distinction on the basis of gender-related personality differences and sex roles. Gender is an interpersonal process that helps to maintain male dominance and can involve sexual harassment. Sexual harassment is therefore framed through gender or sex roles, gender being one of the social categories and associated with conceptions of power and status. For example, in sexual harassment, WSU victims argued that men sometimes behaved because of their elevated status (being men). They believe this status emboldens men hence sexual harassment behaviours. What this means is that the theory of gender is fundamentally related to domination and subordination and these can be perpetuated or contested in sex roles. A sense of gender appears to be an intrinsic and palpable part of personal identity, making sex differences totally relevant to the concept of gender. Sex and gender are precisely relevant because of the linkage to power. This is a very real message of feminism, involving global confrontation with male dominance coming from sexual harassment victims.

Scott (1988: 30) maintains that the usage of gender has involved a range of theoretical positions as well as simple descriptive references to the relationships between the sexes. (1977: 64). Feminists have in a more literal and serious vein begun to use 'gender' as a way of referring to the social organization of the relationship between the sexes. Feminist scholars pointed out early on that the study of women would not only add new subject matter but would also force a critical re-examination of the premises and standards of existing scholarly work. Acker (2001: 109) points out that gender, as an analytic category, is an attempt to find new avenues into the dense and complicated problem of explaining the extraordinary persistence through history and across societies relating to the domination of women. New approaches to the study of waged work,

particularly studies of the labour process, see organizations as gendered, but not as gender neutral; and they conceptualize organizations as one of the locations of the inextricably intertwined production of both gender and class relations.

The raw data provides a rich account of what happened. Though the raw data is a thick description, I have condensed it into a kind of description that intends to make sense of it. The interpretation of participants' narratives has helped me in extracting meanings so as to be able to identify the context which is relative to my study. Heppner, et al., (2008: 293) point out that interpretations mark a threshold in thinking and writing and allows the researcher to probe into what is to be made of the narratives. There are eleven terms that are connected to sexual harassment. These terms are reflected in chapters one, two, and four as well. The terms echoed through the data I gathered and they became relatively robust during interviews. The terms are also in accordance with gender as a term and the literature review. The terms include the following:- slaves, sex objects, gender/sex roles, unwelcome-ness, power, patriarchy, inferiority complex, dominance, subordination, lowering of personal dignity. These terms are presented in a diagramme, (Figure 6 (a)). As the said Figure shows, the terms are rooted in sexual harassment and gender.

The key variable in this analysis chapter is *gender*. Moore (1988: 189) states that the 'anthropology of women' was excellent at considering differences based on gender regarding what difference it makes to be a woman and what difference it makes to see things from a woman's point of view. The central issue in discussing gender as a variable in my analysis is to show the unequal distribution of power between men and women and the consequent subordination of women to men in the workplace. Most importantly, I have made gender a variable in the pursuit of locating sexual harassment in the larger context of a society which perpetuates femininity and masculinity as important tools for social control. McEwen (2001) says patriarchies are deeply entrenched across all cultures hence femininity and masculinity being the cause for gender disparities. Woods, Maforah and Jewkes (1998); and Varga, (2000) maintain that during male/female interactions, males express their dominance over females.

Using gender as a key variable provides a better understanding of patterns of the eleven terms in question. In this regard, each term carries with it the extent to which gender is involved. Focusing on gender as a term amongst other terms of sexual harassment has great potential value and it has taught me to learn about masculine domination, the way it is imposed and how victims suffer. Viljoen (1992:275) points out that harassment is used interchangeably with concepts such as victimization, discrimination and inequality on account of gender. Again the concept of gender has been used as a variable and as a subset, hence the nature of Figure 12. This means the gender imbalance involving victims is such that efforts to limit sexual harassment freedom will inevitably be made by perpetrators at the expense of victims because of gender discourse.

Sexual harassment constitutes a gender-specific violation of victims whereby the motives are to do with patriarchal issues. Even though some women may be more vulnerable to sexual harassment than others at WSU (and in general), no woman is immune. Victims at WSU are sexually harassed because they are women and not because they are the co-workers of the perpetrators. Tong (1993: 367) says the gender specific accords with the notion that sexual harassment helps perpetuate gender inequalities, particularly at work. This is a way of bridging a discussion of victims' subordination with more conventional texts that focus primarily on women as sex objects. It then diminishes victims' potential for social equality and in this case their employment position at WSU compromises their sexuality thus creating intolerable working conditions for them. Gender inequality then becomes the mainstay of patriarchal manifestations which prop up sexual harassment behaviours. It might be impossible to eradicate sexual harassment behaviours without attacking the gender inequalities and the social structures of class in society.

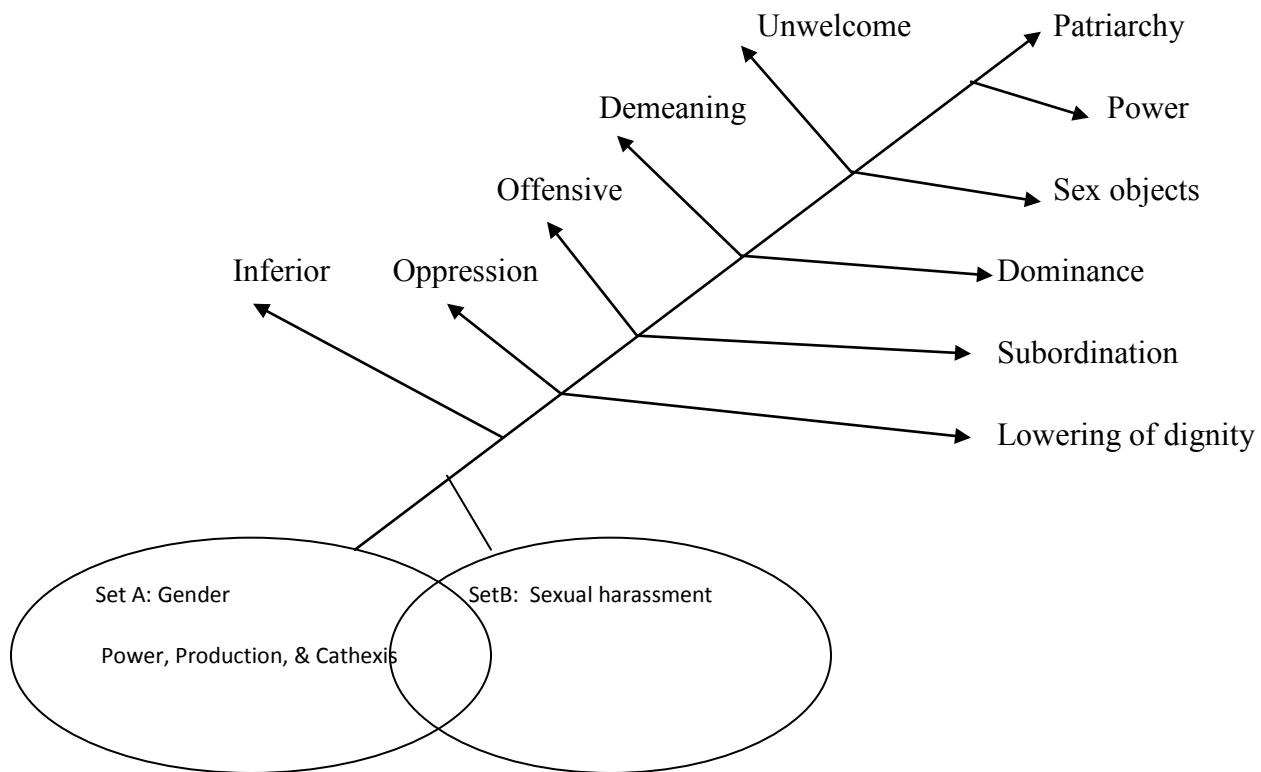


Figure 12: Gender as a variable represented in sets

6.2 Sexual harassment as rooted in gender discrimination

In these two sets, which I have named set A (gender) and set B (sexual harassment), I am asserting that every element of set A belongs to an element of set B. Therefore, set A (gender) is a subset of set B (sexual harassment). Figure 7 (a) explains that sexual harassment is rooted in gender and is therefore inevitable or immutable. Another explanation is that gender is an internally-complex structure where a number of different logics are superimposed. In sexual harassment, the gender of a woman is unquestionably a factor in most cases of the behavior. . Gender then becomes an evidence variable; that women become victims of sexual harassment because of their gender, therefore, gender is the sole ingredient in the discriminatory action whereby members of the affected gender are mistreated identically. Connell (2008: 370) asserts that different logics are of great importance for the analysis of masculinities. An analysis of

masculinities in sexual harassment acknowledges the oppression of women and explains that women are caught by networks of forces and barriers which expose them to demeaning behaviours. Accordingly, masculinity, like femininity, is always liable to internal contradiction and historical disruption. The obsession of the two concepts (gender and sexual harassment) is to anchor the whole idea of male domination, male-identified and male-centered perpetrators. It is in this sense that patriarchy requires that gender assumes mythic proportions and takes its place as the most defining and confining human characteristic. Again, gender defines the core of what makes men and women fundamentally different from each other. Patriarchy then depends on this differentiation.

Connell (2008: 370) asserts that gender is a way in which social practice is ordered. In a gender process, the everyday product of life is organized in relation to a reproductive arena defined by the bodily structures and processes of human reproduction. Connell (2008) points out that this arena includes sexual arousal and intercourse, childbirth and infant care, bodily sex difference and similarities. In turn, Connell (2008) calls this a reproductive arena to emphasize the historical process that involves the body, and not a fixed set of biological determinants. This means gender is a social practice that constantly refers to bodies and what bodies do. In short, biology does not determine the social but it marks those points of transition where historical process supersedes biological evolution as the form of change. This is the reason why in Figure 7 (a) gender has been put in a three-fold model which is power, production and cathexis.¹³ Linking the three-fold model with sexual harassment, it means power, production, and cathexis give some purchase on the issues of masculinities, hence, the sexual harassment behaviour being practiced more by men and producing oppression.

Connell (2008: 371) points out that the main axis of power in the contemporary European American gender order is the overall subordination of women and dominance of men-the structure Women's Liberation named 'patriarchy.' Regarding cathexis, Powell (1996: 1) asserts that the theory and practice of Feminist Methodology has placed considerable emphasis on cathexis. It has been widely claimed that an emotional element must inevitably be present within

¹³ Cathexis is the emotional attachment (Connell, 2008:370).

research be it planning, implementation or writing up. It has further been suggested that in respect of research interaction with women, the refusal to stifle emotion is liable to result in rendering female experiences more visible and more recognizably valid.

Bourdieu (2001: 9) points out that the abstract conceptualization of gender is further explained by using additional gender concepts which are the gender norms, the stereotype, the identity and the social institutions as discussed by:

1. Gender norms:

Gender norms impose codes of masculinity and femininity thus creating and reinforcing gender inequality in sexual harassment behaviours. All these four gender concepts steer men and women into different social positions and the concepts constantly intersect. The femininity norms make it harder for men to gain power; as Bourdieu (2001) puts it: *access to power of any kind places women in a “double bind”: if they behave like men, they risk losing the obligatory attributes of “femininity” and call into question the natural rights of men to the position of power; if they behave like women, they appear incapable and unfit for the job.*

2. Stereotypes:

Because of gender stereotypes society has different expectations of men and women.

3. Identity:

Because of the above gender hypothesis stereotyping has evolved.

4. Social institutions:

These produce and sustain existing gender inequalities. For example, sexual harassment behaviours at WSU reinforce gender stereotypes through the social conditions and processes that produce them. Gender violence in education cannot be discussed without attention to the social

conditions and processes that produce them (Bowker, 2009: 4).

Drawing on the radical feminists' position on gender, McKinnon (1979) and Mills (1989) suggest that women's interests are subordinated to the interests of men's; this assists in finding the meaning and significance about why men and women have opposing perceptions and activities. Brinkehoff, et al., (2008:204) state that there are structural social changes that exist between women and men despite their abstract connections. Women are at a substantial disadvantage in most areas of conventional achievements in informal as well as formal interactions. They have less power than men.

Drawing on postmodernism that looks at men and women connections, Ward (1997) uses Julia Kristeva's large and complex body of work which is concerned with more abstract connections between men and women. Ward (1997) believes that it is possible to create a 'feminine' voice in literature. But she denies Kristeva's idea that there is some essential, timeless category of womanliness from which this voice can come. She points out that women may not be born with an ability to speak in a 'feminine tongue.' But, she continues to argue that they are pushed to the edges or put aside of 'mainstream' systems of representation. She points out that writers refer to women as 'they' and that writers use 'he' and 'mankind' to refer to people in general. In this way she argues that women can be said to be linguistically silenced. Connecting Ward's (1997) utterances with sexual harassment and silencing, Lips (1993: 107) maintains that the research bleakly suggests that as women grow more numerous in a particular profession or occupation, its status declines (Touhey, 1974). Thus, though women's problems with access to the workplace are far from over, there is an increasing recognition that simply being allowed into a profession, a business organization or a trade union is only half the battle.

Jones and Barron, (2007: 62) point out that educational gender-related research in the 1970s and 1980s was primarily concerned with the inequalities experienced by girls who were called 'Disadvantaged girls.' Younger, et al., (2005) identified a number of themes in this research.

They explored the ways in which subject choice at secondary level was premised on stereotypical notions of the qualifications needed for particular gendered careers. Another theme was the ways in which boys dominated classrooms. They also received more teacher attention (Mahogany 1985). Myers (2000) examined the ways of increasing girls' confidence and attainment in subjects where these had previously lagged behind those of boys and explored the ways in which boys limited girls' opportunities when carrying out practical work in mathematics, science and technology. This educational gender-related research was actually about gender and power and the silencing of girl children and was carried out in order to challenge towards non-hegemonic identities.

Myers (200) is supported by Brinkerhoff, et al., (2008: 204). They say that in 1993 few women went to college. Those who did were encouraged to focus, not on earning Bachelor of Arts degree, but a 'MRS' (i.e. marriage certificate). Had it not been the silencing of women's voices, they would have made an impact in their work environment. Understanding of the dilemmas (sexual harassment and silencing) faced by women trying to be effective in the workplace can be enhanced by examining their problems within the framework provided by psychological research on power and gender. French and Raven, (1959) assert that psychologists argue that power-the ability to make an impact or to get others to do what one wants them to do-is based on a person's access to certain resources that can be used to 'back up' attempts to influence. Mirza (1997: 19) points out that postmodern theory has allowed the celebration difference, the recognition of otherness and the presence of multiple and changeable subjectivities. The celebration of others is the celebration of women presence so as to rectify gender inequality. Regarding the postmodern view of subjectivities, Elman (1996: 60) writes: *Rape is fundamentally an act that manifests, sustains, and promotes a systematic context of woman's subjection. Rape and sexual harassment as gendered acts are universally committed by males and overwhelmingly directed against females.*

A qualitative feminist reflective methodology has been employed. Litosseli (2008: 17) summarizes three key principles of feminist research as:

1. Characterized by self-reflection, self-reflexivity, even conscious partiality.
2. Done by researchers who 'locate themselves within, rather than outside the research topic and the participants.
3. Informed by feminist politics. Use of automatically-generated numbering.

A qualitative feminist reflective methodology involves a series of concurrent decisions as to data, theory and methodology. Employing this kind of analysis in this study added some value to an awareness of having to recognize the shared human attributes of the participants. A black American Sociologist, Patricia Hill Collins, brings groups of marginal intellectuals like the black feminist sociologists, who share an 'outsider within' status (vis-à-vis sociology), into the centre of the analysis.

The analysis for this study's views of reality are obscured by more orthodox approaches (Harding 1991). Narratives were elicited from thirty five (35) participants during interviews because an interview is an inscription of narrative productions. Two participants were in denial about having been sexually harassed despite the fact that I had set up an appointment with them on the previous day and they had admitted that they were victims of sexual harassment. Fortunately, I was able to network two other participants. The productions are the voices of the participants. This feminist method deals with what is involved as a series of concurrent decisions as to data, theory and methodology.

According to Porter Abbot (2002: 64) a voice in narration is a question of who is it we 'hear' during the narrating. Participants do the narration and talk as first persons. A narrator (the researcher) narrates participants' voices as a third person. In essence, the first person's narration almost invariably includes a third person's narration. Singer and Baddeley (2007: 178) maintain that Erikson, (a pioneer in personality psychology) says individuals give familiar cultural tales a fresh voice filtered through their idiosyncratic life experience and personal memory. Gilbert (2008: 422) points out that the use of narrative analysis helps the researcher to gain greater understanding of the social world and the production of data. Czarniawska (2004: 84) says

narrative analysis constitutes part of rhetorical analysis which stems from the rhetorical tradition that has been used in social sciences. The narratives have allowed me to produce eleven terms which are in accordance with sexual harassment. They are the products of data. Debbie Bonnin, as quoted in chapter one of section 1 of this study, talks about a woman's voice. She says the ordinary woman from a grass-roots base Non-Governmental Organization was not able to have her voice heard in a way that would meaningfully influence the Platform for Action during the 1995 September Conference in Beijing. In this regard, it is the researcher who has to produce participants' voices through interviews because the narrative analysis exposes hidden agendas and enables one to have meanings. Mouzelis (2008: 22) asserts that Anthropological and Marxist structuralism like Levi-Strauss, has set out to see to what extent it is possible to find 'hidden grammars' not only in language but also in other such institutional fields like kinship, etc.

Althusser (1968: 216ff) says structuralists concentrate on the internal logic of a specific whole, try to grasp it by breaking up the whole into elementary parts and then bring the hidden connections between these parts to the surface. Connecting this explanation to this study, the hidden connections are the participants' utterances which they bring to the surface during the interviews. The utterances come as a whole from the structure of a human mind. The researcher is then able to grasp the whole and break it into the elementary parts which have hidden connections. These hidden connections are chunks of information which are broken into analysis. Bakan (1996: 3) asserts that narratives are based on the real lives of people made public, converts what is private into public; this, however, can violate privacy and can cause mental, legal, social, and financial hurt and harm. Using of narratives contributed positively to this study for better understanding of victims' experiences. I support Bakan (1996) in that participants could be hurt and harmed by the results. Having thought about these negative results, the names and the ages of my participants are not exposed in this study and neither is the length of their employment. The pseudonyms used are Xhosa names because only Xhosa-speaking participants were interviewed. Chapter four of section 4.3.1 of this study briefly discusses the location of WSU. There is also a map that shows the location of Mthatha in the Oliver Tambo Municipality, the region where Mthatha is. In the same chapter four of this study, I have explained the reason for having used Xhosa pseudonyms. WSU is not a very big institution and as such, participants'

narratives will become evident if their identities are revealed. I have used pseudonyms to protect their identities so that they may not be harmed as the study is sensitive.

Karin Widerberg, a sociologist, says that to know about women's experiences we have to start where women are situated and look up and around at the structure and functioning of the society from women's positions. She says political values and social science cannot be easily separated. Oyewumi (2005: 218) asserts that feminist historians have embraced oral history as a key method to recovering women's experiences and voices from androcentric notions, assumptions and biases which dominate 'male-stream' history everywhere. Through the recovering of women's voices, one is able to gain knowledge from the voices. One of Europe's leading sociologists, John Scott, puts the recovering of knowledge like this: 'there is a diversity of standpoints from which knowledge can be constructed and a variety of legitimate political preferences that citizens can advocate (Stones, 2008: 21). Gilbert (2008: 430) points out that oral history aims to explore what it was like to live in a past era and to capture and preserve the memories of a cohort while they are still alive.

The following are thirty five (35) participants' narratives. The narratives which have been analyzed are connected to the literature review and the objectives of the study to show the context under which the study has been conducted.

6.3 Narratives of 35 participants

Xolisa:

Xolisa describes her perpetrator's power: *He tells me he is merely socializing by his behavior. I find his power being too much. How can he say he is socializing? Socializing with whom? Is this the manner how we are supposed to socialize? He says to me I am hot, hey baby, you are hot. He teases me and says ever since I joined WSU the institution has been erotically exciting. He turns me to be his sexual object. He is married. I know his family. He drags me as a whore. I don't*

like this. She then talks about how he finds this behavior to be effective. She says: *His behavior is humiliating. I truly do not like it. His utterances are insulting and offensive. Last week I got so sick from the headache, not for the first time. I went to the clinic. When I left he said, think of me baby, remember I am here. Sometimes I think he is not normal. His behavior is weird. His power manifests to his behavior to be dominative.* Regarding gender awareness workshops and policy, she says: *No, I have never attended even one workshop on that. I have never heard of it. We do not have any gender awareness workshops. I would have known. They are motivated by the fact that here things are done anyhow. There is no law here. Where is that policy? On each year we hear about the policy and wait to see it. Then people keep quiet.* I wanted to know which environment that she prefers to be in: at WSU or at home. *Hayi*, meaning no, *I prefer to be somewhere else if I had to choose. This is too much. Uyazi ukuvocwawocwa indoda njalo nje*, meaning, *when a man continually touches you, you feel sick, you are damaged. You are just everything that is not good. I have never welcomed his behaviours. He knows that but is very stubborn because I am a woman.* *Ndingenzantoni*, meaning, *what can I do? The management is clearly aware of this behavior but nothing is being done.* Does the institution have the sexual harassment policy or rather gender awareness policies which you have had workshops on? She responds: *Well, I don't know until when the promise of having a policy will be fulfilled. I don't understand when even other senior women just laugh the behavior off. We are not exposed to such gender issues here.* Are you able to strategize your work? She responds: *All I have to do is to strategize and wait to knock off. Painful as it is, you brush him off and treat his utterances as if they are not directed to you. I cannot even say I can go and look for employment anywhere. I will have to stay here as all my family is here. Besides, there is no employment in the Eastern Cape. We are in a poor province. I am happy to be at home, than to be at WSU. I place WSU in the context of my human dissatisfaction. I am very dissatisfied about rules here. WSU is embedded in practices of sexual harassment which is not attended to, even by other senior women. The cases are repeated because people who are involved in this kind of abuse are high there in the university's hierarchy. No one bothers. Maybe it is our culture as Xhosas that men can do whatever to a woman and a woman has to keep quiet. It is like the order of the day. How does all this have an effect on you? Well, I am unable to produce because I have to think about this demonic thing and I am unable to go to work. I have anger and I am anguished by all this nonsense. It is depressing when you can't sleep. I have high-high (hypertension) and with all this*

I am bound to fall sick. It is even difficult to concentrate How do you want to get help? Wow! quite a lot. You know when you are a person, you enjoy respect. But, when a man just grabs your private parts, you are not respected. He actually depresses and oppresses you. The behavior is so offensive. I am not a sex slave and I will never be one at any moment. Some women here like to be sex slaves. I wish the management could hear our cries and does something. For how long are we going to be slaves? It is even worse because no one sees a problem. It does not matter even if you can report. These men here are abusive and they have been abusive ever since I joined this university and the cases of sexual harassment are aggravated because no one takes care of the behaviour of sexual harassment. It is terrible that we are dominated in these immoral ways. We are made so inferior. I wish they could just take these men away from these premises because they pollute the whole environment. They forget that we are autonomous beings. It is just a mess here. I wonder how other women are coping here. It is like it is not an academic institution. It is so depressing and humiliating.

Analysis of Xolisa's interview

Xolisa's responses mean that WSU has still a long way to go as far as deciding on the roles which the employer has to undertake in making sure that employees are protected from sexual harassment. Xolisa points out vividly that perpetrators who are in power, that is, the seniors at WSU, are the known sexual harassment perpetrators but the institution 'puts their matters under the rug.' There are a wide range of effects of sexual harassment that Xolisa suffered from. She is aware that she is an autonomous being but the intimidating effects of sexual harassment leaves her with no other option than to have strategies for dealing with the behavior herself. She decides to carry on with her duties despite being sexually harassed. Xolisa's utterances informed me that WSU still does not recognize the dignity of women, nor does the employer wish to tackle the cry of victims seriously. WSU has had sexual harassment cases which have been reported as early as 1999 (as my study points out), but still the university does not take the issues seriously. To me what this means is that WSU encounters a problem within the university's image that perpetrators are the "heroes" who defy authority. One of the ways in which they defy authority is through disrespectful and sometimes violent treatment of women. These "macho" behaviours are fuelled by the fact that WSU did not have a sexual harassment policy.

Schechter (1982: 32) asserts that women have rights as autonomous human beings and this means their psychological and physical dignity can be asserted. Again, women have a right to verbalize their pain without self-blame as this would create an environment in which discussing violence is less shameful. Radtke and Stam (1994: 99) confirm that since sexual harassment is not a rare event at schools, it must be regarded as part of the process through which females absorb the message of powerlessness in school situations

Farley (1978) points out that sexual harassment is defined by feminists as one manifestation of the larger patriarchal system in which men dominate women. Palludi (1990) states that sexual harassment claims are not new in academic institutions globally. There are countless claims of sexual harassment that have been filed through American companies, colleges and universities. Sexual harassment has been recognized as an external barrier to the adjustment of women in the work force. It has been noted by Kaplan and Lee (1996) that there are more male harassers than female harassers. The figure speaks for itself: women need to be protected from this offensive behaviour.

Babalwa:

Babalwa speaks about the power of sexual harassment. She points out: *The power of perpetrators is vast because they are men. Coming to work is such a strenuous exercise because I am not guaranteed any freedom. There is so much discrimination against us as women at WSU. Maybe our culture as Xhosa perpetuates these men to sexual harass us repeatedly. It is difficult to enjoy quality life. Most of the time I am at work but the social relations spoil all the goodness. How do I start to enjoy life because the behaviour is so intense. It gets aggravated every year because no one cares, kuyenziwa nje, meaning, men do as they like. I need to be happy at work. That is where I spend most of my time but these men because they are high up there decide to oppress us. You know that in our culture, men always want to be respected. So, as women, we are supposed to be submissive. Then men get to oppress and abuse us. Men are used to doing*

anything anyhow like this sexual harassment behavior. She says she strategizes because she has to be at work. This is her response: *Because I have to be at work, I have to strategize my work and have to link it with perpetrator's behavior. Having a strategy is very easy because now I am used to this sexual harassment behavior. I laugh my perpetrators off. It is not easy to laugh but work has to be done and life must go on.* Regarding the whole behavior, she says it affects her in the following ways: *What can I say? The behavior is offensive, I don't like it. It just makes me small. What can we do because the province is poor and we are desperate to work. I cannot be choosy when I have been employed.* She knows what motivates the behavior and says: *The behaviors are motivated by the fact that no one cares about them. I decided to laugh it off because even if you relate your sexual harassment to other colleagues, they just say: What can we do, if the management allows this.* Which environment do you prefer to be in, the WSU or your home environment? She laughs and says: *I prefer to be at home. I have three uncles because my mother is unmarried. I have never been sexually harassed at home. This WSU thing is all demonic. People are so mad here. Any other man just grabs you, even the ones that you have been respecting. They are all the same.* Are there any gender awareness workshops that you have ever attended? Do you have a sexual harassment policy? Babalwa responds: *They should draw gender-policies but there is none, not even a sexual harassment policy. Clearly, the rights of women to equality are not taken care of. We as women cannot develop if there are no resources that are available for us to grow.* She says sexual harassment has effects on her which are: *The behavior is actually hectic. I have headaches and it is stressful. You can feel that patriarchy is alive and it is supported by other patriarchs who enjoy the behavior. Human rights are not considered here. Being a woman at WSU has sexual connotations which mean that as women employees, we are viewed and understood as diminutives. This is all humiliation and degradation. I so wish we could have a gender department where we could raise our concerns.*

Analysis of Babalwa's interview

Babalwa's narratives show that WSU still supports the conduct of intimidation of women. The university is still hostile as far as cases of sexual harassment are concerned. WSU is also still a university that unlawfully favours men, despite the many cries of victims who want the behavior to come to a halt. It shows that women are undermined because of their sex, particularly at the

senior level. Although the university now has more women employees than ever before, their employment continues to disadvantage women as far as power relations are concerned. The disadvantageous climate means many women have low self-esteem at work. Gender issues at WSU do play a role, hence power dynamics taking such a toll; this indicates that there are structural differences in the lives of men and women at WSU. It is high time that the employer at WSU realized the power of the perpetrators diminishes the victims' self-image. WSU is seen as a university that forces women to present themselves as less assertive and less powerful than men. The university seems oblivious to the fact that sexual harassment has an impact on all.

Sherrard (2007: 104) states that the revised Race Relations Act (RRA) 1976 (Amendment) Regulations 2003 introduced separate free standing-provisions covering harassment at work, defined as unwanted conduct which takes place with the purpose or effect of undermining someone's dignity, or creating an intimidating, hostile, degrading, humiliating or offensive environment for the individual. Employers should also be aware that harassment on grounds of sex, race, sexuality, disability and sexual orientation are all unlawful, with age scheduled to follow in October 2006. Sanford (1981: 36) maintains that reticence to talk about sexual harassment breaks down quickly once they help the client sort out the difference between wanted and unwanted sexual attention and understand the power dynamic that a perpetrator uses. Sanford points out that it is important that the client examines the power of her perpetrator. He states that perpetrators in the work force and in educational institutions understand clearly that women in a subordinate position cannot refuse their attentions without severe repercussions.

Nosipo:

Nosipo speaks about the power of sexual harassment. She says: *The power amongst our perpetrators relates to violence against us as women victims. This has been going on for a couple of years. Sexual harassment is an abuse to us women. We don't have any efforts to politicize this because men support one another.* She says she reported the behavior and these are the results: *I reported this abuse to a friend of my perpetrator. Had I known that I was calling for more trouble, I would not have reported him. I thought he had a fatherly figure. He grappled my pants at the corner. I was scared to shout because I did not know who would believe my story.*

Maybe any reporting would have reflected a higher level of abuse. It is even worse as he has to do with some WSU issues. He occupies a high seat. What do you think motivates this behavior? She asserts: These behaviors are motivated by the fact that there are no gender-specific policies at WSU. Some years ago, about six years if I am not mistaken, it was as if there would be a sexual harassment policy. I do not know what happened after that. I learnt that even gender studies department had been closed. I was told it never lasted. I think it was close because of men's culture. Maybe they wanted to cling on their culture as they believe that we have to be under their care all the time so that we do what they tell us to do. Can you imagine? Why do you then expect to see not the cases aggravating and not becoming intense whilst they are repeated? So we don't have gender awareness workshops. In a way this is a way of de-emphasizing the gender aspect of abuse at WSU. How do you feel about all this? Does it have any effects on you? She responds: The behavior is a state of subordination and oppression. He looks at me as an entity. No one talks to us about the policy. I have never heard of it. I would have known about it. What does your sexual harassment policy prescribe? Nosipo laughs and says: No, it does not exist. We do not have it. I am laughing because this policy has been on pipeline for years but till this day, we do not have it. We used to have a line or two, just one paper of something they called a policy. I don't even know what happened to that paper policy. How are you affected by the behavior? She points out: It is a way of subordinating us. I feel so inferior when I am being sexually harassed but I came to an understanding that this behavior is here to stay because no one takes care of it. Is there a way in which you wish the institution could help all the victims? She responds: Certainly. I so wish all our cries as victims are heard because we have to stay in this university. There is no employment in the Eastern Cape and we are all desperate to work. The situation is too much, I tell you. These men are hidden by their female friends. Into nje ongayazi, meaning, it is something that you do know. Are you affected by all this behavior? She responds out: I do not want to be a sex slave for anyone. I do not care who says what. We are seriously oppressed here. It is men who are up there in the hierarchy who are mostly the perpetrators and responsible for our bitterness in this university. I do not know how others look at the situation. What I know is that no one wants it. We want it abolished by all means. It makes us feel very inferior because we do not want welcome it. I know there are those women who enjoy this behavior. That is their choice. As for me and others who are against this, it would be better to be relieved from all this. I really wonder when we shall have the sexual harassment

policy because we continue to be abused. Maybe the gender department could also be helpful to address issues of sexual harassment.

