

**MALE UNIVERSITY PEER-EDUCATOR STUDENTS' UNDERSTANDINGS OF
MASCULINITIES AND THEIR CONNECTION TO GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE**

By

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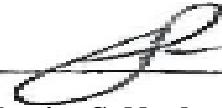
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**DURBAN
DECEMBER 2021**

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis, unless clearly indicated in the text, is my original work that has not been presented at any other educational institution. It is submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa.



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As a supervisor, I approve this thesis for submission



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December 2021

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ABSTRACT

Gender-based violence (GBV) is a serious concern in societies worldwide. In recent years there has been much focus on GBV at institutions of higher learning, with research showing female students being the main victims of violence perpetrated by men. Men being the main perpetrators of violence puts masculinities under the spotlight and calls for a deeper understanding of how men construct and conduct themselves. Against the backdrop of research investigating the link between masculinities and violence, this study focuses on male university peer-educator students' (MUPES') understandings of masculinities and their connection to GBV.¹ Given the continued global efforts to involve men in the fight against GBV, and the realisation that peer education can improve students' knowledge, attitudes and behaviour in different fields (e.g. sexual health issues, sexual violence prevention and social issues), the study sought to explore how MUPES' understandings of masculinities contributed towards reducing GBV or maintaining the status quo.

This qualitative study draws on gender theories that view masculinities as socially and culturally constructed rather than being biologically determined. Biological determinism positions men and women as inherently different and opposite, hence facilitating justified male power and female subordination. Important in understanding male power and GBV is how men construct hegemonic masculinity, which is a form that highlights that some masculine expressions are powerful and regarded as more valid than others. Understanding hegemonic masculine norms is key, as they are important components to disrupt for the prevention of GBV. The data were generated by means of a mapping workshop, individual interviews and focus group discussions with drawings from a purposively selected group of male students who lived at the university residences and were members of the Campus HIV/AIDS Support Unit (CHASU).

The findings suggest that MUPES are aware of gender inequalities and how these promote violence, and understand GBV as emanating from asymmetrical gender power within socio-cultural processes. The findings also highlight the hegemonic campus masculinities that were

¹ By male university peer-educator students (MUPES), this study refers to male university undergraduate students who are recruited and trained by the Campus HIV/AIDS Support Unit (CHASU) for the purposes of passing HIV/AIDS education to their university peers.

constructed around materiality, contributing to the unequal gender relations through female students' perceived consenting behaviours that suggested legitimation to their subordination. The MUPES constructed themselves in complex ways, as their articulations vacillated between complying with and challenging hegemonic masculine norms. They viewed themselves as having the capacity to deconstruct the harmful campus masculinities and rework their own limiting identities, as well as to encourage positive change in other male students. The findings also point to the importance of peer education as a vital platform that enables male students to take the lead in discussions about gender norms that produce and promote GBV. Most of the male peer-educator students who participated in the study embraced the expectations and responsibilities that accompanied their position, their articulations being characterised by varying degrees of reflexivity. This study argues for the importance of encouraging young men to engage in reflecting on their own beliefs and practices, and then to extend that process to working with other young men, and thus challenge and rework the harmful masculinities that lead to GBV at universities.

KEY WORDS: *Gender-based violence, Masculinities, Peer education, University and violence, Socio-cultural factors, Gender power, Gender transformation, Potential change agents, Hegemonic masculine norms, Male university peer-educator students (MUPES).*

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
CQ	Critical Questions
CHASU	Campus HIV/AIDS Support Unit
DRM	Different Real Man
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GBV	Gender-Based Violence
GETT	Gender Equity Task Team
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
LTD	Literature-Theory-Data
MGRS	Masculine Gender-role Stress
MUPES	Male University Peer-Educator Students
NSFAS	National Student Financial Aid Scheme
RA	Resident Assistant
SNS	Social Networking Site
TA	Thematic Analysis
TVET	Technical and Vocational Education and Training
VAW	Violence Against Women
VAWG	Violence Against Women and Girls
UKZN	University of KwaZulu-Natal
UN	United Nations

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

Gender-based violence (GBV) is a serious concern in societies worldwide, with research having shown that women are the main victims of violence perpetrated by men (Beyene et al., 2019; Hearn, 2012; Jewkes et al., 2015a; Peacock and Barker, 2014; Ratele, 2014). The multiple definitions of the concept of gender-based violence are explored, this study focusing on GBV as violence mostly perpetrated by men against women and some males. Different forms of this violence are used as a policing tactic to enforce gender hierarchies to enable a particular group of men to dominate both women and specific groups of men (Read-Hamilton, 2014). The continuing perpetration of violence by men suggests that it is socially justified, that it is associated with gender norms that encourage men to perceive themselves as superior to women, which gives them the right to punish or treat them with violence (Ratele, 2016). For this reason, violence perpetrated by men puts masculinities at the centre, and suggests that something needs to be done about how men construct themselves. Against this backdrop, this chapter presents the background to the study, locating it within the range of studies on GBV in the institutions of higher learning. It also presents the problem statement, aims and objectives, critical questions, briefly explains the methodology as well as the thesis structure.

1.2. Background

While there is consensus about GBV being a problem in societies globally, there are contestations about what the term GBV means and its scope (Acosta, 2020; Buiten and Naidoo, 2020; Mnawulezi et al., 2018). Some contend that violence is gendered simply by being perpetrated against women, while others regard gender as being insignificant if men are also victims, suggesting that there is gender symmetry (Jakobsen, 2014). This prompted Jakobsen (2014) to call for an answer to the question “what is gendered about this violence?” (p. 538). The author (2014) also utilised the question to address the connection of violence to gender rather than to biological sex. Violence against women is not automatically gendered or equivalent to GBV, unless it is analysed in accordance with specific theories of gender (Anderson, 2009). However, some incidents where men become victims of violence do not make violence gender-neutral, as Stark (2010) argues that the focus should be more on how violence operates to maintain gender

inequalities rather than on who uses violence. The present study, drawing on theories of masculinities, explored that which is gendered in gender-based violence in line with Jakobsen's (2014) observation of "the surge in research that calls violence gender-based without a theoretical understanding of what is gendered about it" (p. 541).

While gender-based violence is sometimes regarded as synonymous with violence perpetrated against women, it is more complex than that. Multiple interpretations have been formulated around the term, with the following questions demonstrating and calling for non-simplistic meanings to GBV.

Is forced recruitment of boys into fighting-forces GBV? Is so-called 'corrective rape' of lesbians GBV? Is the sexualised torture of male prisoners of war GBV? Is refusing to register a transgendered person as an IDP because the sex on their documentation does not match their appearance GBV? Is sexual abuse of boys by men with a sexual preference for pre-pubescent children GBV? (Read-Hamilton, 2014, p. 3)

To shed some light on these questions, the three main interpretations of the term GBV and their different theoretical bases are reviewed, being characterised by different forms of violence (Read-Hamilton, 2014, p. 3). First, the most standard interpretation is that GBV is mainly violence perpetrated by men against women and girls. This interpretation, which is based on feminist theory, posits that there are differences in the gendered elements of violence directed to women from those against men. This suggests that the violence men perpetrate against other men, or that men experience, does not amount to the subjugation of the whole social category of men. Second, there is an interpretation based on masculinities and sexualities that regards GBV as violence mainly perpetrated by men against women, some males and children (sexually). According to this interpretation, violence serves as a policing strategy to impose gender hierarchies in order for certain men to dominate both women and specific groups of men. What is considered GBV here includes, but is not limited to, homophobic violence and the sexual abuse of children. Third, there is a broad interpretation that sees GBV as violence against a person, regardless of sex, but based on predetermined social roles. According to this interpretation, violence is understood to be perpetrated against women, girls, men and boys as a way of reproducing gender norms and roles to reinforce conformity and discouraging non-conformity. These diverse interpretations were also evident in Read-Hamilton's (2014) interviews of 35 GBV and Child Protection specialists from

international humanitarian and development organisations in 2012. Given the need to address GBV, locating violence within the interpretations mentioned above is essential in suggesting an approach that can be adopted to deal effectively with it (GBV).

Other authors focus more on the scope of the term GBV, for example, Beydoun and Beydoun, (2013) assert that GBV can take many forms, including physical, sexual and emotional. In addition, Bent-Goodley (2009) includes the threats of the acts mentioned above, coercion and any deprivation of liberty that happens publicly or privately. However, this study does not only focus on violence directed to women by men, it also considers this among men. Oladepo et al. (2011) assert that while GBV is widely used as violence against women, it also occurs among men, while Collins et al. (2009) note the existence of homophobic violence against men who do not conform to dominant stereotypes of toxic masculinities.

The term gender-based violence has come under question, with Dunne et al. (2006) contending that a long-standing definition provided in the Commonwealth Secretariat's manual of 2002 is gender sensitive, as it defines it as a violation of human rights that results in all forms of violence based on gender relations, which includes physical harm, sexual acts, emotional abuse and economic deprivation (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2002, p. 44). However, Dunne et al. (2006) contend that defining violence as 'gender-based' suggests that gender can sometimes be negligible in the acts of violence, which the authors believe (violence) is all gendered, and for that reason, argue for the term gender violence.

In this study, I use "gender-based violence" as it allows a focused analysis of violence as a masculinities issue, where men, specifically, perpetrate violence against women and some men, to ensure their domination and subordination of others (Vetten and Ratele, 2013). This approach aligns with the theories of masculinities that I use as the theoretical framework in this study.

Based on the interpretation of violence that is premised on masculinities, as discussed earlier, I argue that using the term GBV gives violence against women in particular the attention it deserves, without risking equating and/or reducing it to any form of violence that might not be as problematic as GBV. The attention that violence against women requires calls for more active and forceful

terminology in order to highlight the area where policies and resources are needed the most. For this reason, ‘gender-based’ is a description that yields rigorous analysis guided by an important question “What is gendered about GBV?” (Jakobsen, 2014, p. 537), whose answer should be able to expose the toxicity of some forms of masculinities. Research has focused on the involvement of men in the fight against violence (Colpitts, 2019; Jewkes et al., 2015a), although little is known about the meanings that an influential group of students, such as the male university peer-educator students (MUPES), attaches to GBV. For this reason, the study sought to understand how dominant values, beliefs and perceptions are embedded in the ways MUPES conceptualised and constructed their masculinities, and how rejecting, accepting or reworking those contributed to GBV perpetration or its reduction.

1.2.1 Conceptualising GBV

Gender-based violence is a broad term that covers a wide range of violations against individuals and/or groups. It is important to be clear about what kinds of violence are included and excluded from this term. Rather than presenting a list of the types of violence that are excluded from the term GBV as a way of clarifying what it is not, I find Bennett’s (as cited in Buiten and Naidoo, 2020) assertion, which added an essential dimension to how the scourge is understood, to be helpful for this study. Bennett (2000) views GBV as violence wherein “being gendered as a man or a woman is significant to the presence and shape of the violence”, hence highlighting the importance of paying attention to “who is hurt, by whom, how, and importantly why” in trying to understand GBV. This stresses that GBV should be understood beyond the essentialist dichotomy of women as victims and men as perpetrators without analysing how the dominant social norms and patriarchal conditions shape gender relations (Boyle, 2019). Similarly, Mnawulezi et al. (2018) assert that all genders can be victims of GBV as it is underpinned by structurally prevailing gender inequities, patriarchal norms and imbalanced power relations.

GBV includes different forms of gendered violence perpetrated inside and outside of the relationship-dyad, such as physical, sexual, psychological, economic, sexual harassment, coercive control, online violence and abuse etc., with a multiplicity of causative factors, including social and cultural (Beyene et al., 2019; Sen and Bolsoy, 2017). Physical violence involves intimidating and suppressing others using force, with sexual violence being where sexuality is at the centre of

the oppression, threat and violation; psychological violence includes restricting, controlling and exposing others to behaviour that has adverse psychological effects, and economic violence is characterised by use of material resources and money to control the behaviour of others (Sen and Bolsoy, 2017). Gendered forms of violence also manifest through sexual harassment at universities. In the context of universities, Kabaya and Singh (2021) argue that this form of GBV emanates from traditional gender norms predicated on the notion of hegemonic heterosexuality that legitimises male power through normalising violence. Based on the findings of their study, which focused on a South African university campus, the authors regard sexual harassment as a multidimensional form of GBV. It should be understood in terms of how both men and women are complicit in practices that produce, protect and reproduce hegemonic masculinities that are characterised by sexual objectification and violence among, as well as between, each other (Kabaya and Singh, 2021).

Furthermore, social media platforms have also become gendered spaces. Naicker and Singh (2021) assert that while social networking sites (SNS) have yielded the opportunity for women to express their sexuality in various ways (which remains a challenge in physical spaces), they are still subjected to different forms of gender and power inequalities and violence on online platforms as a way of policing their gender. Slut-shaming is one of the forms of cyber violence against women, where they are (implicitly or explicitly) regarded as sluts due to being perceived to be engaging in sexual activity (Renold et al. 2015). Online violence is also characterised by double standards at the expense of women. For example, the exchanging of sexual content online, known as sexting, reinforces masculine norms that associate men with sexual desires. At the same time, it characterises women as sluts and whores for engaging in the same practice (Walker et al., 2013). In this study, I synthesise the MUPES' understandings about what constitutes GBV with the conceptualisations discussed in this section and the literature review. The following section elaborates on how constructions of masculinities facilitate violence that is perpetrated chiefly against women.

1.2.2. Masculinities and Violence

Research has shown that violence perpetrated by men against women is pervasive worldwide, with more attention to boys' and men's engagement in attempts to address it (Beyene et al., 2019;

Hearn, 2012; Jewkes et al., 2015a; Peacock and Barker, 2014). The attention given to men does not suggest a problem with them, but a problem with how they construct themselves. Violence is not naturally part of masculinity; instead, men, in conformity with social norms, construct themselves in ways that produce violence, hence engendering a connection between masculinities and violence (Jewkes et al., 2015a). Peacock and Barker (2014) concur that the violence by men is attributable to problematic and firm gender norms through which they define not only themselves, but also women. For this reason, how masculinities brutalise men necessitates paying attention to men to reveal the ways in which violence, men and their constructions of masculinities connect (Flood, 2019b, Hearn, 2012). Given the need to address gendered violence, understanding the connection between masculinities and GBV from the perspective of a group of male students with an interest in social issues is important.

To demonstrate that violence against women is a masculinities issue, Flood (2011) argues that “to make progress toward eliminating violence against women, we will need to change men’s attitudes, behaviours, identities, and relations” (p. 359). The need to change men’s behaviour has led to the formation of influential local and global hashtag movements, such as #MenAreTrash and #MeToo. Although #MenAreTrash was aimed at exposing the toxicity of most forms of masculinities as a way of addressing violence against women, some scholars have been critical of the movement, claiming that it does not focus on positive masculinities but rather on “a simple surfacing of toxic masculinities” (Makama et al., 2019, p. 2). The #NotAllMen was established by those who believed that violence was perpetrated by the majority of men but not all. While the development of such a reactionary hashtag and the above critique against #MenAreTrash by scholars may suggest some form of denial of the seriousness of GBV, importantly, they also suggest that engaging men, by focusing on the development of positive masculinities, is central in addressing the scourge. Furthermore, as noted by Flood (2019a), #MeToo encourages men to perform three critical tasks, the first being to listen to women in order to appreciate that men’s violence is seriously wrong. The second task is that men begin the process of reflection that will lead to change in behaviour and relations with women as well as other men. The third task challenges men to be proactive in social change by challenging other men, and contributing to the eradication of the entrenched gender inequalities in their societies.