Analysis of Nosipo's interview

Regarding Nosipo's narratives, WSU is seen to be handicapping women employees. This shows that WSU still fails to consider the impact that its employees are feeling. I want here to mention that since other participants mentioned that they had reported the behavior, yet the employer still wants women employees to be submissive even if they are being sexually harassed. I can't think of any other reason why an employer could be allowing the behavior to continue despite the many sex scandals that have been exposed by the employees and those cases that have been reflected in the media. There is a possibility that possibly the culture of men decrees that women have to be submissive in all areas of life, as long as a man is still a head in the workplace. Again, the culture issue has to do with gender; that men are portrayed as powerful in whatever they do, hence the behavior of sexual harassment not becoming an issue that is of importance at WSU- as long as the behavior is done by a man. This has to do with how gender roles play a negative role at WSU. Gender roles are so entrenched that sexual harassment is known to be ongoing.

Elman (1996) points out that feminists' efforts are politicized and aim to focus on the implementation of specific public policies and programmes designed to provide women relief from the men who abuse them. Elman (1996) asserts that if women report their sexual abuse, it would indicate gender awareness among women to consider that their abuse is criminal. On the other hand, a higher level of reporting may reflect a higher level of abuse. WSU seems to be gender-designated and women, especially victims, should be helped by the management to have weapons with which to enforce the idea that sexual harassment is unwanted and unwelcomed and that it is demeaning to any woman. Bowker (1998) in her foreword writes: *choose a form of violence and examine statistics on the gender of its perpetrators. You will find a severely unbalanced sex ratio generally with 90% to 100% of the violence being perpetrated by men...* Male violence is an issue for education. Male involvement in all forms of violence remains. The underlying social inequalities between men and women remain, despite all the attempts to change this patriarchal problem. Violence against women and girls in the South African education system remains a pressing concern. Violence in education includes sexual

violence and harassment, physical violence and homophobia and each illustrates over and over again that violence in education is a serious problem and a problem for boys and men (Bowker, 2009: 2).

Lunga:

Lunga initially was difficult to deal with. She denied having been a victim. She was with Babalwa and Nosipo when she was the next to be interviewed; she only participated when Babalwa had told her not to lie because she was also a victim. As I was preparing to leave, she told me: *The whole idea of being a victim is not a priority at WSU because even the management knows that this behavior is rough, nothing has ever been done despite having reported to people I thought cared about the behaviour.* She says: *That is the reason why I did not want to be interviewed because I know these people will not do anything. Every avenue of power at WSU remains almost entirely under male control. We as women depend on our co-worker males for the behavior to be curbed. No one will help us.* What does the policy say? She points out: *Even if there could be a policy, I doubt these men will be affected by it. They are so much used to this nonsense. If you report your behaviour to someone, a man, you think he will be sympathetic, it makes matters worse. He ends up being your other perpetrator. It seems like the patriarchal power has been universalized here. It is unfortunate that male domination is so thoroughly and universally accepted that I see our relationship as women to men deeply rooted in forceful sexual violence. Besides, you know that African men always want to do what they feel is right only for them and a woman should just keep on saying yes even if the behaviour is so gruesome. Our culture and tradition as Xhosas does have an impact to us because men fail to consider that at work we are supposed to be the same and respect one another's dignity.* What do you mean they are forceful? Babalwa argues: *There is actually a concrete expression of gender inequality between us and as women and men. The management should be held clearly responsible for the outcomes of our experiences. We victims are not accountable for this cruelty.* What aggravates the situation? She says: *The situation is aggravated by those other women who acquiesce to the sexual demands and these women who push the behaviors 'under the rug.'* I mean those women who know about the behaviour. They are friends. *The fragmentation of us women consistently discourages us to be a unified body and say 'no' to sexual harassment. I know that a simple 'no' is not enough. The institution still has a long way to go. These men say*

in an African culture only men are supposed to experience sexual pleasures. Having to consider what you have just told me, are you able to work properly and productively? Lunga responds: The years have been too long in this. I sure should have some strategy. You just zip your mouth and work. It is not easy though because even if you keep quiet, he tells you he is your senior and there is nothing you can do. What does all that mean? How many times have you attended a workshop that has to do with gender awareness? She replies: We do not have any gender-related issue here. We women are analytically redacted to 'workers.' Considerations of women's rights are left outside the scope. In essence, WSU management does not perceive sexual harassment as inappropriate. That is what I noticed over the years here. Funny enough, the management does not care because it is the men on top who are responsible for this disorder. They aggravate the situation like nobody's business and it becomes so intense when the behaviour is repeated. It is sad because this is the only place where I can work and the only province where I can work because my family is here, so I am desperate for work. If I can leave this employment, where else will I be employed? Nowhere. People up there are also responsible for sexual harassment behaviours. Are you somehow affected by all this? She says: The effects are too much. You know that I used not to fall asleep thinking of him. I am now able to sleep because you can see you are dealing with a fool who does not see anything wrong. The problem is that I feel he wants to make me his mat. You feel so small about all this because your dignity becomes affected in a terrible way. You just become his subordinate. How do you wish the management could help? This is a difficult one because I know it will take ages. Well, if the management helps, we all need to do away with the behavior. I am hoping after your interviews something could take place. I mean they will draw the sexual harassment policy and they will also introduce gender-awareness workshops where we shall all be allowed to attend and have an input. All this ends up with fears of the unknown. It is stressful and depressing. In these situations, I am unable to be productive 100%. I just feel the environment is so unsafe.

Analysis of Lunga's interview

Lunga's narrative tells me that WSU has to address sexual harassment as part of an institution's gender policy that protects men and women as workers and students. Now that the university did not have a sexual harassment policy, Lunga's cry is that the university can use ordinary

regulations which support the right to access instruction, academic and social support and a safe work environment without any threat to the physical and emotional integrity of the workers. The university has not developed a policy in the context of a gendered situation that tackles workplace violence and abuse that are encountered within WSU. Gender as a variable in my study has really played a role in violating women's right. The absence of the policy has had a negative effect on Lunga and other women at WSU. Men's power over Lunga has made an impact on her as she sees herself as a slave of perpetrators. WSU as an employer has failed to understand the dilemmas faced by women who try to be effective in the workplace.

Sherrard (2007: 14) points out that there should be general guidance and training on sexual harassment in companies and there is a need to use this to inform the director that sexual harassment is not appropriate. Sherrard (2007) says employers should have an anti-harassment policy and procedures, which amongst other things, should provide that complainants making complaints in good faith are not to be penalized in any way. It is stressful for complainants when there is no recourse to justice.

Lulama:

Babalwa, Nosipho, Lunga and Lulama were sitting together during interviews. This is what Lulama says about the power of sexual harassment: *I face constant pressure from my perpetrators. I am conscious of my sexual inequality because the power is so much. Even though they are powerful, I am able to deal with them. The level of the behaviour is too high. The problem here is that WSU is not well organized in representing my (our) interests. We are not progressing further towards equality. Even other women are oppressive. They enjoy sexual demands and support perpetrators.* What is in your sexual harassment policy? She responds: *We do not have it. In the absence of sexual harassment policy, we victims are not the beneficiaries of our desire gender equality.* What happens to you without this policy? *She replies: We are disrespected and our women's presence is significantly diminished.* Is there any strategy that you adopt to be able to work? *The strategy is to keep quiet. That is all. Other than that, there is nothing else to say.* Have you ever attended gender-awareness workshops? Lulama responds: *I have never attended any workshop that regards gender awareness. No, there have never been*

any talks whatsoever. How do you find the behavior to be? *It is disrespecting.* Would you prefer your home environment to this one? She says: *I prefer my home environment. It is much better than to be at home. At least my brothers are respectful. I feel I am being made a sex slave. It is hard to be a woman because most men are abusive. Have you ever noticed how men behind the truck behave? You know I laugh at these issues. They hooter, shout, kiss the wind. They behave so funny. I wonder why men have this tendency of looking at us women and think we are their objects. It is ridiculous. It is all madness.* What do you think motivates this behavior at WSU? She says: *What I perceptively note is that sexual harassment behaviors are encouraged by the patriarchal WSU social structure. It has to do with their culture. This is what happens when men defend each other. I do not believe in that.* Do you have a sexual harassment policy? She responds: *If there was a sexual harassment policy, maybe there would be indications that they should let us free. The absence of gender policies motivates our exploitation. Our freedom is dependent on the management. We cannot draw policies but we can be part of how gender policies should be like. Our experiences are serving us to be able to know what and what not to be added in the policy of sexual harassment. I know the policy should be gender specific. If we can be exposed to gender awareness workshops, maybe this sexualized subordination could be at halt, even with the existence of sexual harassment policy. I doubt though that we will have a policy. Not in the near future but I will have to stay because I cannot go anywhere. Employment is scarce in the Eastern Cape and the province is poor. Do you think that if there could be a policy there would be some difference?* She says: *I want to believe that a sexual harassment policy will generate new insights into how WSU should function in matters that have to do with sexual abuse. As long as the policy is well communicated, I want to believe that we victims shall be relieved from this entire demon. Siyafa, meaning, we are dying. It is only the management that has the potential to provide us relief from our perpetrators who severely abuse us. But the management does not. Instead their behaviour escalates and is repeated. We as victims also rely on some women who know about the behaviors but pretend as if WSU is free of such behaviors. I think those women who are able to see that there is something wrong, they decide to keep quiet because they know that the Xhosa culture allows men to have these awkward behaviours and unfortunately who can say what because it is men who are the superiors. The whole scenario is partly motivated by us as women because there is a non-group cohesion. Even if there could be a policy, if we as women are not together, the perpetrators will continue with their dirty games. Are*

you somehow affected by all this behavior? *Yes, I am affected! There is something in me that says I am so inferior. This is because all this lowers my dignity. I have been made to be a sex object ever since. This is so ridiculous. It is actually an oppressing feeling because I cannot welcome this at any moment. But now, I have nowhere to go. I am stuck here. I do not see myself being employed by any other organization since I come from around. It is good for me to be in Mthatha because my home is around here.* Are you somehow affected by the behaviours? She maintains: *You know this is stressful. I don't get used to it. It is like death. It is so embarrassing, humiliating and intimidating.*

Analysis of Lulama's interview

With regards to Lulama's report, the support of women in matters of sexual harassment is lacking at WSU. The flaw at WSU is that instability, which women feel when faced by the behaviours of sexual harassment is supported by other perpetrators who are known to management. It means the WSU as an employer, is responsible for influencing the behaviour because the perpetrators are known, and besides, sexual harassment cases have been exposed and have been reported to the management. As things stand at WSU, it means women are still far from the centres of power, even if they are on a par with their colleagues. WSU prevents women from rising to positions of power because if women were given that opportunity at WSU, they could make it to the top. WSU fails to internalize the fact that power does have an impact on women because the power that men have enables them to do what they want to women. WSU covertly encourages women to see themselves as being at the bottom of the ladder because the institution still operates on a very hierarchical basis.

Gupta (2004: 23) asserts that once a sexual harassment policy has been developed, the next step is to ensure that it is effectively communicated to all employees. This can be accomplished through a variety of education and training strategies.

Mthembeni:

How do you find the power of sexual harassment? *The power of men at WSU is indescribable. I*

have openly discussed my sexual harassment issues with seniors (both men and women) whom I was shocked they only told me this is WSU. I thought they would investigate into the matter, but that was not the case. I was inclined to see some sort of activism. It has never been there. There wasn't any. I thought sharing of my experience would be conducive to consciousness rising. I was not afforded the opportunity to declare myself an expert on sexual harassment experiences. Did you have any strategy for this? I soon realized that I had to keep quiet. I knew power plays its part at WSU. In that midst, the perpetrator continued with his behaviors. He has not stopped. I realized that WSU is traditionally conceived as an oppressive institution. Are there any gender awareness workshops or a sexual harassment policy? She responds: There are no gender-sensitive workshops nor are they addressed in any way. I think it is because they know the policies would curb them from the behaviour and further, they could be exposed. There has not been any sexual harassment policy for some time. I only know about the draft with about four lines. Does the absence of the policy have some effects? The absence of this policy, I would say, does in a way motivate perpetrators to do their will. It means any woman not playing by the rules of perpetrators is essentially alone and vulnerable. Victims' interests are therefore subsumed by gender-neutral approaches of the management. What would you like the management to do? I demand that a sexual harassment policy be developed. This is a patriarchal avenue. I mean WSU. WSU is just male-identified. The other problem is that Xhosas always want to treat women as if we cannot function. All this sexual harassment behaviours emanate from our traditional behaviors which put men on top of women. I wonder how they are as husbands and as fathers. One man used to call students, let them work or assist him in his office. Then he would sexually harass them during the late hours. I have a plea to other women at WSU to join us with other women and abolish sexual harassment of women. There is still a lot of gender-condemnation at WSU and as such, these conditions enforce sexism. Are you able to somehow strategize your work? Yes, I just keep quiet. It helps though it does not curb the behavior. Is this all affecting you? The pain is intense. I feel I am nothing. It is depressing because this place is not secured except those who appreciate this behavior. I am hypertensive and I end up having a throbbing pain because of this nonsense. The problem is that the situation is aggravated and there is repetition since it's the situation that no one takes care about. I do not know why these men only think of themselves as having to enjoy sexual pleasures. They are asserting the African culture which I do not even believe in that as men, they are the only ones to enjoy sexual

pleasures. How would you want the management to help you? Maa'm, the institution has no gender-related policies or a sexual harassment policy. It might therefore be difficult for the management to develop appropriate strategies aimed at promoting egalitarian gender relations and of suggesting a workshop regarding these policies. In this way, I really do not think I can get any help from the management. You know what, we as Africans have this culture whereby women have to be under men control all the time and in that case, men will always act in this way so as to oppress us. The most painful thing is that I cannot be employed anywhere. There is no employment in the Eastern Cape and I cannot leave my family and start a new province, no I cannot.

Analysis of Mthembeni's interview

Mthembeni's story confirms that WSU promotes male power, and in that way, and automatically, women are seen as being of low status. WSU prevents victims from voicing their views regarding their victimization. There will be more cases of sexual harassment because victims are unable to report their perpetrators; victims who report abuse may be in more trouble than they want to bear. The story shows that WSU still clings on to gender socialization at an age when they should not face discrimination and violent behaviour. Hierarchy plays a big role in sexual harassment at WSU, hence the inability of junior staff to 'blow the whistle' about matters that pertain to sexual harassment. WSU provides a platform for men to put pressure on women simply by not attending to their grievances; the forces of patriarchy prevail and victims suffer the consequences of sexual harassment. Women are left to resist and this gives many men to be abusive because of the absence of action from the authorities.

Johnson (1997: 5) states that a society is patriarchal to the degree that it is male dominated, male identified, and male centred. One of its key aspects is the oppression of women. Patriarchy is male-dominated in that positions for authority, be they political, economic, legal, religious, education, military or domestic, are generally reserved for men. In the simplest sense, male dominance creates power differences between men and women. It is clear that men at WSU have power. Male dominance is promoted. The men feel superior. Mills (1995: 85) states that where

there is a mirror of patriarchal societies there is evidence of contamination with sexist meanings.

Nothini:

Before I could ask Nothini anything, she says: *Have you ever heard of a suppressed voice? That is my voice. It has been suppressed because I became vocally loud and plainly said 'no' to sexual harassment behaviours.* Can you describe the power of sexual harassment, please? *I have said it all. If I have been able to be shut for all the wrongs, it means these people have power. You can move around the campus. You will hear lots of stories how women have been told to keep quiet. It is either you keep quiet or you do what a man says, otherwise, you are out of the gate.* Do you know of anyone who has been out of the gate? How many? *Shhhh!!!* She says I must keep quiet and continues: *Of course, even though the other one ended up sleeping with him. I was told to keep quiet because I wanted to promote notions of the pervasiveness of sexual harassment. Ask me how I ended up having no voice on these issues. He controlled my vocals and told me he has all the power to dismiss me. He told me it is the male African culture that all women should at one stage experience sexual harassment. He says it is just normal and said I must feel great that at least there is still a man who tells me that he loves me. He told me I belong to this place, showing me the floor, like any woman. He warned me not to report otherwise I will encounter bitterness. I reported him to my friends. They told me that this is the nature of him as a perpetrator and that they failed to report him because they were scared of the outcomes. We are repeatedly forced back upon ourselves. The origin of our oppression as having a certain sex role is like the roots of all domination. When my perpetrators act, I am completely without any memory of any alternative because they say (actually two of them) that they are men and as I understand men are the bosses and they should be respected. Now, how do I answer to that when men act like this because they are men and because I have to understand their culture as men. I am even stuck in this university. No one will employ me. This province is poor and there is no employment. I will have to stay with the devil because I am desperate for work. Oppressive issues are intense because they are repeated by men in higher positions where you really can hardly have a say. Are you somehow affected by all this? These behaviours are very effective. I*

do not have to pretend as if things are ok. I am a woman and all this affects me. I become isolated and messed up all the time. It is frustrating deeply because no one cares. How are you expected to be productive if you are always nervous? You can't. It is so intimidating and I do not want it at all. There is no physical and class solidarity in this mess. Other victims do not care. It is like any other day to them. Maybe they are tired of reporting these issues because no one cares. We are dominated. What motivates the behaviours? To me it is clear the behaviors are generated by WSU management which is gender-animus thus allowing perpetrators to vandalize women's rights. We cannot have peace as long as WSU still protects perpetrators. The issues here have to do with our gender as women. Do you attend gender awareness workshops or have talks on gender or sexual harassment policies? I have never heard of any gender awareness workshops. I have never attended one. No, I have not heard of any resources which meant for the development of women. There is no sexual harassment policy. The situation is stressful because I face him at all times. I feel mad because he plays with my intelligence. He makes me a nonentity. His behavior does not sit comfortably with me. Between the two environments, your home and the work environment, which one would you prefer? Most of the time I prefer to be at home without any employment but I cannot just sit. I will not be employed by anyone. I am tired. Not that I would like to leave WSU. It is just that it is flexible here. I go to town at any moment when I am free. Do you want to see any actions being taken by WSU that could curb the behavior? Of course, that would be a great relief even though I doubt the policy would be taken seriously. Men here are used to this behavior. It will take years for everyone to adjust and adapt, kodwa ke andazi, meaning, but I do not know.

Analysis of Nothini's interview

I am seeing WSU as having repressed women's voices by allowing the power of the perpetrators to engage in unlawful acts. The University perpetuates power to men to keep women in subordinate positions, the positions that they do not belong to. It teaches women that patriarchy is a form of justice and that gender plays a big role at the university. WSU fails to see that by allowing perpetrators to act as they want towards women, they are polluting the university's environment. WSU is seen as disregarding the disciplinary action that should operate in all institutions. Men are given all the rights to oppress women because of their gender. WSU shows

that the matters of power and patriarchy are practiced in the pursuit of oppressing women so that they are sex objects. Women at WSU live through quite brutal encounters with patriarchy.

Sherrard (2007: 14) says employers are vicariously liable for the acts of their employees unless they can show that they took such steps as were reasonably practicable to prevent the employee from carrying out the acts in respect of which the complaint was made. In the interest of the employees, WSU does not have any alternative except to develop a sexual harassment policy. Nothini's case is almost the same as Nthabiseng Mokane's case (as discussed in chapter three of this study) except that Mokane was dismissed. Nothini on the other hand has been told to keep quiet. Booie (2007) reports that at WSU, a senior manager at the radio station appeared in the Mthatha Magistrate Court in connection with sexual offences. He had asked to have sexual relations with Mokane who was a new radio presenter at WSU. The alleged sexual offence had been going on since 2006. Mokane's refusal of her manager's sexual relationship led her to be dismissed from work. Ward (1997: 93) points out that because our language only allows for the pronouns she or he, her or him and so on, our identities are largely confined to rigid gender definitions. It does not help to pretend that the state of affairs does not exist. Saul (2003: 50) points out that sexual harassment has caused women to quit their jobs, accept jobs offering less pay and sometimes leave the workplace altogether. Saul (2003) says sexual harassment has played an important role in holding women back.

Vuyiswa:

How long have you been employed. *Wow! It has been years when this institution was called UNITRA.* Kindly describe the power of sexual harassment: Vuyiswa grins: *I am shocked and offended at my subordinate state, which is degrading. Being a victim of any kind is depressing. But to be made a sex object is quite a violation of my dignity. There is no respect. We are degraded by these powerful men. This is an insult to me. There are no restraining orders for these perpetrators no matter how significant their abusive behaviors are known. Yes, power does*

have an effect because we are women. It is clear that our gender does play a role. It has an effect, hence our perpetrators' behaviours. It is through power that I am discriminated against, finding myself vulnerable to sexual harassment behaviors. Are there any investigations that have ever taken place or something that has to do with gender awareness workshops or gender policies? There are no formal investigations that have ever taken place. I have never heard of one gender policy. We do not have a sexual harassment policy. Have you ever reported all this? It does not matter how frequently you report the behaviors. What I can tell you is that it's men who are up in the hierarchy and that is the reason why and that is the main reason why cases are repeated and they are intense because they are engaged by people one would expect to be able to curb it. That is why the cases are repeated. The management or any other senior personnel fails totally to take any action against any perpetrator. There is absolutely no protection. We are playing women sex roles. There is nothing like gender awareness workshop nor does a sexual harassment exist. I have never heard of those things. What I can say is that our concerns are not taken care of. Sexual harassment has been going on for ages even before UNITRA's merger in 2005. This institution was called UNITRA until July 2005 when it majored and it became a WSU. It is still a UNITRA with a new name. I care a lot about my dignity. I need respect. I really do not want to be treated like a prostitute. I have never been one and I am not planning to be one. Perpetrators know that their victims are not covered by any policy. These are motivating this behaviour. I noticed that these perpetrators are known and wonder why nothing is done. No one cares here. Even students undergo this behavior. How do you cope at work? Do you have some sort of a strategy? Yes, of course. I have to be productive. It is painful but I am over this now. I am just responding because you are curious to know. I just work and act as if he is not around. It is difficult. The touching is the worst. What can I do because I think there are very few people here who are not aware that sexual harassment exists. The problem is that we cannot go anywhere. We are stuck in this university. There is no employment so it is better to stay. Who can employ you? There is no employment here in the Eastern Cape. If you had to choose environments to be in, would you prefer WSU to your home environment or vice versa? You know what? I still want to be here so that I improve this environment. What I am saying could be so difficult because of our culture. You see as Xhosa women, we must always be submissive and men oppress us and further sexually harass us here at work. This is all frustrating but someone has to see to it that UNITRA has improved. This is our province. We have to improve it.

We cannot expect strangers to do it for us. We just need to be helped by other women from here at WSU. Are you expecting the university to help you and how? Let us unite as women and fight this disease. Even if we could have workshops or talks or policies, if we are not united we cannot achieve anything. We have to stand firm and fight. That is the only solution. We can even fight the management because I can see people over there are lax. They do not care. Are there any methods the management could enhance to help you? Maa'm, the institution has no gender-related policies or a sexual harassment policy. It might therefore be difficult for the management to develop appropriate strategies to help us.

Analysis of Vuyiswa's interview

Women at WSU have long been degraded and the University does not see anything wrong with that because cases of sexual harassment have been reported in the University for a long time ago. If it was seeing wrong things with sexual harassment as wrong, a policy would have been developed. WSU seems to be indifferent even if women are depressed. It is an institution that still embraces traditional views that women still have to be submissive in all matters, even in matters that pertain to their abuse. WSU allows men's sexuality to mediate through an energizing force of sexual harassment, hence the rejection of women's sexual harassment complaints. The university seems to see gender differences in levels of sexuality and fails to internalize the fact that women are employees and not sex objects. WSU holds its women back as it fails to act on women's complaints. Women's gender at WSU is characterized by oppression and disrespect. Women are then exposed to inappropriate work conditions.

Rider (2005: 504) asserts that the American Psychological Association defines gender harassment as a type of harassment which conveys insulting statements that convey degrading attitudes about women. Rider (2005) further points out that much of the research on sexual harassment in academic settings has focused on colleges and universities; the act of harassment is severely humiliating. MacKinnon (1979: 47) confirms these feelings as she asserts that sexually-harassed women feel humiliated, degraded, ashamed, embarrassed and cheap as well as angry. She says 78% of working women answered affirmatively about the fact that their sexual

harassment experiences carried with them emotional and physical effects. She gives some of the comments from the sample of the Working Women United Institute and writes: *as I remember all the sexual abuse and negative work experience, I am left feeling sick and helpless and upset instead of angry...Reinforced feelings of no control – a sense of doom...I have difficulty dropping the emotion barrier I work behind when I come home from work. My husband turns into just another man...Kept me in a constant state of emotional agitation and frustration; I drank a lot...Soured the essential delight in the work...Stomach ache, migraines, cried every night, no appetite.* Feminists like Radtke and Stam (1994: 12) point out that gender and power emerge as ubiquitous aspects of social relationships. With any given relationships, males and females are already positioned within some power relations. Including power here allows us to see how gender is constructed through the practices of power. Females and males are shaped at the macro-level as social institutions control and regulate the practice of gender. In short, it means gender relations are power relations. The deep-rooted male authoritarianism has greatly affected WSU victims. If the gender issue is raised explicitly, it can enlighten the complexity of interrelations touching upon women's status at WSU.

Nontsika:

For how long have you been employed? *I was employed immediately UNITRA had majored.* How would you describe the power of sexual harassment? *Sexual harassment is rife. Come to WSU then you will know what I mean. If you can stay here for another week doing interviews, I promise you, you will never leave without the experience. The behaviors have been there for quite some time. It is the perpetrators' power that leaves us endangered. Sexual harassment behaviors are playing an integral part to our lives at WSU. Even my mother was sexually harassed by her boss who told her to keep quiet. My mother did because she is a single mother. She was only depending on her employer for financially assistance. Apparently she was paid more after having acquiesced to her employer's sexual advances. She said the feeling was not good. She then arranged with her friend that she gets her another job. Are there any motives behind this behavior? I do not know where the origin of this oppressive behavior comes from. Maybe it is our parents' culture that we have to keep quiet. This has an offensive language. It makes me small.* How does it affect you? *You just feel bad. It makes me a sex slave, as if you are*

there for him. It means I will be a slave forever because I am desperate for this work. There is no employment here in this province because of poverty. I am made available for my perpetrators by sexual relations which are not prohibited. Most women are sexually harassed at WSU. It is rife. I am unlucky to be a victim at WSU because I am even unable to threaten my perpetrators. Have you ever reported this behaviour? Senior men and women are friends to one another. I have been mocked by my perpetrators for reporting them. Had I known that I was reporting to other perpetrators, I would have thought twice. Do you ever attend gender awareness workshops, talks or something of that sort? How does your sexual harassment policy read? There have never been any gender awareness workshops. I have never heard of it. There is not even a Gender Studies Department. Maybe if the department was there, a lot would have been curbed because the behaviour is demeaning, quite stressful. It is even more stressful because people who engage in this are the seniors who are higher up in hierarchy which is why the behaviour is easily repeated and also the reason why it is intense. The unwelcome-ness of sexual harassment totally destroys me. It is my status to be a woman. I find myself being a captive with whom a perpetrator does as he pleases. He destroys me and assigns me a new status. I am known as a victim. I don't choose to be a victim. The management does. I have never heard of an institution without any gender awareness campaign, let alone a sexual harassment policy. I cannot even say it's our culture that aggravates the behaviours because other institutions like Fort Hare do have sexual harassment policies and Fort Hare is in the Eastern Cape. I would say yes and partly, maybe our Xhosa culture play a role in these issues because men always think of themselves as better than us. Does all this affect you? Why not? My experiences are slighted, insulted, disrespected, and dishonoured. I am disgraced that I am facing these problems. I used to respect him. I am now unable to. He treats me with contempt and ridicule. He teases me and makes me a subject to indignity. I feel inferior and incompetent. For how long will I be worthless? Something needs to be done. This is not it. We cannot live in these degrading situations. How are you able to cope? You know what, you always find some means. You know we women always have some means. Look at a woman with five children without any formal education. She gets piece jobs. She makes sure her children are clothed and they have a loaf of bread on the table. It is the same here. You work as if he is not there. It only becomes worse when he pushes himself on you. But life goes on. Even students are sexually harassed in these offices. Ubona endala indoda, meaning, you witness an old man sexually harassing a 19 year old student. In this situation, how do you expect

WSU to help you? *The management is the culprit but it is its duty to help. The management knows these behaviours. It knows women are discriminated against because they are women. We need to have formalized women talks here. There is no gender department. Now how do we voice our concerns? We need to have a sexual harassment policy. Whu! I wonder! You know I never knew we do not have a policy here. No one talks about it.*

Analysis of Nontsika's interview

Nontsika's utterances show that WSU endangers women's lives by not protecting them from the violent behaviours of men. It allows perpetrators to do as they wish to women employees. The power of patriarchy is allowed to give women new statuses which subject women to indignity. The university leaves women to be in degraded states while male gender is promoted to act bossily and in a disrespectful manner. WSU seems to be dealing with its workers differently as far as equality is concerned- gender is dealt with differently; men's levels of sexuality is seen as lawful so that women should be made objects of sexual harassment. Gender identity and gender attributes are fixed to play a role in sexual harassment behaviours. WSU does not respect its gender differences and is accustomed to the fact that women should always be in a complicated submissive mode in their lives at WSU. WSU fails to take note of women's lives at WSU despite the fact that there are some victims who report that life at WSU lowers their dignity through sexual harassment. Gender differences at WSU have been reduced to the principle that sexes behave in different ways but the authorities fail to see that sexual harassment is a violent behavior which the university has to curb since the behavior involves unspeakable experiences for the victims and women at large.

Llewelyn and Osborne (1990: 104) assert that women's work experience should be undertaken with an awareness of the ever-present backdrop of deeply-resistant practices of sexual discrimination. It must also be noted that this backdrop has remained substantially unaltered over recent decades, despite attempts to bring about equality through legislation as, for example, the United Kingdom has the Equal Pay and Sex Discrimination Act and numerous acts edicts on the illegality of discrimination against women workers. Llewelyn and Osborne (1990) maintain that

women have ambivalent attitudes toward the workplace. The workplace contains some very negative experiences for her. These experiences include sexism, sex discrimination and sexual harassment. They say sexism can be experienced in belittling comments and patronizing or personal remarks about what women can or cannot do. Sex discrimination can also be experienced through restriction (by management) of promotion and training opportunities.