The demonstration of support by some men for campaigns against violence, as well as some implicit resistance by others through reactionary campaigns, suggests men's different masculine positions in relation to violence. Ratele (2015) asserts that the resistance to gender transformation by the majority of men calls for an explanation of how and why this is the case, even when hegemonic forms of masculinities are harmful to them. He further notes that resistance to transformation may be as a result of a commitment to gender privilege, which for others may translate into accepting gender equality only in principle but not being actualised in their everyday lives (Ratele, 2015). This calls for research related to masculinities and the social categories of men (Hearn, 2019). In order to remain critical of the men involved in this present study, I considered the three possible positions of men in relation to violence, namely: as perpetrators, victims and partners in ending violence (Vetten and Ratele, 2013). To maintain being critical, an integrated approach to theories of masculinities entailed multiple masculinities being explored to ensure that the complexities and implications of different forms of masculinities in relation to violence were accommodated.

As violence perpetrated by men is related to their constructions of masculinities, there is a need to challenge the oppressive elements of masculinities. Tonkin's (2001) long-standing argument, as expressed in Partab (2012), is still informative, that hegemonic masculinities, which contribute to unequal gender relations, can be challenged through the process of what he terms the 'reinvention of men'. In order for this process to be successful, men need to be engaged by way of research as Partab (2012) asserts:

We must pay greatest attention to the violence and neglect men subject themselves to as a gender...If men do not become engaged in a change process, they...go on to form other abusive relationships...and traumatisate another generation. (p. 31)

This supports this present study's position, as it emphasises the importance of engaging men from an optimistic perspective that they have a role not only in reducing GBV, but also in potentially transforming gender relations.

1.2.3 Men's Role in Gender-based Violence Reduction

Globally, there has been growing efforts to get men involved in the fight against violence that is directed at women (Colpitts, 2019; Jewkes et al., 2015a). This suggests that it is possible, through

working with men, to reduce violence against women, by adopting gender-equitable attitudes and hence creating better possibilities for gender equality. As Miller et al. (2014) assert, the prevalence of GBV worldwide highlights the need to focus on and engage men and boys in changing social norms that condone violence against women. Working with men to effect change is critical, particularly as it invokes reflections necessary for the realisation of equal gender relations (Jewkes et al., 2015a). Importantly, there is a need in the engagement of men to pay attention to the positive elements of their masculinities, that being, to strike a balance between reflection on oppression and power of hegemonic forms of masculinities and the positive aspirational constructions of their masculinities (Jewkes et al., 2015a). For this reason, this study worked with men whose interest in social issues positioned them as men who could potentially play a role in GBV reduction.

1.2.4. Gender-based Violence and Universities

As GBV is prevalent in most societies worldwide, institutions of higher learning, as their (societies') extensions, are not immune from this scourge. Owing to its seriousness and the threat that it poses to students' sense of safety on university campuses globally, GBV has been the focus of many studies, which have shown that female students are the main victims and male students are the main perpetrators (Cantalupo, 2014; Edwards-Jauch, 2011; Feltes, et al., 2012; Roebuck and Murty, 2016). However, I cannot ignore the lack of a clear interest in what is gendered about GBV as noticed in some recent studies that explore GBV at universities (Beyene et al., 2019; Kafonek, 2017; Kaufman et al., 2019; List, 2018; Mahlori et al., 2018; Puigvert et al., 2019; and Valls et al., 2016). These studies appear to ignore how violence is produced by male students as gender is being constructed, which is critical to ending it. While these studies focused on other aspects of GBV that might have been contextually important, men remain the main perpetrators of violence against women at universities, and for that reason, their constructions of masculinities should be the crucial focus in any attempts to understanding and possibly addressing the scourge. This avoids creating the impression that violence perpetrated by men may be motivated by biological elements, which normalises it. This present study sought to fill this gap by its focus on men and masculinities to understand GBV, as focusing on violence as gendered necessitates paying attention to how masculinities influence males' roles, that being exploring how gender works to produce violence (Baaz and Stern, 2013).

Similar to the findings from international universities, South African universities have experienced numerous incidents of GBV perpetrated against female students (Dosekun, 2013; Gordon and Collins, 2013; Ngabaza et al., 2015; Singh et al., 2016 and Singh et al., 2015). Most GBV incidents occur in the students' residences; for example, the 2007 foreign-exchange female student rape incident that attracted the media happened in the residence at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. There are a number of other incidents that continue to receive attention, for instance, Ngabaza et al. (2015) report that in 2008, a female student was killed by her former boyfriend in the residences at the Cape Peninsula University of Technology. In the same year, the authors note that another female student was murdered by her boyfriend in the residences at the University of the Western Cape. Yet another female student's life was ended by her non-resident boyfriend in the residence at Rhodes University in 2014 (Ngabaza et al., 2015). Therefore, residences are the places where gender-based violence is more likely to take place, and for that reason, this study focused specifically on students who stayed at university residences due to their lived experiences. Focusing on students who stay in the university residences is in accordance with the claims made by the women in Gordon and Collins' (2013) study who perceived them to be unsafe. Based on the findings of the above international and local authors, GBV has certainly become an educational issue, as it has turned university campuses into unsafe spaces for learning, particularly for female students.

1.2.5. The Role of Peer Educators

Research has associated peer education with improved access to information, behaviour change and the development of new skills to deal with problems (Moolman et al., 2020). In different fields, peer education has been utilised as a strategy to improve students' knowledge, attitude and behaviour; for example, in sexual health issues (Senteio et al., 2018); sexual violence prevention (McMahon et al., 2014; Sun et al., 2018); and social issues (Denison et al., 2012). Although men have for a long time been engaged as perpetrators of violence, a need to involve them as partners in a fight against violence has been realised (Flood, 2011). Hence this present study worked with peer-educator students who were already organised as a group who wanted to see change on campus.

The male students who participated in the study lived in the university residences and were selected from the Campus HIV/AIDS Unit (CHASU), which is a university program that encourages a healthy lifestyle among the students through disseminating HIV/AIDS education. Research has demonstrated a relationship between HIV/AIDS and GBV, with some even showing that health care utilisation is higher among women who have experienced GBV (Bhana, 2009; Beydoun and Beydoun, 2013; Collins et al., 2009; Corbin, 2018, de Lange, Mitchell and Bhana, 2012; and Peacock and Barker, 2014). When recruiting the students to become its members who are known as peer educators, CHASU expects them to possess particular qualities, including but not limited to being interested in a healthy lifestyle and discussing social issues in groups, and being able to approach and speak to other students. Peer educators engage other students through their programs and campaigns, and therefore occupy an influential position on campus. While CHASU has female peer-educator students, this study purposefully targeted the males to explore what meanings such a group of students attaches to GBV and how their understandings of masculinities relate to it.

Research reveals some normalisation of GBV, as it indicates that young South African women often model their relationships around female vulnerability and male dominance (Bhana & Anderson, 2013). Therefore, this study engaged MUPES as participants in order to penetrate their everyday realities and understand the existing issues of power dynamics and vested interests that might manifest themselves through certain perceptions and notions of what it means to be a man. Furthermore, the study sought to find out how MUPES challenged traditional notions towards more equitable and non-violent gender relations within the institution. The study assumed that engaging MUPES on their understandings of masculinities would uncover their opinions on patriarchal beliefs, and that probing them on their beliefs would create space and increase the possibility for them to realise the possible role they can play as men towards addressing GBV.

Gqola (2007) is optimistic that we can address GBV by focusing on men and not pretending that it is unknown who the perpetrators are in South Africa. This study engaged the MUPES, regardless of whether they were perpetrators or victims, directly or indirectly affected by GBV, to better understand it in the context of masculinities. The study sought to afford MUPES a platform to negotiate their masculinities and also to reflect on their socialisation as men. The imagination of “what the society would look like without the [social] category [of men] not through gendercide,

but gender transformation” (Hearn, 2004, p. 59) inspired my interest in studying men who are interested in discussing social issues as peer-educator students. Research has noted peer educators’ potential to facilitate social change as far as gendered forms of violence are concerned (Christensen, 2014; McMahon, 2009). Little, if any, is known about how masculinities constructed by peer educators are connected to GBV, especially its reduction at universities. For this reason, Gordon and Collins (2013), who explored how female residence students at a South African university understand and experience GBV, indicated that “[f]urther research needs to be conducted in South Africa in the area of gender-based violence, particularly as it is manifested at institutions of higher education” (p. 104).

1.3. Problem Statement

Despite South Africa being regarded as having one of the world’s most progressive constitutions that prohibits discrimination on the grounds of gender, as everyone is regarded as equal, and no-one may force another person to do things against their will, GBV has become a social and public problem across the country. Tertiary institutions have not escaped the challenges of enabling people to enjoy their constitutional rights and be free from violence, including GBV. While universities are intended to be places of learning and engaging in critical thinking, people bring their cultures with them, making it difficult to assume that everyone has the same values about respecting everyone else’s rights.

The challenge faced by universities is evident in the continued cases of GBV perpetrated by men against female students (Gordon and Collins, 2013). As a result, a need to conduct studies on GBV at the institutions of higher learning has been identified by researchers, such as Singh et al. (2016), Singh et al. (2015) and Dosekun (2013). As authors such as Singh et al. (2015), Dosekun (2013) and Gordon and Collins (2013) focused on women participants, with their findings acknowledging the existence of GBV in universities, this present study focused on this phenomenon by engaging the MUPES as a way of exploring the issue from a different perspective. Given that the problem of GBV occurs at South African universities, with men being the main perpetrators, it is important to understand their perspectives on GBV and on how they envisage their role in addressing the scourge. Little is known about the MUPES’ understandings of GBV, given their influential role on a campus in KwaZulu-Natal Province, South Africa. This lack of information means that we

cannot understand what they think constitutes and promotes GBV on campus, and how the way in which they construct themselves as men helps us realise the conditions under which men can be engaged as part of a solution.

1.4. Aim and Objectives

The study aimed to explore university peer-educator students' understandings of gender-based violence on a campus in KwaZulu-Natal Province, South Africa.

The objectives of this study were:

1. To explore what meanings male university peer-educator students attach to gender-based violence.
2. To explore how male university peer-educator students' understandings of masculinities are connected to gender-based violence.
3. To explore how male university peer-educator students envisage their role in reducing GBV on campus.

1.5. Research Questions

This study sought to answer the following critical questions:

1. What meanings do male university peer-educator students attach to gender-based violence?
2. How are male university peer-educator students' understandings of masculinities connected to gender-based violence?
3. How do male university peer-educator students envisage their role in reducing gender-based violence on campus?

1.6. Methodology

1.6.1. Research Approach

This study adopted a qualitative research approach in the collection and analysis of the data to obtain textual data to understand the explanations that participants offered around masculinities and GBV (Cohen et al., 2011). It is argued that qualitative study should be based on a suitable paradigmatic basis, hence the adoption of a critical paradigm (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011; Maxwell, 2013), with a focus on unequal power relations and reality being shaped by social, political,

cultural, economic and other dynamics (Bertram and Christiansen, 2014). Therefore, critical researchers aim to unpack and interrogate the structural, historical and political aspects of reality in order to arrive at a change of emancipatory nature (Bertram and Christiansen, 2014). Partab (2012) asserts that critical theory emphasises people's agency, their capacity to achieve social change. It is argued that the awareness of the possibility of change means that people have voluntary control over social arrangements, rather than the social order being determined by forces outside their control (Payne as cited in Partab 2012, p. 56). This paradigm enabled this study to explore how power manifested itself when MUPES discussed their masculinities and it uncovered the role played by culture in how they viewed their world.

1.6.2. Study Setting and Sample

The study was located on one of the University of KwaZulu-Natal's five campuses, in KwaZulu-Natal Province, South Africa, the selected one dealing with teacher education, and having a diverse student population representative of the country's demographic. Participants were selected from the university AIDS programme, which has Campus HIV/AIDS Support Units (CHASU) on each of the five campuses. The study purposefully focused on undergraduate male university students who lived in residences and were members of CHASU, being known as peer educators.

1.6.3. Theoretical Approach

Based on an understanding that men's compliance with dominant social norms manifest itself in various ways in which they construct themselves, this study employed theories of masculinities, with Miller et al. (2014) contending that harmful notions of masculinity and male aggression are additional changeable factors that are often expected and normalised in relation to violence against women—engaging with theories of masculinities sought to gain insight into the MUPES' understandings of GBV in relation to masculinities, which are the arrangements and patterns of practice that are socially constructed, unfold, and change over time (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). There are hegemonic forms of masculinity that are regarded as ideal, against which men measure themselves, and are measured against by others (Connell, 1987). Hegemonic forms of masculinity in a given society can dominate other masculinities and succeed in creating prescriptions of masculinity that are binding and create cultural images of what it means to be a 'real' man.

While gay masculinity is the most noticeable, and at the bottom of the gender hierarchy among men (Connell, 1995), it is not the only subordinated masculinity. Connell (1995) also explores both complicit and protest masculinities. Using theories of masculinities in this study enabled an exploration of how MUPES accepted, rejected or reworked hegemonic constructions of masculinities and patriarchal perceptions in their quest to construct themselves differently. As the study was interested in the connection between masculinities and GBV, not only in terms of its perpetration but also its reduction, an integrated approach to the theories of masculinities was adopted. This approach allowed me to have an enabling theoretical frame to interpret the data in relation to both the perpetration and reduction of GBV. Different theorists, such as Anderson and McCormack (2016), Connell (2012, 2008, 1995), Connell and Messerschmidt (2005), Hearn (2012, 2004), Morrell et al. (2013, 2012), Ratele (2014, 2013, 2008) and Swain (2006) were therefore considered.

1.6.4. Methods

The data collection methods consisted of semi-structured individual interviews and focus group discussions (FGDs) using drawings, these two following a workshop using mapping, the sessions being digitally recorded for later transcription and analysis. Mapping the layout of the institution provided an opportunity to view the institution from the perspective of the participants. Drawings were used to create spaces for creative expression and an opportunity for data that does not rely on language skills (Rule and Vaughn, 2011). The MUPES were requested to explain their drawings and maps in order to convert the visual into textual data to be in line with the qualitative research approach. The FGDs were utilised to enable MUPES to contest and /or to find common ground on issues relating to the way in which they constructed their masculinities. The study adopted thematic analysis and drew on Braun and Clarke's (2006) six-phase guide, with the data for each objective being analysed individually to achieve the study Aim.

1.7. Ethical Issues

In accordance with UKZN Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee, ethical clearance had to be granted before data could be collected. Apart from the ethical clearance being granted, other ethical considerations had to be taken into account. All participants consented to

take part in the study and to being audio recorded. To ensure complete anonymity, pseudonyms are used. Participants were also informed that while there would be no monetary benefits for their participation, their views would contribute to enhancing our understandings of masculinities and GBV especially in relation to its reduction. Although the study did not intend to cause any harm to its participants, it was deemed responsible to inform them of the available counselling services on campus. Participants were informed of their right to withdraw if they were no longer interested in participating in the study.

1.8. Delimitation of the Study

Delimitations are “the limitations consciously set by the authors themselves” and do not seek to answer why something was done, but why it was not done the other way (Theofanidis and Fountouki, 2019, p. 157). This study therefore did not focus on women but on men, as it did not want to place more responsibility on those at the receiving end of GBV. Furthermore, the study purposefully did not focus on all men on campus but on peer-educator students, due to their interest in social issues, and the need to address GBV within the social systems on which their constructions of masculinities are based. It was the assumption of the study that men who have already demonstrated an interest in constructing themselves differently, and almost adopt an oppositional discourse by becoming peer educators, would contribute to understanding the connection between masculinities and GBV, not only in terms of its perpetration, but most importantly, its reduction.

1.9. Thesis Structure

This study is presented in the following seven chapters:

Chapter 2. Literature Review: This chapter reviews the international and local literature that supports the need to focus on GBV as both an educational and societal issue. It reviews the literature on GBV as a global problem that cuts across cultures at international and South African universities. To highlight the need to involve men in addressing GBV, the chapter reviews studies with men in the context of addressing violence against women.

Chapter 3. Theoretical Framework: This chapter focuses on the theories of masculinities in order to have an enabling theoretical framework that is instrumental to interpret data in relation not only to the perpetration of GBV, but also to its reduction. The framing of the

integrated theories of masculinities starts with a brief history of the concept of hegemonic masculinity and its application, as this has been at the center of many studies. The criticisms that led to the modification of the concept and the recommendations for its revised use are discussed. In order to broaden the scope of analysis and focus not only on normative constructions but also on new ways in which men construct their masculinities, the chapter then discusses multiple masculinities.

Chapter 4. Methodology: This chapter outlines the research process and methods, for which a qualitative research approach within a critical paradigm was used. It reviews the data collection methods, specifically using drawings and mappings to complement conventional methods (individual interviews and focus group discussions) to produce qualitative data. The data management process is discussed as it relates to thematic analysis, and the discussion of the credibility and trustworthiness of the study follows. The issues related to reflexivity and positionality that arose are discussed as well as the efforts made to address them.

Chapter 5. Results: Meanings Attached to GBV. The results of the findings for Objective 1 were thematically analysed and presented in five themes.

Chapter 6. Results: Campus masculinities and GBV: Constructions and Contestations. This chapter presents the findings for Objective 2 and in five themes, discusses a number of perceptions and notions related to campus masculinities and GBV, with a focus on constructions and contestations.

Chapter 7. Results: The Role of Remaking Campus Masculinities to Reduce GBV. This chapter addresses Objective 3 and in four themes, discusses the remaking of campus masculinities, which MUPES thought was an important role that they need to play to address oppressive perceptions and hence deal with GBV.

Chapter 8. Synthesis and Conclusion: The chapter discusses the findings for the three objectives with respect to the theories of masculinities, and compares them to the findings presented in other studies on masculinities and GBV. It acknowledges and discusses the limitations of the study, and makes recommendations for further research.

1.10. Conclusion

This chapter introduced the study and discussed its purpose of exploring male university peer-educator students' understandings of masculinities and their connection to gender-based violence.

It presented the study aims and objectives, methodology and ethical issues that needed to be considered. The study is located within the range of studies on GBV in universities, with this chapter outlining the structure of the thesis. The next chapter presents the theoretical framing of the study.

CHAPTER 2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Introduction

This study engages with theories of masculinities to gain insight into male university peer-educator students' (MUPES) understandings of masculinities and their connection to gender-based violence (GBV), and explores the meanings they attach to GBV as well as how they envisage their role in reducing it. In this chapter I draw on different masculinity concepts and theories, and develop the theoretical framework for this study. I purposefully draw on theories of the social construction of gender and reject those based on biological determinism. While the former suggest that masculinities are always in construction as they are socially constructed, the latter regards masculinities as biologically constituted (sexual anatomy theory), and by implication, normalises male dominance and related behaviours. In addition, these (biological) theories add roles to sex (sex role theory) to explain gender, hence undermining the power dynamics between men and women and among men. Therefore, avoiding theories that are premised on biology, and using theories and concepts within the social construction of gender, is not aimed at 'covering the field', but at having an enabling theoretical framework that is particularly helpful in interpreting the data of this study.

Within the social construction of gender, using just one theory in isolation to other conceptualisations of masculinities would not enable the desired meaning-making, that is, a multiple understanding of masculinities in relation not only to the perpetration, but also to the reduction of gender-based violence. The theoretical framing begins with a discussion of the background of the concept of hegemonic masculinity, as it plays an important role in distinguishing constructions of masculinities that feed into unequal gender relations from those that do not; and has been the focus of many studies. I also discuss some of the criticism levelled against the concept of hegemonic masculinity, which led to its modification. I then review a multitude of nonhegemonic masculinities as a way to demonstrate the fluidity of masculinities and the complexity thereof. Given the need to address GBV, drawing on the multiplicity of masculinities theories seeks to broaden the scope of analysis without rushing to attach labels only to common constructions, and pay more attention to the unique ways in which MUPES might construct their masculinities.

2.2. Hegemonic Masculinity

Given the different ways in which the concept of hegemonic masculinity has been applied, it is necessary to review its development and associated meanings from its inception to date. This is particularly important, as the study uses multiple masculinities, all of which were formulated not completely independently of the concept of hegemonic masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity was adopted in the place of sex-role theory and has been at the center of the research on masculinities (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). Sex-role theory conceptualised masculinity and femininity as internalised sex roles, the product of socialisation (Owino, 2014). In this way, a person's sex determined a general set of behavioural expectations, suggesting a relationship between roles and biological status. However, hegemonic masculinity, as a concept coined by Connell (1995), aimed to shed some light on the mechanism that males use to retain their dominance over women and other (nonconforming) men.

In the 1980s, conceptualisation of hegemonic masculinity focused on observable manifestations of males' dominance over women (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). Connell's early conceptualisation of hegemonic masculinity suggested that it was a form of masculinity in a particular historical and society-wide milieu that legitimised unequal gender relations, not only between men and women, but also between masculinity and femininity, as well as among different forms of masculinities. In line with this conceptualisation, hegemonic masculinity was constructed relationally to subordinated masculinities and to women (Messerschmidt, 2019). There were two significant features in the conceptualisation, without which hegemonic masculinity would be meaningless, namely, relationality and legitimisation (Messerschmidt, 2019). Based on this conceptualisation, an appropriate understanding of hegemonic masculinity should take into consideration the legitimisation of the "superordination and subordination" kind of relationship (Messerschmidt, 2019, p. 86). Emphasised femininities emanate from this relationship, which is characterised by power inequalities.

Messerschmidt (2019) reminds us that important to Connell's conceptualisation of hegemonic masculinity was her assertion that it is constructed in relation to nonhegemonic masculinities, including but not limited to: complicit, subordinate, marginalised and protest. As these are still applicable in the reformulated concept of hegemonic masculinities, I will explain them later when

I discuss multiple masculinities. Suffice to state that what distinguished hegemonic masculinity from other forms was its characteristic nature of representing society's best way of manifesting manhood, the way against which men, in general, keep themselves under self-scrutiny (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). It ideologically suggested universal dominance of women by men. The formulation of hegemonic masculinity in this way allowed it to be utilised in different ways. For example, it was used in education to understand classroom life dynamics, such as resistance and bullying among boys (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). Additionally, hegemonic masculinity as a concept assisted in an attempt to understand how masculinities were related to certain crimes (Messerschmidt as cited in Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). It also played a significant role in sports in an attempt to study violence as well as homophobia (Messner, 1990). In the context of South Africa, specifically in the scholarly work of health, hegemonic masculinity facilitated the understanding of violent behaviours adopted by men as a way to attain their masculine goals (Morrell et al., 2013).

Furthermore, hegemonic masculinity as a concept offers vital theoretic lenses when it comes to exploring men and their power (Morrell et al., 2013). According to these authors, the concept of hegemonic masculinity proposes hierarchically arranged forms of masculinities, which are based on the attainment and use of power among men, as well as the use of the said power over women (Morrell et al., 2013). McCarry (2010) asserts that hegemonic masculinity requires heterosexuality, which encourages young men to adopt a gender role that perpetuates various forms of hatred towards women and non-normative sexualities. Jewkes et al. (2015b) concur that heterosexuality is the essential element as far as the construction of hegemonic masculinity is concerned, and that it is constructed as a gender position that seeks to maintain a significant distance between itself and any elements of femininity. Despite its usefulness in some fields, there was some criticism levelled against the concept of hegemonic masculinity, some of which I discuss in the next section.

2.3. Criticism of Hegemonic Masculinity

Although hegemonic masculinity has been at the centre of various studies on gender, this has not been without criticism (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). Ambiguity has been raised as a concern in the conceptualisation of hegemonic masculinity, as it is not clear who it represents in

material practice (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). Therefore, even the inconsistence evident in how the concept is utilised is attributed to its ambiguity. For example, Martin (1998) criticises the concept for, on the one hand, associating masculinity with fixity, and on the other hand, with any dominant form of masculinity observable in a specific context. In the same way, Wetherell and Edley (1999) assert that hegemonic masculinity as a concept lacks specificity and particularity, that it does not clarify the praxis of conformity to hegemonic masculinity. Hence, it creates some confusion as to how men achieve this form of masculinity and what the appropriate observable manifestations are.

Furthermore, Holter (1997) contends that hegemonic masculinity simply attributes the construction of men's power to women's direct experiences and not to their (women's) subordination experienced at a structural level. Holter (1997) also questions the logicality of the assumption that the production of layers of masculinities within gender relations is necessarily related to the general victimisation of women that happens because of patriarchy. It is argued that given various configurations of hegemony, hegemonic masculinity is deficient by associating it with violence, thereby excluding men's positive behaviour that can directly or indirectly serve the interests of women (Collier, 1998). Therefore, a suggestion was raised that hegemonic masculinity should not be seen as representing a certain kind of a man, as men position themselves as per their interactional desires (Wetherell and Edley, 1999). That is, men's display of conformity to hegemonic masculinity should be understood within the context of who they are in interaction with, and where and when that takes place. Finally, on criticisms, Demetriou (2001) argues that the way in which hegemonic masculinity as a concept was devised is vague, regarding what he calls "internal and external hegemony" (p. 341). While the former is the dominance that only certain men enjoy over other men, the latter is the general dominance of men over women (Demetriou, 2001).

On internal hegemony, the author argues that hegemonic masculinity as a concept disregards a significant role played by subordinate and marginalised masculinities in the construction and sustainability of hegemonic masculinity (Demetriou, 2001). By this, the author (2001) suggests that the appropriation of elements from marginalised masculinities by hegemonic masculinity is what strengthens hegemonic masculinity for its ultimate goal of external hegemony. However,

Demetriou (2001) is concerned that hegemonic masculinity as a concept does not clearly articulate these nuances. The above criticism prompted Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) to respond, Messerschmidt (2012) to elaborate, and most recently, Messerschmidt (2019) to maintain their earlier response to the criticism.

In his response to the above criticism and that from other authors, Messerschmidt (2019) noted some misunderstandings in the way other authors articulated their concerns about the concept of hegemonic masculinity. The author (2019) contends that the misunderstandings of the original conceptualisation of the concept led to misapplication and confusion, and for that reason, he finds some criticism invalid, as they are not premised on the intended concept of hegemonic masculinity. Messerschmidt (2019) asserts that some authors criticised the concept, that it did not clarify what type of man represents hegemonic masculinity, as they misunderstood its important component of relationality, which is explained in the next section 2.4. For example, Messerschmidt (2019) notes that Donaldson's (1993) understanding of the concept concentrated on discrete bearers of hegemonic masculinity and did not demonstrate that when individuals as a collective participate in unequal relationships, they contribute to hegemonic masculinity. Importantly, Messerschmidt (2019) strongly believes that the misapplication of the concept emanated from the misunderstanding, which disregarded the fact that hegemonic masculinity constitutes unequal gender relations. One such example of misunderstanding was Whitehead's (1998, 2002) critique, as noted by Messerschmidt (2019), which focused on the question of who is the hegemonically masculine man? This, Messerschmidt (2019) believes, influenced other scholars to concentrate their research on answering this question.

Apart from some misunderstandings related to the initial formulation of the concept of hegemonic masculinity, Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) conceded to some of the criticism levelled against the concept. The authors acknowledged the ambiguities that hegemonic masculinity as a concept engenders in terms of its usage. For that reason, they assert that hegemonic masculinity should not be used as a permanent, “transhistorical model”, as they believe that this militates against the recent social definitional transformation of masculinity (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005, p. 838). Furthermore, the authors (2005) admit that it is erroneous to draw conclusions about how masculinities relate to each other based directly on the victimisation of a woman by a man (on an

individual basis). Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) assert that the institutionalised nature of gender inequality, as well as the intersection of race, religion and class, needs to be taken into cognisance in dealing with gender. Of paramount importance, Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) suggest that hegemonic masculinity as a concept needs to undergo some modifications to address previous and further misunderstandings. These modifications, Messerschmidt (2019) suggests, make hegemonic masculinity remain “highly salient in critical masculinities studies” (p. 85).

2.4. Modification of Hegemonic Masculinity

The criticism against the concept of hegemonic masculinity has given rise to its modification and more nuanced explanation of how this form of masculinity is constructed. Its modification has also clearly distinguished it from dominant and/or dominating masculinities, which has been a common “slippage” (Beasley, 2008, p. 88; and Elias and Beasley as cited in Messerschmidt, 2012, p. 71) in the application of the concept by some scholars. Dominant and dominating masculinities are explained later. Notwithstanding some criticisms levelled against hegemonic masculinity as a concept, Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) do not think the baby should be thrown out with the bathwater. They believe that there are aspects of the concept that ought to be retained while others should be done away with. Fundamentally, the concept continues to focus on the multiplicity of and hierarchical nature of masculinities (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005), that is, it still postulates the marginalisation of other masculinities by hegemonic masculinities.

However, the authors (2005) suggest an abandonment of a simplistic power configuration that focuses on the general subordination of women at the hands of men. This is based on the view that such a single pattern of power fails to shed analytic light on how different men relate to each other (relations among different masculinities), and how women (through including but not limited to emphasised femininities) relate to masculinities (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). Most importantly, and in response to general criticisms (not necessarily limited to those that I have discussed here) levelled against hegemonic masculinity, the authors (2005) suggest the use of the concept that takes cognisance of its modification. Hence, they propose its modification in the following areas: gender hierarchy, social embodiment, the geography of masculinity, and the ever-occurring changes within masculinities (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005).