Ayanda:

For how long have you been employed? *I have been here for few years.* How do you find the power of sexual experience? *I experience a true position of being a woman. I don't have any power to be after him. He is very powerful. We are denied pleasure because we are less powerful. He is a man and does anyhow. I am not the same as those women who acquiesce in sexual advances. Perpetrators think I am a sex slave. They use their power wrongly. I have never been treated like this, worse they occupy high seats but what they do is truly unacceptable. Perpetrators achieve their power over us more subtly. I am not the only victim here. Most of us are victims. Perpetrators use a technique to grab me, control and enforce my femaleness. It is so painful. I am coerced into these nasty acts but I fight them verbally. It is fine he has a way of his behavior. I don't have any strength. I go to his office because there is nothing that I can do. There is a lot of gender conflicts in the offices.* Are you affected by this behavior? *I am coerced sexually and further denied pleasure to enjoy my employment and my womanhood. I used to go off sick. I am used to all the behavior now but it does not mean that I enjoy it. You know when I leave home for work, his behaviors get into nerves. It is a pity that I cannot go anywhere because of unemployment. This means I am desperate and I have to work here.* What could be motivating the behavior? *The behaviors are motivated by the fact that they are on top positions and that they are men. They know that no one will ever believe my stories. Sexual harassment obviously damages careers and alters my attitude toward WSU as an institution and has having long-lasting effects on the perceptions of men and sex.* Have you ever raised the issues at gender awareness workshops or meetings? What about the sexual harassment policy? *I have not heard of any gender awareness workshops and I have never attended even one. I was told the sexual harassment policy does not exist. Actually, no one cares about it except us victims.* Which strategies do you apply at work? *No one could be productive without any strategy. We are adults*

and we have to have a strategy. I am not saying the power of sexual harassment is minor. It is not but at the end of the day you have to be productive. Pretend as if things are normal even if they are not my dear. Ayanda smiles and later frowns. She asks me: Do you think your research will ever have an effect? I wanted to write a proposal myself regarding sexual harassment at WSU. I also wanted to raise these issues. These men are powerful. They are used to sexual coercions. Maybe if there is a legal body to protect us, these men could stop. But as I say, it is going to be a process that they internalize themselves of a sexual harassment policy or anything that is gender related. Are you somehow affected by these behaviours? The behaviors are quite strong and intense because of our culture. Men think they are the best and we women come last and they have to do as they please. It raises emotions to have to think that it's men who are higher up in the hierarchy who do these things and are repeated. I am dented, I hate it, and I don't like it because it is aggravated. I am not a sex object. It is subordinating. I am also worried about those lecturers who sexually harass student. The behaviour is extremely rough in other departments. Students are called to do some work and they would eventually be victims of sexual harassment. In other cases, a student is failed deliberately so that she will come and complains of her marks then she falls prey. Can you imagine? What beats me is that these lecturers are known but the matter is not attended to. How do we begin to experience our own identity as a group of women? How can we be positive to the negative? We are oppressed by an overwhelming sense of not being considered as human beings. What could be motivating all this? They see their behaviour as a norm then they reinforce this norm by dominating us as if they are right. I think that partly motivates them. But mostly, it is our management. How do we become part of the employees if there are no gender policies? The management has a lot to do with this. They need to treat us like normal people. We are women and we need our dignity back. Some of us do this for economic reasons. How do you expect the management to help you? Maa'm, the institution has no gender-related policies or a sexual harassment policy. It might therefore be difficult for the management to develop appropriate strategies to help us.

Analysis of Ayanda's interview

WSU fails to address the issues of sexual harassment in its context if it ever does attend to these issues in another context. It simply allows the perpetrators to use their power unethically and on

wrong individuals who eventually lose their dignity as women. In general, it is clear that WSU automatically identifies itself with gender imbalances-a reason why workers of different genders - are treated unfairly by the university. It is the university that is the main cause of the intensity and the repetition of sexual harassment behaviours because it does not take action for reported cases. This is in a way proof that the university still does not see the behavior as a criminal act and a violent issue that discriminates against women. This is the reason why WSU fails to act on experiences of sexual harassment at WSU.

Marylyn Frere suggests that men view this male behavior as contemptuous. Charles Tilly for example, understands that 'coercion' works. He writes: *those who apply substantial force to their fellows draw multiple advantages like defense and access to pleasures denied to less powerful people*. Mayekiso and Bhana (1997) conducted a study at UNITRA, which was aimed at assessing students' perceptions of what constituted sexual harassment so that they were able to ascertain the prevalence of sexual harassment. There was no sexual harassment policy even then.

Luyanda:

Luyanda was in the company of Vuyiswa, Nontsika, Ayanda, and Luyanda in the office; where I conducted the interview. I asked Luyanda to describe the power of sexual harassment. She says: *I don't know how to put it, ewe, ndizothi kunzima apha ngoba awunamthetheli*, meaning, yes, I would say it is difficult here because no one speaks on your behalf even if you report like in my case. *I reported him to my senior, a woman immediately after I had been employed some few years ago. She promised to look into the matter but then she never said a word to me about it after about two months of having reported. I can say you become an enemy to other women because they don't 'see' the behavior even if they know it exists. You know that one stays in this university because I cannot be employed anywhere and I am desperate for employment. It is very painful but if you think about losing your job and about knowing that you might not be employed forever because of a high rate of unemployment, it is better to stay. How does all this affect you? To me the whole issue degrades women as less powerful species and a sex object. Men are the only ones powerful because they are misled by their culture that ill-treats us as not belonging to this world. The issues are aggravated and the situation is intense because of this men culture and*

strongly because men who are high up in management level are the ones who are strongly connected to this abuse. They have power to control us and degrade us. I have noticed that some employers know about the sexual harassment behaviors but they fail to act on them. Sexual harassment obviously damages careers and alters my attitude toward WSU as an institution and has having long-lasting effects on the perceptions of men and sex. What do you think motivates the behaviour? Maybe it is because they are also men on top positions. The environment is intimidating. I was some time ago dismissed by his friend for having reported him. I am disgusted by all this. What are your preferences regarding your home environment as compared to this one of WSU? Sometimes I wish I can just be sickndipholise intloko, meaning and give myself some relief. Yho, ndigayithathaphiimali- meaning, where can I get money from if I decide to stay at home? Lehlile i randi, meaning our currency is down. What are you planning to do regarding these issues? Because there still isn't a sexual harassment policy, I think we should come together as victims, march to the principal's office and vividly explain to him that we are faced with troubles and that we have a double burden, to work and to be entertainers. I think you must go with us. Baxebele ukuba wazi konke nge WSU, meaning, you should accompany us as participants and tell the management that you know everything about WSU's behaviours. Tell them they should be sensitive to us and stop dominating us. This is a pure violence. How do you find the situation here for yourself as a victim? Perpetrators are unwilling to conform as this has been going on for years. We are exposed to oppressive conditions. Are you able to work without having some strategy? We need to try a strategy of sisterhood, work together and support one another as victims and march to that office of the principal and the human resources because we do not know when the university will draw its sexual harassment policy. We cannot therefore file any sexual harassment claims. Maybe they would be forced to develop gender awareness issues. Sexual harassment is the most extreme form of violence against us. It is disturbing because we do not like it. We should not be insensitive to our needs. We need to be respected in this academic world as it is the case with our siblings and husbands at home. We have a right to be free. It is difficult to claim your issues here because perpetrators seem to be one as men. Ingathi xa uthetha nge policy uthetha ngesilwane, meaning, if you are talking and questioning about the policy, it is as if you are talking about some kind of an animal that has never been seen. This is really bad.

Analysis of Luyanda's interview

A report from Luyanda shows that some senior women at WSU are not shaken by the reports of sexual harassment presented to them by those junior women who have been sexually harassed. In this way, they are condoning the behaviours thus allowing recurrence and an intimidating environment for those women who are the victims. These women know that the behavior exists but they just don't want to act against the perpetrators. In this way, WSU gives power to those among those women who are seniors. The platform that these women have is being abused at the expense of the victims. In short, WSU has a batch of women who either don't see anything wrong with sexual harassment or are somehow afraid of talking plainly about issues, hence the perpetrators turn against them, or the positions in which they are in become devalued. Gender division therefore does take place at WSU, despite the fact that there are still women who prefer to deny that sexual harassment takes place at WSU. The role of patriarchy is seen as shaping the university in that the educational setting at WSU becomes a ground for gender and sexual harassment behaviours, thus paving the way for predators.

Rose and Anderson (2007) report that few women file claims of sexual harassment. From Luyanda's utterances, it is evident that gender relations at WSU are a fundamental component of wider social relations. Luyanda has become a target of her supervisor's sexual desire because she is a woman. She is expected to bow to the demands of the perpetrator who believes that men are to dominate her. Hughes (2002: 114) concurs with the idea that patriarchy often offers a 'dual systems' explanation. Hughes maintains that the focus on patriarchy is on male dominance of all women or the dominance of older men over women and younger men. Charles notes that analyses that explain gender division through the concept of patriarchy often offer a 'dual systems' explanation. This is because of the attention that is paid to the relationship and interconnections of patriarchy and capitalism. This relationship means that women are no longer confined to the bounds of a domestic mode of production but have considerable access to economic (and educational settings) which means they are now doubly oppressed (both at home and at work). It might well be that the history of domination begins with the history of patriarchy with the first self-image that men have of themselves being as the 'tamers' of nature. It can therefore be said that patriarchy that is perceived by WSU victims is a serviceable term for

historically-produced situations in gender relations because victims' domination has become institutionalized. This means the supremacy of patriarchy that is embedded at WSU is generated by the normal operation of educational settings, in particular, where there is a 'sex class' (victims as workers). The mixture of both men and women in educational settings thus becomes fertile ground for gender and sexual harassment behaviours which is a feminist-significant vehicle of sexual and gender oppression conceived by patriarchs. Regarding sex objects, Nussbaum (2007: 49) writes: *women are often treated as mere objects, commodities. Some are deemed more expensive than others (Dworkin, 1974:23), but most women, all too often, function at least some of the time as tools for male convenience, pleasure and self-affirmation. Some women are also sometimes treated as fully-fledged human beings, and some women are lucky enough to be treated as fully human much of the time. The objectification of women is so ubiquitous and so persistent, however, that one cannot reasonably view it as a problem of a 'pathological' male minority. Sex- based objectification infects dominant sexual norms and pervasive sexual behaviour.* It was for good reason that radical feminists, Andrea Dworkin insisted in 1974 that the battle against sexual objectification-a battle to be waged by 'asserting one's humanness, every time, in all situations'-is 'the core of our struggle' (1974, 83).

Nozamisile:

How long have you been here? How are you affected by the power of sexual harassment? *I feel like I am small or rather inferior to him. He acts as if my mind does not function. This thing that is called I am a woman and he is a man is the one that makes us women inferior. I do not even see how we are inferior to men. I am here employed and in the same position as he is though I was employed after many years he has been employed.. Where am I inferior to him? Men need to respect us. That is all. What do you think motivates the behavior? This behavior has to do with inequalities which really do not exist. I think we women are clever. Look at the way we reason. Raising up children, taking them to school, doing homework with them. There is just a lot. The list is so endless. When his mother dies, you run around arranging for his mother's funeral. This is all b****hit. How is your home environment as compared to WSU? Are males the same as here? It is painful to have to experience this behavior even at work. You know my parents put my younger brothers on top of my head. During that time I never knew they were wrong. Now I*

know how socialization can spoil the goodness of its citizens. I had to slap my younger brothers and to teach them that a woman needs also to be respected. She is a human being. This man is too powerful. He even talks in a powerful language. You can think he has never been behind the desk. Into nje endingayazi, meaning, he is something I do not know. Our parents put the boys on top of the girls' heads and it is so wrong. I always tell my mother that children should be socialized well so that boys do not grow and think they are superior than the girls or men superior than women as it is the case with many people. What motivates these behaviours at WSU? I think this is all motivated by how these men grew up and strongly by the fact that this institution has no sexual harassment policy. They just grab and talk anyhow, even a man you were respecting. Have you ever reported this? The management is aware because I reported to someone who belongs to the management. I know that for sure. The behaviors are not new at all. I am aware that some of the victims have reported. No measures were taken. I ended up keeping quiet. What can I do? Most of us just keep quiet. Well. Funny enough some say yes to this nonsense. I know them. They get fat cheques or additional money. Yho! They are well cared for. Sexual harassment obviously damages careers and alters my attitude toward WSU as an institution and has having long-lasting effects on the perceptions of men and sex. What stops you from acquiescing? Over my dead body! I cannot make my body a slave. I better stay without money but stay employed. The problem here is that there is a high rate of unemployment and I know that I will not be employed if I lose this job. Is there any solution for this? We need to get together as women and fight this behavior despite the fact that our Xhosa culture assigns men to be responsible for our oppression. That is the reason why women abuse is so significant. The other thing is that the behaviour is repeated and no one takes care of us because it is done by men who are our supervisors. Otherwise bazosigqiba ababantu, meaning, these people (men) will finish us up. How are you able to work? Do you have any strategy? At the moment it is best to strategize. Just act as if he is not there. That is what we do, seriously. It is frustrating to be in this environment. It is stressful. It is too much for me. Sometimes I feel like resigning but I cannot. I do not think I will ever leave this place. I like to be in the Eastern Cape. I am afraid to be in other provinces. Ndikhulele ezilalini, meaning, I grew up in a rural place. I cannot stand big towns. Which topics do you discuss at workshops which are gender related? Have you ever raised this issue? There are no work-shops on gender studies here or anything that is gender related. There was a gender studies department some time ago. It never lasted. Maybe there

would have been some improvement in these behaviours. No one addresses the issues. Are you somehow disturbed by this behavior? Well, I can say I do not welcome it because I do not like it. It is a sort of some aggression. I am not his sex mate. He wants to use me. It is degrading. Maybe he thinks I can offer sex to him. How would you like WSU to help you? This is quite interesting. They will never help us. This is an old university and these issues are just not in the management's interest. I don't know how one can get help. We can have policies but they will not be considered at all.

Analysis of Nozamile's interview

WSU makes women feel inferior by not attending to their sexual harassment cases that are reported. The inequalities that the university practices amongst workers perpetuate sexual harassment behaviours. The university allows powerful behaviours of male workers to insist that their sexuality is best and they, in turn, see women as objects of sexual harassment. WSU does not address a single issue of any gender-related matter. It has dragged its heels on gender issues so much that the victims do not think that even if there is a sexual harassment policy, it could be adhered to. The university fails to consider that women are workers and they are far from being sex objects. There seems to be an unwritten code that decrees that women's gender has to be the object of sexual interests of men at WSU. Patriarchal language seems to dominate work matters, despite the cry that the behaviour oppresses women's status. The behaviours are there to control women and their sexuality and to dominate them in what women see as men having a right to sexual autonomy and liberty. The university shows clearly that power and patriarchy are well practiced at WSU and that gender does play a part in influencing the behavior involved in sexual harassment.

Gilligan (2001: 61) maintains that it is very clear that women are seen as sex objects. The vast majority of rapes are women (a gender disparity that also applies to incest). In fact being a rape victim is perhaps the most extreme example of what it means to be a sex object; by definition, the subjective and the will of the rape are ignored by the rapist. Gilligan (2001) points out that this violence throws light on the psychology both of gender roles and of violence. He asserts that physical violence can be defined as the inflicting of injury or death, and sexual violence as the

violation of a person's sexual autonomy. This means the female gender role is the equivalent of being a sex object. Irigaray (Grosz 1989: 11) posits an isomorphism between male sexuality and patriarchal language, an intricate mirroring and entwining of phallogentric discourses and oedipalized forms of male sexuality. All Western discourse presents a certain isomorphism with masculine sex; the privilege of unity, form of the self, of the visible, of the specularizable, of the erection (which is becoming in a form). Now this morphologic does not correspond to the female sex: there is not 'a' sex. The 'no sex' that has been assigned to the woman can mean that she does not have 'a' sex and that her sex is not visible nor identifiable or representable in a definite form. Regarding socialization, Brittan (1989: 7) writes:

Even as small boys, males are trained for a world of independent aggressive action....males are groomed to take the universe by storm, to confront the environment directly. Males learn that society's goals are best met by aggression, by actively wrestling their accomplishments from the environment. Force, power, competition and aggression are the means for anything. Lipman-Blumen, (1984: 55) says to be masculine requires not only self-reliance and self-control, but control over other people and resources. However, Brittan (1989) concludes that this behaviour is not genetically determined. The controversy about aggression is the difficulty of linking individual and group behaviour. The sex difference does not have to do with explaining why women have to be sexually harassed. Also, the hormonal differences of males and females should have nothing to do with dominance and superiority of men and their sexual behaviours. I fully support Brittan here. WSU victims have a right to sexual autonomy. They need to have reciprocal rights since a morally-acceptable sexual practice depends precisely on the rejection of any gendered definition of virtue which subordinates women's individual pleasure to a social morality based on duty. According to feminist post-structuralists, power is not only manifested through the use of force, but also by manipulation, coercion and intimidation.

Noncedo:

How do you find the power of sexual harassment here? *Ha! He is powerful. He has my boyfriend's identities of being bossy. My boyfriend was bossy and wanted to dictate what I should wear and how. What I should do and not. This is the same as this man here. This is a*

violent issue. No, he is not my boyfriend. I have been employed for quite some time He is just being funny. I am not his sex fan. He sexually harasses us here. I am not the only one. He is such a nuisance to us all because he is known. He is in the upper structure of Unitra and he repeats this nonsense over and over again because no one approaches him about his behaviour. I told him he is not the one to dictate anything for me except things that are to do with work. He told me his culture as a man is to dictate so he will do whatever to me and I have to abide because I am a woman. Do you have to hide your emotions if you are to focus at work? Somehow you have to have a plan of how to strategize no matter how intense the situation is. You do not listen to him when he is still under this influence. Akabhadlanga, meaning, he is not normal that he can really ask me to have sexual intercourse with him. This is offensive and oppressing. There are so many women out there who want him. He should go to them. I am seeing that he wants to rule me. He wants me to listen to him. He promises big things if I say yes. I am not prepared to be his sex object. Ucinga uba usile, meaning, he thinks he is clever. The notions of patriarch are very rough here. They are forged and reinforced by the fact that no one supports us victims here. Have you ever reported him? I did report him. Nothing was done. You know it is painful because I do not have any strength to take this. What motivates this behavior? It is motivated by the fact that there is no policy and more so because I think the management does not care. But I don't think even if there could be a policy things will be better here. The behaviour has existed for quite some time. It is a norm that men see us as inferior. Are you exposed to these difficulties even at home? My home environment is good. We all respect one another at home, be it males or females. That is how we were brought up. It is a good thing to do. Even my father respects my mother. Umama, meaning, my mother comes first. So bad! Do you attend gender awareness workshops or have gender talks? There has never been any gender awareness workshop. I have never known about it. I would have known if it was there. I love and support gender issues a lot. We need to come together as women and fight this behaviour. We can have talks on women issue only if the varsity can offer us an office for gender studies. Do you have a gender studied department? No, there is no gender studies department. No one communicates to us anything that has to do with the wellness of women. I mean something like the affirmative action or women policies. If it was there I would have known. I support these issues a lot, more than you can understand. We are not developed as women here. This has to do with patriarchy and nothing else. Are you affected by all this? Wow! There is a lot of frustration. Ndingabala ntoni

na, meaning, it is a lot. *Mntana ka Thixo*, meaning, child of God. *It is bad, I do not like it. I am stressed by his behavior. I feel like I am small. He degrades my womanhood. He makes me his sex pest. My role as a woman is not a sex role. I am here to work as he does but cannot leave because the minute I decide to leave, I will never be employed. I am desperate and cannot leave here as there is no employment.* How do you interpret this behavior and how does it affect you? *I perceive sexual harassment behaviour as an unwelcome sexual attention that they are experiencing at work. He comes with so many ranges of sexual harassment; he pats, or pinches, or leers, or hoolers or touches your private parts and bums. Others have verbal comments. I become anxious of him. I know some women have contemplated to leave. Jobs are scares. I cannot leave even though the coercive nature of workplace sexual harassment intensifies. I cannot therefore just afford to leave or lose jobs even though sexual harassment deepens the economic vulnerability I experience. I feel alienated but we stay despite the queer and unwelcoming environment and behaviours.* How could the university help you? *That is a difficult one because no one cares here. We can have a policy but I doubt it could help. We need to come together as women and have our own legal body. That is all.*

Analysis of Noncedo's interview

The notions of patriarchy are rough at WSU because the university turns a blind eye to sexual harassment. If it was not supportive of sexual harassment, Noncedo would not be coming up with so many complaints regarding life at WSU. The university does not seem not to be planning to have any gender awareness workshops in the near future because as Noncedo points out, they, as a group support each other because as the victims they cannot even file their sexual harassment cases. WSU sees the behavior as the norm and appears to see women as inferior. This allows men to superimpose their behavior on them and disrespect women in their positions as employees and in their gender. WSU alienates women by not taking a stand regarding the behavior. WSU ignores the behavior of men and indifference motivates them to continue with sexual harassment and force women into oppressed gender roles.

The power that men have, has given rise to an identity concept regarded as patriarchal sex. The university forgets that the behaviour of men as perpetrators has never been part of the ethos of any institution.

Viljoen (1992: 275) says that in the studies on violence, sexual harassment is also considered a violent issue. Kimmel (2000: 133) argues that things are the way they are by virtue of the fact that men are men and women are women—a division perceived to be natural and rooted in biology yet producing in turn profound psychological, behavioural, and social consequences. The structural arrangements of a society are presumed to be responsive to these differences. Tong (1989: 95) states that radical feminists should be credited with detailing the ways in which men rather than the ‘society’ or ‘conditions’ have forced women into oppressive gender roles and sexual behaviour. Butler (1990: 18) says that within the spectrum of French feminist and post-structuralist theory, very different regimes of power are understood to produce the identity concept of patriarchy sex. There are some important similarities in the works of some radical feminists and discourse analysis as far as patriarchy is concerned. Daly (1973, 1978, 1984, 1985) says sex is taken as an immediate given that belongs to the natural order.

Nosisa:

She laughs and says *andihleki*, meaning, I am not laughing. I wanted to know her opinion of power of sexual harassment. She says: *I think you as a woman who has decided to undertake this study understand how men's power works. These men want us to be their sex objects. We are subordinated by these men here. What the hell! It has happened to me, to her and to them. I want to believe that most of us are sexually harassed here. You won't hear this from most of us because others pretend as if they are not perpetrators' sex objects. They are, we know that. Some just love to be sex objects. Izinto ezenziwa aphazamahlazo wodwa*, meaning what goes on here is all a disgrace. *Mina nje ndiyintombi yakwethu I will never accept to be loved behind closed office doors, ziyabuya*, meaning, being a woman of integrity, I will never accept to be loved behind closed doors. *These men force us because they say culture allows them to be superior. That is why they are able to repeat their abuse and our situation is aggravated, more so because these*

men are in a high statuses at work and in the society. It is really happening behind office doors. These men do not care. You can push him away as a strategy or insult him. He does not care. He continues to grab you. These men have lots of vulgar. What comes out from their mouths is all rotten. I do not know how they raise their children. Do you have any strategy that helps you to be able to work? I just don't care about his abuse as long as I will not go by his request. That is the only strategy I have. I think the behavior has to do with the absence of a sexual harassment policy and that even if you report, no one takes any care. Have you ever reported this? Yes, I have been reporting until I decided to zip my mouth. I reported to a senior woman. She told me she was going to look to the matter. I do not think she ever started. I decided to shut up. What can I do? People are aware of this behavior, I am telling you. I am not going to leave though because everyone at home depends on me and they are all in the Eastern Cape. I cannot even think of going somewhere else. My whole family is here and this place is swimming in poverty. Sometimes it is as if every man is a perpetrator here. You go to the stores, you are sexually harassed, you go to the human resources you are sexually harassed. Ha! this reminds me of another man who was at working in there (human resources). He had a dirty plan of calling women after hours, athembise izulu nomhlaba, meaning, promises women heaven and earth. What else? Pay them more than they should be paid. Well, Nosisa laughs, others fell for him. Dirty women fell for him. I would not go for that. My other friend did. But it ended up sour because she discovered that she was not the only one. She blamed herself for having accepted his sexual favours. I told her it has been very stupid of her to let herself down. He would sleep with them, alternate them in one night. They were all after money. Imali impande yesono, meaning, money is the source of all evil. If you were to choose a place of work, would you choose your home environment or WSU? My home environment is safe. I would prefer to be employed by my man (boyfriend) if at all it is possible. Well, though my brothers think they are the bosses at home, my mother tells them off with my support. What motivates all this behavior? It is how we are socialized. But I would not take that as a reason why there should be sexual harassment at WSU. Which topics do you discuss at gender awareness meetings or if you have to implement your sexual harassment policy? We do not have any policy here. There have never been any gender-awareness programmes, even the talks or workshops. No one talks about women issues here. There are no talks on women's development. Are you somehow affected by this? This behavior has a lot of effects. I hate it. I hate to be made inferior because I am a woman. I am

nobody's sex slave, not even by a chance. It is oppressing a lot and very much offensive. I really do not like it when we are made inferior to men. We are the same. The only difference is our biological structures. You feel intimidated, inferior and always fearful. I also feel I can be absent forever. This all brings headaches to me and insomnia. Are there ways that you think WSU could assist you and other victims? The management should listen to us as victims. Those women who support rape should be brought to the forefront and be disciplined heavily. Let us please have a sexual harassment policy and respect for women. Respect is the core issue that surpasses all.

Analysis of Nosisa's interview

I am sceptical about WSU's ability and willingness to enforce policies that prohibit sexual conduct. The reason for the unwillingness to enforce such policies is because WSU does not consider sexual harassment to be a serious workplace issue. If it did, I would not have had all participants complaining that WSU did not consider their complaints as victims. Women at WSU are unable to report incidences of sexual harassment. They decide to endure the harassment without ever mentioning the problem. This is because sexual harassment is deliberately rendered invisible at WSU. Perhaps WSU seems to be gaining a greater appreciation of the magnitude of the issue of sexual harassment by not attending to the cases. WSU allows situations whereby women are unable to share openly about their experiences and concerns. The victims' inability to report their sexual harassment experiences is caused by WSU because it allows women to work in an unhealthy and offensive workplace. WSU shows women that their gender is not important hence the management's decision not to be part of saving victims from being sexually harassed. WSU fails to deal with the power and sexuality of men and allows them to be dominant in their encounters with women. This means the sexuality of men does have an influence on behaviours of sexual harassment. Gender socialization is seen to have a great impact on the acceptance of behaviours regarding sexual harassment; it is a kind that places women in a subordinate role.

Tong (1993: 367) points out that sexual harassment is a relatively abstract way to remind women that their gender role/sex role is one of subordination. Sexual harassment is an extremely

concrete way to remind women that their subordination in gender terms is intimately tied to their sexuality, and in particular, to their reproductive capacities and, in general, to their bodily contours. Tong (1993) maintains that sexual harassment obviously has the power to damage careers; women leave college everyday because they cannot deal with sexual harassment. It alters their attitudes toward institutions and they suffer long-lasting effects relating to their perceptions of men and sex. Higher education has been able to ignore consequences of sexual harassment because the victims' damage and pain are often felt years later, long after women have left the institutional environment and forfeited their claims to its protection.

Brody (1983: 44) points out that Wollstonecraft exposes a more radical dimension in her argument and states that she identifies male passion or sensuality as responsible for the political subordination of women.

Bourdieu (2001:21) asserts that sexual harassment does not always aim at the sexual possession that seems to be its exclusive goal. In some cases it may aim at sheer possession, the pure affirmation of domination in its pure state while Shulman, (1983: 224) points out that Emma Goldman, an 'anarchist queen', reports that professional women, 'emancipated' women, prostitutes, and wives alike were all, in Goldman's view, victims of forces. She makes clear that women's oppression is distinct from men's oppression, that some of the restrictions on women's liberty had different causes and consequences than the restrictions on men's liberty: women, she argues, are oppressed precisely as *women*. Goldman identifies women's oppression in the workplace, and in this framework she labels sexual harassment. She writes *nowhere is woman treated according to the merit of her work but rather as a sex. It is therefore almost inevitable that she should pay for her right to exist, to keep a position in whatever line with sexual favours*. As an anarchist, naturally Goldman identified the state, with its laws, and the church, with its morality, as agents of women oppression but she doubted that sexual and reproductive matters were at the very heart of women's position in society. Goldman is worthy of recognition for her indisputable radical feminism. Her view is an encouragement for women to stand together and fight this sex role/gender role stereotype. Social systems and institutions must be seen as wanting to do away with sexual harassment and examine victims' utterances and their relationship therein.

No-College:

No-College is a friend to Nosisa and Noncedo. She says she has been employed for some years at WSU. They were seated together during an interview. About the power of sexual harassment, No College says: *The power of these men consistently surface feelings of fear, shock, shame and anger. They are distrustful and we are helpless because we report them but nothing is done. They are in powerful positions and are friends to one another. They all make a plot against us women. We are terrorized by confronting these behaviours. The absence of a policy does perpetuate these behaviours even though the behaviours are not the cause of not having a policy.* What is your home environment like as compared to this one at WSU? *We do not have any sexual harassment at home and the environment is warm. It is good. My male friends are good. It is not every man who is this disrespectful. These are too silly.* What motivates this behavior? *It is because some women acquiesce to their sexual advances.* Do you have to strategize your work? How? *The only strategy is to behave as if he/they are not there. It is easier said than done because when he starts, it is all fight behind office doors. What would you do if he starts pushing you at the corner wanting to kiss you forcefully? Sometimes he calls you as if he wants somehow to get help. Sexual harassment is all over here.* Does the institution have gender awareness programmes or run workshops on gender sensitivity that includes a sexual harassment policy? No- College laughs and claps her hands: *hayi bafana, nake nezwa nge sexual harassment policy apha e WSU*, meaning, have you ever heard of a sexual harassment policy? Nosisa and Noncedo respond simultaneously even though I was not directing the question to them. *Hayi bo! ayikho lonto apha*, meaning, have you ever heard of a sexual harassment policy at WSU, guys? *No, we do not have that thing here at WSU. Have you ever reported all this behavior? I even doubt something will be done. Not here. What I have noticed is that these men are friends and they are all in the highest hierarchy of the university. These are the reasons that make cases to be simple to those who listen to them if they ever do and to aggravate the situation. You cannot then make yourself a fool. The management is aware because we have all reported this saga. Nothing has been done so far. I even doubt something will ever be done. These things have been going on for some time and I have been here all the time because I will not be employed anywhere else. There is no employment here and I am desperate for work since this place is not employable. There are*

no prospects for employment. Why is this going on even if you have reported? Men are friends with these perpetrators. Ubabona behleka kunye bonke, meaning, I see them joking simultaneously. There are no gender-awareness workshops. I do not remember even one. Not here at WSU. What do you expect then? The behaviours will continue. It is even worse without a policy. Kukwamazenzele, meaning, they do a nyhow. Many a time, I see aggression and sex closely related. How are you affected? These men's sex role stereotypes are a means of controlling us and intimidating us. These men say they keep us in our place below them. Their power corrupts and their abuse results from this corruption. We do cry and struggle and fight to get away but their power is too much, too much because of the power disparity between us and them. The struggle is too long in so much that we have even lost our sexual autonomy through this oppression which is a sex role stereotype. I learnt about these behaviours when I did a gender studies module. I learnt about male behavior at home and in a work setting. There is a lot of frustration in us women as we are mostly treated as inferior. This is a call to WSU that sexual harassment has to be abolished if women are to be liberated from being sex slaves. How could the university help? I know it is easier said than done, but attempts have to be made, moving few steps at a time up to a stage when sexual harassment behaviours are almost abolished. In this way, I am hopeful that not only WSU victims, but women in general will be seen as merely human beings arbitrarily designated by the word woman. This behavior constitutes us as symbolic objects. Despite this unwelcome-ness and not wanting this behavior, perpetrators expect us to be feminine, smile at them, be friendly to them, be attentive to them and be submissive to them. Hey, I am unable to do that. Not me, maybe others. We are seen as nothing other than a form of indulgence towards real. Why is that so? Our great desire is to have our dignity back. But, how do we regain our dignity? The perpetrators' voices are dominant. In contrast, our voices always seem muted which is perhaps a reflection of our ambivalence about the role we want to play. We don't want to submit to the stereotypes of the past because we would be regarded as inferior and therefore forced to abide by stereotypes of femininity. This is a new South Africa. Where is democracy? Why does it have limits?

Analysis of No-College's interview

WSU seems to have no interest in the matters which pertain to the abuse of women. Supervisors have personal agendas which don't relate to work, but to satisfy their sexual gratification. As a result, the university does not see anything wrong with men having to use their power by engaging in sexual harassment behaviours. The university is so much used to the behavior in so much that it sees nothing wrong with men imposing unwanted social or sexual attention upon women. The university also sees nothing new about women having to put up with sexual attention because even those in the management team misuse their authority for personal gain. The culture of WSU's workplace does not seem to require a change of views of the situation at work. The WSU has traditionally been overwhelmed by the issues of sexual harassment. The university fails to see that all perpetrators are violating the law. Even the university behaves unlawfully because it treats women differently; today, an employer who treats women differently from men, simply because they are female, is violating the law (Howard 2007: 26). Issues of power that are directed at women seem to be deeply ingrained in the culture of WSU that disregards women's liberty, particularly in the areas of sex discrimination. Gender at WSU plays a part in discrimination because women are discriminated against because of their gender and their working conditions are affected. Their gender becomes an obstacle to employment.