On gender hierarchy, Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) suggest that regarding research on hegemonic masculinity, the focus should now be on how women's everyday lives and femininity interact with masculinity. For this reason, a modified understanding of hegemonic masculinity has to consider gender hierarchy, and recognise not just the power of hegemonic groups, but also the agency of subordinated groups (Messerschmidt, 2019). In this view, hegemonic masculinity should be understood as relational to femininity and nonhegemonic masculinities, and that this relationship is the practice of hegemony as opposed to simple domination, and as such, it should consider the intersectionality of gender and other social dynamics, such as age, class, sexuality and race (Messerschmidt, 2012). With regard to the geography of masculinity, valid hegemonic masculinity, one that has been scientifically proven to exist, can be scrutinised at the following three levels:

First level: Local

...constructed in the arenas of face-to-face interaction of families, organisations, and immediate communities, as typically found in ethnographic and life-history research;

Second level: Regional

...constructed at the level of the culture or the nation-state, as typically found in discursive, political, and demographic research; and

Third level: Global

...constructed in transnational arenas, such as world politics and transnational business and media, as studied in the emerging research on masculinities and globalization. (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005, p. 849)

In their efforts to explain an appropriate interpretation of the concept of hegemonic masculinity, Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) draw our attention to the connections between these levels, as they point out that the happenings of the third level influence the other two levels, and that the second level gender orders offer certain forms of masculinities that are as influential to the global as the local level constructions of gender. For this reason, one may be tempted to think of linear power relation between these levels, from the third level to the second and then to the first. However, the authors warn against such interpretation, as it could be ambiguous (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005).

The second aspect of the concept that underwent reworking was the social embodiment. The treatment of a body as a passive object when social practice unfolds was the primary concern that necessitated this area to experience some review. It is argued that bodies are, in a complex manner, actively involved in social processes by delimiting courses of social conduct and practice, hence highlighting the need to understand the linking of embodiment and social context, beyond just treating masculinities as embodied, and not showing how hegemonic masculinities can be challenged and potentially transformed (Messerschmidt, 2019). Another area that experienced some review is the dynamics of masculinities, where Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) acknowledge possible internal contradiction within a variety of practices that construct masculinities. This suggests that practices should not be understood as manifestations of certain forms of masculinities in a dogmatic sense without paying attention to potential contradictory feelings. As subscription to hegemonic masculinity does not automatically bring about gratification, Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) believe that contradictions within masculine bonds may be a driving force for desiring change. Hence, in their rejection of the use of the concept as referring to a static form of masculinity, Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) assert that “men are not cultural dopes” (p. 853). That is, considering the modification of the concept, men’s subscription to hegemonic masculinity does not mechanically lead to slavery within the bounds of this form of masculinity, but are well placed to show their agency for gender transformation.

The modification of the concept of hegemonic masculinity, its emphasis on the relationality to femininities and other nonhegemonic masculinities, as well as the feature of legitimation, are important in this study, as they will help me to analyse how the MUPES’ views might challenge or comply with normalised unequal gender relations. Notwithstanding the aforementioned modification and its salient features, some scholars have continued to use the concept of hegemonic masculinity in a way that disregards its essence, that being, the legitimation of unequal gender relations. Messerschmidt (2012), in his paper titled *“Engendering Gendered Knowledge: Assessing the Academic Appropriation of Hegemonic Masculinity”*, gives a detailed discussion of the contrasting appropriation of the concept of hegemonic masculinity by different scholars. In his most recent work, Messerschmidt (2019) makes reference to scholars such as Lagan (2010) and Gage (2008), who treated the concept as if it were associated only with particular groups of men or with unchanging masculine characteristics, hence missing the feature of legitimation of

unequal gender relations. The inconsistency in the application of the concept was also noticed by scholars other than Connell and Messerschmidt. For example, upon noticing the continued inconsistency in the application of the concept of hegemonic masculinity, Beasley (2008) warned that dominant forms of masculinity, those that are the most powerful and pervasive (e.g. masculinities practiced by men in positions of power - celebrities, politicians etc.) in a given society, should not be automatically considered as hegemonic, as they may not be contributing to the legitimisation of gender inequality in gender relations. Given that this present study focuses on the connection between masculinities and GBV, which is mostly perpetrated against women, Schippers' (2007) argument is relevant and contends that it is important to distinguish masculinities that constitute the legitimisation of unequal gender relations from those that Beasley (2008) described as merely dominant. This perspective will inform the connection I make between the MUPES' constructions of themselves as men and GBV, in terms of which and how masculinities (given their multiplicity) relate to GBV. Messerschmidt (2012) argues that moving towards an appropriate conceptualisation of hegemonic masculinity, scholars need to be able to isolate dominating, dominant and other nonhegemonic masculinities from those that are hegemonic. Important for this study, and in line with its objectives, the author believes that unraveling nonhegemonic masculinities from those that are hegemonic is essential to identify "equality masculinities" (Messerschmidt, 2012, p. 73). Schippers (2007) suggests some questions that could help in a localised setting to distinguishing hegemonic from nonhegemonic masculinities, and in the case of this study to make appropriate connections between GBV and masculinities, as follows:

- a) What characteristics or practices are understood as manly in the setting?
- b) What characteristics or practices are womanly?
- c) Of those practices and characteristics, which situate femininity as complementary and inferior to masculinity? (p. 100)

I consider it important to distinguish dominant from dominating masculinities, as these are nonhegemonic masculinities that have been mistaken for hegemonic masculinities by some scholars, as noted earlier. Similar to Beasley (2008) as noted earlier, Messerschmidt (2012) defines dominant masculinities as the most powerful, celebrated, common and current forms in a particular setting. On the other hand, dominating masculinities are characterised by control of specific

interactions and the exercise of power, not only over other people, but also over events (Messerschmidt, 2012). While hegemonic masculinities can be dominant and/or dominating (when they legitimate unequal gender relations), the dominant and dominating masculinities are not hegemonic, to the extent that they do not constitute the legitimization of unequal gender and patriarchal relations at a structural level.

Research has noted a link between masculinities and violence, where men use violence to strengthen their power over women (Flood, 2019b). This resonates with Jewkes' et al. (2015a) assertion that violence is not inherently connected to masculinity, but in instances where a threat to masculinity is perceived, violence is used to enforce women's compliance with social norms that expect them to be submissive to men. In light of this connection between masculinity and violence, understanding hegemonic masculine norms is important, as they are a significant aspect in addressing GBV (Hearn, 2019; Jewkes, Morrell et al., 2015; Morrell et al., 2012; Ratele 2014). However, the theory of hegemonic masculinity alone would not yield a comprehensive analysis of MUPES' understandings of masculinities and the connection to GBV. Heeding Hearn's (2012) assertion that hegemonic masculinity as a concept can be slippery, which would then make it rather weak in and of itself to be used in attempts to address violence perpetrated by men against women, I adopted more enabling theoretical lenses by way of an integrated approach (hegemonic and nonhegemonic masculinities) to theories of masculinities. The following section explores multiple nonhegemonic masculinities.

2.5. Multiplicity of Masculinities

I have presented a discussion about the development of the concept of hegemonic masculinity and the associated debates. The intention of this section is to review and outline the relevance to my study of different theories and some related constructs of masculinities. As this study seeks to understand MUPES' understandings of masculinities, and the connection of those understandings to GBV, an integrated and more enabling approach was necessary to interpret the data more meaningfully. Given the recent efforts to involve men in the fight against violence, and the identification of new ways in which men construct their masculinities, I argue that a more meaningful interpretation of data should speak to both the perpetration and reduction of violence.

To this end, I discuss the applicability of the theories and concepts of masculinities to this study by looking at how they will help answer the research questions.

I begin this section with a somewhat simplified yet informative definition of masculinities in order to make the scope of analysis clearer. Schippers's (2007) summary of Connell's (1995) definition of masculinities suggests that they have three critical aspects. They first need to be understood as social locations that individuals can enter through practice irrespective of sex. Second, they refer to a variety of characteristics and practices that are considered to be masculine. Third, the aforementioned practices have cultural and social implications, when embodied by men in particular, although they can also be embodied by women. Schippers (2007) asserts that in the lives of people, masculinities and femininities are to be understood as gender projects, and not as certain kinds of people and their features. This suggests that individuals do not possess masculinity, but produce it by their engagement in masculine practices (Schippers, 2007). This perspective is important for this study, as it suggests a need to recognise that by virtue of being peer educators, MUPES do not already possess certain masculinities, but importantly may be encouraged to produce particular masculinities in their engagements on social issues. For that reason, from a critical paradigm point of view, their voices and perspectives are important in understanding what constitutes GBV.

Connell (2012) asserts that ethnographic work has shown that at local and world scales there is no single masculinity, rather multiple masculinities. While masculinities have varied implications for women, Miller et al. (2014) note that detrimental perceptions of masculinities, which contribute to women's victimisation, are modifiable, despite their normalisation by society. It has, however been noticed that many gender policy documents have generally focused more on the lives of women than men, apart from when they are regarded as perpetrators of violence (Connell, 2012). There have been some adjustments in this regard, with the focus now being more on the exploration of modern masculinities, which are characterised by egalitarianism and peacefulness, than on traditional masculinities, which are often characteristic of patriarchy and violence.

In an attempt to stress the point that men (at least not all) in South Africa do not always turn to violence to achieve their masculinity, Connell (2008) cites Sideris (2005) noticing some

improvements among men from a rural area whose behaviour had changed from being characterised by violence to equality. Hence, there has been more focus on involving men as partners against violence (Colpitts, 2019; Dworkin et al., 2012; Jewkes et al., 2015a). By focusing on men, this study specifically focuses on masculinities. As unfixed arrangements and patterns of practice, from the moment of construction, masculinities are subject to change (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). Not only is acknowledging that masculinities can and do change informative to this present study, in terms of understanding which masculinities MUPES turn to in rejection of hegemonic, dominant and dominating forms of masculinities, but it is also vital as a way of debunking the perception that regards men as homogenous and masculinities as fixed and ahistorical (Connell, 2012). On the basis that masculinity is not natural or biological but social, researchers such as Ricardo and Barker (2008) have defined it as a fluid gender identity. As such, different men can manifest various forms of masculinity, to which I now turn. Notwithstanding the debate around the concept of hegemonic masculinity as the culturally exalted form of masculinity, it is important for this study to interpret MUPES' understandings, and the extent of those understandings on unequal gender relations. As Messerschmidt (2019) states:

[B]ecause of the ubiquity of hegemonic masculinities, gender inequality often is broadly accepted and unquestioned. Gender hegemony functions to obscure unequal gender relations...Hegemonic masculinities are expansively distributed as culturally ascendant prototypes of gender relations throughout local, regional, and global levels, they are part of normal, everyday life—they are customary all around us. (p. 89)

Earlier I discussed two nonhegemonic masculinities, namely: dominant and dominating, as a way of distinguishing them from hegemonic forms. However, these are not the only nonhegemonic masculinities, with Bryan (2018) arguing that multiple masculinities cannot be comprehensible without hegemonic masculinity. In his support on the importance of the concept of hegemonic masculinity in critical studies of men, Messerschmidt (2019) reminds us that Connell asserted that hegemonic masculinity is constructed relationally to four nonhegemonic masculinities namely: complicit, subordinate, marginalised and protest. First, Connell (1995) explores masculinities that are constructed in ways that do not embody hegemonic masculinities, but in practice, realise some benefits out of unequal gender relations, they enjoy the patriarchal dividend without being in the forefront, these being regarded as complicit masculinities (Connell, 1995). Second, masculinities

manifested by effeminate men are constructed as subordinate (Connell, 1995). Third, marginalised masculinities are those that are discriminated against and belittled due to unequal relations beyond gender relations, for example, race, age, ethnicity and class. Last, protest masculinities are constructed in reaction to social positions not having the needed power. These masculinities may revise some components of hegemonic masculinity for the betterment of society (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). While all the aforementioned forms of masculinities are vital in interpreting the data, protest masculinities will be useful in understanding how MUPES accept, reject or rework hegemonic constructions of masculinities and in case of rejection and reworking, which masculinities they turn to.

However, the already existing labels of boys and men's behaviours, as suggested above by Connell (1995), are not always observable in any given social setting. For instance, Hamlall (2013) notes that the findings in his study revealed identities...

that did not fit the form of hegemonic masculinity among school peers... These identities were not subordinate to, complicit with or secondary to the hegemonic masculinity of Sunville; they offered an alternative version of it by embodying an autonomous configuration of 'doing being a boy. (p. 266)

The author asserts that the boys in the study in Durban chose autonomous positions only in conflict situations, with the author using the term autonomous masculinity to capture this sentiment (Hamlall, 2013). In my view, autonomous masculinity could be a form of protest masculinities, as it was constructed as an alternative to hegemonic masculinity. Important to Hamlall's (2013) findings is a shift in how masculinities are constructed. Similarly, Hunter (in Morrell et al., 2013), noticed a shift from "isoka" masculinity (a celebration of virility), which is traditionally associated with hegemonic masculinity, to more thoughtful and careful masculinities. The author believes the motive behind this shift is the era of the AIDS pandemic (Hunter as cited in Morrell et al., 2013). This highlights time as a factor upon which constructions of masculinities and their fluidity are dependent. This shift has been slowly taking place, for example, Bhana's study (as cited in Hamlall, 2013), found that most of the boys (participants) did not like being labeled as rough and tough. Instead, they formed part of 'yimvu' (sheep), masculinity, as they considered themselves to be polite and calm (Bhana as cited in Hamlall, 2013). Based on this shift and the new masculinities

being produced, it is noticeable that in South Africa, the use of the concept of masculinities in the singular form is impractical due to the country's complexly diverse culture (Morrell et al., 2013). It is therefore essential when applying the concept of masculinities to specify its realm (global, national, regional or local) to avoid the situation where that which is happening at a national level is taken to automatically represent the local level, or the other way round (Morrell et al., 2013).

Similar to Hamalall (2013), Swain (2006), in his difficulty to use the already existing typologies of masculinities to describe the pupil peer groups and the masculinities he found in three schools in London, came up with a different form of masculinity, which he refers to as personalised masculinity. The author acknowledges that 'personalised' is not an ideal term, but a better one at the moment as he encountered more problems with the term 'alternative', which had many connotations, including but not limited to alternative lifestyles. Personalised masculinities as a form helped Swain (2006) avoid simplicity and limitations, and instead be able to demonstrate the multiplicity, fluidity and contradictions of masculinities. This form of masculinity was constructed by boys who had common interests and pursued their own types of identity without a desire to subordinate others or be subordinated themselves, as they considered themselves different rather than inferior. This conceptualisation of masculinities is particularly significant for this study, as it allows the interpretation of the MUPES' constructions of those masculinities, which may be informed by personal choices and interests as opposed to social and cultural expectations and pressures. Given the study's objective to understand how masculinities are related not only to GBV perpetration but also to its reduction, I find Swain's (2006) conceptualisation informative and in line with Bach's (2019) assertion that research that will better the understanding of the construction of equality-driven masculinities is necessary.

Furthermore, towards the present study's objective to understand not only GBV but how constructions of different forms of masculinities relate to it, I explore Abelson's (2014) masculine ideal types. The author talks about men in terms of four ideal types, namely: hypermasculine, regular, progressive and gay. Abelson (2014) uses the continuum below to illustrate the relationship between the different types of masculinities and the extent to which each is either masculine or feminine. Given that GBV is a masculinities issue (Jewkes et al., 2015b) that mainly affects women, Abelson's (2014) conceptualisation of different masculinities as existing in a

masculine-feminine continuum will help to understand the connection between GBV and masculinities. This is in terms of which masculinities (those leaning towards femininity or masculinity) feed into GBV and which ones have the potential to contribute towards gender transformation.



Figure 2.1: Adapted Abelson's (2014) Continuum of Masculine Ideal Types

Importantly, Abelson (2014) clarifies that this continuum should not be understood to suggest that certain men are more masculine and others more feminine. Rather, the author's intention is to paint a clear picture that some men regard themselves or are regarded by others as either masculine or feminine. The first ideal type is hypermasculinity, which is characterised by violence, rigidity in terms of heterosexuality, strong belief in traditional and conservative perceptions, and the rejection of feminine elements in men. The second ideal type is regular masculinity and appears easier to define in terms of what it is not rather than what it is. As the word 'regular' suggests, this ideal type is as far from extreme masculinity as it is from extreme femininity. While men who manifest regular masculinity do not want to bring fear to others, women in particular, by treating them unfairly, they do not want to be overly kind to the point that women find them unattractive on the basis of being excessively nice to other people. For this reason, regular men consider it generally important to be a father or husband, but not mandatory.

The third ideal type is progressive masculinity, which is characterised not only by its total rejection of hypermasculinity, but also the rejection of most of the elements that constitute the previous ideal type, regular masculinity. Unlike regular men, progressive men do not mind interacting 'excessively', with both other men and women. Most importantly, progressive men "take on explicit projects of equity and justice related to gender, race, and sexuality" (Abelson, 2014, p. 48). In this way, progressive men's understanding of their masculinities enables them to do self-introspection, which in turn makes them better men who behave in ways that may undermine a myriad of inequalities in their societies. The fourth ideal type is gay masculinity, which is the reverse of hypermasculinity and as such is associated with femininity. This ideal type differs

slightly from progressive masculinity. For example, while progressive men do not fear being seen as too feminine, Abelson (2014) asserts that gay men are read as such. However, the author notes that there are sometimes clear overlaps between gay and progressive masculinity, as the latter does not reject femininity. This leads me to a discussion of inclusive masculinities.

Anderson and McCormack (2016) emphasise that the inclusive masculinities theory was developed to understand and elucidate the (sport) settings in which homophobia and rejection of any manifestations of femininity did not characterise the social interactions and dynamics. The theory was developed when the authors noticed that a body of research demonstrated that rather than straight men being homophobic towards gay men, they included them in their social circles (Anderson and McCormack, 2016). While the conceptualisation of the entire theory may not in itself meet the objectives of the present study, the theory's concept of homohysteria, which refers to the fear of being socially viewed as gay, is particularly informative (Anderson and McCormack, 2016). I regard homohysteria as vital, as it facilitates the explanation of social change and sheds light into the social settings where homophobia regulates men's attitudes and behaviours, that being settings that are homohysteric (Anderson and McCormack, 2016). The authors assert that in homohysteric cultures, men are expected to manifest the hegemonic form of masculinity that is culturally accepted and respected (Anderson and McCormack, 2016). Therefore, a theory of inclusive masculinities posits that a change in homohysteria effects a change in how masculinities are constructed, where a decrease in homohysteria is associated with femininity in men becoming less denounced, and nonconformity becoming less marginalised and policed (Anderson and McCormack, 2016). This assertion helps not only to understand whether or not the university campus in which the study was done is homohysteric, but also to understand if homophobic attitudes characterise the constructions of campus masculinities, and how that feeds into GBV.

While there has been a focus on the different forms of masculinities that men construct, such as hegemonic masculinity, and those constructed in relation to it, Hearn (2004) suggests a shift from masculinities to men, that is, the hegemony of men. By this conceptualisation, the author attempts to deal with the twofold "complexity that men are both a social category formed by the gender system and collective and individual agents, often dominant collective and individual agents, of social practices" (Hearn, 2004, p. 49). Fundamentally, this perspective allows for a critical

exploration of men's general dominant constructions and powers not only in relation to women, but also concerning children and other men, that being the deconstruction of the normalised dominance and power of men as a social category (Hearn, 2004). It is argued that rather than looking at the forms of masculinities, the focus should be on "that which is taken-for-granted about the categorisations and constructions of men" (Hearn, 2004, p. 59). Notwithstanding the different forms of masculinities, Hearn (2012) asserts that men as a social category are more hegemonic. This perspective has an implication for my study, in that it suggests that while there may be instances where some MUPES produce certain forms of masculinities, some of which might normalise GBV, I should also pay attention to those instances where their collective dominance as a social category of men manifests more vividly than the dominance by some of them, which is associated with particular forms of masculinity.

Notwithstanding the importance of being mindful that men can be hegemonic as a collective social category, Peacock, Khumalo, and McNab's (2006) argument that men are not monolithic still holds, and for that reason, theories of masculinities in this study allow for the exploration of alternative and more peaceful masculinities that MUPES may turn to in rejecting violent masculinities, as mentioned earlier. However, Ratele (2015) asserts that when studying men, there is a possibility of resistance from those who are still happy with gender privilege. Therefore, in engaging men, it is important to be cognisant that we are dealing not with them *per se*, but with the social traditions, which gave rise to their practices (Ratele, 2015). Furthermore, the author raises a critical point about traditions and cultures, as he likens their unfixity to masculinities because people subscribe to and perform them, but most importantly, they both (masculinities and traditions) undergo change over time (Ratele, 2015). Considering this comparison, of interest to this study is how the MUPES deal with cultural and traditional influences in their constructions of (alternative) masculinities.

As Ratele (2013) acknowledges, masculinities are constructed from men's relationship with women as well as with other men in a time-space context. Therefore, masculinities should not be understood as if they followed a one-size-fits-all principle (Jewkes et al. as cited in Ratele, 2015). Hence, Wetherell and Edley (1999) state that men's adoption of hegemonic masculinity is dependent on place and time. The authors argue that masculinities should not be viewed as if they

referred to a particular kind of men, but more as strategies through which men express their masculine fluid positions (Wetherell and Edley, 1999). As the participants of this study have been organised for a common goal as peer educators, exploring how they negotiate their masculinities and conceptualise being men is critical. Seidler (2006) cautions against assumptions about male power (that suggest they are all violent), which the author thinks are likely to diminish men, in that they consider men as natural carriers of power, and in the process, disregard the willingness by some men to partake in gender transformation. This view needs to be understood, bearing in mind that:

...males are more likely to be the perpetrators of interpersonal violence and abuse, and are more likely to hold woman-blaming attitudes, [for that reason] it is essential we understand more about how young people conceptualise masculinity and what [they] understand to be appropriate ways of ‘being a proper man’ (McCarry, 2010, p. 19).

The idea of ‘being a proper man’ will be explored with a focus on how the MUPES conceptualise it, that is, are their articulations linked to hegemonic constructions of masculinities or nonhegemonic constructions? If they are connected to the latter, are those ‘equality masculinities’ (Messerschmidt, 2012) or dominant and/or dominating masculinities? These questions, which will guide my interpretation of the data, suggest the need for appropriate theoretical lenses. For this reason, and as other forms of masculinities will be better understood in relation to hegemonic masculinity (which clearly constitutes gender inequality), this form of masculinity (hegemonic) remains critical in understanding men and their conceptualisations of being men. As succinctly summarised by Ratele (2008) in view of its reformulation, the aspects of the concept of hegemonic masculinity that should be taken into consideration when dealing with masculinities are: plurality of masculinities, their hierarchical arrangement, their institutionalisation and the possibility for change.

Hegemonic masculinity can also represent that which is the most fashionable in masculinity (Morrell et al., 2013), or embody a more implicit form of power through the notion of being the ‘provider’ in a family (Davies & Eagle in Morrell et al., 2013). The latter, Morrell et al. (2013) argue, is implicit in a sense that children and women who are dependent on men as providers and protectors render themselves inferior, as this positions them as needy and weak. Indeed, it is

reasonable to think of multiple hegemonic masculinities (explicit and implicit) that are observable and manifest themselves through different attitudes, behaviours and practices at different levels (local, regional, national and global), this being in line with the revised conceptualisation of the concept of hegemonic masculinity. As Morrell et al. (2013) explain that it is possible to realise how, at one level, explicit and oppressive form of masculinity, such as violence, is regarded as a legitimate component of hegemonic masculinity (see for example, Jakobsen, 2014 on women beating), but at a different level, it is not regarded as such.

Once again, time and place in dealing with masculinities are highlighted. Hamlall (2013) states that the belief that boys will be boys is endorsed diversely, based on boys' location, social positions and identities. For this reason, Morrell et al. (2012) warn that the disadvantage of a dogmatic approach to hegemonic masculinity is that it relates hegemony to explicitly unscrupulous men, hence disregarding the implicit ways (even if unintentional) in which unequal gender relations can be maintained through hegemonic masculinity. Morrell et al. (2013) contend that hegemonic masculinity as a concept facilitates the use of men's role, not simply as perpetrators based on explicit ways of maintaining gender inequality, but rather as sufferers of unfair social arrangements of gender that unjustly assign power to them, and most importantly as potential change agents. This resonates with Partab's (2012) assertion that patriarchy dehumanises men. Morrell's et al. (2013) view that the use of the concept of hegemonic masculinity is key in the theorisation of men as potential change agents is informative to this study, as it focuses on men whose decision to become peer educators was almost the adoption of an oppositional discourse amongst the men on campus, which put them on a platform where their practices and articulations on social issues are open to public scrutiny by the student populace. The utility of this concept is in its ability to explain how unequal gender relations are constituted, that being through legitimisation in the context of gender relations (between men and women or amongst men). It has also been noted that,

among the reasons that the concept of 'hegemonic masculinity' has become widely used in gender research in South Africa is because it can broaden the understanding of questions of gender inequality. The concept is multidimensional and allows consideration of men's power over women, the multiple and unequal location of men themselves, fluidity in power relations and the persistence of patriarchal trends. (Morrell, et al., 2013, p. 3)

Theories of masculinities are used to guide my methodology and data analysis. They enable me to understand the multiplicity and complexity of masculine constructions, and their connections to violence perpetration and prevention. The concept of hegemonic masculinity will help me isolate and analyse separately those constructions of masculinity that feed into gender inequality, hence enabling me to narrow my focus onto constructions that are associable with potential gender transformation. In this regard, hegemonic masculinity in this study can be understood as a ‘filter’ theory. Given the complexity and multiplicity of masculinities, I find adopting an integrated approach by drawing on the theorists and scholars useful for this study, as it strengthens the theoretical lenses to analyse the holistic connection of masculinities to GBV, that being to consider both perpetration and reduction.

2.6. Conclusion

This chapter critically synthesises theories of masculinities by looking closely at the concept of hegemonic masculinity as an important concept in understanding masculinities in entirety, especially for a study such as this, where a comprehensive connection between masculinities and GBV is sought. This concept is discussed in terms of its initial formulation, criticisms, and modification. Thereafter, I discussed a multitude of nonhegemonic masculinities, and highlighted some shifts within masculinities that may lead to men-driven change in gender relations. Hegemonic masculinity should not be regarded as wholly synonymous with violence (e.g. disregarding implicit manifestations), because at other levels (local, regional, national, or global) it may manifest differently. Instead, I explained that the important features of the concept should always be considered, those being, legitimation and relationality. Furthermore, a number of nonhegemonic masculinities were identified, some of which are constructed in relation to hegemonic masculinities. Throughout the discussion I do not regard men to be a homogeneous group, but instead recognised that they are a heterogeneous social category whose individual practices and choices produce more masculinities (hegemonic or nonhegemonic). This served as the justification for using theories of masculinities.

CHAPTER 3. LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1. Introduction

This chapter reviews the relevant literature for my study on male university peer-educator students' (MUPES) understandings of masculinities and their connection to gender-based violence (GBV), and consists of international and local literature. The chapter starts by reviewing the literature on GBV broadly and engaging with various ways in which it has been conceptualised. The focus then changes to understanding the prevalence of GBV in universities, after which the chapter discusses patriarchy as a key ideology whose elements underpin some oppressive ways in which men construct themselves. Studies that show the salient ways in which men construct themselves in Africa are indicated. Research that links violence and masculinities is followed by a discussion of the recent efforts to involve men in the fight against violence. As this study focuses on a particular group of men, peer-educator students, I then discuss the literature that examines their role in violence prevention, among other social issues.

3.2. Gender-based Violence: a Global Phenomenon

While GBV is recognised as a global problem, there are differences in how scholars have conceptualised it. Given the seriousness of this scourge and the need to address it, it is important to understand the variety of interpretations that are attached to the term GBV, as they inform prevention approaches. Buiten and Naidoo (2020) assert that:

Terms such as gender-based violence are connected with a range of evolving discourses that are not merely descriptive, but interpretive and political in nature. Yet, what makes violence gender-based is often implicit rather than explicit. (p. 1)

This quotation highlights the complexity of the term 'gender-based violence'. To begin this discussion about what makes violence gender-based, I give some background to the issue of violence and the term gender-based violence. In 1993, the United Nations (UN) Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women in its first article defined violence against women (VAW) as:

[A]ny act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts,

coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life. (United Nations, 1993, p. 2)

In the second article, the Declaration stipulates that VAW should be understood to include, but not be limited to, the following:

- Physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring in the family, including battering, sexual abuse of female children in the household, dowry-related violence, marital rape, female genital mutilation and other traditional practices harmful to women, non-spousal violence and violence related to exploitation;
- Physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring within the general community, including rape, sexual abuse, sexual harassment and intimidation at work, in educational institutions and elsewhere, trafficking in women and forced prostitution; Physical, sexual and psychological violence perpetrated or condoned by the State, wherever it occurs. (United Nations, 1993, p. 2)

In 1995, the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (The Fourth World Conference on Women) added to the above examples of violence against women and those included the following; “violation of human rights of women in situations of armed conflict, in particular murder, systematic rape, sexual slavery and forced pregnancy” (p. 49). While the two declarations state clearly which (gender-based) acts constitute violence against women, it is unclear what constitutes ‘gender-based’ violence, which is to be understood as a form of VAW. Given the need to address GBV, there must be clarity as to what constitutes GBV, which has resulted in scholars attempting to define it. For example, Acosta (2020) asserts that what distinguishes GBV from other kinds of violence is the origin and the objective of the violence. The author contends that GBV can be differentiated from other forms of violence based on three elements, namely; structural component, the goal to control and, isolating women (Acosta, 2020). First, Acosta (2020) regards GBV as structural violence due to the cultural elements that feed into it, suggesting that it results from constructions of gender roles and related sexual stereotypes. Second, although GBV is characterised by prolonged harmful acts, its ultimate goal, the author believes, is to control rather than to harm women (Acosta, 2020). Third, after gaining control, the author asserts that the perpetrator is able to isolate the victim (woman) from any form of external support, hence gaining

more control (Acosta, 2020). These three elements work together to make most incidents of GBV unnoticeable, despite its close proximity and degree of severity.