Viano (2000: 10) states that a person can actually be regarded as a victim through power abuse, or perceive the suffering as unjust and underserved and regard him-or herself- as being victimized. The person can also look outside him-or herself-as being victimized, or the person looks outside him-or herself towards significant others, helping organizations or the criminal justice system for recognition of the fact that he or she has become a victim. It may also be that other people recognize and acknowledge the fact that a person has been victimized (and actually is) or that he /she is regarded as a victim (Davis and Snyman 2005: 10). Schurink (1992: 227) says the concept 'victim' used in its broadest sense includes persons who have been subjected to a wide variety of acts or events that have apparently or indirectly caused both emotional as well as physical harm. In WSU the vulnerability of victims is through gender. Jaramillo and McLaren (2009: 21) maintain that within this social paradigm, power is distributed unevenly and indelibly: men have power, women are powerless. Schurink (1992: 277) points out that a 'power differential perspective' locates the facets of wage differential, unequal working conditions, job

segregation, and sexual harassment within the broader context of the subordination of women. Lips (1981) defines power as 'the capacity to have an impact to produce an effect'. Her definition is drawn from the psychological literature and is consistent with a 'woman centered' approach to power. She is interested primarily in the apparent choices of gendered individuals and how they may be linked to social practices. Her thesis is that 'girls are 'actually prepared' to behave in powerless ways to acquiesce to the powerlessness. WSU perpetrators exert their power in a wide range of forms that include material, emotional or ideological. Power becomes a unifying concept that necessitates an exploration of the dimensions of power. The radical feminists are positioned in that patriarchal power is a trans-historical phenomenon and that the oppression of women by (all) men is the most fundamental and intractable form of oppression (Joseph, 1981; Carby, 1982; Amos and Parmer 1984).

Xoliswa:

I asked Xoliswa how long she had been employed. She says: *I have been employed for a long time.* Kindly describe the power of sexual harassment at WSU. This is her response: *This behavior instills in me that men have power. Once the perpetrator follows you, the social relations are messed up. How does he make me his mat? You can shout at him, threaten him, but he does not stop. He prefers to ignore you. Sometimes I feel like shouting at the top of my voice. But people might think you are mad or something. The problem here is that no one cares who does what to whom, where and why. You have to have a way of a strategy to be able to work.* I wanted to know how she strategizes her work. She responds: *I just keep quiet. I learnt that making noise does not help. I am not the only one with these experiences. Thandeka and Lumka are expecting you as well. They are also victims noma bezothi ndingu Mamgobhozi, but it does not matter even if they would say so,* meaning Thandeka and Lumka will say I talk too much. But they know you are coming and are waiting for you. *Hay, andazi izaphela nini lento,* meaning hey, I do not know when this thing (behavior) shall pass. I am discriminated against ngoba ndingumfazi, meaning she is discriminated against because she is a woman. *I regard sexual harassment as having to do with my dignity and see the behaviour as a manifestation of violence against me and other victims. We are blamed for the behavior most of the time. These issues need to be taken seriously. Men think they can do anything because they say the Xhosa culture*

allows them to be our bosses in all respects and we have to bow down and listen to them. It is painful because I am here to stay. I was born and bred here and I cannot leave this place or even wish to change to be employed somewhere. There is no employment in the Eastern Cape because it is poor. I wanted to know if Xoliswa's home environment is the same as WSU's environment in respect of male domination. She uses an example of her boyfriend and says: *It's like my boyfriend. He treats me as if I am unable to think. Of course I cannot compare him with my perpetrator. He is not as crude as him though sometimes he does have those guts of being dominant. You know that the behaviour has become so strong because even the management is in this? Whom do you think will help us, then?* What could be motivating sexual harassment behaviours? She replies: *We are not taken seriously here. Men are men and they do not think sexual harassment is a serious issue because they are high up in the hierarchy and no one can ever confront them about these issues. That is what motivates this behavior. Who are they? I mean the management and men who abuse us.* Regarding the management or other senior personnel being aware of the behavior, have you ever reported this? She responds: *If I report to senior people, I expect the behavior to be known. These men are all friends. There is no reason why they could be unaware of sexual harassment taking place here. Sometimes I feel most men are perpetrators here. Maybe the best would be to have workshops on this matter and on all gender issues. We are not protected by any sexual harassment policy.* Have you ever attended any gender-awareness workshops or any workshop that is gender related? Xoliswa maintains: *I have never been to any workshop that is gender related, not even once. So, men do as they like.* Are you anyhow affected by sexual harassment? She points out: *Ndiyacaphuka*, meaning, I am angry because the whole behavior lets my femaleness down. *It is as if you do not have a life and he can do whatever. No one feels good about losing her dignity. This nonsense has to do with my dignity and it has to do with violence. I am a target of my perpetrator's sexual desires because I am a woman. I am expected to bow to my perpetrator's demands. There is no way we could be developed if women's issues are not attended to. There are no resources for our development. That is why there is so much violence here.* How would you like the management to help you regarding this violence? *We need to be protected. WSU should have gender policies; the sexual harassment policy because this violence is too much.*

Analysis of Xoliswa's interview

Xoliswa reports that the power of men at WSU regulates men's behavior in so much that they do not see anything wrong with their sexual harassment behaviours, despite receiving 'cold shoulder' reactions from the victims. Though women have moved into positions of power at WSU, the university still does not give individual women the confidence to complain about unacceptable behaviours at work. I do not think that there is any woman who would like to remain in careers where women are unable to impose unwanted and offensive behaviours on their male perpetrators. WSU seems to want to drive women away. The quietness of the management of WSU in matters of sexual harassment is a way of discouraging victims from voicing concerns; the authorities ignore what they (women) find annoying and un-welcoming. WSU appears to want women to be submissive to the behavior as it promotes the power and undermines liberty. The university confines women workers to the areas that jeopardize their work self-esteem. The ambiguities of male verbal play and boasting about the power that they have, breeds cultural confusion at WSU that makes women submissive in the workplace in order to survive.

Regarding violence of men, Hearn (1998: 5) reports that 'men's violence is being increasingly recognized for what it is-a severe social problem. Yet the recognition appears to do little to reduce men's violence towards women, or indeed, other kinds of men's violence. The problem of men's violence towards known women has now been named, and men have been named as the problem. Men's violence to known women and the pain, both physical and emotional, of that violence, has now been made public.

Marilyn Frere notes: *Feminists have been concerned to expose and oppose all forms of blaming the victim since women are so frequently the victims of sexual harassment.* She points out that *the various ways of blaming the victim not only interfere with the victim obtaining justice and help when they have been harmed, but about their harm by creating confusion and feelings of guilt about their own responsibility for their suffering.* Martin (1984: 61) maintains that Phyllis Schlafly blames the woman who 'allows' herself to be harassed, or worse, elicits the harassment because she is of dubious virtue. However, sexual harassment is not a question of 'virtue,' it is a

question of power. Women who acquiesce are often not in a position to refuse; their surrender is the price of survival. Radtke and Stam (1994: 4) say power must be analyzed as something which circulates, or rather as something which only functions in the form of a chain. It is never localized here or there, never in anybody's hands, never appropriated as a commodity or piece of wealth. Power is employed or exercised through a net-like organization. And not only do individuals circulate through its threads; they are always in the position of simultaneously undergoing and exercising this power.

Gilligan (2001: 61) maintains that the statistics on sex objects discriminates against women and they can end up being sex objects; that is reflected in the fact that the vast majority of rape victims are women. Gilligan (2001) points out that this violence throws light on the psychology both of gender roles and violence. Backhouse, et al., (1981) assert that sexual harassment at work has become a common topic of discussion and women have begun to demand that such abuse comes to a halt. Since women are now working, there are more instances of sexual harassment and this has brought the problem to a head. Backhouse, et al., (1981) say that women are now more conscious of their right working status and take sexual harassment more seriously than women did in the past.

Thandeka:

Before I could pose questions, Thandeka said: *I thought women who are sexually harassed are the ones with good looks. I am ugly. I find it weird that these men have not stopped their sexual advances on me. I think women are at a psychological advantage at WSU. Well, not all women but us, victims. I have witnessed overwhelming similarities in the behavior of others even in accounts of lecturers, married women and high economic class women. I find the behaviours nauseating and making me inferior, in thoughts and in deeds and. I boxed one of them very hard but he did not stop.* When asking her about the number of years she has been employed and to describe the power of sexual harassment, she says: *I have been employed for a number of years. His power prevails. It is his power that allows him to be this dirty. Men have power.* She says she employs some strategy at work despite this behaviour. This is how she puts it: *I can lose my job if I can give a damn. I just ignore but it is hard because the cases are repeated and it becomes so*

intense as you have to attend to your duties at work and at home. Sometimes it is hard to ignore because you know what, a man tells you that his culture as an African means that I have to abide and respect him. How do I respect his nonsense? He does not see all this as a nonsense because he says he is a man and he knows that I will never go anywhere since I am desperate for work. There is no employment in the Eastern Cape. She says she cannot compare her home environment with the environment at WSU. She states: *Well, I don't have any males at home so I cannot compare my home to WSU. I can make a comparison with my partner. He respects me and here it is harassment after the other. There is absolutely no respect. Maybe if I was married, my husband would be this violent.* When asked if the behavior is known, she says: *Iyaziwa le behaviour kwesikole*, meaning is it known that sexual harassment exists at WSU. She continues to tell me how she strategizes her work. She says: *You strategize your work. I do not give him a damn chance to have him on top of me. But still, when he touches me, it sucks. Somehow I need to have a sort of a strategy and be productive. I just work as if he is not around. What can I do? It is so humiliating.* Regarding issues that motivate sexual harassment, she responds: *Maybe there would be a difference if there were lectures on sexual harassment, just to alert men that the behaviour is not wanted at all or even have gender studies department.* Asked if she had ever attended gender awareness workshops, she points out: *I don't remember having been to such a workshop. Not at all. I would have known about it.* I wanted to find out if she had ever reported sexual harassment. She maintains: *I did not report him. It would not have made any difference. I know. People do not care here. It is even worse without a policy.* Regarding questions about whether action has ever been taken regarding other sexual harassment issues, she notes: *No one communicates any women issues here. We are not developed here. There are no actions here especially that pertain to us, victims. I wish there could be ways of preventing this behavior.* She says she is affected by the behavior in the following ways: *It is demeaning and it perpetuates my inequitable social status as a woman. Don't they know how difficult this is? Who on earth could welcome this thing? I am seriously oppressed by all this. He makes silly jokes as if this is all funny.*

Analysis of Thandeka's interview

In the arenas of WSU as a workplace, Thandeka's narrative tells me that masculinity and power are intersected; men construct affirmative vision of their manhood and are allowed by the management to interpret a social logic of popular masculinity which has been evident in sexual harassment behaviours. The vertical lines of power subjects women to a string of contestations of patriarchal authority that remains unchallenged by the management and which destroy the privileges that women should also enjoy, like the privilege of their right to be treated with dignity. The dynamics of dominance and ranked masculinities that are allowed to take place at WSU are connected; this pertains to have to do with gender holdings so that women's right are disrespected and they (women) end up in a world of male politics.

Farley (1978) asserts that sexual harassment has been the subject of attention from gender holdings as early as 1970 but it is virtually unchanged, largely as a result of wide social acceptance of such behaviour. She says the evidence of this is in those countless jokes and cartoons about women at work that characterize much of our popular culture. Date-Bah (1997: 130) points out that in 1977 when sexual harassment was seen as a form of sex-discrimination, millions of women and men around the world have added sexual harassment to their daily lexicon. It is clear that women's sexual oppression is not something that occurs in a domestic context only. Elman (1990: 13) asserts that while a women's sexuality is used to coerce her economically, her position of employment is used to coerce her sexuality. Oppressive circumstances of women demonstrate the presence of gender conflict, inequality and coercion at WSU.

Lumka:

Regarding her period of employment, she says: *I have been at WSU for some time now. I am angered by all this.* (Lumka keeps quiet for some time in anger). She describes her anger like this: *I do not understand why these men are so unprofessional. I am talking about him and them as men without any sense of dignity. They disrespect us and make as if we are subordinate.* Asking if sexual harassment has ever been addressed, she comments: *The issue of sexual harassment has never been addressed at WSU. Perpetrators are known and no one will confront them.* She tells me what motivates the behaviour and points out: *They do it because they will be*

supported by their male friends. *Yena lowa*, meaning, that one, pointing out at the door is such a pain 'on my neck.' Those two perpetrators are known. Lumka stands up and demonstrates how they can push and force their hands in her breast. I wanted to know if the perpetrators are known. This is her response: *They are known because they sexually harass most employees who are friends. Sinamanxeba ezintlweni*, meaning, as victims they have emotional wounds that have been inflicted by perpetrators. She further talks about motivators of the abuse and narrates: *The behaviour is motivated by the fact that I am a woman at an institution that does not see that men are violent. It is an institutions that acknowledges that culture should be adapted to, that is, men can do whatever that they want to women This is ridiculous because the situation is aggravated and cases are repeated all the time with intensity. They even fail to recognize that I have never welcomed this nonsense.* She points out: *a man plus sexual harassment behaviour adds up to me being a sex object. The reason why this men are like this is because they are in the management positions and how do you start to report anyone who is holding a top position at Unitra? I underwent the same behaviour when I was still a student at a certain university.* This is how Lumka feels about being a victim: *I have feelings of subordination and offence were the same. I understand better why I am angry. My maturity in womanhood makes me understand that men always like to be superior in their deeds. I understand that violence does shape a woman be it at home or at the work place. In my case, I have been shaped to tolerate this nonsense.* Regarding the question of whether there are any gender workshops at WSU or whether she had ever attended one, she responds: *There are no gender workshops here. We do not have a policy either. Gender studies department was closed down about five or six years ago.* This is what she says about the motivation of the behavior: *All these motivate them to sexually harass us. The working environment is polluted at WSU. This pollution is the fact that perpetrators do as they like. They are not prevented by any WSU law to behave professionally. Their muscularity behaviour seems to be applauded because gender issues are not taken care of.* She says she cannot compare her home environment with perpetrators at WSU. She puts it: *I enjoy to be at home. I stay alone. I don't want anything to do with men. They expect you to do what they want. I am sorry. I cannot. It is very interesting to be on your own. I am tired of men and their cheating and wanting to dominate all the time.* Regarding the non-existence of a sexual harassment policy, she asserts: *I have heard that the policy is on the pipeline but that has been a song for years. All what they do is to dominate a women and take away her humanity. No, which resources, to develop us as*

women? *No, we do not have such yet. Maybe xa sendifile, meaning, maybe resources to develop women will only exist when I am dead. If asked if she reported the behavior, she says: Ag, there is no need. Who would listen to you? We have been in this situation for years. No one cares here. The very old men are the ones who are responsible for this.* This is how she says she is affected by the behaviour: *I don't want it. You become somehow a mat for them to have sex with you. They make you a sex slave. It is not wanted. It is demeaning, you know when you don't have any dignity, it is like that. I think people without any dignity feel worthless because they are always welcoming of any nonsense. What makes matters worse is that I am here at work for long hours and the behaviour is always a subordination of some sort. Also, I have nowhere to go as I am desperate for work and the Eastern Cape is poor. It has no employment.*

Analysis of Lumka's interview

Sexual harassment at WSU justifies power and privilege for men only so that they practice their violence which is in their interest. The specific focus of violence centred on matters that perceive women as sex objects through power that men use. WSU allows logics of masculinity in violence to assume even greater statistical prominence as more women seem to be the targets of this violence. Perpetrators are allowed to discern expressions of their socialization which have side effects on the victims because they (victims) end up having to face the escalation of male violence. Lumka's responses prove that she is not a stranger to the language of patriarchy at WSU. Patriarchal power at WSU demands Lumka to be submissive to her perpetrator. Being submissive explains Lumka's subordination that is perpetuated by the negligence of the university has made her reject men in her private life.

Bennett, et al., (2007: 26) maintain that sexual harassment in educational settings raises particular problems because they involve long-term relationships between the victim and her perpetrator. Aggarwal (1987) points out that because of fear of women losing their jobs, many women have endured sexual harassment at work and they consider it to be a 'normal' occupational hazard. Slavin, et al., (1988: 3) point out that one explanation for women's subordination might be that women lack the physical energy to assert themselves. It is sad that

the subordination of women has been part of each historical context and played a part in sexual harassment also. The situation of power and the many diversions thereof which subordinate and exploit women constitute the female identity.

Nosicelo:

As I sit with Nosicelo, she smiles and looks down and asks: *Are we going to be helped to abolish our situation as victims? We need someone who will help us (as victims). We are tired of being degraded.* About the years of employment she says: *I have been here for a short time but still I do not want to be a sex slave.* She says even though she has been at WSU for a short time she understands the on-goings. *It has been a long time now sikulenyovadamn*, meaning, victims have been exposed to this mess for a long time. She says she cannot keep on reporting the behaviour and puts it like this: *It is useless to argue about this behavior which does not cease regardless of having it reported to senior men and women at WSU. The whole issue makes my needs little understood and is discounted by those males. I am a woman. I love myself but this thing just lets you down.* When I asked her to describe the power of sexual harassment, she asserts: *They use their power in the pursuit of dominating us. Banemali kaloku*, meaning they have money so they want us to be looted. *Other women don't think properly. How can I be in love with someone that I know has his family? That person wants to use you to be his sex slave. It is painful because no one supports us.* Asked whether she has ever reported the behaviour, she comments: *Yes, we have reported. We cannot report one thing over and over again. I am sexually harassed by more than one perpetrator. Initially, I went out with him because of economic reasons. I stopped all that nonsense when I thought and realized that myself and my status of being a woman counts a lot.* This is how Nosicelo feels about sexual harassment: *It is demeaning. I don't want it. That is what I was taught, ukuzithanda*, meaning to love myself. *I am not happy that I acquiesced to his and other sexual advances. I am hopeful that as you are here with your questions, something will be done.* I asked if she is able to strategize. She responds: *Yes, you have to. If you cannot cope with this behaviour, you can go mad. It is something that you don't need to worry about more especially because you can see that no one cares.* About reporting she laughs and says: *Reporting? To whom? I don't like to lose my job. No, thank you. This man is high up there in the hierarchy and you know what? He believes that as an African man, he has to treat women*

anyhow and nothing can stop him. I am serious, Jesus. You can lose your job here. These men are all friends up there with the management. The management knows. It is the management that aggravates the situation because it does not attend to our cases. You will think I am joking. I am not. Asked if there was any gender-related workshops she had ever attended or a policy at WSU, she points out: We do not even have gender-related workshops or anything that has to develop us as women. Because of that, I better have some strategy. Otherwise I will lose my mind. They are powerful. You can really be dismissed. It is terrible. I keep my head high but still he keeps on coming. You cannot prevent this behavior because no one cares. Gender awareness? We do not have a thing of that sort. I have never heard that we have a sexual harassment policy. No, I do not think so. I would have known about it. Sometimes you feel like being absent. I have never been absent from work. I asked Nusicelo if she had a choice, which environment she would prefer to be in, at home or at WSU. She responds: I wish I could be at home but I cannot. I cannot stay with my brother at home. He is unemployed and he consumes liquor. At least here I meet with others like myself and we discuss our pain. We sit together and we laugh. What these men are doing is against the law. No one cares. Asked if she had ever attended any gender awareness workshop, she says: We do not have anything that supports us, not even workshops. So there are no developments. That is why these men are like this. They know they will do this. I do not think there will be a difference even if there is a policy. These men are really powerful. They do not have any right to treat us like this. I asked Nusicelo how all this affected her. She responds: Have you ever felt like you are a slave? Ja, meaning, yes, that is the feeling. You feel nauseas, feel like pushing him away. Sometimes he pats you as a way of drawing your attention. It is worse when he forces himself on you. All this happens during working hours. A man just violates your human rights. I know all what they do are not right. They are just violent and silly. It is so demeaning. Nusicelo would like WSU to act and do something. She points out: I wish the management could respect us, listen to our cries and for goodness sake, have a sexual harassment policy. What kind of a workplace is this without a policy, tell me? They take chances because they know that we are desperate for work and because there is no employment in the Eastern Cape.

Analysis of Nusicelo's interview

WSU exposes its women workers to practices that are aggressive and that treat women inhumanely. The university does not help women to escape innuendos in all the directions so that men direct attacks of their power force their gender to explode in the direction of sexual harassment behaviours. Gender conflicts are perpetuated by the university and it is unfortunate only women who find the workplace degrades their dignity and violating their rights.

Kant (1995: 3) maintains that people should treat one another with humanity as an end and never as a means only. This means that philosophically, sexual harassment is morally blameworthy. Wirth (1970: 132) regards sexual harassment as a violation of human rights and an affront to the dignity of a person. Perpetrators portray their heroic male figure which demonstrates their heroic violence born from patriarchal manhood.

Thumeka:

Before I could pose any questions to Thumeka, she says: *I look at my situation at home. My mother was sexually assaulted by my step-father. She tolerated this abuse because she was not employed.* I asked her when she was employed by WSU. She responds: *Just some many years ago and I am still here. It is not easy to resign from your post these days more especially at my age. I have to apply the experience that I have at WSU only. Other employees will never accept me coming with my old stuff to a new environment. I am not even prepared to leave for that matter. Get me clear: I do not imply that the situation is not bad. I do not welcome sexual harassment at all.* I asked her to describe the power of sexual harassment. She says: *These are men and we are women. They use their culture and experience on us. Who told them we are rags? I used to say when I am employed and if I feel offensive about the place, I will leave. Believe you me, it has not been easy. Men here do what they like which makes the cases to be unending and intense. They are the ones who aggravate the behaviour. These offensive actions do sometimes divert my logic thinking. The perpetrators have not stopped to be after me, but I don't think of leaving my job.* When asked what motivates the behavior, she maintains: *The reason why they are still sexually harassing me is because they know they will never be questioned. I wish there could be a sexual harassment policy. These men are powerful. They*

should be using their power somehow, though. I hope maybe that policy could curb behaviours somehow. She tells me how she strategizes her work and asserts: *The strategy is to keep quiet. These men are men. It is only men who can do these things to us.* Thumeka mutters: *'Mhh'!! I don't know whether it will be possible for the perpetrators to stop these behaviours. Ever since I was employed, these behaviours have been going on. What do you think, maa'm.? There is not a chance. These men are used to doing things their own way. One of these men entered the office, closed the door and showed me his penis. Can you believe it? You are ashamed. Don't be. These things happen. They do not care. That is how they are.* I asked her to compare her home environment and WSU. She replies: *It is ok at home. I do not get abused by anyone. Whu! It could be worse if even at home the situation was like this.* I wanted to know if Thumeka has ever been exposed to gender awareness workshops at WSU and if there were any gender policies that included a sexual harassment policy. She responds: *There has never been any gender awareness workshop. It does not make sense. Gender workshop and sexual harassment together? I bet you. Though I do not know when we shall have that policy, the behaviours are not going to stop. This is WSU, a proper UNITRA ago. It is embarrassing more especially if you feel strong against it. Maybe they think we have to play our roles. I mean sex roles. What is that? They dominate us a lot. It sucks. Sometimes I wish to leave, but I cannot.* Regarding the question of reporting the behavior, she says: *Reporting and not reporting does not make a difference. It is better to do your work and somehow get the strategy of doing things. Me? I cannot ignore the verbal abuse. The treatment we get as women is unfavourable. What can we do?* She wants WSU to help victims and curb the behavior. Her wish is: *There is one thing that I wish could happen. The management should address this because if we report to our seniors, they too say uyandifuna nam, meaning do you also want me? They are not professional. These men go on and on. Ungathi bazalwa umfazi oyedwa, meaning it is as if they are from one mother. Men seem to have a true patriarchal fashion to re-establish their power on us.* She says she is affected by the behavior in the following way: *I am a woman and they treat me as if I don't have a mind of my own. I must always include their feelings in whatever I do. This is stressful. I have fear not because I am afraid of him as a man. I just hate his behavior then I have headaches. The situation is so depressing because these are professional people. WSU is an unsafe environment.*

Analysis of Thumeka's interview

Sexual harassment is common at WSU as it has affected a significant number of women workers. WSU has a problem with sexual harassment. It seems to have difficulty in the drawing up of the sexual harassment policy. Thumeka has been resisting supervisor's sexual demands but the university still barely notices the dangers that the effects of sexual harassment have on the victims. Perpetrators continue with their behavior even if the victim has actually no sexual interest. Gender variations cause this ongoing behavior and the university leaves the cases hanging without attending to victims' grievances. Thumeka is convinced that there is nothing she can do to defend herself because the university will ridicule her for reporting the problem. WSU therefore protects men who indulge in inappropriate behaviours. Women at WSU are therefore ruled by absolute might and sheer power in the realm of gender relations so that they consider the behavior as "normal." Gender therefore plays a role in sexual harassment in which might is right.

Gillow, et al., (2007: 127) assert that there are cases where women employees are treated less favourably based on the fact that they are women and have to be treated likewise and their claims are upheld. Aggarwal (1987) says because women fear losing their jobs, many women have endured sexual harassment at work and they consider it to be a "normal occupational hazard."

Lulu:

This is how Lulu relates the story of her employment. She says: *My years of employment at WSU brought poor social relations between me and men. Soloku indoda ikulandela ikudonsa, meaning a man keeps on following you and accosting you around the corners. Kutheni, meaning, why? Has the issue ever been addressed? She says: I am angry at the facts that the behaviour of sexual harassment at WSU has never been addressed despite other reported sexual harassment cases and mine. I am not like other women who enjoy the behaviours. They get it "all good". Truly speaking, this is awful. I feel like an ant, a very tiny creature. Oh, I feel inferior because all this lowers my identity as a woman. Mabahambe maa'n, meaning the perpetrators must leave. I*

am unable to allow any men to play with my bums and it is even worse when the perpetrator touches my private parts. This is how she describes the power of sexual harassment: Oh! He is very silly. I don't get how he gets the courage of grabbing 'it.' Men think of themselves as superior and have that power to behave the way they do. Ag, indoda iyafana nenye, meaning, a man is like any other man. The whole behaviour is a scenario. It is hard to talk about sexual harassment here not unless you complain to someone who is also a victim. It is as if we are not in a higher institution. We support one another as victims. Others who have never been victims or rather who appreciate the behaviour plainly tell us, kutheni ungavumi wena, meaning, why don't you acquiesce to his sexual advances? I wonder when women's oppression will cease. I am angered by those women who support the behaviour and do not see reason why they are supportive of this oppressive behaviour. You are grabbed and you have no one to turn to. They know nothing about gender oppression or they do not want to know in the pursuit of supporting their friends. Sometimes you feel like crying. One time I kept a pin in my hand as I knew that each morning he grabs my hand. I pushed it right into his palm. Guess what? He never stopped. These men are silly and they tell you plainly that this is Africa and an African man is allowed to do whatever to a woman and a woman in turn has to abide. Her feelings about the behavior are: There is a division here that reveals that there is a division of men and women. We are expected to be men's sexual objects because the management does not attend to our complaints. I think it is because these men are friends to one another and they discuss these issues that we have to abide. Comparing her home environment to WSU, she says: The environment in this university is extremely polluted. The behavior of sexual harassment is known by the management, but nothing is done because some of the management personnel are perpetrators. This is Lulu's strategy regarding the behavior: There is no strategy except to keep quiet. Because at any rate, you are used to this, it has aggravated and you know that no one will ever attend to your case if you report. Uyayazi I oppression, meaning, do you know oppression? Lulu explains oppression: The sense of sexual harassment is an unrecognized behaviour and exposing WSU as having some masculine domination. She maintains that victims are not protected at WSU. She also raises her concerns about the sexual harassment policy and how she is affected by the behavior and reporting of her perpetrator. She responds: We are not protected by it. No policy, no nothing. How can you report if you know that they will not refer you to any document that talks about sexual harassment. That is the main reason why they do anyhow here.

No policy, no case. Maybe if there was a gender studies department we would be cared for. How can we be developed without any gender issues? I have never attended any gender studies workshop, not here. Oh! it is an awful experience. He thinks I am his sex object. It is humiliating and sometimes I have insomnia. I feel so powerless more especially because it is hard to report this. It is just embarrassing and demeaning to have to face sexual harassment.

Analysis of Lulu's interview

WSU gives a wider platform to men to assert their power through sexual harassment. The university is responsible for tacitly condoning these behaviours that are demeaning to women employees. What this encouragement means is that WSU is open to these kinds of behaviours for the simple reason that the university still does not have a sexual harassment policy. The starting point to deal with the behaviours is to have the policy which in place so that it can be applied in practice. Whilst the supervisor withholds tangible job benefits for an employee who rejects the supervisor's sexual coercion, the university does not intervene in cases regarding un-welcome actions of perpetrators. In short, WSU does not prevent or correct sexual harassment. WSU lacks senior people who could be professional enough to deal with the behaviour. If the management does not deal with these matters, self-assured professional women will be reluctant to deal with the issue of sexual harassment. Again, WSU seems not seem to have seniors who are designated as the persons to monitor or investigate complaints of sexual harassment. WSU is immersed in gender relations that are unfavourable to women and which are oppressive; as a higher-learning institution WSU struggles with gender-rights pertaining to sexual harassment. Gender socialization at WSU is such that men still see themselves as having to assert their masculinity even in the education sector.

Tong (1989: 71) points out that women's oppression is the most widespread behaviour. It is the deepest in that it is the hardest form of oppression to eradicate and cannot be removed by social changes such as the abolition of a class society. Bennet, (2009: 9) notes that in order to understand the broad context of a discussion on sexual harassment within higher education, it is useful to

sketch the profile of current challenges to higher education in the country and to identify key questions concerning gender dynamics, race and the challenges of class.

Somi:

Though Somi was not asked to describe the situation at WSU is, she opens the interview as follows: *I shall describe sexual harassment having to do with stressful conditions after having been employed for some few years. It is all stress. The behaviour denigrates my womanhood. The element of coercion and oppression has always been seen. I should be having some kind of relief if something is done.* When asked if she reports the behavior, she says: *I have reported this behaviour.* This is what she says about men being powerful: *They are powerful but still I do not want it.* She says she strategizes her work like this: *Sometimes I ignore him completely as a strategy. You know what, ignoring him is the best I could do because what he tells me is that he is a man and an African man, so his culture allows him to behave on whatever way that he likes. That is the reason why the behaviour is repeated and is intense. I am unable to report this man because he holds the high positions in the university and I the society as well. I see the role of 'being a man' taking precedence of how the environment should be at WSU. He treats me like a mat, squeezes me behind his office door. His behaviour is disempowering. When he walks along those passages, you can be sure he is committed to being a senior personnel who strives to set good examples to his subordinates. Go behind the office doors when he is least expecting you, you will find him with a student. What else? Students are also sexually harassed. They are also women.* This is how she feels about the behavior: *Besides the behaviour being unprofessional, I feel powerless and abused.* I wanted to find out if WSU has any gender-related workshops or policies that have to do with sexual harassment. She says: *Ever since my employment by WSU, there have never been any workshops on gender-related issues. We have never been addressed on gender awareness nor there have been any talks, yet the behaviour is very rough. That is why we are ignored by the seniors. Male dominance and sexism prevail at WSU and it is unwanted. How can any other man treat you as if you belong to him. I would understand if he is my husband. No, I do not mean husbands have a right to make us sex slaves. I am saying at least your husband will not treat you like a mat. He will respect your dignity. I do not see us having a policy anytime soon. It has been in pipeline for years. We are unfortunately not developed at all. There used to be*

a gender studies department. It never lasted It is no more there. They do anyhow because they know that we are desperate and that there is no employment here. This is what Somi says about how sexual harassment affects her: Harassment is severely disturbing. It is dominating us severely. Ingabe anjani lamadoda ekhaya, meaning, I wonder how these men behave at their homes. This behavior is full of patriarchy. Men want to rule even our bodies, can you believe that? Somi feels the institution could do something to curb the situation. She says: Why doesn't it have sexual harassment policy? I think it could be helpful as well as something to do with gender studies. We need to be together as women. Stand firm on the ground that the behaviour is not wanted. Who would go for this? It makes you feel very small. There need to be a public awareness that WSU is undergoing this behavior. We really do not want it. Sexual harassment makes me feel uncomfortable and undermine my position as a woman who seeks to deal with her fellow employees with professional dignity. They reveal me as a status-conscious woman. On the other hand, I do not want to tolerate sexual harassment but under the circumstances (that the behaviours are also performed by seniors) I find myself tolerating my perpetrator's dominance.