Given the way in which the term ‘gender-based’ violence was used in the 1993 UN Declaration, as noted above, I find the following incident thought-provoking as it highlights the multiplicity of interpretations of the term. I bring to this discussion the incident at Fort Hare University in February 2020, where a male student was stabbed to death by his fellow student girlfriend. The tragedy was reported as GBV by the concerned university and was talked about as such on social media. This was a disturbing incident to have happened among students at university. Notwithstanding the seriousness of the incident, I share Buiten and Naidoo’s (2020) question as to whether such incidents are indeed related to GBV, which begs the question, is the implicit (gendered) aspect of the violence explainable?

Buiten and Naidoo (2020) noticed that at times, GBV is used when talking about sexual and domestic violence, and is often used interchangeably with the concept of VAW. In my view, the use of the term (GBV) in a way that refers to any violence against women renders it problematically elastic, in that it creates the impression that violence between people of different sexes is necessarily gendered. For this reason, Buiten and Naidoo (2020) add another dimension to the discussion and assert that treating GBV as (only) equivalent to heterosexual violence against women disregards gendered kinds of violence perpetrated against LGBTQI individuals. Not all scholars show interest in the implicit rather than the explicit aspects of violence, which they regard as gender-based violence. For this reason, I will later explain which interpretation of the term is particularly suitable for this study, not out of random selection, but as it points to the issues of masculinities, which I am using as the theoretical lenses to interpret the data.

Similar to Acosta (2020), Mnawulezi et al. (2018) assert that, at times, GBV is structural in that it emanates from patriarchal belief systems and social power imbalances, which result in societal gender inequalities. The authors also state that GBV can directly or indirectly affect both men and women, and are distancing themselves from an understanding that equates the term only to violence against women (Mnawulezi et al., 2018). According to Boyle (2019), while GBV disproportionately affects women, it is a gender-neutral term that should not be used to maintain,

in an essentialist way, gender binaries and dichotomies, such as labelling men as violent and women as vulnerable, out of context. This suggests that to maintain its neutrality, the term should be used in a way that goes beyond men being perpetrators, and focus on the possibility, as this present study does, of some men being potential victims as well as change agents in the context of dominant social norms that shape gender relations. As the term GBV facilitates the understanding of how and why violence is perpetrated in certain ways, similar to Boyle (2019), Sigsworth (2008) asserts that it does not seek to put women and men into dichotomous social categories of victims and perpetrators. This view suggests that the term GBV is meant to acknowledge that men and women can be perpetrators and victims of GBV. This further indicates that the questions, such as which men are likely to become victims and can potentially become change agents (as I recommend this dimension be considered), and what social conditions can facilitate this, be explored through research to maintain a nonessentialist perspective that dismantles the said gender binaries.

Boyle (2019) distinguishes VAW from GBV as the former is a broad term that focuses on women's experiences as victims or survivors of violence, whereas the latter is an umbrella term that deals with the meaning of violence rather than the identities of victims and perpetrators (Boyle, 2019). For this reason, Boyle (2019) is concerned that GBV as a term is problematically gender-neutral, which undermines the differences in terms of "who is doing what to whom, in which contexts, to which effects and to whose overall benefit" (p. 32). This understanding suggests that rather than GBV referring to only violence against women (who are indeed disproportionately affected), it also manifests itself in different forms; for example, domestic abuse, sexual harassment, homophobic violence and rape of men by other men during wartime (Boyle, 2019). Buiten and Naidoo (2020), in their debate article focussed on how they believe GBV should be conceptualised, and that it is not a generic approach to this kind of violence, suggesting that it should be understood as violence that is motivated by a combination of gender identities, interactions and social structures. Buiten and Naidoo (2020) base their view about GBV on Anderson's (2005, 2009) three-level framework, as they believe it helps explain (with specificity yielding theoretical robustness) the components of gender in gender-based violence.

At the micro (identity) level, gender is understood as identity, and due to socialisation, people identify not only themselves as a single sex category related to certain specific roles and behaviours, but also others as such (Anderson, 2009). This way, violence is gendered when identities due to cultural beliefs concerning gender are constructed in a way that takes violence as a norm and justifies it, such as constructions of hegemonic forms of masculinities that emphasise perceived femininity's inferiority to masculinity. Importantly at this level, if there are disturbances to the cultural need for men to embody hegemonic masculine identity, this often results in violence against women as a way to reinforce those culturally informed gender identities (Buiten and Naidoo, 2020). The second meso-level (interactional) is characterised by gendered behaviours that are premised on hegemonic cultural principles in relation to gender. For example, people's behaviours are informed by their knowledge of what culture expects of them, which may result in violence being used to police gender transgressions in line with cultural social norms, and reinforce the notion of appropriate heterosexuality and femininity (Jackbsen, 2014, Naidoo and Karels, 2012, Msibi, 2009). At the macro-level (structural), hegemonic gender norms emanating from culture go beyond influencing personal interactions to institutions, practices and other systems. The following are examples of gender as a social structure; dividing labour based on sex, gendered economic inequality and educational systems (Buiten and Naidoo, 2020). The authors argue that a more theoretically informed approach to GBV needs to identify violence, as observable at the above levels (Buiten and Naidoo, 2020).

While there may be some overlaps, the different definitions of GBV by various scholars seem to lend themselves (although not neatly) to three interpretations of the concept, as noted by Read-Hamilton (2014). The first interpretation regards GBV as vertical, that being violence perpetrated by males against females (e.g. Acosta, 2020). This interpretation is theoretically informed by feminism and asserts that violence directed to men by men cannot be equated to violence that women are subjected to at the hands of men, in that men's victimisation does not result in the subjugation of men as a social category. The second interpretation looks at GBV from a masculinities perspective, suggesting that it is masculinising acts by men (e.g. Buiten and Naidoo 2020; Boyle, 2019). Within this interpretation, GBV results in and maintains gender hierarchies, where a particular group of men gain internal dominance over other men and external dominance over women (Demetriou, 2001). For this reason, homophobia is considered a form of GBV.

The third interpretation, rather than focusing on sex (male or female), sees GBV as resulting from pre-existing social roles where violence is used against individuals to reproduce gender norms and roles (e.g. Mnawulezi et al., 2018), this way reinforcing conformity to existing gender norms. The differences and overlaps in scholars' interpretations of GBV here resonate with Read-Hamilton's (2014) observation of 35 GBV and Child Protection specialists from international humanitarian and development organisations in 2012, which was characterised by such multiple interpretations. As men are the main perpetrators, I looked at GBV as a masculinities issue and located my interpretation within masculinities theory. Contextualising this study in such a way that it focuses on MUPES goes beyond identifying which and how masculinities feed into GBV, to how men can challenge hegemonic forms of masculinities and the conditions (being peer educators) that may encourage them to construct themselves differently.

GBV is a global problem and takes different forms in different societies, having been acknowledged as a significant element of broader inequalities that are characterised by gendered power relations across societies globally (McIlwaine, 2013). The structural gender-based power differentials between men and women worldwide expose girls and women to different forms of violence (Hossain et al., 2014). For example, based on a survey data from 24 countries, Palermo et al. (2014) estimate that just over a quarter of females aged 15 and over, especially those with partners, have experienced some form of GBV. On the basis of this large cross-country study, the authors contend that an effective response to addressing GBV calls for recognition of its prevalence, and an understanding of its dynamics and root causes (Palermo et al., 2014). One of the dynamics is the issue of underreporting, where those individuals who do disclose GBV "differ systematically" from those who do not, hence suggesting that if GBV related services are planned based on the former, the latter may continue to be unreached (Palermo et al., 2014, p. 3). This further suggests that an appropriate meaning needs to be attached to GBV in order to respond appropriately.

McIlwaine (2013) acknowledges that despite the different categories of violence (social, political, economic and institutional), identification of GBV necessitates that the gender of the victim of violence be directly associated with the motive for the violence perpetrated. Geography is also an important factor in the perpetration of GBV in different countries in terms of rural and urban areas.

For instance, in Tanzania 56% of women in rural areas fall victims to violence perpetrated by their partners compared to 41% in the cities; and 19 % of women in rural areas experience violence from men who are not partners compared to 34% in urban areas (McIlwaine, 2013). The author noted contradictory patterns of the prevalence of GBV in different countries when focusing on rural and urban areas. For example, while in countries such as Bolivia, Haiti and Zambia, women in urban areas were more likely to experience violence than those in rural areas, the contrary is the case in Moldova, Kenya and Zimbabwe (McIlwaine, 2013). However, some countries are so aware of GBV that when it happens explicitly, it becomes everybody's concern. For example, in 2012, when India had a GBV related case where a victim was raped and subsequently died, there was prolonged solidarity among citizens against the incident in New Delhi, which was characterised by protests where both women and men participated (Gouws, 2016). Based on the 2016 National Crime Records Bureau of India, 95 women were raped on daily basis (Dutt, 2018). While the above discussion demonstrates that GBV is indeed a global problem, importantly, it suggests that more localised solutions are needed that could address, among other things, local belief systems that define men and women in ways that create unequal gender relations. Hence I now turn my focus onto GBV that happens in South Africa.

I begin by giving a necessary historical background and context within which violence and oppression against women became normalised in South Africa. The apartheid regime, which ended in 1994, was indeed hostile, more so to women in terms of basic human rights. The regime was characterised by double standards, for instance, citizenship was premised on masculine categories that resulted in the subordination of women (Gouws, 2016). In some regulations, certain group of women were considered as dependents of men rather than citizens in their own right (Gouws, 2016). This shows the history of a reductionist view of women that continues to define them along the notions of being mothers, wives and carers. Women who participated in anti-apartheid struggles risked being tortured and raped, and the regime shaped gender relations and the way in which men constructed their masculinities (Colpitts, 2019). While apartheid has come and gone, GBV in its modified forms continues to affect our society. Britton (2006) argues that rape, domestic violence, sexual harassment, so-called corrective rape against gays and lesbians, virginity testing and sexual assaults shape the modern continuum of GBV. Gqola (2007) also notes that violence also characterised past events, such as the Bhambatha rebellion and the Soweto uprising, where Black

people generally rejected being victims of institutionalised oppression. As both Black and White societies were premised on patriarchal principles, the violence also reflected such principles, including the socialisation of children (Gqola, 2007). However, Msibi (2009) notes that South African men have continued to perpetrate violence in reaction to the rights-based approach of the post-1994 dispensation, which put pressure on them to let go of their privileges, leaving them with a perceived feeling of emasculation and powerlessness.

As GBV can take many forms, including physical, sexual and emotional violence (Beydoun and Beydoun, 2013), the South African constitution stipulates that neither the state nor any individual may unfairly discriminate, directly or indirectly, against anyone on one or more grounds, including but not limited to gender. Therefore, the constitution upholds gender equality, and any form of violence directed to women or men based on their gender is an infringement of the law. Although there have been policy initiatives in attempts to address GBV, these legislations and policies have not translated into good practice, as expected. As Partab (2012) laments, “I expected that in post-Apartheid South Africa, and with the Domestic Violence Act No. 116 of 1998 firmly in place, that gendered violence would at the very least decrease, given the very detailed procedures and protection the Act affords women in such violent situations” (p. 18). Failure of policies to be translated into practice is evident through the continuation of reported incidents of GBV.

As far as GBV is concerned, South Africa is a country determined yet struggling to address the high levels of the scourge of GBV (Gouws, 2016). The “foundation of gender-based violence is gender inequality” (de Lange et al., 2012, p. 499), which suggests that it should not be dealt with in a reductionist case by case basis. For this reason, Gouws (2016) asserts that GBV reflects deep structural problems in a society that not only need a multifaceted approach to be addressed, but also necessitates an understanding of the social gender norms that give way to violence. Focusing on men is one of the strategies that can yield perspectives of the issue of unequal power relations that manifest through GBV. In emphasising the role of men in the perpetration of GBV, Sikweyiya, et al. (2007) suggest that if we are going to combat violence by means other than incarceration, then we need to be able to change the attitudes and behaviours of men. Similarly, Miller et al. (2014) argue that the worldwide prevalence of GBV against women is prompting calls for primary prevention programs that engage men and boys in changing social norms that condone violence

against women. The views mentioned above and the above discussion, which has given a general overview of how men are implicated in the scourge of GBV in society, support this study's approach of focusing on men, not only as perpetrators, but also as potential role players in change-driven engagements. Now, I focus on GBV that takes place in universities.

3.3. Gender-Based Violence in Universities

Having reviewed GBV broadly, I now narrow my focus to the prevalence of this scourge at universities, with researchers globally having conducted studies that focused on this topic. For example, unlike other studies that adopted a quantitative approach to study GBV in Ethiopia, Kaufman's et al. (2019) adopted a qualitative approach, with both male and female students as well as some university staff being involved, and qualitative methods (in-depth interviews and focus group discussions) being used to understand what causes GBV. The use of qualitative methods enabled participants to verbally express themselves on the issue of GBV, and allowed the researchers to probe further where more explanation was needed, giving rise to several problems that might have been impossible to explore using quantitative methods. According to the authors, this was the first known study in the country to be conducted using an only qualitative approach to study GBV at universities (Kaufman et al., 2019). The study's findings are characterised by women-blaming articulations, where male students and university staff who participated in the focus group discussion (FGD) blamed the way women dressed with female students holding themselves responsible by believing that they can behave better to avoid violence, hence blaming themselves. Similarly, in South Africa, Graaff and Hienecken's (2017) study, which focused on how men who participated in violence intervention programmes understood masculinities and violence, found that the majority of participants agreed that women's choice of dress and behaviour were causes of violence. These are interesting scholarly findings in terms of how the cause of GBV is constructed around women, yet they are the victims, and how women rather than men are willing to take responsibility for their own victimisation.

I have noticed that not all studies that focus on GBV show a clear interest in what is gendered about it; for example, by looking at how violence is produced as gender is being constructed. For instance, although their studies focused on GBV in universities, the term masculinity or masculinities only appeared twice in the Valls et al. (2016) and Puigvert et al. (2019) articles, once

in Kaufman et al. (2019) and Mahlori et al. (2018); and not at all in Beyene et al. (2019), List (2018) and Kafonek (2017). Mahlori's et al. (2018) study focused on university staff's perceptions of GBV. While these studies focused on other important aspects of GBV, men remain the main perpetrators of violence against women at universities. Unless there is a suggestion that violence perpetrated by men has something to do with their biology, men's constructions of masculinities should be at the centre of any attempt to understand and possibly addressing GBV. This is a gap that my study intends to fill by its focus on GBV as a masculinity issue. Given the acknowledged prevalence of GBV in universities and the need to address it, it is not clear why men were involved in Kaufman's et al. (2019) study, other than to get their perceptions and experiences of GBV, among other things, which is the same reason women were involved. The absence of a clear theory to analyse the data from the men creates an impression that men and women construct themselves in similar ways, and that those ways could necessarily help us understand what causes GBV. While involving both men and women is important, it should not be disregarded that these social categories construct themselves in ways that are socially informed, and therefore their perceptions about GBV could be serving social expectations.

For example, Kaufman's et al. (2019) study's findings revealed that men blame women for certain forms of GBV perpetrated against them, and women took responsibility for not behaving in an expected manner. What does this suggest about how men and women construct themselves? How do masculinities interact with femininities to maintain the status quo of GBV? How is women's self-blaming attitude feeding into normalised unequal gender relations? In my view, it would be challenging to answer these questions without paying attention to how masculinities (relationally to femininities) are constructed. As Baaz and Stern (2013) assert, there is a possibility for emancipation if we understand violence as an expression of culturally produced identities, suggesting that "if we could do gender (read: produce masculinities) differently, then the scourge of sexual violence, [which is a form of GBV], might disappear" (p. 22). In support of my argument about the need to look at GBV as a masculinities issue, Baaz and Stern (2013) further assert that focusing on violence as gendered means paying attention to how masculinities and femininities influence males' and females' roles, and in that way, looking at how gender works to produce violence.

Given the multiple interpretations of the term GBV, analysing data on GBV needs to be based on a theory in order to contribute the answer to the question “what is gendered about GBV” (Jakobsen, 2014, p. 537), which then yields to a clear exploration of other related issues, such as the causes, as Kaufman’s et al. (2019) study sought to do. My study seeks to contribute to the limited research that focuses on university GBV as a masculinities issue. Edwards-Jauch (2011), in her action research on GBV at the University of Namibia, observed that because university curricula contained courses on gender, there seemed to no longer be a need to reflect on gendered and patriarchal institutional practices. However, in reality, there is a need to pay attention to the gender inequalities at universities. The author noted that despite very progressive policy and legal frameworks on gender equality, Namibia is struggling with endemic violence against women and children (Edwards-Jauch, 2011). GBV that happens at universities in general turns the institutions into unsafe learning environments for female students (Kaufman et al., 2019). Kaufman’s et al. (2019) study showed that female students become victims of different forms of GBV, such as intimidation, harassment, sexual and physical violence by males.

Cantalupo (2014), in the study conducted in the United States of America, states that surveys measuring the incidence and prevalence of sexual violence against college or university students, particularly women, have consistently shown a general prevalence of such violence in the 20-25% range. This indicates that men sexually victimise about 25% of college women (Cantalupo, 2014). The author also makes an implicit argument that most of the university community knows little about the occurrence of violence in their own community (Cantalupo, 2014). The author attributes this lack of knowledge not only to most universities' failure to survey their students, but to approximately 90% of students who do not report their victimisation in fear of the possibility of it not to be believed by those in authority (Cantalupo, 2014). Indeed, GBV is a major public health and human rights problem worldwide (Iliyasu, et al., 2011), having been studied internationally and locally, although the focus has often been on understanding its nature and implications. For example, in 2010 and 2011, two surveys were administered at 35 higher education institutions in five European partner countries (Feltes et al., 2012). In these surveys, students were asked about their sense of safety at their university, the ways and extent to which they had been affected by sexual harassment, stalking or sexual violence, the consequences these have had on well-being. Miller et al. (2014) suggest that the prevalence of GBV worldwide calls for prevention programs

that engage men and boys in changing social norms that condone violence against women. Hence, this study targeted male university students who have interest, as peer educators, in discussing social issues. As Miller et al. (2014) indicate that working with men to adopt gender equitable, nonviolent attitudes is increasingly being recognised by major global health organisations as one strategy to reduce violence against women.

Roebuck and Murty (2016) note that the university campus is considered the most dangerous place by many American female students. Not only do the authors talk about the negative and dismissive attitude that academic staff often demonstrates towards female victims when they report about their victimisation, but they also note the insignificant reprimand given to male students who are perpetrators. This resonates with Kaufman's et al. (2019) findings, where university staff who participated in the study believed that the way female students wore their clothes was related to violence perpetrated against them, hence shifting the blame from the perpetrators. Roebuck and Murty's (2016) and Kaufman's et al. (2019) findings emphasise the idea about the need to focus on deconstructing harmful masculinities by engaging men as potential change agents rather than relying on punishment. Engaging men is one of the comprehensive strategies that seek to "actively engage [them] in reflecting on and challenging social and cultural norms that normalise violence against women" (Singh, et al., 2015, p. 97).

South Africa is characterised by high levels of GBV, with its tertiary education institutions not being exempt from this gender inequality (Gordon and Collins, 2013). Gordon and Collins (2013) conducted a study exploring how female residence students at a South African university in KwaZulu-Natal Province understood and experienced GBV. Gordon and Collins' (2013) study found that participants constructed GBV as inevitable, and engaged in a 'waiting game' as they anticipated the danger they believed that men often represent. Furthermore, the study reported that rules such as 'do not drink alcohol with men' were positioned by participants as part of precautionary strategies to avoid GBV (Gordon and Collins, 2013). The women in the study spoke about how they were responsible for avoiding violence, and as a result positioned themselves within a victim-blaming discourse in which it was their responsibility to avoid assaults rather than the responsibility of men not to attack them (Gordon and Collins, 2013). Hence this present study does not seek to place more responsibility on women, but on young men as potential change agents.

Another researcher, Dosekun (2013), also conducted a study on female students' experiences regarding GBV at the University of Cape Town. Similarly, the female university students in this study contended that rape was the random, violent act of a crazy or criminal man (Dosekun, 2013).

The above studies continue to show that the main perpetrators are men and the victims are mainly women. However, the work of Peacock et al. (2006) emphasise that men are not unchanging, and that their experiences, understandings and embodiments of what it means to be a man reflect their life experiences. Considering that gender is relational, Messerschmidt (2019), this study posits that it is problematic to empower women without engaging men. The study therefore engaged a group of male university peer-educator students, regardless whether they were perpetrators or victims (or directly or indirectly) affected by it, towards understanding, and in the process, addressing GBV through focusing on masculinities. As Ruspini, et al. (2011) argue, engaging men in the fight against lifestyles that hurt them and people around them can advance the agenda of social change. Gqola (2007) also concurs that we can undo GBV only by revealing the collective rejection that we demonstrate about how we do not know who is responsible for the abuses that take place in South Africa. By involving men as participants, the study will challenge disturbing patriarchal elements that shape the way they construct their masculinities, this being an important step toward gender-transformation. Msibi (2009) suggests that curbing gendered violence necessitates challenging the links between masculinity and violence. To this end, Gqola (2007) argues that all men need to show up and reject the silence that protects violent masculinities. The author further avers that men need to think about how they speak to and about women, and also question what they were taught (Gqola, 2007), as such actions by men may regain women's sense of safety at universities.

There has recently been a greater focus on students' safety at universities. The work of Singh, et al. (2016), which drew on the data generated within a larger project that focused on creating a safer learning environment at universities by addressing gender-based violence, reveals that sexual assault, which is a form of GBV, is not something constructed out of fear, but is real and happening. On the basis of the feedback from 265 undergraduate students, the findings of the study at a selected campus of the University of KwaZulu-Natal show that 91% of the participants revealed their sense of fear about being on campus (Singh et al., 2016). Hence, they responded

affirmatively to the question about the need to have an institutional policy on sexual assault and felt that it could successfully address students' safety on campus. The above findings clearly demonstrate the negative effects of GBV, in its different forms, on university students. Therefore, I argue that engaging men is an equally necessary part of a holistic approach towards addressing GBV at universities. MacKay and Magwaza (as cited in Ngabaza et al., 2015) agree that GBV is a serious problem on South African university campuses, especially in the residences. Typically, women are victims and men are perpetrators of this violence, as demonstrated by a number of examples.

In 2008, a Black student was strangled to death by her former boyfriend in one of the residences at the Cape Peninsula University of Technology. Three months later, in the same year, another Black student was murdered by her boyfriend in one of the residences at the University of the Western Cape. In 2014, a Black female student was murdered by her non-resident boyfriend in one of the residences at Rhodes University (Ngabaza et al., 2015, p. 45). In 2019, a female student from Capricorn Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) College was raped and killed (Buiten and Naidoo, 2020).

These murders have led female students to associate femaleness with high levels of susceptibility to violence, where they live in fear of possible aggression from their male fellow students (Ngabaza et al., 2015). Similarly, Singh et al. (2015) found that out of the 133 female students who participated in their study, 94% were concerned about their safety on campus. This calls for management of universities to develop better ways to curb further victimisation of women. In addition, it necessitates further research that challenges the way in which men construct themselves. As Gordon and Collins (2013), in the final discussion of their study suggest, that “[f]urther research needs to be conducted in South Africa in the area of gender-based violence, particularly as it is manifested at institutions of higher education” (p. 104). Therefore, this study is partly a response to such a call. It seeks to enhance our understanding of GBV and masculinities from a special group of male university students' perspectives. In the next section, I focus on patriarchy as a key ideology whose elements underpin some problematic ways in which men construct themselves.

3.4. The Ideology of Patriarchy

Patriarchy is central to understanding the gender power upon which various masculinising acts by men are predicated. Dutt (2018) argues that because expressions such as ‘women’s subordination, male dominance and family dignity’ are cited in the context of violence, understanding how patriarchy works (even through constructions of masculinities) in different contexts is important. Patriarchy influences the happenings in families, as Dutt (2018) notes that in a typical patriarchal household, a woman submits to her husband, who is taken as the breadwinner of the family. If it proves difficult for men to satisfy such a role, Dutt (2018) asserts that this results in violence against women, including wife-beating. For example, a survey by the International Centre for Research on Women and the United Nations Population Fund found that 40% of men who revealed their economic stress admitted that they had perpetrated domestic violence, which was contrasted with 27% of men who did not have economic stress (Chartoff, 2015). Based on this, I argue that the patriarchal notion of men as breadwinners gives rise to the masculine notion of men as providers, where their failure to meet this masculine identity results in a long-standing masculine disorder known as ‘masculine gender role stress’ (MGRS) (Copenhaver et al., 2000), which is characterised by hostility and violence against women. Patriarchy presents guiding principles that portray men as a social category superior to women, which suggests that masculinities are different resultant ways in which smaller groups of men choose to construct themselves in relation to patriarchy, that is, in ways that maintain or dismantle patriarchal principles. It has been noted that it is not only men’s behaviour that feeds into patriarchy, as Dutt (2018) remarks that when women embark on practices, behaviours and attitudes that trivialise male violence, it resurrects patriarchy. This supports my view that while men’s construction of themselves lends itself to different forms of masculinities, which are not all oppressive, all men have access and enjoy patriarchal benefits.

Among the things that patriarchal values, attitudes and beliefs shape are our social and cultural practices (Bahlieda, 2015). This suggests that our social interactions and cultural practices are deemed acceptable when they result in or are seen to have resulted from patriarchy. For that reason, Bahlieda (2015) succinctly asserts, “[c]ulture is the social expression of ideology and patriarchy is the social expression of culture” (p. 22). This quotation evokes some important questions, namely: if the ideology that underpins culture is patriarchy, which is predicated on the notion of men’s superiority, as will be discussed later, how does it manifest itself in local societies, and how does

that shape gender relations? Part of the answer is what Bahlied, (2015) calls “a major sub-component of patriarchy” (p. 50), which is that gendered violence perpetrated against women manifesting men’s normalised dominance. To say gendered violence is a sub-component of patriarchy suggests that it is somehow related, but in my view it is also important to acknowledge that not all men perpetrate violence against women, which necessitates other concepts to explain gender relations. In other words, while patriarchy gives a necessary background to gender relations, it does not allow for a more nuanced explanation. For that reason, I am using it to explain its broad oppressive role in societies. Instead, the subsequent sections focus on masculinities to explain gender relations more nuancedly.

Patriarchy as an ideology affects women globally, being the most robust ideology in cultures worldwide, and working on almost the entire spectrum of hyper-normative discourses (Dutt, 2018). However, in South Africa, the ideology of patriarchy, which is based on the dominant role of the father as the head of the household, has negative effects on the family life, being an important risk factor behind intimate partner violence and family breakdown (Sathiparsad et al., 2008). This ideology also affects our education institutions, as these are the extensions of the society in which they operate. Dlamini and Adams’ (2014) study highlights the female experiences of patriarchy at an institution of higher learning, which manifested itself through their disempowerment and subordination as a result of male supremacy.

Authors have defined patriarchy differently, the common denominator being not hard to identify in their definitions. For example, Coetzee (2001) defines patriarchy as a set of social relations between men that have a material base, and which creates interdependence and solidarity among them that enables them to dominate women. Chowdhury (2009) defines patriarchy by way of reminding us that it is an ancient Greek term, which means ‘the rule of the father’. The author illustrates in the study conducted in Bangladesh that in the family, women are regarded as passive dependents and the property of their husbands (Chowdhury, 2009). To Soman (2009), patriarchy means a social structure where the actions and ideas of men are dominant over those of women. Sultana (2011) asserts that in its wider definition, patriarchy refers to the manifestation and institutionalisation of male dominance over the women and children in the family. The author (2011) also notes the extension of such male dominance over women in society in general.

Furthermore, she asserts that patriarchal ideology amplifies biological differences between men and women to ensure that men always have the dominant or masculine roles, and women always have subordinate or feminine roles. More recently, Dutt (2018) succinctly defines patriarchy as “a system of women’s subordination and male dominance” (p. 214). What is common in the above definitions of patriarchy is the intentional elevation of men to the position of dominance at the expense of women, which constitutes the structural subordination of women.

Women-subordination is the ultimate goal of patriarchy, without which it is deemed meaningless, by which I am referring to the socially orchestrated women’s position of inferiority (Sultana, 2011), which results in a plethora of oppressive acts against them. For example, Sultana (2011) notes that patriarchy results in women not being able to have equal access to resources and decision-making as men. Dlamini and Adams (2014) concur with the previous view, as they assert that patriarchy impacts women’s upward mobility and undermines their intellectual capabilities. For some women, this may lead to a feeling of powerlessness, limited self-esteem and self-confidence, with women’s subordination being understood to be a situation where a power relationship exists, and men dominate them (Sultana, 2011).

Despite some commonality in the way in which different researchers have defined patriarchy, Walsh (as cited in Sathiparsad et al., 2008) finds the term problematic, in that its original meaning as ‘the rule of the fathers carries connotations of paternalism that do not immediately reveal the subtle and varied ways in which women continue to experience discrimination in the public domain beyond family bounds. For this reason and as a way to acknowledge discrimination against women outside of the family, Walby (as cited in Soman, 2009), explains two forms of patriarchy, namely private and public. The author describes private patriarchy as the domination of women, which happens within the family at the hands of a husband or individual patriarch. This is an exclusionary strategy, which aims at preventing women from partaking in public life (Walby in Soman, 2009). Public patriarchy, on the other hand, is collective in a sense that women are allowed to partake in public domains, but remain segregated from wealth, power and status (Walby, in Soman, 2009).