Analysis of Somi's interview

WSU ignores the fact that perpetrators see no wrong in flaunting their perceived power and superiority; they prey on women and give themselves carte blanche to sexually harass victims. The WSU authorities, in turn, ignore the enormous amount of anecdotal evidence that some men on the staff are so anchored in gendered understandings of power and rightful authority that they habitually engage in sexual harassment. Unfortunately the voices of reason are unlikely to be heard because they will be drowned out by the men who speak for the university community. The idea of gendered sensibility has important practical consequences for women, who now resort to quietness because WSU does not promote space for their voices when they say, "Enough is enough! There is no mediation in these matters either; no denouncement of abuse in order to bring about balanced gender relationships. Will victims have to be submissive because of the university's failure to account of this offensive behavior? I want to believe that WSU will listen to accounts of this offensive behavior so that it does not self-destruct as an institution. It is, however, gratifying that the media has highlighted cases of sexual harassment. The time has certainly come for the dignity of both men and women to be upheld.

Bennett, et al.,(2009: 85) argue that a focus on sexual harassment and sexual violence allows certain tensions of gendered dynamics to be brought to the surface, possibly named as 'abusive' and identified as core zones for interventions, both for the sake of those likely to become abused and for the sake of higher education itself. Walby (1990: 103) points out that across the nation sexual harassment has become a major issue in higher education as media coverage and public awareness have increased dramatically (Wilson Kraus, 1993; et al.). Gillow, et al., (2003: 6) point out that the definition of sexual harassment encompasses 'unwanted verbal, non-verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature.'

Bulie:

This is what Bulie says about the power of asexual harassment: *I regard sexual harassment behaviours as interfering with my freedom. I regard the behaviour as something that makes us look inferior.* Bulie stands up and demonstrates how the act of sexual harassment goes and says: *I thought he had dropped his pen by mistake. I went behind his chair to get it as he could 'not see.'* (*It had landed under his chair*). *As I pushed my head underneath his table, he grabbed me. Initially, I thought he was helping me or protecting my head from the bang. When I moved, he forced his tongue down my throat. I panicked with disorientation. It was like I was not at work. I panicked because I was least expecting such actions. He told me 'You don't run away from your seniors. I knew you would need my assistance somehow. Now, tell me, do you love me? Can we go out sometime? You will get whatever you want.'* Bulie is not shy when she narrates this story. *I am now conditioned to all these behaviour because even if I can think of reporting him, I know I will not win. He holds a high position and is a true African man who believes that he can treat a woman anyhow. As long as it suits him it is fine. These are the kinds of situations that we are faced with at Unitra and they aggravate each year even with the students.* I asked her how she has been able to handle the situation. She says: *There is nothing I can do, even though I feel undermined. I have nowhere to go.* Regarding choosing between the two environments; WSU and her home environment, Bulie says: *I prefer to be at WSU because my family is all at Mthatha. My mother is old. I am the only one responsible for my mother. It would be better if*

sexual harassment could be addressed. Are there any gender-related issues that are discussed, maybe at workshops? She replies: Ever since my employment, I have never heard of gender-related issues being addressed. There have never been workshops on gender issues as well. No, we do not have any policy. How can we develop without any resources to support us? We absolutely cannot. Bulie says she adopts a certain strategy that helps her to be able to focus at work. She says: The best is to work and pretend as if you are fine. Hey, no one cares about the behavior, not even senior women. WSU denigrates and disadvantages us on account of their sex. There is an element of coercion and abuse by the perpetrator. I am conditioned into inferiority complex. I blame myself for no good reason. These men are the culprits and not us victims. How has all this behavior affected you? She replies: I feel oppressed. My dignity is all taken away. I have never been used to this. I am so inferior because all the time you feel these men are dominating because of the power that they hold. What I have discovered is that they have a lot of violence that makes me a real subordinate and they know that they get away with this because I am desperate for work.

Analysis of Bulie's interview

WSU jeopardizes a female-gendered working life. This implies that it is the duty of WSU to see to it that all its employees' needs and interests are considered. Failure of WSU to see that such needs are vital for all employees has meant victims see themselves as non-essential contributors to the university. These are the effects of sexual harassment behaviours which the university fails to curb in order for both genders to be treated with respect and dignity. Gender enters the workplace not only through sex segregation but through the process of gender-typing which results from socialization processes through which the meaning is collectively generated and reinforced by some in sexual harassment behaviours by WSU. The university then seems to be privileging men and their masculine activities. I notice that Bulie blamed herself.

Aggraval & Gupta (2000: 118) argue that any sexual-oriented practice endangers an individual's continued employment, negatively affecting his/her performances, or undermines his/her sense

of dignity. Bell & Klein (1996: 1) say that at the core, radical feminists are in agreement that under patriarchy, women cannot be fully self-determining human beings and feminists have a commitment to transforming society so that women may enjoy their full personhood. Unger and Crawford (1996: 152) point out that blaming the victim is one particularly destructive bias. Victim's blame may be one form of the fundamental attribution error. Victims are seen as responsible for their misfortunes by people who do not wish to believe that the same random calamity could happen to them. Violence in education is virtually monopolized by men both as victims and perpetrators (Anderson, 2009). Wolpe, Quinlan and Martinez (1997) identify gender violence as a major obstacle to the achievement of gender equality in South African education. Pernicious forms of gender violence include physical, verbal, and sexual assault and everyday forms of harassment which are mostly unreported.

Sonke:

Wafika kakuhle ndisacaphukile, meaning, you have come at the right time whilst I am still angry. About the length of her employment, Sonke says: *I have been employed for a long time. Sexual harassment is the order at WSU. I have watched and witnessed my own body being sexually harassed and those of other women. Kuyasetshenzwa behind these doors and walls*, meaning there is a lot of work that is performed behind these walls. *It is not funny. She points at the walls and says the walls can say a lot.* She describes power as the following: *What I see is the seriousness of the behaviour. It is serious. Perpetrators sometimes do not reason that we could be all women but we think differently and act differently. I told him he will never have me in bed. He can touch me and have lewd remarks that leave a stamp on me but having me in his bed will be the last thing. I mean the stamp of being a victim. I even suspect he is a rapist. He likes pushing and pulling with violence. I am afraid of him. It is difficult to have this status, that of being a victim. I never chose to be one. I ended up being one because he is my senior. We sit together for work purposes and he gets a chance to touch my private parts. Yonke indawo, not just in the office*, meaning, perpetrators are everywhere at the WSU. *The reason why they are able to get away with the behaviour is because most of them are friends to one another and they know that no one will ever get to report them because they are in high positions and they sit in serious*

university's meetings. I wonder what they say there - that is the reason why this university does not grow. They depend too much on their culture that they are men and are supposed to harass women. The behaviour is so intense in a way that it gets aggravated and the cases are repeated, I tell you very often. They do this deliberately because they know we are here to stay since the Eastern Cape has no employment. It is difficult to concentrate fully on our job responsibilities because the behaviour is emotionally stressing.. We are stressed and this results in feelings of humiliation, anxiety, fear, anger, anguish, powerlessness and depression. The situation is worse when you have hypertension. These symptoms in turn increase absenteeism and this means you are unable to be productive.

Sonke would like to see gender issues being addressed at WSU and a sexual harassment policy in place. She puts it like this: *It is not good that WSU does not support gender issues. I do not know why the behaviour is ignored because it is known.* I wanted to know if she reported the issue. She maintains: *I did report this to a senior woman and to other senior men. Nothing was done.* I spoke of gender awareness workshops and asked if she had attended them. She says: *No, we have never attended any workshops on gender awareness. I do not see us developing in any way. Our voices should be heard.* After having spoken about this, I wanted to know the environment she prefers to be in home or at work. She claims: *I prefer to be at home. I cannot even start to think I can compare my home environment with WSU. Sexual harassment is an everyday life at WSU and the structures of power, authority and social inequality takes place at WSU. As victims we are made to create an environment with sexual gratification of our perpetrators. This means the attribution of powerlessness is open to question at WSU.* She is affected by the behavior in the following ways: *This is all oppressing. I am oppressed. I am made a sex slave, I do not want it, it is demeaning, it is something without a name. It is so painful.*

I spend most of my time at work and I should have good and professional relationships with everybody. They lower our dignities. There is absolutely no respect. If you say no, uyababhebezela, meaning, if you say no, it is as if you are perpetuating their behavior. Asked what she would like the management to do about all this behavior, she asserts: *I would like to see actions taking place. Let us be taught about these things. I mean to know more on*

gender issues, like to have a department for gender studies and to have a sexual harassment policy on top of all this.

Analysis of Sonke's interview

Gendered sensibilities, practices and privileges directly affect some women at WSU. Some participants identified gender violence as a major obstacle to being respected not just as women, but as employees of WSU. The perpetrators reduce the status of women to that of gendered property, making it difficult for targeted women to enjoy the workplace environment. There is furtiveness and an uncomfortable atmosphere in which the subordination of women thrives as they are demeaned by the offensive behaviour. Patriarchy manifests at WSU depends on differentiation of genders that is perpetuated by certain management personnel at WSU. It is them who have the powers to allay fears which women harbour as they are faced with unsavoury behaviour. The onus is on the WSU management to resolve behavioural matters that have to do with sexual harassment, to eradicate the interrelationship between power and patriarchy; women will feel valued once the odious atmosphere has been restored to one befitting an institution staffed by professionals.

The radical feminist philosopher Marilyn Frye writes: *those of our activities and attitudes which play into women's oppression are themselves strategies we are forced onto by the circumstance of oppression we live with.*

Bakhona:

Regarding her employment, Bakhona says: *I will map out evenly that my experiences of sexual harassment are intensified because I have long been with WSU and problems of sexual harassment have never been addressed yet they have always been there. Though I have never been sexually harassed by my boss, (as most of my friends have) I have been subjected to a good deal of sexual harassment from my male co-worker. Despite these unwanted behaviours, I have*

to stay in my job. I have nowhere to go to. My rights should be respected. Perpetrators violate my rights just because I am a woman. She says she has some strategy that allows her to be able to work. She says she reported the behavior to some friends. She points out: At the end I have to be productive. What do I do about all this then? I just tell myself no matter what, I am not going to make him part of me. I just neglect his behavior. It is worse because I had reported. But if people are not prepared to help, you should act as if things are normal yet you know it is not normal. You know sometimes it is even difficult to concentrate fully on our job responsibilities because emotionally you are dented. It is so stressing and this results in feelings of powerlessness and depression. Sometimes you can't even sleep because of headaches. This means you are unable to go to work the following day and his work is also affected if the day goes by without any production. This is how she compares her home environment to WSU: My home environment is not abusive. This is what she says motivates sexual harassment: I see lack of respect as a motivation to sexual harassment behaviours but more so, the management ignores issues of sexual harassment because men believe that the culture of men is only to harass us. They forget their duties that they have to protect us as women. I do not know why they have to oppress us in this intense manner. I would appreciate if all as women could unite and have a gender studies department that would look at women's issues, be allowed to have an input in whatever decisions that are to take place. That is the problem at WSU. Asked if she has ever been exposed to gender-related workshops and if there are any gender policies, she points out: There has never been any gender-related workshops at WSU. No, we do not have any resources of that sort. I would like to see these matters being attended to. Without any policy, what do you think? The behavior will never stop here. It is like it is a right thing for men to act this way. The value of women labour is obscured for the worst and that WSU management makes female oppression invisible by protecting the perpetrators. Feminist issues matter minimally at WSU. They just do not care at all. She says she is affected by the behavior in the following ways: It is a disturbing behavior. I end up with so many ailments like headaches. I am fearful because I am powerless and cannot leave for any other employment because I will not be employed anywhere. It is oppressing as it deals immorally with my rights It is better to be absent. Sometimes I feel like there could be a strike so that I am away from him. You know what? Do you think one could be productive? Before I could answer, she says: It is very much impossible. Have you heard about

others? She started giving me names of other victims whom I was able to trace successfully. They were part of my unit of analysis.

Analysis of Bakhona's interview

Women submission to sexual harassment at WSU is seen to be a victory for men. Even though women suffer terrible abuse, WSU does not protect them. Women are not freed from traditional stereotypes that "men will always be men" and that women have to be submissive. This is one of the characteristic that influences sexual harassment at WSU. Unless WSU addresses the behaviours, women will always suffer as victims of male sexual aggression and men labeled as sexual predators. WSU does not give women a platform to express displeasure about the behaviour of sexual harassment because some men continue with this behavior. As Bakhona contends at WSU, men are virtually given a right to continue with their behaviours as if it is acceptable. WSU ignores subordinates' requests to stop offensive, intimidating, or hostile and un-welcome sexual behaviours. Perpetrators know that what they are doing is unlawful but the management does not have any existing policies and procedures on how to deal with the behaviour. There is no levelling of the gender balance and power at WSU and the non- leveling has an influence on matters that have to do with sexual harassment that are oppressive to women.

le Roux, et al., (2005: 36) analyzed the 2005 Code's definition of sexual harassment. They deem it unwelcome conduct of a sexual nature that violates rights of an employee and which constitutes a barrier to equality in the work place, taking into account all the gender issues that oppress women.

S'thembele:

S'thembele describes sexual harassment as well as the power of sexual harassment: *Sexual harassment is oppressive. I do not need to be sexually harassed. I was born free and should be free. I am not a twin. If I was a twin maybe I would trace this awful behavior along those lines---*

-- that there should be someone who brushes his body against mine as it is the case with unborn twins still in the uterus. The power of sexual harassment is so oppressive. For how long have you been employed? I have been employed for a couple of years but the struggle continues my dear. Can you imagine that almost every woman here is sexually harassed? Men here like to talk. They talk, they touch, and do. It depends on the kind of a woman you are. I mean if you allow to be a sex slave, you become one. It is all up to your ego. This is how she is affected by the behaviour: I am deprived of my womanhood. She uses the following strategy to be able to work: I struggle to stay cool. I try to raise my head high up despite the behaviour being offensive and oppressive. I just feel like I am nothing at all. S'thembele talks about the power of sexual harassment: They are powerful. You know, they act like African men who like to see that they are men and they make sure that they are abusive. The conditions are so painful because these men are our seniors and are high up in the hierarchy in employment. That is the reason why the behaviour is repeated now and again. I do not know how other women are able to acquiesce to sexual harassment advances because there is aggravation. It is not that these men love us. No, they want us in bed. Have you ever allowed him to be part of your life? She says: What is that? I operate at a different level of not taking any nonsense. She has an appeal to make to management: I appeal to the management to look closely to issues of sexual harassment. I am reminded of a sexual harassment case. It had been pushed under the rug. Asked if there are any gender related workshops and if she had ever reported the issue, she says: This makes me wonder if WSU will ever be sensitive to gender-related issues. This is a university with so many problems. You would think people are professional. Not here. It is not like that. Gender issues are not considered being great values for WSU. You cannot report any sexual harassment incidence. Otherwise you become a laughing stock. There are days when you cannot even concentrate fully on our job responsibilities because this men also wants attention and he disturbs you enormously. He is so disturbing and you can see that his power is controlling you. This behaviour is certainly depressing. You know that sometimes I cannot even sleep trying to find ways of dealing with this behaviour and how I can act as if I am not aware. Thinking about this is a burden on its own and there is no way you can think right. I suffer from headaches and it is difficult to wake up in the morning. This means you are unable to go to work the following day and the day gets wasted. Nyani, bayahleka, meaning, it is the truth that they just laugh and joke about the behaviour. She says she is affected by the behaviour in the following ways: You are

sure to be affected by this and you end up not being productive. This is normal for any negatively-affected person to be affected by this subordinating behaviour. Yes, it is their power as men. It is there. It is worse with our men. Xhosas are the worst. They are truly abusive. Ubona nje ndinguMxhosa, ndiyabazi Jesu meaning, I am also a Xhosa. I know them, Jesus. *I do not see perpetrators changing into a new leaf. Sobe batshnitshe aba,* meaning, perpetrators will never change their behaviour. She talks about her strategy again: *I have a strategy. Just ignore and do your work. That is all. Otherwise uzawuphambana,* meaning, you will go mad. *They know that we only depend on this employment for a living because of the poverty of the Eastern Cape.*

Analysis of S'thembele's interview

Sthembele's predicts that WSU will remain the same in future as no one attends to or cares about sexual harassment behaviours. Sexual relations are not prohibited at WSU. Stereotyping about gender seems to be at its worst at WSU even though women's qualifications are today equal to men's. Gender is used as a tool in the prevention of women's liberty. The process of gender identity is conscious only in matters which have to do with sexual harassment of women at WSU. The behaviour is unfortunately not controlled, a reason amongst many that influences sexual harassment in the university.

Piety (1992: 28) asserts that sexual harassment is a serious problem at universities globally. Piety (1992) says that she was sexually harassed in front of other professors in the department. She then produced a copy of the university's regulations concerning sexual harassment. She was surprised to discover that there were no prohibitions on sexual harassment between professors and students. With regards to the above Sthembele points out that sexual harassment victims at WSU are made to be available for perpetrators because of sexual relations which are not actually prohibited.

Vuyiswa:

This is what Vuyiswa says about sexual harassment and her length of stay at WSU: *It does not mean that my qualifications promote more women to be sexually harassed. Having been here for many years it means being an employee at WSU means I am adding on more educated women to be sexually harassed. I do not mean the uneducated ones have to be sexually harassed. To me, this means more women need to be liberated. Men here are mean on women. We are all learned. How do I promote other women to get posts here knowing very well that WSU has sexual harassment perpetrators?* This is what she says about the power of sexual harassment. *The behaviour is truly aggressive. They are very oppressive. The wrongs have been going on. We wonder (with other victims) what could be done to bring the betterment statue at WSU. Things are done anyhow here though my friend told me it is now a bit better. I said to my friend how could she say a 'bit better.'* She explains, 'a bit better' because she would leave the office with her perpetrator and goes to places, come back in the afternoon and go off home. *I do not see anything better because I completely do not allow any colleague or any man to make me his door mat. Vuyiswa has the following strategy: I always place an element of caution on my face. What else can I do because he is my senior and he always says to me he is an African man and women are like his babies who have to abide to his sexual advances. Guess what, he does not stop, no matter how unwelcoming you say about his behavior. He just tells me it is his culture and not him. I might not have slept with him but punching and the hollering are there, almost daily. Yho! ungenzani ngendoda, meaning, Wow! What can you do with a man? WSU does not protect victims. Okay I understand my perpetrator has to do this and that. I do not understand how WSU does not protect us. These are the issues that need to be discussed; the women issues because as women all this behaviour discriminates against us. Well, I feel discriminated against. She says perpetrators are powerful. This is how she puts it: Men seem to empower us with intensity. It is unfortunate that the management has more men. This is a serious issue here. Regarding gender issues or workshops or even a sexual harassment policy, she points out: There are no workshops on gender issues nor have I ever heard of a sexual harassment policy. There are not even booklets that circulate to warn or teach that sexual harassment is an issue here. Andazi, meaning, I do not know. This is how she feels about the behavior and what she would appreciate from management in order to protect victims: I feel so much emotional having to deal with all this. It is stressful to know that there will be someone waiting to abuse you at work. I would appreciate if the management could be serious about the issues. The years have been too long*

and we are still in this. We have not heard of a sexual harassment policy for years. It is not it, period. Maybe they are not drawing the policy because they know that we won't leave for any other employment because we are desperate.

Analysis of Vuyiswa's interview

Perpetrators channel their power towards oppressing women. Women's subjugation is influenced by the fact that the status quo at WSU allows women to occupy inferior positions which lower their dignity in the workplace. Even though women find it difficult to be employees at WSU, they decide to endure the situation which the university prefers to ignore. As certain men's negative behaviours increase, so do women's oppression. The behaviour continues to have an impact on victims whose gender identities make them vulnerable in the workplace. Men exert power despite the fact that some are in the same profession. WSU promotes practices that put emphasis on the masculine mystique with its focus on toughness, dominance and the repression of compassion for the victims. This characteristic of socialization has a negative impact on attitudes to women. The manner in which sexual identification interacts with power at WSU results in the humiliation of women. Some men view their gender as (associated with power) and use it unprofessionally: the power to be violent and thus abuse women. The power of socialization plays a great part in sexual harassment.

From mid 2005 to 2006, Bennett, et al., (2007), points out that the African Gender Institute (AGI) carried out a project which allowed research teams into three Southern African universities to explore the effectiveness of official campus politics on sexual harassment in Southern African institutions of higher education. The project showed that within higher education, sexual harassment assumptions continued to have an impact on women. The construction of Vuyiswa points to an important task that WSU management should undertake: It is their duty to liberate victims. The fact that victims are conditioned to this behavior does not make it less oppressive.

Bubele:

Bubele describes herself and says she does not want to be an object. She points out that this is all madness: *I am worthy. I refuse to be an object of any perpetrator.* She compares her home environment to WSU and says: *I have an abusive husband who even beats me up. I refuse to have such social relations even at work. My perpetrator was once cornered by my friends whom I had confided in. He was merely defensive and said it is because I have always wanted to sleep with him and I want to satisfy my sexual needs. It is the duty of a man to satisfy women if they are in need. I could not believe my ears. It is fatiguing that I have to occupy my perpetrator's attention. He is a liar and I don't know what to do.* She says she uses some strategy so that she is able to work: *I have to cut down fatigue by pretending he does not exist. That is the only strategy that I have.* She maintains she knows the motives for sexual harassment and continues to say: *These men still think they have to do according to culture where men do as they wish on women. They just grab. Yes, I think this has to do with culture. Not just culture alone. These men have power.* She says the behavior affects her in the following ways: *Sexual harassment loosens my concentration and it leaves me too empty for real concentration that pertains to my work. I must keep things going, patch and cover up and treat myself behind a barrier of elaborate calm. The violence that he contains ravages me. Despite this violence and him as my senior, I still know I am intellectually equal to him. He brags to me and says he can punish me because he holds a high a high position at WSU and that I should respect him as he is a man as I know that all African man follow their culture of being men.* Regarding gender issues at WSU as well as the sexual harassment policy and how she is affected, she says: *There is no gender studies department. Maybe one could get help and these violent issues of sexual harassment could be attended to and be abolished. I have never heard of sexual harassment policy. If there was a policy, I don't think we should be having such aggravated issues which are so intense. Maybe these behaviours are motivated by the fact that WSU has no existing sexual harassment policy and that we are desperate and cannot leave for other employment because of the poverty of our region. Maybe with the presence of gender issues women could be respected. There are no developments for us, women, otherwise we would be raising these issues. There is a lot of painful issues that are going on. All this leaves with me stress, headaches. I cannot manage with the headaches. I am anxious. I feel so much intimidated. I just feel like I can be away to a place that I have not heard about.*

Analysis of Bubele's interview

WSU's gender roles encourage victims to be sexual slaves of men. The notion of the term perpetrators, carries with it expectations that they have to overpower women. Men fight the battle of women freedom even though some of them are in similar employment positions. The view that females and males are essentially different in nature has had an impact on sexual harassment. Gender differences and social behaviours have been part of the reasons that have been seen as being influential in sexual harassment behaviours. WSU produces gender-specific behaviours that have to do with power and patriarchy which in turn give rise to sexual harassment.

Bennett (2002), stresses that there should be a need to recognize that gender operates at the level of culture, sexuality and epistemology as these are the zones in which access to 'being a human being' is negotiated through long engagements with construction of 'manhood' and 'womanhood.' Work at WSU is predominantly divorced from care because of gender-related differences. Bubele bears the load of her work as an employee and the load of facing sexual harassment that devour, smother and hurt her.

Senzeni:

She says sexual harassment affects her and she resents the power that men have: *Sexual harassment behaviours have broken me into submitting that I am a victim. I lack power to advise the strategy that could allow me to work without having to think of him and his indecent behaviour. He is powerful. The whole idea of the behaviour is to fragment an incomplete character in me. I don't like it but it will never stop.* Regarding the reporting of the behavior, she maintains: *Some senior women are aware of this behaviour but the behaviour is pushed under the rug. Some women have been employed for over a decade in this institution. These are the women who are culprits. Their keeping quiet about sexual harassment in a way is asserting their and our (victims') notion of their/our value in defiance of the dominant male sense of value.* She describes perpetrators: *These perpetrators have no sense of value. Some are old as my father and*

it is disgusting to even think that they are this dirty. She points out again the effects of the behaviour: The behaviour is demoralizing and it contributes to disrespect. I hate it, I hate him. She uses the following strategy that helps her to be able to work: It is better to switch my mind and make myself believe in only myself. This is not easy though because I spend most of my time at work. I have to be devoted to him and my work. In a desperate search for myself, I am able to tell myself this is not going to change my 'me'. I will always be Senzeni. It is fine. This is how she says she is affected: He can grab me and calls me names. It is degrading. I feel he wants to make me his sex toy. He calls me baby and love. I refuse. The problem is the institution. No one cares about the issue. It is like "this is your issue, deal with it." I do not know but I feel bad about the whole issue, always being a subordinate even on issues that are serious like this one. I asked her about gender policies and workshops at WSU. She says: I also want to know when the policy will exist. We were told it is in the pipeline. There are no policies for women. No, I have never heard of any workshop. I would have known. The problem here is that men are still holding on the culture that they are men. The other problem is that they are in high positions which make difficult to speak anyhow about them and to even report them to the management because at the end of the day they are known but nothing takes place despite that the behaviour is repeated. I wanted to know about the environment that she would prefer to be in, that is, at home or at WSU. She continues: My brothers are a bit violent to me. You mean as compared to WSU? Of course I prefer staying at home. This is a sick institution. Despite this I have to work and pretend as if I am ok, I am not. This is what she says about reporting the behavior: Reporting? Forget. My friends have reported. If I wanted to report, I would have but it is a waste of time because no one cares here. It is better to keep quiet. She says she has some strategy that helps her to work and would also like to see a different WSU after this project has been finished. This is what she says: I do not have any other strategy except this pretence. It is not funny at all for us. We sit and discuss with others. There is no clue at all. I would love to see the management acting on your project. That is all I have to say. These are professionals. They know exactly what to do. I feel so emotionally stressed about all this. This is all mad. I feel very much insecure. Sometimes I am nervous not knowing what to do.

Analysis of Senzeni's interview

Some men at WSU use women gender as a way of social control, whereby women are not treated as equals of men. Issues of male dominance are involved in matters of sexual harassment. What this means is that at WSU gender plays a role in issues of sexual harassment because it becomes one of the social categories that deals with conceptions of power and patriarchy. The elevated status of men seems to be connected to issues of socialization whereby men are allowed to be aggressive. This means gender imbalance that involves victims is such that efforts to limit sexual harassment at WSU will inevitably be controlled by perpetrators at the expense of victims because of a gender discourse.

Warchol (1998), reports that college and university campuses are microcosms of the larger communities in which they reside. As such, campuses experience the same problems faced by all communities, including sexual assault. Faculty staff is also vulnerable to sexual assaults.

Bonani:

Bonani, Simile, Thumeka, and Jongani are all friends. They were seated in one office during their lunch break time. Bonani explains how she feels about the behavior: *I feel empty about sexual harassment behaviours. The behaviour does not only make me inferior. It is almost like nothingness, a mat, a fool, a rag. It is degrading. Nothingness comes from the nature of being a woman, the "feminine" women. I have to give myself in service and I should find myself through this man* .She explains the power that men have at WSU:*I have observed a rise in the rate of exploitation because these men have power. Their power is significant in this behavior. I am left with a double load with my friends here, Simile, Thumeka and Jongani. The three of us are sexually harassed by one perpetrator. He says we should be grateful because at least he is a man who talks about love issues, a man who still sees we are women. He says I am like a frog but he knows I am not a frog because once he pushes me in bed, I will have to be like a woman. He only sees us as belonging to his sexual desire. We don't like this behaviour but we are forced into being made inferior and, in particular, sex objects. We cannot get any other work or be forced to*

resign by his and their sexual demands. She says they do report the issue of sexual harassment. This is how she puts it: *This issue of sexual harassment at WSU remains unexplored even though there are certain obvious features which are apparent that sexual harassment exists at WSU. For example we report. As women we are also contributors to the smooth running of WSU. There are women who do not see anything wrong with sexual harassment. When you talk about it they say uhlushwa yintoni wena, meaning, what worries me if there is sexual harassment. Talking about how the behavior affects her, she puts it like this: This affects the nature of our work. Sexual harassment behaviours affect us in a big way. The emotions rise high up. Asked if she has any strategy that helps her to be able to focus, she says: It is difficult to completely ignore him. He has those patriarchal ideas and I am unable to ignore him. He is always vigorous. We spoke about gender issues and whether WSU has anything related to gender. She says: I have never heard of gender issues. I have never attended one. No, there are no talks on the issue. I don't think there would be talks about sexual harassment here because men here are of the opinion that women are to listen to them and that as they hold high positions, no one can really say a thing about them. That is why sexual harassment is widely spread in this university and it is intense. She compares her home environment to WSU and argues: Sometimes I prefer to stay at home. My homely environment is good as compared to here. Sometimes I act as if I am not aware of his behaviour. It becomes worse when he touches you, though. You have to slam him very hard. Regarding the sexual harassment policy, these are her feelings: They do not want to see us developed. That is the reason why there is no policy and there are no gender-awareness workshops. His hands are always ready to touch. I don't know whether we matter to the employer as women in the same way that men matter. Why does it have to be sex that controls us and maintain men as authority? Again she talks about her home environment: My home environment is good and safe. I cannot start to compare it to WSU violence. I cannot have a gender policy at home but it is expected that WSU should have one existing. Regarding exposure to gender awareness campaigns as well as what she thinks motivate the behavior, she says: I have never heard of it nor has it been brought to my awareness. Maybe the absences of gender policies are motivated of his demeaning masculine behaviour. We are not developed except to be sexual victims. That is how we are expected to explore. She wants to see WSU helping victims in this way: I am eager to see WSU being agitated for improved WSU women conditions. Maybe sexual harassment or gender policies are likely to improve the good working conditions of us*

victims at WSU. Andizoxoka, meaning, I would not lie. Working for WSU has intolerable pressures. Maybe the differences in genders are a big problem again. She sees the behavior as having many effects that include the following: Nausea, dizziness. Sometimes I am too tired to have to think about it. I feel I could be in my own world. I am hopeful they will read all what you have written and act promptly because we are seriously exploited. Maybe we shall be relieved from this patriarchal society at WSU.

Analysis of Bonani's interview

Bonani's report is that socialization produces and sustains gender inequalities at WSU. For Bonani this means WSU gives attention to the social conditions and processes that produce sexual harassment behaviours and it neglects to protect its victims who are at a substantial disadvantage because they are faced with un-welcome and offensive behaviours. Regarding socialization, men are too comfortable to analyze critically and change because, as Bonani says, they still cling to the fact that they are men and are powerful. The process of gender identities influences behaviours that relate to sexual harassment. At WSU men's violence is being recognized as carrying attributes of patriarchy.

Ramazonoglu's (1987: 65) investigation into sexual harassment is that the label of sexual harassment and the source of its power to provoke reactions is that 'sexual harassment' transforms private and personal experiences into a general problem for working women in a patriarchal society. Tangri, Burt and Johnson (1982: 40) have produced work which also slots into the broader framework of patriarchal society, one which 'permits' dominance and objectification of women-power as an institutionalized system of male dominance. Walby (1990:100) says Splender (1980, 1983) and MacKinnon (1982) share the assumption that the question to be asked is how patriarchal discourses are created and maintained, rather than a focus upon how individuals become socialized. MacKinnon (1989) says the law against sexual harassment is a practical attempt to stop a form of exploitation. It is also one test of sexual politics as a feminist jurisprudence of possibilities for social change for women through law. Weedon (1999: 5), Yell and Grieshaber (1998) note that gender is a process which begins at birth

and is continually being shaped, molded, and re-shaped through-out life. It is important to point out that it is this shaping and the re-shaping of gender that makes women slaves or sex objects.

Splender (1980) argues that language is patriarchally structured, that is, made by and for men. She draws attention to the use of words which cover up women's existence, for instance, the use of words which cover up women's existence; such as 'he' and 'man' which supposedly include women. She maintains that this is both a result of male power and a contribution to it. It promotes male imagery and a masculine view of the world at the expense of women. This makes it more difficult for women to think outside a patriarchal world view. Furthermore, men are far more likely to interrupt women than vice versa. Regarding Splender's view about male imagery and connecting her views to sexual harassment at WSU, the identification of women with sex is a conflation of the category of women with ostensibly sexualized features of their bodies, hence women's gender/sex not granted freedom and autonomy as it is purportedly enjoyed by men. There is then a destruction of the category of gender/sex whereby a victim's sex plays a vital role in sexual harassment behaviours.

My view regarding Splender's arguments is that WSU perpetuates notion of seeing perpetrators/men as 'persons' and gender as the 'feminine.' At WSU, the categorization of sex postulates it as a cause of sexual experience, behaviour and desire. A materialist feminist approach shows that what these feminists take for the cause or origin of oppression is in fact only the mark imposed by the oppressor: the myth of a woman plus its material effects and manifestations in the appropriated consciousness and bodies of women.

Simile:

Simile firstly tells me how her mother was abused and how long she has been employed: *My grandmother worked in a cotton factory. I used to laugh when she narrated her story of being sexually abused by her employer. Actually, I used to say Hawu! makhulu, meaning, oh!, grandma, you should not have allowed him to...you know. I did not understand the pain that my grandmother experienced. Now, it is my turn after having been employed for quite some years. I*

know how it is like to experience sexual harassment. He fondles my body. He says I am warm and tries to push me at the corner. I do fight back but I am unsuccessful because he holds a high position at WSU. She then responds to my question about power and sexual harassment. She says: He could even expel me with all the powers that he has. I don't just stand and allow him to play with my body. I push him away and tell him I will report his behaviour. He tells me I will not succeed. He is respected by most employees. No one will believe me and I will be accused of wrong doing. His attitude is weird. Regarding my question about gender policies, she points out: He is a senior and yet he brags that there is no gender policy that will support me if I report him. What he says makes me think, is it deliberate that sexual harassment policy and other gender policies do not exist? Regarding her job, Simile maintains that: My job is threatened. It is difficult to cope with the strain of double responsibility. Sometimes my head wants to burst with all the pre-occupations. She talks about gender awareness workshops, reporting of the behaviour and the sexual harassment policy and says: No, I have never been to any workshop. Do you think they will be liberated if there is a policy? I do not think so. These men are very silly. You just do not know. Be in my position. Then you will know. Yes, we have reported. Nothing was done. Actually, the matter was not even raised at even one moment. Seemingly the reason why some WSU victims (like Vuyiswa and Sthembele) are not eager to report this behaviour is because of this tendency of keeping quiet even when the victims have reported. This is how she explains about the effects of sexual harassment and how she would like WSU to act and take major steps: It is all madness. I feel inferior. They are degrading us for no reason except that we are women. It is not a good feeling at all. How would I feel good when someone thinks I am a sex slave? I love myself and I want to preserve my pride. It is such a pity no one wants to help us, even other women. I want to believe that if we can be together as one and fight this behavior, we shall see lots of positive changes at WSU. Changes like gender-awareness workshops, gender studies department, and many other women issues being discussed. We are not developed. There is nothing to develop us. I wish the university could be serious. After all this I am crossing my fingers that WSU becomes active. We need a policy. We need to be exposed to these gender awareness workshops you are talking about. There should be actions going on big time. For how long are we going to be this frustrated? We are unable to welcome this thing. We have waited for a policy for a long time now. I think the management is holding the policy because you know what, men here believe that women should be oppressed. They are men and it ends there. No

woman can have a say. Those are the reasons that aggravate the behaviour here and there are repetitions of the behaviour.

Analysis of Simile's interview

Simile's report tells me that when women talk about their abuse at WSU, no one listens because maybe sexual harassment is apparently taken as the norm, that is, as something that ought to be practiced on women. Women are faced with the environment in which their integrity is not respected. This disrespect is an obstacle to the proper integration of women into the labour force. Women seem to be discriminated against because of their gender. They are not treated with dignity and respect. Socialization of men seems to be a force that perpetuates the oppression of women at WSU, where men regard themselves as superior to women hence their attitudes. The pervasive and resilient nature of sexual harassment at WSU demands explanation. What this means is that gender enters the workplace through the process of gender-typing so that work relations are laden with gender meanings that allow men to engage in sexual harassment behaviours. Gender is then influential in the behaviours of sexual harassment. Power and patriarchy as has been already been noted, play an underlying role because gender-typing privileges men and penalizes women and their activities.

Gutek (1985: 123) points out that men and women together in the formal work organization provide an environment for the emergence of informal cross-sex interactions, friendships and romance and sexual harassment. Backhouse, et al., (1981) say the practice of sexual harassment contributes to the extreme difficulties for women accused of sexual wrong doing to clear themselves because mere accusations tend to smear a woman's reputation irrevocably.

Thumeka:

Thumeka seems worried and very angry and starts explaining about her employment. She opens up: *The expansion in women's opportunity at WSU is not a matter of any progress. I am*

expecting to see all of us as employees of WSU in one line of having opportunities. Some of us, like me, are treated as sex objects. She says she is affected by the behavior in the following ways: The sexual harassment experience leaves me bitter and disillusioned, stressful, not belonging, and it is demeaning. Regarding her perpetrator's power, she asserts: He is known. His behaviour is known. He is a powerful being but his powers work inappropriately because he is sexually harassing me. I distrust him. He has a different attitude. He does not have that fatherly love. He is hostile. How are we expected to move forward when we are involved in patriarchal structures? There are very few women and men who are not aware of this behaviour taking place at WSU. No, I think everybody knows. I think the behavior is neglected deliberately. If old senior men are doing it, it means they know they will not be accused. Thumeka tells me of a way how this issue of sexual harassment could be handled. She puts it this way: There should be meetings in halls. We all gather in volumes at the auditorium when there is a memorial service. Why don't we come in volumes and talk about gender issues, something which is so important at all workplaces? I wanted to know if gender issues were addressed in workshops, etc. She says: Gender issues are not organized. I do not know when they will think about it. Siyafa, meaning, we are dying. I have never heard of a single workshop on these issues. There is no law here. Men behave as they like. The work relegates to subordinate work for so long that I have begun to develop inferior. I have begun to believe that I am inherently a woman with no right. I have begun to accept the discrimination view of myself. She says she has reported the and further points out: If I was getting any relief from reporting him, it would be better. You don't get anywhere with reporting because these men are in the management and they hold high positions. Being under-valued is the most painful thing at work especially when men say "we are men and women are women," meaning they can do what they like on us because they are men. No one takes you seriously. As I have said, you report but nothing is being done. It is as if you are a sex object. I do not know about the ones who acquiesce to this sexual advance. I just don't want it. I cannot welcome anything which at the end of the day will make me a slave. I mean a sex slave. WSU is a reservoir of sexual harassment despite our complaints that the behaviour under-values us. She wants WSU to consider means of curbing the situation at WSU. She has strategies which allow her to work. This is how she puts it: There should be a search for human dignity from the perpetrators. It is not it. You cannot have any strategy except to keep quiet. We are not developed in any way. No one thinks of us as human beings. Same applies to other women. They

just look at us. She is affected by the behaviours in this way: The feeling is so unwelcome and offensive. There is a lot of dominance here. These men act as if you have no mind at all. You get so much subordinated. You know, they even take away your dignity. You are so inferior. You cannot believe it the way it happens. Sometimes I think: Is my work having this under value? I just cannot understand. He cannot start to move when I am not there. All work would be stuck, yet this is how he dominates me because he is powerful.

Analysis of Thumeka's interview

Sexual harassment embitters women and these women are stressed. WSU places much emphasis on gender differences and allows women to be dominated by men. Women are subjected to this behaviour as the university allows the concept of "woman" to remain a property of men. WSU allows perpetrators to terrorize women with the threat of sexual harassment. Perpetrators resort to the use of control and power. Thumeka's story, like others, portrays WSU women as the long-suffering victims of patriarchal dominance by men. Power and patriarchy go hand in hand with the behaviours of sexual harassment. Women's social experiences are decided largely by their gender and male control is at its worst at WSU. The management, even though it is aware of these behaviours, does not protect women, and particularly not these victims. Women's recognized rights are neglected or marginal because of their gender status.

Backhouse, et al., (1981) assert that the job which includes secretaries, typists, filing clerks, etc. have been under-valued with usually no union protection. Backhouse, et al., (1981) say these slots increased incidences of sexual harassment because there were simply more working women to be harassed. Unger and Crawford (1996: 162) argue that studies among romantic couples show, for example, that the more dominant or powerful persons of either sex is more likely to interrupt and be successful at it, whereas the less powerful individual uses more tentative language (Kollock, Blumstein & Schwatz, 1985). The more dominant partner is likely to be a man. Jones and Barron (2007: 27) state that gender difference is socially constructed and hence 'is an effect of knowledge and power which permeates all areas of life.'

Jongani:

She has been nodding while she was listening to Bonani, Simile and Thumeka. She says: *Now it is my turn. My friends have not lied, not a bit. We are all friends and familiar to the subject of victimization.* About her length of employment and reporting of the behavior, she says: *It is no big deal to the management that I have been employed for some years here. It has long been like this. I mean the sexual harassment is known by everyone. That man, pointing at the door, he is worse. I say so because the management knows the culprits. The management knows that the nature of WSU sexual harassment intensifies, particularly for us women. Just three months ago Songezwa was fuming because her perpetrator invited her for dinner. She refused the invitation. The perpetrator then changed the subject and said he hates what Songezwa is doing. He said why does she always give indications of interest in him?* Jongani says she reported the incident relating to her perpetrator. This is how she puts it: *I reported my incident just to protect myself in case the perpetrator lies about me. Nothing has been done, so far and it has been years. I do not even think something will be done. He threatens me and says if I think people will listen to me, I must just forget because I will be the culprit and not him. He says he will be the one who will report that I am sexually harassing him. I never knew I would be bombarded with uncaring remarks. When I reported him to one senior male personnel, I was told to leave the office and that his case would be attended to. It has not been attended to since the report. This was two years ago.* Asked about gender awareness workshops, she says: *No, there has not been any workshop, I have never heard of it, not once. I would have attended it. I think men are the same. Be it at home or in a work situation.* I asked her whether the environment at home was safer than WSU. She responds: *The difference is that at home I am able to let go. How do I let go here. Most of the time is spent at work. We meet at corridors, we talk, he pretends as if he does not see me. He bumps on me. Really, what is all that? When I heard of Songezwa's story I thought of challenging the perpetrator. I could not. I was warned that no one will take me seriously as it will be a waste of time. Most men are reluctant to accept that sexual harassment is a problem because they say that their status of being men carries with it that women are to be oppressed even if they are at par in the workplace. Their idea makes it difficult to curb this status quo and even worse, they say that we have to abide.* She says the behavior has negative effects. This is how she puts it: *This whole sexual harassment scenario is just demeaning and nauseating. I never knew I would experience enormous sex discrimination. Most men seem to be gentlemen*

from the outside. I had thought in an academic situation men would be respectful to their colleagues. I have been a victim for many times. This whole issue leaves me fragmented because I am made to understand sexual harassment as a 'good' and 'normal' issue, yet it is not so. I am made to recognize that the behaviour is central to maintaining me as a subordinate socially. I asked her if the institution does have gender awareness workshops and a sexual harassment policy. She says: Do you mean something to do with gender or courses on gender? No, I have never heard. I have never attended. If there was, I would have attended. I read the circulars. I am certain there has never been one workshop on gender awareness. There are no other resources. Those are the development programmes that we have never had. It would have been great if we had them. No, not here. Not yet. Maybe the policy will be there in a few years to come. There is nothing of that sort here. The problem is that the management is unable to see through some of the realities that men have come to regard as 'normal.' This is what she says when she strategizes at work: *I just look at him but sometimes it is difficult because I am unable to just let go. I pinch him very hard but he does not care.* She counts on what the effects of sexual harassment are and maintains: *I so wish my/our domination could be looked at with a critical eye so that we are free human beings. I don't want it. It makes me like someone who has no name, a woman who has no mind or who cannot think.*

Analysis of Jongani's interview

According to this participant, it seems WSU women lack recognition and they are often depicted as an irrelevant group even by their academic men colleagues. Women are relegated to being sex objects and the university seems not to care, irrespective of the reports that it receives about the problem of sexual harassment. The persistence of social behaviour that has to do with early socialization are evident; socialization carries with it perspectives that can make aspects of women's lives difficult. Controlling behavior related to sexuality has to do with undermining women's femininity. Power and patriarchy appear to advocate a woman's status rather than her position in the hierarchy. Men exercise their power negatively which causes sexual harassment to be prevalent at WSU. WSU is still predicated on traits stereotypically associated with men who are deemed to be decisive. Some men decide to ill-treat women; because power is imposed on women. The role of gender equity is conceptualized in terms of the feminine voice that is being silenced and this therefore means gender plays a role in sexual harassment. WSU gives women

no option but to be submissive to their perpetrators; the effects of sexual harassment move smoothly and, unfortunately, they dent a woman's image.

Freeman (1984: 9) states that sexual harassment is committed by academic men who are among the most highly-educated members of society. Sexual harassment at WSU has permeated the institution and its process has altered significantly the nature of femininity. The relationship of employees (men and women) is altered by this behavior. This therefore disrupts the traditional role and relationship between workers.

Thuthuka

This is how she responds when asked about the power of sexual harassment and her length of employment. *I am haunted because I find my own preserved world threatened after having been employed for few years. I feel reduced.* Asked about the type of environment that she prefers to be in and if there is power in sexual harassment. *She points out: Sometimes I am unable to take this harassment and wish to be home or be employed somewhere. These men are really powerful. They are able to push their way out.* Asked if she has any strategies to be able to work, she asserts: *Ag, you stay with the behaviour. I do not see any other strategy. I am unable to have any except to act as if nothing happened.* Do you have energy for all this? *Oh! I just pretend as if he is not here. It is not easy though because we are at work together spending most of our time at work.* This is what Thuthuka says about policy and gender awareness workshops: *I wonder why we do not have any policy. Days are not the same. I see the images of freedom still completely male-defined here. It is such a pity. We do not have anything. Maybe if there were workshops on this issue, we would have pushed for a sexualharassment policy. The policy is the only weapon I think would curb this behavior. The whole behaviour has an exhausting quality. The state of affairs is intolerable as I continue to be a target of my perpetrators' sexual desires.* She says she is affected by the behavior in the following ways: *The whole behaviour is a sexual violence to me. It is demeaning and very nauseating. That is an actual offence but how do I do without a policy or at least people who have empathy. No one cares here. It is just sexual harassment all the way. Of course it has an effect on me as a woman. WSU portrays that its conceptions of*

female 'nature' is formed in a culture that is male dominated. Men think we have to bow down because we are women. Gone are those days. We are all equal now and we need them to respect us because this is so disrespectful. Once someone oppresses you, he makes you his subordinate, a sex slave just because you are his subordinate. That has to do with lowering of our dignity. The scenario is made worse by those women who just hang themselves, I mean who allow themselves to be sex slaves. One man used to call other lecturers in his office after hours as if there is something to be discussed. He wanted to discuss sex and nothing else. There are many. Imagine being in this era after so many years.

Analysis of Thuthuka's interview

Some of WSU's perpetrators act with a sense of male entitlement which is linked to patriarchy. Gender inequality which relates to power is inherent in sexual harassment at WSU. Some supervisors interpret their authority as a legitimate basis for sexually coercing women who are juniors. Through carrying out research at WSU, I also realized that social structures at WSU shape the expression of power and male violence. I realized that perpetrators at WSU undermine feminism and what it means to be a woman. Some participants asserted that to be a woman in Xhosa culture means a man has to be superior. Gender oppression is rooted in material base and is expressed in perpetrators' attitudes. Victims are faced with the predicament that is made more complex by being inextricably linked with socialization whereby victims are expected to be submissive because they are women. Gender and socialization therefore play a role in the effects of sexual harassment. Gender also becomes a concept of power and how being a man confers power. Central to the notion of gender, sexual harassment has to do with the understanding of contesting patriarchal power relations whereby women are discriminated against because of their sex.

Date-Bah (1997: 130) says that in 1977 a sexual harassment court case determined that sexual harassment constituted sex discrimination and women who became the target of their supervisor's sexual desires were victims because they were women. Thomas and Kitzinger (1997: 2) say between 1975 and 1979, a series of North American publications and groups addressed issues of social coerces: unwanted sexual coerces, unwanted sexual attention and (increasingly) sexual harassment,

marking a broadening of attention away from the more extreme forms of sexual violence and domination. Gillow, et al., (2003: 6) assert that: *The verbal conduct of a sexual nature may include 'unwelcome sexual advances, propositions or pressure for sexual activity; continued suggestion for social activity outside the workplace after it has been made clear that such suggestions are unwelcome. Such behaviour defines women's role as sexual objects rather than work colleagues. Unwelcome-ness concerns origins and universality of women's subordination which is dependent upon some consideration of gendered relations and symbols and sexual stereotypes.* What we see in these gendered relations is that the power of language presents itself at WSU. Ramazanoglu and Holland (2008: 85) point out that postmodern thought is potentially radical in that the behaviours challenge humanist conceptions of self, agency, power and emancipation.

Ntlanganiso:

Before I could say anything, Ntlanganiso asks: *Are you going to change the situation of this behaviour at WSU? I doubt it. This all has to do with victimization. We are victimized here. It has been going on for ages. I am not going anywhere. No one will expel me for something I never did.* She talks about the power of sexual harassment and says: *He is able to control me because of his powers, men power. I have long conditioned myself to the behaviour. Yes, sexual harassment has existed for a long time even before the merger took place in 2005. This was a UNITRA before July 2005. Do you have any strategy regarding this issue? That does not need any strategy. Our work is controlled by men. I don't even know what to say because this institution will ever have these behaviours. UThixo yedwa owaziyo, meaning it is only God who knows.* She tells of the effects of the behavior and says: *I have always thought a property is a thing.* Ntlanganiso claps her hands and looks at the roof and shouts, *Modimo*, meaning, Lord...*I never thought I could also be an asset of a man that I find at WSU. These men are friends to one another. There is a string of sexual harassment behavior here.* She says she is affected by the behavior in this way: *The behavior leaves me with a confused science. It is an intractable difference between us men and women. I just feel degraded. This has to do with disrespect. I have heard how patriarchal power does. I am degraded because I am a woman. There is nothing like that. I am a human being. That is all. These men take chances on us. We are discriminated against, big time. It is offensive and you feel so inferior if these men keep on grabbing you.* I wanted to know about the environment she prefers (WSU and

the home environment). She laughs and says: *I wish you can be one of the victims so that you will know exactly how this place is. It is hard to work here and at the same time you cannot be absent from work for a long time. If my home was like WSU, I would have long left my home. The problem is that I have many hours of work and as such I have to be happy at work. This is all crazy here. It is not good to be here at all because no one cares about our cries. I reported once but when I heard these issues are treated as 'normal,' I decided to keep quiet. I was told that men here say they are Africans and they have to follow their culture of being men. That is why the behaviour would not stop and this is more so because most men are in the higher positions and that makes our cases not to be taken care of.* Asked about gender awareness programmes and policy, she responds: *Each year there is an oral promise of drawing a sexual harassment policy. That is where it ends. I have never heard of a sexual harassment policy. I have never seen it. The years have been too long. It is high time the management draws a sexual harassment policy. No, I would not really say there are resources if we don't have a sexual harassment policy or anything that has to do with gender or women's studies. Gender identities do take place here. It is powerful. I end up blaming myself for no reason.* This is how Ntlanganiso feels about the behavior. She points out: *This all creates confusion and feeling of guilt about my suffering. I am not responsible for this. I view WSU as essentially representing a specific group of women and see this representation as having dishonesty because it exposes victims to the full oppression of men.* What do you wish the management could do? Ntlanganiso asks: *What happened to gender studies in this university? Why are women so cruel to us because many other women on top positions are aware of sexual harassment? I wish these matters could be taken seriously. We are dominated here and regarded as sex slaves because these men see us inferior to them. Does this all have to do with our gender as women? I wonder.*

Analysis of Ntlanganiso's interview

Victims' gender at WSU interlinks with work and women. Femininity and masculinity are organized into gender hence the behavior termed sexual harassment. The source of women's oppression at WSU seems to have to do with sexuality of the perpetrators which exerts control over women. Perpetrators use their sex to express their power over and contempt for their victims which is a form of humiliation and a way to control their victims. Perpetrators add sexual harassment to their daily lexicon and their behaviours interfere with victims' daily work. WSU allows victims to

bear the mark of gender because the management does not attend to cases of sexual harassment and the university does not view sexual harassment as a problem that needs to be addressed. That is why sexual harassment at WSU remains the most significant problem which is also seen in those students who have been sexually harassed by certain staff members. Male domination prevails in the university and I cannot rule out the fact that the dominance stems from the manifestations of power relations at WSU. Power stems from gender stereotyping and gender bias. Gender and sexuality seem to be constructed under the issue of patriarchy because perpetrators understand their victims through the category of women who are expected to accept dominance and sexual coercion. Power and patriarchy as well as gender and socialization therefore do play a role in issues of sexual harassment.

Gillow (2003: 98) defines victimization as *recurrent, reprehensible or distinctly negative actions which are directed against individual employees in an offensive manner and can result in those employees being placed outside the workplace community*. Gillow (2003) asserts that employers have an obligation to plan and organize work to prevent victimization and to make clear that such behaviour is unacceptable in the workplace. In addition, employers are required to adopt routines and procedures to detect problems in the workplace as they arise. McNeill (1985:85) a British feminist at a 1980s workshop on 'women and work' writes: *sexual harassment was a topic that was raised and women blamed themselves for reactions that had provoked. They (women) suffered in confused silence*. Kimmel (2000: 5) points out that gender identity falls to the sociologist to explore; that is, to explore the variations among different groups of women and men and assess how the versions of muscularity and femininity are held up. Gasa, (2007: 131) states that the source of women's oppression forms not only women's radicalism (as a response and exercise of choice and agency) and pain (as a private, personal, individual and collective experience). A postmodernist, Kristeva argues that the male subordinated society discourages multiple forms of selfhood. Ross (2005: 2176) states that victims are acted upon rather than acting, suffering rather than surviving, however, when dealing with gross human rights violations committed by perpetrators, the person against whom the violation is committed can only be described as a victim regardless of whether he/she emerged as a survivor or not. The dominant view imputes perceptions to the victims which clearly affirm that perpetrators are visibly 'above' victims.

With regard to these participants' narratives and my analysis, I have explored the assumption that power and patriarchy play a role in sexual harassment and that they influence the behaviour. Also, the interrelationship between gender and sexual harassment is that gender reflects the material interest of those who have power and those who do not. Gender therefore plays a role in the behaviours of sexual harassment because women and femininity are assumed to have existing identity which is a troublesome term as it often accompanies the notion that women have to be disempowered, controlled dominated and oppressed. Masculinities therefore cannot exist in isolation from femininity. It will always be an expression of the current image that men have of themselves in relation to women. Accordingly, masculinism is the ideology that justifies and naturalizes male domination. Regarding masculinity and power: the implication is that a society's proper functioning depends upon the inculcation of aggressive patterns in young boys. As they grow up and become men, they see themselves as superior to women as has been the case with sexual harassment behaviours at WSU. The participants have clearly shown that sex roles are integrally connected to conceptions of femininity and masculinity at WSU. The notion of perpetrators carries with it expectations that they have to overpower women at WSU, thus taking a route to privilege and power. Superiority is connected to the socialization of men and women; men have to be aggressive and women have to be submissive. Socialization has also to do with hierarchy that defines men as more powerful than women. Socialization then does have impacts on the issues of sexual harassment.

There are also deeply-rooted biases in the culture of an African man in that he has to be superior to a woman. Participants are looking forward to the days when this barrier will be exposed. They want to be encouraged to step forward and deal with the behavior with the help of management. They say that if they as women can stand together to fight this gender/sex role, they could enjoy their employment as men do. Participants are obliged to renounce their sexual subjectivity and are not expected to have sexual wishes and activities of their own choosing; instead they are expected to be their perpetrators' sex-objects. The assertion of male dominance draws more on participants' experiences of sexual harassment. There are perils in what I call "the double male bias", they think harassment emanates from culture and this perpetuates the perpetrators' behaviours. There is a

source of social differentiation between participants and perpetrators. It does not matter to the perpetrators that participants achieve academic ascendancy. Their gender conflates with their desires to turn participants into slaves or sex objects. Perpetrators ignore all the negative signals and take advantage of men's power by sexually harassing women and making them their sex objects and victimizing them. I perceive victimization as aggravated by the fact that some participants are middle class women with material resources and requirements which push them to acquiesce to uncomfortable sexual harassment experiences. They then have little opportunity to portray their own experiences within the radical political movements. Their experiences become isolated and individualized. Their lack of a voice, and lack of the representation of their own subjective reality means that it is difficult for them to incorporate their reality at WSU, unless it is in terms of the way perpetrators see them-as sex objects.

I note that at WSU victims are bitter and dislike themselves. They are distrustful of other women, hence being unable to share with them their sexual harassment experiences. They say they have sunk into themselves. They are silent and not sure where they can begin to find themselves or one another as victims. They repress themselves in and become 'feminine.' To them, the language of 'sex object' conveys domination by a certain power which is an instrument that is guarded by authoritative male colleagues. This authority is one of the means through which perpetrators conserve their supremacy. They assert this evil masculine domination manifested in rough treatment is unwelcome; it expresses ambiguity and even hostility to them. I would not like to believe that the victims should feel responsible for sexual harassment behaviours. They must not even try to determine why they encouraged these behaviours. Women need to change from embracing the perspective as victim. They have to discover that other women are also ill-treated by the same men. This will surely begin to change this perspective as victims though I assume it might not be easy initially. Changing from a victim's perspective offers benefits such as shedding the burden of unjustified guilt to experiencing solidarity with other victims because there is sharing of experiences.

Sex roles are integrally connected to them as victims. Their status as victims leaves them unhappy. Perpetrators use assertiveness to sexually harass them. The notion of men carries with it expectations of boisterousness. That is why they have this power. Most of the victims do not report

the harassment. They say it is useless to report the behaviour when the institution has no policy relating to the subordination. Clearly, subordination makes it difficult for participants to reject sexual advances by males in positions of authority. This means occupational segregation contributes to the sexual harassment of women at WSU. There is therefore a gender role/sex role spill over because the gender-based expectations for behaviour are carried into the workplace. WSU behaviours are regarded as masculine in that they are seen as incongruent with participants' sex roles. Participants are not seen as workers but rather are seen in accordance with the perpetrators' primary conception of being their sex objects.

It is very unfortunate that this behavior relegates WSU to "bush college" status. I wish that the vice chancellor and the council can attend to this behavior.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The chapter discusses the summary of findings and some recommendations which could assist in making possible changes to attitudes of perpetrators at WSU.

7. Overview

When men and women work together, sexual interest and sexual advances are inevitable. On the other hand, abusive relationships and exploitative situations also exist as has been the case at WSU. There have been a wide variety of behaviours which the victims experienced at WSU and these have been discussed in chapter seven. Perpetrators made demands that served their personal agendas and were not interested in their victims' well-being, hence victims' narratives. Some victims reacted with fear and resistance. Different treatment for victims which are demeaning and derogatory are deeply ingrained in WSU's culture and women have much more to lose if they walk away from employment. Victims' experiences had an enormous impact on them. As the foundations of patriarchal power stood firm in the university, the act of gender struggle took on a somewhat distinctive social change because of the presence of intimidation and violence. The nature of the narratives requires that the university changes its views of situations at WSU that have traditionally favoured men employees. According to the narratives in which sexual harassment was a significant WSU issue, it was also clear that victims have experienced unacceptable behaviours at WSU and have survived the situation with serious repercussions. Perpetrators constructed their sense of masculinity on a field of power relations and insisted on holding onto their Xhosa culture, thus making sexual harassment a battle ground. There was repetition of the behaviour because the perpetrators used their superiority powers to engage in sexual harassment at will whenever they wished. Most of the victims have lived with the behavior because of desperation and because the Eastern Cape has poor employment opportunities.

It had been noted that the culture within the Xhosa-speaking community, as well as poverty in the Eastern Cape, are also responsible for the perpetuation of sexual harassment at WSU ([www://http.olf.org.za/region/mthatha](http://http.olf.org.za/region/mthatha)). The behaviours are linked to the extent the fact that employment opportunities are scarce in the Eastern Cape since it is the poorest province. Most people are desperate for employment and victims cannot just leave for other institutions when once WSU has already employed them. Knowing these facts about the Eastern Cape, perpetrators then take a chance and the behaviours are easily repeated and aggravated. The concept of gender affecting interaction was a distinct and important aspect of the gender process at WSU, hence the behaviour of sexual harassment. My study originated with thoughts on gender consciousness and the manner in which the impacts of gender inequality is overlooked and how it plays a crucial role in sexual harassment behaviours. This study has been motivated by a dearth of research literature and my sensitivity to sexual harassment behaviours. Through a dearth of research, I came to the conclusion that WSU resists change in the area of discrimination, particularly in the area of sex discrimination and sexual harassment. Different treatment of women and demeaning and derogatory treatment is deeply ingrained in the culture of WSU. The study will therefore add some value to the existing knowledge of gender inequality not only at WSU but in other South African institutions of higher education learning and, in particular, to knowledge relating to sexual harassment behaviours. It is expected that the study will be useful for WSU sexual harassment interventions that are needed for the enhancement of the victims' well-being as well as the development of gender sensitivity. I believe that the wellbeing of WSU employees should be a pre-requisite for high levels of productivity so that staff is able to contribute meaningfully to the institution. The intention of the study is therefore to gain insight and understanding of the victims' sexual harassment experiences.

Education is a key institution for understanding gender because it mirrors social relationships as well as being a fulcrum for struggles and changes occurring within them. Previous studies have shown that schools and higher education institutions are considered vital in the prevention of sexual and gender violence. Morrell (1998), Bhana and Pattman (2009) say there are places where young people learn values-there are also places where sexual and gender violence are pervasive. (This research is therefore an attempt to fill the identified gaps in knowledge by

generating empirical data on the subject of sexual harassment at WSU and to show how gender, as metaphorical expressions of forces, is harnessed to produce inequality at WSU). In chapters five, section 5.3 (a) and seven, section 7 (a) of this study I have shown that gender is not a static category but an expression of power that is harnessed through agency in the material world that allows for more complex relationships of subordination and domination.

Conceptually, researchers now argue that women's positions in the economy, and their status generally, needs to be understood in terms of gender relations (Browne, 2003: 67). This provides a powerful focus on elaborating on the question of the role of how patriarchy and its ideologies have had an influence on sexual harassment at WSU. Some studies carried out in Africa (Green, 1994 and Leclerc-Madlala, 1999) indicate that as patriarchal societies with traditional masculine ideologies, non-relational sexuality is the predominant mode of sexuality that is endorsed and practiced through male entitlement and abuse of power; this endorsement provides ground for sexual violence against women. The focus on gender therefore enabled me to explore the sexual harassment terms that have been reflected in the preceding discussion. The terms in question were prescribed by the research participants during the interviews and have been used in accordance with the participants' narratives.

7.1 Summary of findings

The key findings of the study are presented as a summary in this section's concluding chapter. Clearly, the construction of gender roles that have been observed have aspects of the social construction of masculinity, as noted by Stibbe (2004); some of these aspects are problematic, particularly in relation to the scourge of sexual violence against women at WSU. Even though there has been a trend towards increasing numerical gender parity in educational settings at all levels, yet despite this trend, women at WSU have been discriminated against because of their gender. It has been clear that gender difference is socially constructed and hence has an effect on relations of knowledge and power which permeates WSU.

Butler (1990) has provided the most authoritative attack to date on the 'naturalness' of gender. Her startling analysis shows that much progressive thought, as well as the dominant ideologies it

opposes, wrongly assumes that there are true gender identities and natural sexes. Sandra Lee Barty (1997) maintains that Butler (1990) is not permitted to construct her gender and sex willy-nilly because gender is politically and therefore socially, controlled (Gender Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia, 2010). Mosher and Sirkin (1984) describe masculine socialization as extreme adherence to the masculine gender role.

There have been revelations that victims' quest for economic equality must rest on the doing away with sexual harassment at WSU in reviewing the stereotypical images of gender and Xhosa culture. The examples of powerful people brought into the minds of victims were the males (mostly, the male employees in the higher echelon of employment) by virtue of a special link to patriarchy. It may be argued that endorsement of stereotypes about male sexuality may not be sufficient to perpetuate sexually-aggressive behaviour on its own; however, stereotypes are likely to combine with other aspects of masculine socialization, as well as with situational factors, which can lead to sexual violence against women. Perpetrators display callous sexual attitudes toward victims but, this should not stop the employer from deconstructing the myth of masculinity. Portrayals of sexual harassment victims are based on the stereotypic notions of masculine power and feminine subordination. The development of the prescribed sexual harassment terms were elicited from the participants' narratives during interviews. This study has demonstrated that gender differences and power differences are irretrievably conjoined with because females are, in general automatically given lower status than males.

Mary Joe Frug, a postmodernist, suggests that one "principle" of postmodernism is that human experience is located "inescapably within language and power." Power is exercised not only through direct coercion, but also through the way in which language shapes and restricts our reality (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Postmodern_feminism). The study revealed power as correlating with sexual harassment in that aspects of gender account for the gender differences in the correlation between the power motive and the exploitative behaviour of sexual harassment.

Regarding the narratives of the participants: they were sensitive to the issue of sexual harassment and wondered how their plea for action against the behaviour, could be heard. Most of them

asserted that WSU has had no existing sexual harassment policy for many years, stating of course that Xhosa culture, their desperation for employment and fear of poverty, had aggravated the problem at WSU. The intensity and the repetition of the behavior was in away facilitated because the seniors and their word was final. Most participants said they had thought that after the merger had taken place in July 2005, things were going to change and that the gender issues would be considered as well as the drawing up of a sexual harassment policy. According to some of the participants' wishes, the affirmative action policy and the gender policy should surpass the sexual harassment policy. Some of the participants' stories revealed that without gender or sexual harassment policies, they feared for the future of WSU's image. They also feared for themselves because sexual harassment has been witnessed for years at WSU.

The above statements were confirmed by participants such as Nosipho, whilst Nothinisaid the perpetrators knew that the victims were not supported by any sexual harassment policy. The reasons that participants were there to stay (at WSU), was because of lack of other employment; they actually chose to be they are repeatedly abused. The study reveals that the presence of the proposed policies will contribute towards generating the means for women respect at WSU. Also revealed in the study was the fact that victims at WSU were also exposed to the prospect of being raped because no measures were being taken to ensure women's security. Furthermore, WSU has yet no initiatives in place that promote a gender-friendly work environment. For example, according to The Checklist (Anon),¹⁴ having a sexual harassment policy in institutions falls under the work environment. le Roux, et.al., (2005: 21) state that the Labour Relations Act (LRA) established new structures for the resolution of disputes in the workplace. These include the CCMA, the Labour Court, and the Labour Appeal Court. LRA regulates unfair labour practices and unfair dismissals. It is in this regard that the LRA is most likely to be relevant in the cases of sexual harassment. The fundamental rights most likely to be relevant in the context of sexual harassment in the workplace and capable of being applied to private relationships are the rights to equality which include the right not to be unfairly discriminated against. The Protected Disclosures Act (PDA) provides protection for an employee who is victimized on account of

¹⁴ Author anonymous or non- identifiable. University library-a guide to the Harvard Referencing, July 2008.
<http://libweb.glia.ac.za>

having made a protected disclosure. A disclosure will only be protected if it is made in terms of a procedure identified in the PDA and provided that it relates to the disclosure of information regarding any conduct of any employee or employer made by an employee who has reason to believe that the information concerned indicates unfair discrimination. The Republic of South Africa Protection from Harassment Bill (*As introduced in the National Assembly (proposed section 75); explanatory summary of Bill published in Government Gazette No. 32922 of 1 February 2010, Minister of Justice and Constitutional Development*).

The Bill is to provide for the issuing of protection orders against harassment; to amend the Criminal Procedure Act, 1955, so as to provide for an increase of the amount which may be fixed by a magistrate in respect of a recognizance as security to keep the peace; to effect consequential amendments to the Criminal Procedure Act, 1977; to amend the Domestic Violence Act, 1998, so as to provide a mechanism to subpoena witnesses to attend proceedings in terms of that Act; to effect consequential amendments to the Firearms Control Act, 2000; and to provide for matters connected therewith.

The Bill of Rights in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, enshrines the rights of all people in the Republic of South Africa, including the right to equality, the right to privacy, the right to dignity, the right to freedom and security of the person; it incorporates the right to be free from all forms of violence from either public or private sources.

Findings revealed that victims did not want to be seen as a minority group or as a special category or that they were ‘another issue’ at work. It was clear that the victims were being subordinated and marginalized in different ways for much of the history at WSU. Their labour was being exploited.

The perpetrators occupy a dominant sphere with the victims as their subordinates. One of the victims, Nosisa, said: *All that is needed so that I am heard is to be loud and act as if you are somehow abnormal. Then men will be afraid of you. Your supervisor (man) will never bombard you with lots of modules to teach.* Nosisa said that even if one tried to be vocal about the behavior (sexual harassment) the perpetrators did not care...they would just grab one....and do so without hesitation. Perpetrators would forget that they were all employed by one employer. Victims wanted to exercise freedom that was denied to previous generations. They wanted to ensure the maintenance and the survival of their families. They wanted to gain a sense of worth and a sense of self confidence through their employment and as wage earners. Participants' utterances revealed that power and control were manifested in sexual harassment. According to some of the participants such as Lunga, Ayanda, Nontsika, and Babalwa, the concentration of power in sexual harassment shaped perpetrators' attitudes, dictated their behavioural practice and maintained inequality as the norm, thus denying victims' autonomy and basic human rights.

Other participants' utterances clearly revealed ideological representations of power and domination and confirmed that patriarchal power establishes that the issues in victims' work is shaped by structural disparities of the gender system; women enter the labour market, be it formal or informal on the same basis as men; the social and economic roles allotted to both men and women ought not to limit one group of women.

Power and domination and hierarchy as identified causes that perpetuate sexual harassment behaviours at WSU play a significant role in aiding and abetting discrimination and establishing an unhealthy working environment for the victims. Some of the participants such as Thumeka, Senzeni, Bonani and Xolisa said that because of the non-existence of a gender policy or the sexual harassment policy at WSU the problem was exacerbated. The respondents demonstrated a tendency to accept sexual harassment behaviours as the norm and used coping strategies so as to be able to be productive at work. The findings revealed that the perpetrators seemed to have internalized the right to dominate and exercise male superiority because participants felt that they (the perpetrators) made them their sexual objects as some sort of good-given right.

Brittan, (1989: 60) points out that some men come to believe in the reality of their sexuality; they 'know' that their desires are urgent and powerful. On the other hand, the victims internalize subservience. Both participants' and perpetrators' internalizations emanate from the ideologies of gender. In Figure 12 in chapter 5 I used gender as the key variable in the analysis of the sexual harassment themes that were prescribed by the participants because gender is ascribed in social characteristics of 'womanly' and 'manly.'

The factors that were identified by the victims and that influenced their perpetrators to treat them as sex objects raises concerns that some WSU co-workers are not socially connected. Thus, whatever goals the victims want to achieve, or whatever aspirations they want to fulfil or how ever productive they want to be, they are hindered by sex discrimination.

The Sex Discrimination Act of 1975 lays down the main principles. For example the Act makes discrimination, because of a person's sex-whether male or female-unlawful in employment, union membership, education, provision of goods, services and premises. Discrimination involves treating one person less favourably than another in the same or similar circumstances, internationally or otherwise, because of his or her sex (Whincup, 1991: 40). In cases of sexual harassment, it is therefore unlawful that victims of sexual harassment are discriminated against because of their sex. It is unfortunate that Mokane's case was never lawfully attended to at WSU otherwise she may not have left. Mokane suffered in that her case as her perpetrator made salacious remarks and his unwelcome advances were detrimental. The letter of suspension that she received from her supervisor at WSU was to her detriment because she could not comply with his (the perpetrator's) sexual advances. Boo (2007: 3) reported that a senior Manager at the radio station at WSU appeared in the Mthatha Magistrate court. The alleged sexual offence had been going on since 2006. Mokane's refusal of her manager's intended sexual relationship to led her being dismissed from work. She was dismissed by the perpetrator. Mokane eventually gave up her career as a radio presenter at WSU. Mokane's case is almost the same as one of the participants' utterances such as Sthembele. Sthembele said she wanted to promote "notions of sexual harassment pervasiveness." She became vocally loud and plainly said 'no' to her

perpetrator. She ended up having no voice on the issue as he controlled her vocals and told her he had all the power to dismiss her. He told her that according to the male African culture all women should at one stage experience sexual harassment. He told her she belonged to a certain place and showed her the floor. According to section (1) (b) of Employment Law, what Mokane's perpetrator did was sexual discrimination (Peyton 1997: 44).

Sherrard (2007: 5) maintains that direct discrimination against a woman occurs when 'on the grounds of her sex [an employer] treats her less favourably than [it] treats or would treat a man.'

Another UNITRA sexual harassment case ended in court in 1992. It was also unlawfully challenged by some of the management personnel as the victim was advised not to get a court interdict to deter her perpetrators. I discussed this UNITRA case in chapter three of this study. The revelations about WSU are that cases of sexual harassment seemed not to have been considered in a long time.

The study reveals that sex is not a genuine occupational qualification. Sex only becomes a genuine occupational qualification for means of physiology, quite a major change in gender roles as far as academic roles are concerned. This negative sexual harassment outcome leads one to probably assume that safety, which is one of the most extensive and costly of all an employer's duties is not sufficiently adhered to. Furthermore, sexual harassment cannot be understood outside a context in which the employer does not intervene to support victims' apparent rights to name such violence as criminal attacks because of the nature of sexual harassment. It is common and repetitive with predictable consequences for victims. This again takes sexual harassment as a form of power over women in its own right whereby the notion of masculinity and womanhood lie at the heart of gender relations at WSU. In particular, the study confirms that sexual harassment functions as a powerful tool for patriarchy. Male power, sadly, concentrates its attention on sexual harassment behaviours as a prominent site for male violence at times. The identity of masculinity for some is most visible, and understood, in sexual harassment behaviours. This male violence surely contributes to and generates a culture which forces victims to work in a degrading and dehumanizing environment. In employment that is coupled with

sexual harassment, masculinity seems to have been rooted in degrading the victims. It seems then that an understanding of masculinity has emphasized the perpetrators' perception of themselves; their status as being fathers and husbands can only be partial. They also enjoy the status of being the perpetrators. This is evident as two participants, No-College and Noncedo see in their perpetrators only the identities which forge and reinforce notions of patriarchy. The demands which ought to be attached to the fulfilment of particular notions of manhood and workmates are contradictory in cases where workmates can only be reviewed as perpetrators.

The prioritization of the perpetrators' ego's has a profound implication for the emotional wellbeing of victims. The study confirms that the individualized perpetrators' self-interest is to create and support a concept of masculinity which the perpetrators embrace and use to their advantage; control over victims feeds the ego.

While this study does not claim to present a complete and exhaustive analysis of gendering culture at WSU, by utilizing feminist perspectives on gender, it does attempt to reveal the greater complexity and value of gender as a concept within WSU. The study reveals that WSU disregards workplace law in relation to sexual harassment. We cannot run away from the fact that gender intersects with culture which is present within the historical evolutions of institutions. I cannot therefore reject the fact that sexual harassment is interpreted as a tool adopted by perpetrators in a process which justifies domination and degradation of victims. It appears to be a symbol of gender articulation.

The study reveals the problem of employment as comprehensive. The concept of work of equal value is a problem. While the study did not specifically focus on employment and human rights, a significant outcome is that victims' rights are also the consequences of the invisibility of another type of violence whereby women's rights to liberty are not respected. Sexual harassment goes hand in hand with human rights. Bakhona says the perpetrators violate her rights just because she is a woman. The study shows that victims at WSU are not free from sexual

harassment behaviours. Not a single participant said that the behaviours were welcomed. Freedom is a necessary pre-supposition, as Kant (1995: 40) writes: *If morality is to be derived from freedom, and if - as we have maintained-morality must be valid for all rational beings as such, it looks as if we have got to prove that the will of a rational being as such is necessarily free. This can never be proved by any experience of merely human action, nor indeed can it be proved at all from the point of view of philosophical theory. For purposes of action, however, it would be enough if we could show that a rational being can only act under the presupposition of freedom; for if this were so, the moral law bound up with freedom would be valid for him just as much as if he were known to be free.*

The South African Constitution (Act, 108 of 1996) is unique in its inclusion of a right to freedom from all forms of violence, whether private or public sources accuracy to (Section 12 (1) (c), as an aspect of a right to freedom and security of persons, (Davis and Snyman 2005: 135). The study has therefore revealed that though victims belong to the category of human beings, the concept of human rights of victims, as enshrined in the Constitution, is still subject to misunderstanding and misinterpretation. Perpetrators are demoting and discouraging respect for human rights. The protection of the human rights of women is rooted in the international standard of equality and the protection of human rights which are encompassed in both general, international and regional instruments and the instruments that specifically address all or selected human rights in relation to women (Gierycz, 2002: 30).

The principles of respect for human rights and equality between women and men are enriched in the United Nations Charter. The Charter reaffirms in its preamble *'faith' in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human persons, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small. In this new world of interdependence, full recognition and effective respect of human rights assumes for greater importance than in a society where, over a wide range of conduct, individual and national freedom are affected little by the conduct of others; labour standard become a necessary corollary of human rights; and both human rights and labour rights tend to become increasingly international in character* (Olivier, et al., 2001: 16).

The Constitution which was adopted in December 1996 that followed difficult negotiations under the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) is widely acclaimed as one of the most progressive and inclusive constitutions of our time. The Constitution asserts that the democratic state is founded on the values of human dignity, the achievement of equality, of human rights and freedom, non-racism and non-sexism. The Equality clause in the Bill of Rights advances gender equality as a positive framework which was the result of highly-organized lobbying and advocacy by the Women's Coalition (Mukasa, et al., 2008: 18). Within the state of sexual harassment and human rights, the findings are that violence becomes an unending normativity in itself, a practice not antagonistic to rights but, bizarrely, a means of securing them. Perpetrators demonize human rights of victims; rights being an enemy of security and wellbeing for the victims to work freely without any interference. Regarding freedom of women: the study finds that victims suffer from gender discrimination which has the effect or the purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition and enjoyment that victims are to have. Generally, the centrality of the image of vulnerability with regard to the rights of victims has been revealed by the study. Thus, the centerpiece of the findings should be a means to protect women's rights so that they are not vulnerable to sexual harassment. Walsh (1995: 5) points out that it is time to integrate the contributions of feminist historians, both in assessing women's political endeavours and in deconstructing the dominant narratives so that gender becomes an important category of analysis. The study observes that any unrecognized violence is by default, allowed to continue unchallenged. In this sense sexual harassment at WSU is 'authorized' because management still does not seem to have recognized that the behavior does exist. WSU like any other organization ought to abide by an employment relationship that arises only when parties enter into a contract of service. Grogan (2001: 42) points out that the Employment Equity Act 55 of 1998 prohibits the direct or indirect unfair discrimination against an employee or applicant for employment on the basis of race, colour, gender, sex, marital status or 'any other arbitrary ground.' Lulu, Sonke, Sthembele and Thumeka are some of the participants who asserted that they reported the behaviours to some of the senior staff members. I recall clearly that their cases were assessed without any degree of sensitivity both by the perpetrator and those senior people. The study therefore found that the disrespect for victims renders the interpersonal relationship between employer and employee intolerable. The latter undermines the employer's right to decide how

the victim will work. The dignity of victims is not considered an issue and this has a serious impact. Besides this disrespect, victims as professionals are facing hardships in discharging their duties to the standards of other qualified academics and support staff. Victims are dealing with their victimization knowing the institution is failing them. This alone is the result of the institution's reluctance to draw up a policy.

Thumeka wonders if the perpetrators will be able to stop their behaviors since it has been going on for years. S'thembele thinks that senior men and women at WSU have the potential and the power to try to combat sexual harassment behaviours at WSU. By turning a blind eye, these senior staff members are part of the problem.

It is the victims' wish that other women at WSU explore the deeper implications of culture and customs in the life of all in the pursuit of unlocking victims' domination domain. The victims fail to find a political voice that would set them free from sexual harassment behaviours and, furthermore transform WSU to being responsive to legitimate demands of minorities.

Jongani wishes that her domination and that of other victims be perceived with empathy so that she/they can be free human beings. The study confirms that the participants feel an intense pressure to conform to feminist ideals because Babalwa and Nosiphoraise the point that if there was a Gender Studies Department, feminist issues would be raised and attended to. Instead they find themselves thrust into unwanted sexual roles.

On the most general level of analysis, despite the pervasiveness of the problem of sexual harassment, WSU is paralyzed by silence. WSU encourages a culture that supports silence over women's violence. The victims, however, doubt whether a sexual harassment policy alone can be a tool to awaken and strengthen victims' dignity at WSU. They imply that the years without a sexual harassment policy have entrenched the behaviour. They propose that besides the sexual

harassment policy, the institution should have gender and affirmative action policies in place and that these policies be regularly monitored and evaluated. The view of the victims is that when management decides to draw up a sexual harassment policy and other gender policies, women should be invited to take part and present input communication channels. In a way, the institution would be encouraging assertiveness-a hallmark of academic freedom.

The study confirms that the participants expressed dismay at repressing the events and of labelling actions as something other than sexual harassment. The study suggests that actions that might be labelled as sexual harassment might often have been seen as something that had to be tolerated and “goes with the job”. Also, the study confirms that the victims avoided using the term “sexual harassment” because they had absorbed culturally hegemonic definitions that dictated what was and was not acceptable. For example, Lunga and Mthembeni said perpetrators said African culture dictated that it was only men who experienced sexual pleasures.

The reality is that tertiary institutions are not islands of goodwill where those in power always use their positions with integrity. While the study did not specifically focus on male lecturers sexually harassing female students at WSU, a significant outcome of this study revealed that it was a problem. These lecturers were well known to some of the victims and other men and women workers at WSU. Participants like Vuyiswa and Ntsika raised the point that a lecturer would go so far as to fail a female student deliberately if she had failed to acquiesce in his sexual advances. A lecturer was known to fail students so that they would be obligated to complain about the uncalculated marks. That is when they ‘fell prey’ and were sexually harassed behind closed (office) doors.

7.2 Conclusion

This study has shown that gender issues are ongoing, and, in this case, linked to sexual harassment at WSU. Gender cut a sharp distinction between a perpetrator and a victim and the cut created a hierarchical relationship between the two. Through interviews, victims were given a voice that they had been denied and were able to express their views on sexual harassment experiences at WSU. Reflecting on the major issues of sexual harassment, it was noted that the findings of the study revealed the internalization of gender stereotypes that sustained the behaviour of sexual harassment. These stereotypes were internalized in both the victims and the perpetrators. Findings reveal that the internalized stereotypes and ideologies were influential in the behaviours of perpetrators. They staked a gender claim to a definitional ground to insist and explain persistent inequalities between men and women; they (men) being the rational masters, hence their sexual harassment behaviours. On the other hand, even though victims identified sexual harassment as a social problem at the time of the study, they adapted stereotypes in conceiving the fact that they were working in boundaries that contained the possibility for negation and resistance. It was better they used coping strategies because they were expected to be productive. Even though gender is a primary field within which power is articulated, it is not the key field within which power is articulated. Gender has been found to be a persistent and recurrent way of enabling the signification of power in sexual harassment behaviours. The study explains that gender is implicated in the conception and construction of power.

From the summary of findings of this study, it is revealed that sexual harassment has a potential of economically strengthening victims, such as Ayanda related during interviews. In the most shocking rendition of the victims' tales, this is what they revealed. Some victims gained economically. They acquiesced in sexual advances for monetary gains and not because they wanted to participate in this social evil. This is one of the weaknesses within some women and has to be condemned by her ego. I want to believe that there could be ways of making some extra cash. For example, one could sell cosmetics or bags or even underwear, buying these from factory outlets and selling them to the public. What makes the story of sexual acquiescing disturbing is that the victim does this against her will and by force of circumstance. Poverty and the fact that the Eastern Cape has poor chances for employment are the reasons (as stated by the

participants) that make them acquiesce in sexual advances. A taste of luxury could corrupt even further. These are the threats that some victims face at WSU. Above all, these are some of the gender-related issues and problems confronting victims. In this study this behavior is depicted as the downfall of a victim, leading to loss of femininity and self-pride.

The link between sexual harassment and gender can generate violent outcomes. The non-existence of a sexual harassment policy at WSU contributed significantly to patterns of violence against victims motivated by the indifference of the management. This study reveals that the configuration of gender, power and sexuality poses particular problems when they locate themselves at work. Perpetrators tend to be bosses in all spheres at WSU. On the contrary, victims have to be sexualized as part of the job where victims' economic advantage is enhanced through such sexual objectification. Participants such as Mthembeni, Vuyiswa and Ayanda said that in an institution with no gender-related policies or a sexual harassment policy, it might be difficult for the management to develop appropriate strategies aimed at promoting egalitarian gender relations and of suggesting a workshop regarding these policies. It is crucial that WSU brings about a total transformation of human relationships in a new social order. Victims are hurt by the adverse effects of patriarchy that endorse a role for women exclusively concerned with respect and dignity.

Anger, frustration and fear suffused the subject of gender and violence and almost unbroken silence prevailed for a long time. The study is of the opinion that sexual harassment is one of the employer-employee relations which has to be responded to. When resolved, the victims' attitudes to work will be positively affected. Victims' situation disadvantaged them at WSU, keeping them in inferior positions akin to sex slaves, a role that is indeed degrading. If there were no gender discrimination at work, sexual harassment would not be regarded as one of the ills of a patriarchal system.

The study has proved that victims are objects of oppression and are excluded from the domains of respect. Disrespect is a conspiracy against victims which “disenfranchises” them so as to be excluded from a sense of integrity and unity which are supposed to be concepts that produce harmony and destabilize rampant masculinity. Nozamile contented that she was inferior because of the gender inequalities at WSU.

Aitchson (2003: 24) asserts that Mary Wollstonecraft, a feminist writer, points out that women’s inferior position in society was the result of inequality of opportunity. The study suggests radical changes by management, in particular, are needed; women, need to make claims in the name of victims and women at large by releasing the term of femininity into multiple significations-the relation of femininity, and respect, femininity and dignity, femininity and autonomy, femininity and the process of democratization, femininity and the category of women as sites of possible “resignifications” to expand the possibilities of what it means to be a woman, with an enhanced sense that she is not a ‘sex object.’ Let not any behaviour proceed with thoughts that presume the materiality of women’s bodies, the materiality of sex.

The study observes that management and other women employees at WSU are not devoid of ambivalence. Management obviously fare worse when it comes to empowering victims. The situation at WSU demands of management to engage in some sort of a struggle and look of social respectability that oppression bestows on victims.

Overall, the study locates sexual harassment as having its roots in social/cultural constructions of gender, leading to a form of gender-based violence. It asserts sexual harassment as having links to the incidents of manifestations of gender and power inequalities. Since victims are able to recognize and describe sexual harassment, the study then gives voice to victims who have been virtually voiceless. By taking into account their everyday experiences I have come to understand that victims, while sharing similar experiences, also experience their own individual and unique form of discrimination. This is confirmed by the eleven terms of sexual harassment that

participants voiced in chapters one and five. It is therefore crucial that the origin and the foundation of sexual harassment be addressed if the institution looks forward to having an orderly and respectful work environment and strives to abolish sexual harassment behaviours. Exacerbating the problem of sexual harassment at WSU is that the victims are reluctant to expose the behaviours. The study therefore recognizes that the victims do not exercise their rights to complain. They render themselves invisible. It behoves management at WSU to thoroughly investigate this pernicious problem and now render them visible.

7.3 Recommendations

To complete this study, I am proposing recommendations which would either take the study further or which would assist in making possible changes to attitudes, policies or to the general ways of employment. This is because the study has shown that victims at WSU are trapped in a subordinate status to their perpetrators and that gender biases are embedded.

I would like to stress that being a woman, my involvement in the working lives of women victims at WSU made it easier for me to obtain information on such a personal and sensitive subject because I was perceived as an outsider and therefore not personally involved. On the other hand, two 'potential' respondents initially viewed me with suspicion and refused to share their sexual harassment experiences with me. It is prudent for me to make this note and it is therefore recommended that in order to undertake further research on sexual harassment or any sensitive topic, it is crucial that every researcher reassures the participants that their shared information is voluntary and confidential and no one will be penalized for having voiced his/her thoughts for research purposes. I have used the term 'potential,' however, to show that eventually the two 'potential' participants eventually joined in the research and participated because they were reassured that whatever information they shared would be used but their names would be kept confidential.

The history and culture of higher education reflects the overwhelmingly patriarchal nature of institutional norms within Africa (and indeed, global) higher education systems. Bowker, (1996) maintains that violence against women and girls in Southern African Education systems remains a pressing concern. Wolpe, Quinlan and Martinez (1997) identified gender violence as a major obstacle to the achievement of gender equality in South African education (Agenda, 2009: 3). Oyewumi (2005: 408) points out that women who manage to get into academia are exposed to frustrating societal sanctions and mores in the universities. Research should be located on teaching sexualities and gender in South African Higher Education institutions. Due to changes in the gender composition of most contemporary organizations, there are numerous emerging issues which organizations have to grapple with such as organizational politics and sexual harassment. University education should entail issues on gender or sexualities as curricular concerns; there is a powerful and challenging task ahead for WSU if it plans to do so. It is the duty of management to map the terrain of disciplinary engagements with sexualities and gender in South African Higher Education. A sexual harassment procedure at WSU is a dire necessity, amongst other policies, so that employers themselves can be vicariously liable for the actions of their employees.

Management at WSU is now aware that sexual harassment behaviours take place and that behaviours continue and are not reported. Policies will deconstruct the myth of masculinity and challenge perpetrators to develop new masculinities that are more flexible, adaptive and compassionate to all employees. Victims were able to reflect on their personal experiences of gender-based oppression or any other oppression based on social relations. They could also make a link with their experiences in the pursuit of identifying one another's marginalization and alienation at WSU. This could be one way of the breaking silence that has encapsulated victims' minds. The victims should be able to reveal their innermost encounters regarding sexual harassment experiences. In shared experiences, victims will discover that they were not the only ones faced with this behaviour. Management should therefore try to establish a healthy workplace in order to improve their human resource practices and the workplace in general.

Management cannot now turn a blind eye but should insist upon proceeding in accordance with accepted sexual harassment policies. It is surprising that WSU did not have a sexual harassment policy in 1992 when a UNITRA employee revealed her ordeal regarding having been sexually harassed to the management. It is also puzzling why WSU did not have a sexual harassment policy at the time when Bhana and Mayekiso (1997) conducted a sexual harassment study. Bhana and Mayekiso (1997) conducted a sexual harassment study at UNITRA (now a WSU) in 1997. In chapter one, section 1.2 of this study, I indicated that WSU was known as UNTRA before the merger. Bhana and Mayekiso (1997) raised the concern that sexual harassment had become a serious problem in educational settings. They further pointed out that sexual harassment was prevalent at WSU. Both these experiences of harassment (1992 and 1997) have been referred to in chapter three of this study.

Because WSU is a large workplace, it could consider the ‘ombudsperson’ model. Gupta (2004: 91) maintains that this model establishes a ‘safe haven.’ The ombudsperson can be an external consultant or an internal individual designated as a confidential resource person for victims of sexual harassment. This designated person should not be a member of the executive and should be explicitly instructed that the information he/she receives is to be kept confidential unless instructions are received to reveal the information. Consequently it is clear that any victim speaking to the ombudsperson is doing so under an express guarantee of confidentiality. This model has been successfully adopted by government, large employers, universities and law societies.

Even without the existing Gender Studies Department at WSU, victims could raise their feminist concerns regarding the identification and the naming of their subordination. They could have an activity campaign which could be a vehicle when all women, and not only victims, gather. The reason why I am saying all women is because an injury to one woman is an injury to all women. For example, Superson (1991) asserts that when one woman is injured by sexual harassment, it means all women are injured. Women should hone their analysis and develop strategies that will encourage caucuses on an ongoing basis for such analysis and strategies within the context of

conferences or campaigns. The use of victims' experiences as a starting point toward identification and naming of their subordination could make significant changes in the work of women at WSU in general. This is because victims' accounts of what had happened to them could become part of interpretive frameworks to be used in strategies to understand sexual harassment. This movement could be the arena in which great gains would have been made in terms of articulating and advancing a women's agenda. Initially, it should be expected this action will be easy to implement, however, it is necessary that for women to advance, they have to be proactive to maintain their femininity and their expectations in the workplace. It is the duty of management to provide no opportunities for manoeuvre by those forces which would be opposed to women's promotion in the pursuit of recognizing gender violence.

Since these recommendations are carried out for the purpose of advocacy or policy, it is central to raising awareness, a process critical for launching or strengthening of the state of victims' concerns.

Given the concentration of power in the hands of perpetrators, I suggest there should be another mechanism (besides other gender policies) that management can devise: the management could liaise with the Minister of Communications, Mr Simphiwe Nyandato donate a voicemail box in the foyer of all WSU campuses (Mthatha, Butterworth, Queenstown and East London). At 30 minutes intervals this voicemail should be automatically activated and play the presentation that should be heard by everyone as it proclaims that *WSU strives for a free sexual harassment environment*. This will be like airport messages about not leaving luggage unattended at intervals-automatically. My idea of the voicemail sexual harassment policy communication could be reinforced by Gillow's (2003: 187) follow-up action plan steps to communicate the harassment policy at WSU.

7.3.1 Distribution to employees

The policy should be distributed to all employees. It should state that all complaints will be dealt with promptly and fairly and that anyone found to be in breach of the policy will be disciplined and may be dismissed.

7.3.2 Incorporation of sexual harassment policy into staff handbook

The policy could be incorporated into any existing staff handbook and the new employees should be specifically directed to this section during their induction and encouraged to read it.

7.3.3 Reinforcing the message with posters, memos, etc.

Awareness of the issue could be increased by the use of posters on staff notice boards, internal memos to all members of staff and articles in company newspapers.

7.3.4 Reinforcement of the message by managers and supervisors

Managers and supervisors could be asked to hold meetings with their teams to point to the existence of the policy, the importance of reading it and abiding by it.

7.3.5 Spot checks

Occasional spot checks could be carried out to establish whether employees are aware of the policy, and if so, whether they know what procedures are in place for dealing with complaints.

7.3.6 Training sessions

It might be appropriate to invite trade union representatives to speak at training sessions in order to raise awareness of the policy and the importance of the issues contained in it.

I think my idea of a voicemail surpasses Gillow's (2003) action plan because the managers/supervisors will not have to peruse documents to be reminded about the policy. Most of us are ignorant because we are not inclined to peruse books for information. The activated voicemail will be heard loud and clear- by everyone. I also want to believe that this voicemail strategy I am proposing will mean - a change for victims requires a change in the behavior of perpetrators. Perpetrators will recognize the necessity to identify with victims' agendas and see a victim's agency as key to the kind of social transformation required to bring about a sexual harassment-free zone they too should seek. I believe that the appropriate policy at WSU will be a milestone document. Everyone at WSU could become conscious of the scandal that WSU had experienced. The policies will further throw light on the shameful truths that were concealed by intimidated and terrorized victims. This will surely mean a social shift-seeing men and women active and knowledgeable rather than seeing victims passive and socially-determined by perpetrators.

There could also be services that could be useful for everyone at WSU. They are the following:

7.4 Introducing different services

The goal of the services for sexual harassment would be the amelioration of the effects of victimization through the operation of different service programmes that try to put right the wrong done to the victim. The aim of the following services is skilful support of victims to enable them to work successfully through their sexual harassment encounters to prevent further victimization. Sexual harassment could be prevented by advising and guiding victims towards a preventative lifestyle, and creating awareness programmes at WSU. Services rendered by WSU institution should endeavour to help victims by assessing their needs and working actively towards meeting those needs.

The services that I will reflect on are: a need for a sexual harassment policy, workshops and counselling.

7.5 A need for a sexual harassment policy

The starting point is to acknowledge that sexual harassment is a live issue. It is not safe to assume that WSU is a 'no go area' as far as sexual harassment behaviours are concerned. The employer should recognize that all employees have a right to be treated with dignity and respect. A well-drafted and well-implemented policy will help employees and managers to recognize it and to know what to do about it. It will provide reassurance to employees and provide defence for claims of harassment. The EC Code of Practice on the Protection of the Dignity of Women and Men at Work ('the EC Code') recommends that an employer should have such a policy and should give guidance on what it should include. Gillow (2003: 181) asserts that employers with sexual harassment policies cite the need to ensure equal opportunities at work as one of the main reasons for introducing an explicit policy. Employers state that the main reasons for having a sexual harassment policy is to create a better working environment, to avoid potential legal action and to protect the organization's image.

7.6 Workshops

The experience-based workshops could even become forums for policy proposals. There could be discussions that entail how to initiate a process that would culminate in practical policy proposals. I hope it will be helpful that victims' utterances from this study are taken notice of as I am anticipating that capturing the rich texture of their utterances will prove to be elusive. It is mostly women who should have a rough idea of what other policies they think should be formally implemented on behalf of other women. This is not to say men should remain outside the ambit of policy formulations. There are men out there who are feminists at heart but a concept of leadership in workshops should go beyond and include women at every level. Leadership should not be directive but it should be facilitating. The call here is not only for women academics and women support staff. It can be extended to all women workers because the workshop should be specifically in the interest of women. Women leadership is a necessity for social transformation involving the challenging patriarchy, a system that privileged the practices of sexual harassment. Workshops should aim at having a passion for social justice for everyone, to care for everyone, have compassion for everyone and co-operate with empathy with everyone. Transformation will prevent the powerful from thinking of themselves as superior to

victims and trying to control or dominate victims. Instead, present and potential perpetrators will take responsibility for themselves and their actions. I am not isolating women from men here. That is why everyone should gain from these workshops because women cannot be saved in isolation from their male co-workers. Workshops will be an awareness of the extent to which the marginalization of women and their value is part of the bedrock of injustice. What is crucial is that all the discussions in the workshop must be grounded in a feminist ethic based on willingness. Accounts of domination encountered should be listened to. That will be one way wherein women's wellbeing along with aspirations they cherish be promoted. Leaders of workshops should be committed to understanding ideology and discourse in the subordination of victims and the notion that perpetuates powerlessness of victims. Workshops deepen the understanding of complexities of sexual harassment and allows for a much wider range of methodologies and strategies for addressing shared women's concerns. Workshops will not be effective in the absence of the necessary commitment to effect a change. Workshops programmes should include awareness and enlightenment programmes on sexual harassment, coalition and alliance building. Awareness and enlightenment programmes go a long way in conveying the message of the need for social change and in mobilizing men and women to address and solve sexual harassment issues-a crisis that cannot be dismissed in any institution.

Gender mainstreaming¹⁵ is essential at WSU. It involves the reorganization of policy processes because it moves the attention of gender equality processes to everyday processes.

7.7 Counseling

Face-to-face, free-of-charge counselling should be provided by trained volunteers who know exactly what sexual harassment is and who are able to differentiate between sexual harassment and inappropriate conduct. Ideally all supervisors and managers should have fundamental knowledge of gender issues. The issue should be dealt with on expectations of acceptable interpersonal behaviour. Counselling could be one of the ways in which WSU as employer could establish a sense of its identity. Furthermore, the employer could develop a more nuanced understanding of the interplay between gender and sexual harassment, and counselling will serve

¹⁵ Gender mainstreaming recognizes that all issues have an impact on women, and that all policies need to be guided by agenda equality.

as a necessary corrective to exploring discrimination alone as the defining note on victims' working lives. Counselling will help victims to see themselves as survivors of sexual harassment and they will move away from a 'victimhood'. Walby (1990: 146) points out that the conceptualization of 'victim' is opposed by many feminists working in the areas of assault on women; they prefer to use the term 'survivor'. They argue that the term 'victim' gives a misleading impression of women as passive recipients of male violence and prefer to stress women's survival and the myriad of ways in which they resist (Kelly, L., 1988a). Rider (2005: 467) supports Walby in using the term 'survivor' instead of the term 'victim.' Rider asserts that the term 'survivor' has more positive connotations as it suggests that there are no negative consequences to women.

It is hoped that this exploratory study on sexual harassment emerges as a contribution towards dialogue and debate and further research on sexual harassment within the South African context of Higher Education. To the extent that the study takes a definite position against the practices of sexual harassment, the study therefore also presents a challenge regarding education about sexual harassment in all its forms. I am hopeful that the study will lead to substantive respect of women at WSU, in particular, and other Higher Education institutions and workplaces. The study will also advance the understanding of the relationship between economic patterns and gender institutions and ideologies. In turn, this knowledge may be used to address the need of planners interested in designing suitable, relevant and bias-free gender programmes for women and at WSU, in particular. This address is a necessity as the study discovered that the victims at WSU are conscious of hierarchical social relations, meaning that the ideological constructions occupy the minds and working lives of victims as being normal and acceptable.

CHAPTER EIGHT

8. REFLECTIONS

This chapter entails a systematic reflection whereby I position my voice. In this chapter I name myself as a researcher so that I don't distance myself from my study. Kendall, (2007:182) and Davies and Harre (1990: 47) describe positioning as the interactional process through which individuals produce 'a diversity of the selves.' The researcher's voice positioning follows Cameron's idea (2006: 3) who theorizes about the female voice. Cameron (2006) says women of early modern conduct literature made an explicit and normative connection between femininity and public reticence or silence (Cameron, 2006: 5). Prell (1989: 248) says self-reflexivity is an essential outcome of emancipator research. Through reciprocal sharing of knowledge between research and researched, those researched become collaborators in the research project. According to Barbara Myerhoff (1953-1985), who was an anthropologist, urged her students to better understand their lives and the lives of others. Myerhoff asserted that reflexivity is both a 'native' act and an analytic one: the act of recording (the narrator's life) and the act of self-interpretation are all products of persons reflecting one another and thereby influencing and changing one another (www.reference.com/browse/barbara+myerhoff).

This chapter entails a systematic reflection of how the researcher perceives other women's subordination in everyday life by having constructed a poetic text below titled, "*Free her, free a woman.*" The text which has been divided into three paragraphs is about women crying for liberation from men. The first paragraph is about how men control women. The second paragraph is about women's cry for liberation. The third paragraph is a researcher's process of connecting personal change and advice to WSU women. In a way, the researcher is showing her sensitivity, and subjectivity as a researcher is hardly avoided. Josselson (1996) in her foreword says that when we listen to another's story, our intention is to bring our own interpretation to the material. As with any work, each observer interprets from his or her own meaning-making horizon. This is the essence of a reflective hermeneutic stance. Rossman and Rallis (1998) argue that the interplay of this sensitivity and a simultaneous awareness of 'self' and 'others' enhances

one's reflexivity as a researcher. The researcher's role in the production of her narrative approach is not an outcome of her interviews, i.e. the stories told by her participants who are reflected in chapter six. On reflexivity, the researcher follows Giddens (2008: 354) who talks about modernity and personal identity. Giddens (2008) says transition in individual lives has always demanded psychic reorganization, something which was often ritualized in traditional cultures in the shape of *rites de passage*. This is, for example, when an individual moves from adolescence to adulthood. He asserts that the reflexivity of modernity extends into the core of the self whereby the core becomes a *reflexive project*. In the settings of modernity, by contrast, the altered self has to be explored and constructed as a part of a reflective process of connecting personal and social change. The researcher now shifts to a narrative approach. The researcher's shift to a narrative approach is supported by Alasuutari (2008: 88-89) who writes:

Norman Denzin was one of the most prominent advocates of a shift in biographical research towards narrative approaches and a focus on language. A former student of Blumer's, he changed the term used for his perspective from symbolic interactionism¹⁶ to interpretive interactionism (Denzin 1989a, 1989b).

Alasuutari, et al., (2008: 90) maintain that exploring the way people talk about their lives is important for many reasons. In my narrative approach I attempt to show how my lenses have allowed me to be able to perceive how much the world has actually produced and nurtured a patriarchal culture. The lenses have provided me with an observed patriarchal ideology, hence having been able to undertake a sensitive study of sexual harassment.

Regarding women's voices, an anonymous English writer writes: *Women have no voice in Parliament. They make no Lawes, they consent to none. They abrogate none. All of them are understood married, and their desires or [are] subject to their husband* (The Lawes Resolution

¹⁶ The term interpretive interactionism...signifies an attempt to join traditional symbolic interactionists thought with participant observation and ethnographic research, semiotics and field work, post-modern ethnographic research, naturalistic studies, creative interviewing, the case study method, the interpretive, hermeneutic, phenomenological works of Heidegger and Gadamer, the cultural studies approach of Hall and recent feminist critiques of positivism (Denzin 1989a, pp 7-8)

of Women's Rights, 1632: 6). The inclusion of this chapter is premised on the fact that the researcher has not only been a researcher to be able to undertake this study. The notion of gender is a determinant in the production of the study. The notion of gender in this study, the feminine gender, enlarges the apparatus under which femininity presents itself. The researcher would not have been able to shape this project had she not consciously recognized her femaleness and that of her participants. She would not have been able to shape this project had she failed to recognize that there was something wrong with sexual harassment. She would not have been able to shape this project had she failed to emotionally recognize that there had been very little research undertaken on the studies of sexual harassment in Higher Education (Agenda, 2009: 11). Kendall (2006) says the issues of batter, rape, and sexual harassment has not been topics of research. The issues were simply deemed both academically and politically irrelevant. Elman (1996: 13) asserts that few people were ready to challenge the privacy of 'family life' or 'personal relations' and the authority of men-within them. The researcher emotionally recognizes that the emotional part of a woman's life-that part which makes her a woman-must be brought out of the dark and allowed to put forth its best. Litosseli (2006: 42) asserts that studies in the paradigm of psychology claim that women are more emotional than men. The researcher had therefore to undertake this study which in a way pre-occupies what the meaning of being a sexually-harassed woman is and what it entails to be a survivor. The researcher's concern for the study is founded on her recognition of women as a group (not just the survivors) and the researcher growing up and embracing her femininity and women studies and her passion for seeing all women standing firm in all areas of their lives. The researcher has the lenses through which she has been able to perceive how much the world has actually produced a patriarchal culture. The researcher has witnessed women crying. She sees women still crying because of patriarchal ideology which leaves women dominated. Patriarchal ideologies should be a matter of history and women should be unravelling what they share and what is specific to them. (Their freedom, their dignity, their self-respect is all specific to them). The researcher has thus steadfastly refused to internalize this cry and has responded by turning up the amplification and writing about women's sexual harassment experiences. For years, the researcher has become increasingly aware of her gender. She has become sensitive to the predicaments and challenges faced by women in patriarchal societies. She realizes and appreciates the ordeals and almost all the challenges of women oppression. She realizes that she is also an oppressed woman in some ways.

This is part of the researcher's total process of self-recognition. It has helped her to discover her own reflections. It has jolted her into having glimpses of herself in a different light. It exists to her that she is a woman. She is not sliced into two. She is a woman and not a man-woman. Some women still cannot identify their oppression. They cannot see that they are oppressed. Others are able to identify oppression but their tongues are paralyzed. They have decided not to talk about it. Every time these women describe their experiences, which are specific to them as women, they confront their recognition of their experiences as being normal. They internalize their problems. This internalization is not a matter of anatomy and physiology whereby the sexual distinction binds women closely to their oppressors and distinguishes them sharply from men. We need to come together as women and break the hold of masochism¹⁷ so that we can have the collective assertion of a movement for liberation. Sometimes the researcher explodes into anger when she notices how women have been put in the hands of men, how women have been overwhelmed and been pinned down. We (women) need to move towards a new world together but should realize that a journey to development is a painful process. We have suffered the wounds that have been inflicted by other women, women who have enjoyed other women's sufferings, women whose tongues are destructive.

The researcher would then like to contribute immensely to her identification within her gender, hence the poetic text that she constructed. The text relates to her study.

8.1 Free her, free a woman!

Men of the universe,

Your controlling strategies keep her in close quarantine,

She holds her tongue, she guides her steps,

¹⁷Masochism is the tendency to derive pleasure, especially sexual gratification from one's own pain or humiliation (Soanes and Stevenson 2006: 878).

But coming back, it is a different story together, a story of shoving and pushing
Never winning, always losing, having to use every muscle to get to work as if nothing happened,
She wants to talk about you, men of the universe. Her dignity has been stolen,
Her pride has long been forsaken,
You are like a devil that lurks in the sky, a devil who rushes down from the sky,
Laughing to himself, because as he sees her sex-objects waiting silently, they know what to do.
When he approaches, they are adjusted to his ways of controlling them.
He chooses whom he wants, calling, shouting and challenging.
His excitement grows, alights with joy and glee.
He's got what he wants, a woman in his hands, an object in his hand.
It warms his heart and calms his nerves,
But he leaves a sobbing heart, a terrified woman's heart in a pandemonium.

Women have tried to live as free agents in a patriarchal world,
but, how can they be free and still live subordinate to men?
how can they be free and still fight for their bodies not to be defiled up?
how can they be free while their emotional wounds are still suppurating?
how can they be free if the nature of their femininity is still difficult to be grasped in totality?
how can they be free if they fail to capture themselves in their own image?
how can they be free if they still fail to project their own image onto history?
how can they be free if they still see themselves as intruders in their own freedom?

why do these women internalize their oppression?

why are these women's beliefs, reinforced by a dominant ideology which tells them that 'he' is right...?

A woman's voice from the other corner,

A voice that has been listening to women's stories,

A voice that wishes to ameliorate women's misery,

A researcher's voice, my voice, a voice that says "women, you need to stand up collectively and fight against your abuse, thus leaving the following note to all abused women, and in particular, women at WSU."

It is undoubtedly true that when victims are cornered by their perpetrators, they become terrified because they have to obey the rules of their perpetrators. Some of these perpetrators hold high positions at WSU. Victims dream of being liberated from sexual harassment. They have experienced rigid hierarchical dominance. The cure that they need is to be confident and be able to express themselves so that they adapt to the process of change; to voice what is unlawful, and ameliorate their own existence and the environment at WSU. They should refuse to dislocate the sense of their 'self' - inside and outside their experiences. They must refuse inner eruption. They must return to the 'me' which they should not discard. They must stop picking up and putting away their oppression without radically attending to it. Even the Bible in Ecclesiastes 11: 4, says: *a wise person does not wait until the wind and the weather are just right, otherwise he/she will never sow anything and never harvest*. If they are busy picking up and putting away their oppression, blaming themselves for this and that, the perpetrators will continue with their deception. They should be able to identify distinct areas of oppression in their working lives and other women's lives. They should be able to perceive the whole range of their oppression and how it has affected them.

8.2 Epilogue

I have tried to express where my construction of gender comes from. I want to believe that this study is a contribution towards giving voice to WSU women who have been virtually voiceless. Participants should express the group rather than the individual voice. In this sense they could be one of the key components of the collaborative door. This will be a powerful symbol of the connection women feel with each other. Kendall (2006: 179) points out that scholars have identified many important functions served by social talk. Social talk establishes a friendly working environment, opens lines of communication for working relations, and is part of the ‘friendly loop’ through which information circulates in the office. Coates (1996: 230) asserts that it is vital for human survival that talk works, and in order to work, talk has to be coherent.

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APPENDICES

Appendix: A

RE: Research

Mon, September 5, 2005 1:33:14

From: "Grimbeek, Hugo (Mnr) (Summerstrand Campus North)" <Hugo... Add to Contacts>
To: Nhlanhlehle Malinga <malinganu@yahoo.com>
Cc: "Thipa, Henry (Prof) (Summerstrand Campus South)" <Henry.Thipa@nmmu.ac.za>

Dear Mrs Malinga

Your request in the above regard refers.

You are hereby granted permission to conduct a random study in our Faculty of Arts on 21&22September, on the understanding that-

participation of our staff will be on a voluntary basis; and
views expressed by staff are their personal views and do not represent the views of the NMMU.

Please contact Prof Henry Thipa, Dean: Faculty of Arts, as soon as possible to make the necessary arrangements for your intended visit.

Regards
MH Grimbeek
INTERIM REGISTRAR

From: Nhlanhlehle Malinga [mailto:malinganu@yahoo.com]
Sent: 01 September 2005 12:18 PM
To: Grimbeek, Hugo (Mnr) (Summerstrand Campus North)
Subject: Research

The Registrar
Mr Grimbeek
Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University

Dear Sir

Permission To Conduct a Study

I am a PhD University Of Natal registered Gender Studies student.

I am busy working on study of "Sexual Harassment In The Workplace: A Study Of Women Academics In The Workplace In The Eastern Cape".

I am humbly asking to be allowed entry to conduct such a random study in your institution, preferably in Arts Faculty.

I am interested in knowing the impacts of sexual harassment in the workplace. The study has got nothing to do with anyone as a person, nor are the questionnaires designed as too personal. I am preferring to be on the campus on the 21st and the 22nd of September 2005. My preference for these dates is that I would be conducting the same study in one of the institutions which is about 250km from NMMU.

If for any reason I am unable to get hold of some of the respondents, I would ask that I leave my questionnaires in their mail boxes.

Hoping to hearing from you.

Kind Regards
Yours faithfully

Mrs Nhlanhla Malinga
Gender Studies Department
Walter Sisulu University
Mthatha Campus
047- 5022258
0823378422

Do You Yahoo!?
Tired of spam? Yahoo! Mail has the best spam protection around
<http://mail.yahoo.com>

NOTICE: Please note that this eMail, and the contents thereof,
is subject to the standard NMMU eMail disclaimer which may be found at:
<http://www.nmmu.ac.za/disclaimer/email.htm>

Appendix: B

Re request for entry

Tue, June 7, 2005 10:08:04 AM

From: Stephen Fourie <s.fourie@ru.ac.za> Add to Contacts
To: Nhlanhlenhle Malinga <malinganu@yahoo.com>

Dear Mrs Malinga

Further to your request to conduct a study at Rhodes, I regret to inform you that the Admin Sub-committee of Council has not approved your request. We have just had a university wide review of all our departments and we face an institutional audit later in the year. Academics are already complaining about the additional work so we feel that they should be shielded from surveys and the like for the rest of the year.

With kind regards,

Dr Stephen Fourie
REGISTRAR
Rhodes University
6140 Grahamstown
South Africa
Tel +27 (0) 46 603 8101
Fax +27 (0) 46 603 8127

Appendix: C

From: IT Services Helpdesk
To: Cambridge Staff; Potsdam Staff
Date: Wed, Jun 15, 2005 2:50 PM
Subject: Research Interviews

*******MESSENGER DISCLAIMER ******

Please note that neither HELPDESK nor IT Services are responsible for the contents of this group email. We merely assist in distributing the information in the interest of reaching as many parties as possible.

PLEASE do NOT use the "REPLY" button to respond to "ALL STAFF" emails.
PLEASE DO use the "FORWARD" button and insert the email address of the author of the original message.

TO ALL STAFF:

Kindly be informed that the institution has granted permission to Mrs N Malinga to conduct interviews as part of her research on Sexual Harassment in the Workplace. Mrs Malinga will be collecting data at main campus from the 20th to the 22nd of June 2005.

Brief background on Mrs Malinga and her research: " I am a registered UKZN University (Durban) PhD Gender Studies student. The theme of my study is "Sexual Harassment in the Workplace: A Case of Women Academics in all Eastern Cape institutions.

I am principally interested to know the impacts of sexual harassment in the workplace. I will be targeting 3 men and 7 women academics from any department, 5 members of the management body; the registrar academic, human resource director, 1 dean, and 2 heads of any departments.

The questions are not personal nor are they a reflection on anyone as a person.
All data collected will be completely confidential."

Your co-operation will be highly appreciated.

Bulelwa Mhlontlo
PA to the Registrar

for

Mr Jay Bhana
Registrar
Border Technikon
P O Box 1421, EL, 5200
Tel: 00-27-43-708 5201/5326
Fax: 00-27-43-708 5323
<http://www.bortech.ac.za/emaildisclaimer.htm>

Appendix: D

The Dean
Professor Mazwai
Department Of Health Sciences
University Of Transkei

Dear Prof

Request to conduct a research

I visited your personal assistant's office yesterday after having not received a response regarding my request to undertake a study in your departments. She said she did not receive my e-mailed request as she sometimes encounters some problems in retrieving of messages.

I am a University of Kwa-Zulu Natal's (Durban) Gender Studies student. The theme of my project is "Sexual Harassment In The Workplace: A Case of Women Academics in the six Eastern Cape Institutions. (Please note that I would also interview men because Gender Studies means focusing upon men as well as women, masculinity as well as femininity, and sexuality).

I am principally interested to know the impacts of sexual harassment in the workplace. I will be targeting 3 men and 7 women academics plus five members of the management body; the registrar academic, human resource director, the dean (that is you, prof, please), and two heads of your departments.

The questions are not personal nor are they a reflection of anyone as a person. All data collected will be completely confidential.

I would appreciate if I could collect a large amount of data in a form of face-to-face individual communication on any dates this month (June). If for any reason this could be impossible, I am humbly asking that the respondents leave their completed questionnaires with the faculty administrator where I could collect them.

Kindly extend my request to the heads of your department, the academics, and the faculty administrator.

Thanking you in advance for your positive response. I will check your response with your personal assistant or I could be reached at account: drtdm@worldonline.co.za.

Yours faithfully


Mrs Mhlanhla Malinga

Cc: Prof Sokhela
Ms Ndukwana



**Office of the Deputy Registrar
Nelson Mandela Drive,
P/Bag X 1,
MTHATHA, 5117 EC. Province SA
Tel. 047 502 2909/2910
Fax. 047 5022935**

19 August 2005

Dear Mrs Malinga

PERMISSION TO CONDUCT A STUDY

Please be advised that Mrs Malinga will be conducting a study at Walter Sisulu University. She is a PhD registered student at the University of Kwa-Zulu Natal. Her theme "How do women at Walter Sisulu University (WSU) experience sexual harassment in the workplace: A case study of women academics and women support staff."

Thanking you for your co-operation.

Yours faithfully

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'M G MATIWANE', is written over a dotted line.

.....
M G MATIWANE

Appendix: F

1

Appendix: F

How do women at Walter Sisulu University (WSU) in Mthatha in the Eastern Cape Province, experience sexual harassment in the workplace: A case study of women academics and women support staff

Please note:

I was granted by WSU Registrar Academic to undertake this study (show a letter of approval).

You are free to withdraw from the project at any moment.

Confidentiality and anonymity will be adhered to (your identity, age, and length of work will not be exposed).

I was able to know about you from your colleague/s. The total number of participants is 35.

The purpose of the research is to find out how sexual harassment affects you.

Please do not hesitate to ask me to repeat questions.

The benefit of the research is to identify the problems that lead to the behavior of sexual harassment.

Xoliswa: age:

1. How long have you been employed by WSU?
2. How would you describe the power of sexual harassment? What are its characteristics?
3. How do you strategize your work?

Appendix F (1)

4. As a working woman and having male colleagues, do you find WSU e same as your home environment?

6.What motivates sexual harassment behaviours?

7.Is the management or other senior personnel aware of the behaviours?

Appendix F(2)

8. Have you ever reported the behavior? How many times?
7. How many gender-awareness workshops have you attended ever since you have been employed?
8. How many gender-awareness policies are you exposed to? Do these policies include a sexual harassment policy?
9. How are you affected by the behaviours?

Appendix G

Unified Notes Page 1

I asked Xoliswa the number of years she had been employed and she says: I have been employed for a long time. Kindly describe the power of sexual harassment at WSLU. This is her response: This behavior instills in me that men have power. Once the perpetrator follows you, the social relations are messed up. How does he make me her mat? You can shout at him, threaten him, but he does not stop. He prefers to ignore you. Sometimes I feel like shouting at the top of my voice. But people might think you are mad or something. The problem here is that no one cares who does what to whom, where and why. You have to have a way of a strategy to be able to work. I wanted to know how she strategizes her work. She responds: I just keep quiet. I learnt that making noise does not help. I am not the only one with these experiences. Thankdeka and Lunka are expecting you as well. They are also victims nomo bezohi ndingun Mlamgobhozi, but it does not matter even if they would say so, meaning Thankdeka and Lunka will say I talk too much. But they know you are coming and are waiting for you. Hay, andazi izaphela nini leno, meaning hey, I do not know when this thing (behavior) shall pass. I am discriminated against ngoba ndingumfazi, meaning she is discriminated against because she is a woman. I regard sexual harassment as having to do with my dignity and see the behavior as a manifestation of violence against me and other victims. We are blamed for the behavior most of the time. These issues need to be taken seriously. Men think they can do anyhow. I wanted to know if Xoliswa's home environment is the same as WSLU's environment in cases of male and their domination. She makes an example of her boyfriend and says: It's like my boyfriend. He treats me as if I am unable to think. Of course I cannot compare him with my perpetrator. He is not as crude as him though sometimes he does have those guts of being dominant. What could be motivating sexual harassment behaviours? She asserts: We are not taken seriously here. They do not think sexual harassment is a serious issue. That is what motivates this behavior. Who are they? I mean the management and men who abuse us. Regarding the management or other senior personnel being aware of the behavior, have you ever reported? She responds: If I report to senior people, I

Xoliswa:

Appendix: G

Tuesday, October 05, 2010
11:22 AM

Appendix (G1)

expect the behavior to be known. These men are all friends. There is no reason why they could be unaware of sexual harassment taking place here. Sometimes I feel most men are perpetrators here. Maybe the best would be to have workshops on this matter and on all gender issues. We are not protected by any sexual harassment policy. Have you ever attended any gender-awareness workshops or any workshop that is gender related? Xoliswa maintains: *I have never been to any workshop that is gender related, not even once. So, men do as they like. Are you anyhow affected by sexual harassment?* She points out: *Ndiyacaphuka*, meaning *I am angry because the whole behavior lets my femaleness down. It is as if you do not have life and he can do whatever. No one feels good about losing her dignity. This nonsense has to do with my dignity and it has to do with violence. I am a target of my perpetrator's sexual desires because I am a woman. I am expected to bow to my perpetrator's demands. There is no way we could be developed if women's issues are not attended to. There are no resources for our development. That is why there is so much violence here.* How would you like the management to help you in this violence? *We need to be protected. WSU should have gender policies, the sexual harassment policy because this violence is too much.* Regarding violence of men, Hearn (1998:5) reports that 'men's violence are being increasingly recognized for what they are- a severe social problem. Yet the recognition appears to do little to reduce men's violence to women, or indeed, other kinds of men's violence. The problem of men's violence to known women has now been named, and men have been named as the problem. Men's violence to known women and the pain, both physical and emotional, of that violence have been made public.

Marilyn Frere notes: *Feminists have been concerned to expose and oppose all forms of blaming the victim since women are so frequently the victims of sexual harassment. She points out that the various ways of blaming the victim not only interfere with victim obtaining justice and help when they have been harmed, but about their harm by creating confusion and feeling of guilt about their own responsibility for their suffering.* Martin (1984:61) maintains that Phyllis Schlafly blames the woman who 'allows' herself to be harassed- or worse, elicits the harassment- because she is of dubious virtue. However, sexual harassment is not a question of 'virtue,' it is a question of power. Women who acquiesce are often not in a position to refuse; their surrender is a price of survival. Radtke and Stam (1994:4) say power must be analyzed as something which circulates, or rather as something which only functions in the form of a chain. It is never localized here or there, never in anybody's hands, never appropriated as a commodity or peace of

Appendix: G (2)

wealth. Power is employed or exercised through a net like organization. And not only individuals circulate through its threads; they are always in the position of simultaneously undergoing and exercising this power. They are not only its inert or consenting target; they are always the elements of its articulation. What Radtke and Stam mean is that individuals are the vehicles of power, and not its point of application. They analyze power as here akin to understanding the deep meaning of power and patriarchy.

Gilligan (2001:61) maintains that the statistics on sex objects discriminates against women and they end up being sex objects as the vast majority of rape victims are women. Gilligan (2001) points out that this violence throws light on the psychology both of gender roles and violence. Backhouse, et al., (1981) assert that sexual harassment at work has become a common topic of discussion and women have been to demand that such abuse comes to a halt. Since women are working, there are more instances of sexual harassment and that this has brought the problem to a head. Backhouse, et al., (1981) say that women take threat to their working status-such as sexual harassment- more seriously.

Appendix: H

UNIVERSITY OF TRANSKEI FACULTY OF ARTS

MEMORANDUM

TO: ALL MEMBERS OF THE GENDER STUDIES COMMITTEE

1. Ms S Nkanyuza, Dept of Psychology
2. Ms S Nkanyuza, Acting Coordinator, B A Honours Gender Studies
3. Dr T Mdleleni-Bookholane, Dept of Psychology
4. Ms Ndukwana, Faculty of Health Science
5. Advocate Nakani, Faculty of Law
6. Mrs N Malinga, Gender Studies
7. Mr D Zounmenou, Dept of Political Studies
8. Prof N Mijere, Dept of Sociology and Population Studies.
9. Dr C.M. Langa

FROM: PROF N MIJERE, DEAN, FACULTY OF ARTS.



SUBJECT: B A HONOURS PROGRAMME MEETING

This serves to notify you that there will be a B A Honours Gender Studies Programme Meetings:

DATE: 22nd October 2004 (FRIDAY)

TIME: 11.00HOURS

VENUE: FACEX BOARDROOM (Faculty of Arts)

AGENDA:

1. Opening and Welcome
2. Purpose of the meeting:
 - 2.1 Lecturers Concerns
 - 2.2 Students Concerns
3. Teaching of Modules:
 - 3.1 Gds4001 Gender Inequalities and Theories
 - 3.2 Gds4002 Research Methodology
 - 3.3 Gds4003 Dissertation
 - 3.4 Gds4004 Feminist Ethics
 - 3.5 Gds4008 Gender and Health
 - 3.6 Gds40011 Gender and Politics
4. Examinations 2004