The way different researchers have spoken about patriarchy suggests that a patriarchal society socialises and encourages men to think of masculinity and femininity as very different, as

opposites. Hence, the expectation that men should have masculine qualities, such as dominance, fearlessness and competitiveness, and that women should have feminine qualities, such as obedience, caring, loving and timidity. Failure to behave as per societal expectations has negative repercussions for both men and women. For example, men ridicule one another for not being tough enough, while women suffer violence at the hands of men when they transgress the patriarchal society expectation. As Sultana (2011) contends that different kinds of violence may be used to subjugate women, such violence by men may even be regarded as legitimate. This resonates with the findings of Jakobsen (2014) study, which was conducted in Tanzania and found that women beating was considered a good and justifiable mechanism to remind them about their place/position in the family. The author explains that there is a belief that a man has to either control the household or lose his man-role to the woman, this being regarded as an ever-impending disaster, hence, beating seems necessary (Jakobsen, 2014).

Socialisation is the strategy to sustain patriarchy. For example, in the study which they conducted in KwaZulu-Natal Province, South Africa, with Zulu speaking men, Sathiparsad et al. (2008) explain that, on the one hand, male Zulu children were socialised to see themselves as future heads of households, breadwinners and 'owners' of their wives and children. On the other hand, females were socialised to accept male domination and control and to stay faithful, loving and subservient. Having looked at different researchers, I find Coetzee's (2001) description of patriarchy in terms of general characteristics informative for this study, as it enables me to show how patriarchy can implicitly facilitate not only the existence, but also the tolerance of GBV in our society. I now summarise the seven general characteristics of patriarchy.

a) ***Patriarchy assumes a religious status***

Patriarchy has its own system of values that it uses to support and maintain its objectives (Coetzee, 2001). These values control human behaviour and operate as a 'false-religion' whose ideological destination is meant to be in line with the will of God (Schoeman as cited in Coetzee, 2001). Patriarchy fallacy is mostly evident in the way its ideologues interpret scriptures to fit their image of men as superior to women, which are based on eisegesis, that being their subjective ideas; and not on exegesis, which is an objective analysis (Coetzee, 2001). These interpretations produce misconceptions and are not a critical explanation of

text in relation to what happens in society, and as such, are misleading and oppressive, as they normalise women's subordination.

b) *Patriarchy as the reduction of reality*

Patriarchy regards women as intellectually and physically inferior to men, this reductionist view being appropriate to adherents of patriarchy (Coetzee, 2001). This suggests that if the ideology is in place long enough, it may become a taken-for-granted reality that facilitates unequal power relations between men and women, leading to unequal access to opportunities, as noted by Dlamini and Adams (2014), that patriarchy sometimes makes upward mobility challenging for women.

c) *Patriarchy adversely affects every aspect of society*

In the attempts to maintain the supremacy of the men, patriarchy keeps women in their position of subservience through measures such as physical harassment, exclusion from leading roles in some churches and society at large (Coetzee, 2001). The South African Commission on Gender Equality (1998) asserts that the effects of patriarchy on society and education, in particular, relate to a situation of perpetuated inequality.

d) *The ideological justification of patriarchal ideas ignores all other valid claims, and it does not tolerate criticism.*

Patriarchy is a misleading system of rationalisations characterised by biasness to support its propositions (Coetzee, 2001), and has been built around the assumed inferiority of women. Coetzee (2001) notes that this kind of sexism leads women to be taken as inferior to men, regardless of their capabilities and contributions to society. For example, the author (2001) also draws our attention to the view that, in cases where there is evidence against any stereotypical attitudes towards women, patriarchy disregards such as an exception to the principle.

e) *Patriarchy misuses power on the road to supremacy*

Patriarchy is hierarchical, and as men as a social category are not homogenous, in that they are of different classes, races or ethnic groups, they have different positions within the

patriarchy system (Coetzee, 2001). Notwithstanding the hierarchical nature of the patriarchal system, men as a collective work jointly to maintain dominance over women (Coetzee, 2001). This suggests that in the hierarchy, men who are at the higher levels can manipulate those at the lower levels by ‘giving’ them power over those still lower. However, all men, regardless of their level in the hierarchy of patriarchy, seem to be bought off by being able to control at least some women (Coetzee, 2001).

f) Patriarchy adjust norms to suit its purpose

Patriarchy in South Africa is practised as hegemony, making it a hypernorm that subordinates and subjugates all other values and standards (Coetzee, 2001). The perceived superior position of males results in their controlling and influencing behaviour in all aspects of human life. This makes it rather difficult for women to deal with patriarchy, as Foucault (as cited in Coetzee, 2001), states that individuals who do not comply with social norms of the dominant discourse are branded as abnormal.

g) Patriarchy uses certain strategies to sustain its position of domination

The strategies that patriarchy uses can mainly be seen as the slight manipulation of words and symbols, often indirectly applied because of the depth of the ideological principles (Coetzee, 2001). Following are some of the strategies that patriarchy makes use of: legitimisation, dissimulation, unification, fragmentation and externalisation (Coetzee, 2001). Legitimisation is more informative to this study, as it will be used to explain the manifestations of hegemonic masculinity, which relies on legitimacy. Hadi (2017) concurs that patriarchy requires some form of violence for the sake of its existence, which is sometimes taken as legitimate in certain local cultural belief systems.

The above discussion of the characteristics of patriarchy is intended to demonstrate different ways in which this ideology sustains itself. It is with such exposure of the nature of patriarchy that one can begin to realise the possible negative effects that such an ideology has on society. It is with no doubt that women are the ones who bear the brunt as far as patriarchy is concerned. Patriarchy often manifests itself through violence towards women based on their gender, as mentioned earlier. For that reason, Partab (2012) wonders if the male participants in her study who resorted to

violence to solve relationship related problems were not possibly acting from a space of dehumanisation caused by patriarchal demands. The Gender Equity Task Team (GETT) report, (as cited in Coetzee, 2001) indicates that rape is one of the most violent forms of male control and domination, and that sexual harassment and violence exist in all educational institutions. In the next section, I focus on the literature that highlights the existence of multiple masculinities in Africa.

3.5. Constructions of Masculinities in Africa

This heading does not seek to suggest that I will be focusing on masculinities that are peculiar to Africa, which may be wrongly interpreted as African masculinities. Instead, this section reviews the relevant literature that highlights the diversity of men and the multiplicity of masculinities in Africa. The point that I am trying to emphasise is that, notwithstanding the social and economic predicaments (which might be taken to contribute to the idea of crisis of masculinity) that characterise most men's everyday lives in Africa, their reactionary constructions of masculinities in such situations are certainly not uniform (Ammann and Staudacher, 2020). An understanding that homogenises men in Africa, as if there is something called African masculinity, is simplistic and stereotypical (Ammann and Staudacher, 2020), as it undermines Connell and Messerschmidt's (2005) emphasis on the multiplicity of masculinities, with even the hegemonic ones being understood as multiple, as they can exist at different levels, namely local, regional and global. My interest in this study is to focus on masculinities that emerge out of the so called crisis of masculinity, because exploration of those would reinforce the idea of the existence of multiple masculinities in Africa, as elsewhere.

In the context of Zambia, for example, Evans (2016) confirms observing men's nonhegemonic constructions of themselves, where they share in household chores and care work, despite discouraging local notions of masculinities. Similarly, and in spite of deep-rooted patriarchal norms, McLean (2020) notices some shifts in masculinities, suggesting the emergence of new forms, which are characterised by love and care in Sierra Leone. However, in other parts of Africa, individuals who construct themselves in nonconforming ways are treated with homophobic attitude. For example, as noted by Shio and Moyer (2020) in Tanzania, where rigid social norms put nonconforming men under pressure to conform, which results in them faking being

heterosexual (through clothing and getting married) and living their homosexual lives privately. Other incidents of homophobia were observed in Malawi and South Africa, as will be discussed later. The multiple and sometimes contradictory ways in which men construct their masculinities in Africa calls for non-rigidity in the application of masculinities theory, which is what I did by adopting integrated theories of masculinities. In his thought-provoking article, where he argues for the formulation of African-centred theories and concepts, Mfecane (2018) asserts that gender theories should account for the complexities that characterise African men's life experiences. Pasura and Christou (2018) concur, and argue that a holistic understanding of African masculinities ought to take history into consideration, hence citing the intersectional role of social and economic inequalities (other than gender) to men's constructions of masculinities.

Given the need to address the scourge of GBV, which is mainly perpetrated by men, the meaningful analysis of masculinities, which can help in dealing with such a societal challenge, needs to go "beyond crisis [of masculinities] but [be] contextually grounded in the time and space" (Ammann and Staudacher, 2020, p. 7). Researchers assert that boys and men are complicated gendered subjects, whose constructions of masculinity are internally unstable and hence changeable (Ratele, 2013; Connell, 2012). Researchers such as Connell (2012) and Messerschmidt (2019) support the use of the term 'masculinities' rather than 'masculinity', as they contend that there is no single (African) masculinity. Given the plurality of masculinities, understanding how men construct themselves in an African context must take into consideration the plurality of young men's realities and/or backgrounds (Mfecane 2018; Pasura and Christou, 2018).

There are of course, dominant ways in which men construct themselves, for example, when commenting on the South African mineworkers' strike, Botha and Ratele (as cited in Ratele, 2015), maintain that money is the key to the definition of what makes men feel powerful or subordinate. The authors contend that the Black men at the mines were, essentially, fighting for their masculine credentials in order to be viewed as worthy men (Botha and Ratele as cited in Ratele, 2015). This suggests that having a decent income is more important to masculinities than it is to men per se, which feeds into a perceived need to meet societal expectations. However, what happens in the event when meeting those expectations proves difficult? The failure to conform and satisfy the predetermined roles of a man may well be responsible for masculine gender-role stress (MGRS)

which, as mentioned earlier, is the feeling men have when they are faced with situations that seem to pose a threat to their masculine identity (Copenhaver, Lash and Eisler, 2000). MGRS is usually characterised by an increased level of anger, hostility and violence. The authors state that sexually aggressive men tend to hold more traditional masculine gender-role attitudes, and argue that male gender-role socialisation is an important factor in male violence against women (Copenhaver et al., 2000). Their argument resonates with the assertion by Morrell (in Hamlall, 2014), that when men see violence as a choice, which demonstrates their masculinity, it leads them to regard violence as a key area in masculinity making.

However, importantly, Ratele (2013) argues that masculinities are always under construction, and therefore that what men do should be considered as unsettled and changeable. In his earlier work, Ratele (2007) asserted that masculinity is an unfixed and incomplete configuration of gender and the sexual practices men learn, get accustomed to over time, and use to identify themselves as men to themselves and others. It is based on this unsettledness and changeability of masculinities that this study seeks to explore MUPES' understandings of this concept and its connection to GBV, with particular interest in the forms that they turn to in rejecting or reworking its traditional manifestations. However, tradition also plays a significant role in inculcating certain ways of understandings in men as far as masculinities are concerned. Hence, Ratele (2013) cites Brown explaining that traditional masculinities could be understood as derived from two main overlapping meanings of tradition. First, tradition as beliefs, practices, statements, customs and rituals, handed down from generation to generation, mainly by verbal means. Second, tradition as accepted beliefs and practices, thought to be from a long time ago. Irrespective of which meaning of tradition informed the constructions of masculinities, men exaggerate any traditional rule of masculinity in fear of being perceived as gay or not a real man, as per societal standards (Ratele, 2013). For example, in South Africa, traditional notions of masculinity portray men as brave, strong, powerful, intelligent, mature, healthy, heterosexual, provider and protector (Khunou, 2006, in Ratele, 2013).

Research shows a connection between hegemonic African masculinities and homophobia as well as gender-based violence (Ratele, 2014). Regarding homophobia, African society encourages men and women to be heterosexual through vertical and horizontal homophobia. An example of

vertical homophobia is a 2009 incident, where a Malawian gay/trans couple were arrested for performing *chinkhoswe*, a traditional engagement ceremony, which is recognised as a civil marriage in Malawi when it involves a heterosexual couple (BBC in Ratele, 2014). This is vertical homophobia in a sense that it is a performance of heterosexism emanating from socio-political structures and institutions, such as constitutions, penal codes, laws, and government policies (Ratele, 2014). An example of horizontal homophobia is a 2006 South African incident, where a group of young men fatally beat a young self-identified lesbian due to an intense argument about the use of women's toilets by lesbians. As against the example of vertical homophobia in Malawi, this is the manifestation of horizontal homophobia as it is an anti-homosexual bias that has penetrated everyday interpersonal relations, regardless of the egalitarian nature of the South African constitution. Based on the above discussion, Ratele (2014) argues that an important characteristic that defines a dominant male position is violence, and the homosexual, it seems, is what a real African man is not. However, the author raises an important point of concern regarding the duress for African men and women to be heterosexual, as he contends that the need for heterosexuality to be constantly defended is symptomatic of its unnaturalness, suggesting that it is not the natural order of things (Ratele, 2014). The author then asserts that heterosexuality may well be considered as much 'unAfrican' as homosexuality (Ratele, 2014). In the next section, I review the literature on masculinities and violence.

3.6. Masculinities and Violence

Men have been recognised as the main perpetrators of GBV due to the oppressive ways in which they often construct their masculinities. In this section I review the literature that indicates the link between violence and masculinities that the studies reviewed in the previous section did not explicitly show. Researchers have noted links between violence and masculinities (Bozkurt et al., 2015; Flood, 2019b; Graaff and Hienecken, 2017; Hearn, 2012; Morrell et al., 2013); Ratele, 2014; Salazar et al., 2020; and Vetten and Ratele, 2013). Salazar et al. (2020) note that in Europe, at least one in three women has reported being sexually or physically abused, with the authors attributing the perpetration of such violence to those men whose behaviour is characterised by inequitable masculinities. Salazar et al. (2020) have also noticed that in population-based studies in South Africa, as well as in multi-country studies in Asia and Latin America, construction of hegemonic forms of masculinities by certain men lend itself to various forms of violence against women. To

stress the link between violence and (hegemonic) masculinities, Salazar et al. (2020) and Graaff and Hienecken (2017) explain some context-specific characteristics of hegemonic masculinities, such as an emphasis on men being heterosexual, tough, heads of their household, financial providers, with a perceived insatiate sex drive that creates a sense of entitlement to sex, and exercising dominance over women. Violence can also be indicative of the forms of masculinities, known as hypermasculinities, whose construction is centred around a false belief that danger is enjoyable and that violence is a normal way of maintaining men's dominance (Graaff and Hienecken, 2017). Given the notion of regarding men as providers, Graaff and Hienecken (2017) argue that in the South African context, most forms of masculinities force men to use violence as the main rather than the alternative manifestation of masculinity when they cannot meet the societal expectation of being (financial) providers. Although there may be differences among men and other reasons (other than the failure to provide) they perpetrate violence, masculinity serves as a common factor among those who use violence against women (Wojnicka, 2015). The author (2015) also asserts that perpetration of violence by men is related to perceived heterosexuality and hegemonic masculine beliefs, and for that reason, non-conforming men become susceptible to men-on-men violence. This suggests that while violence perpetrated by men against women is oppressive, violence against men by men is exclusive in that it reinforces a notion that heterosexuality is the only way of being a man. Furthermore, violence perpetrated by men suggests a need to focus on masculinities with the intention to deconstruct the hegemonic forms.

However, it should be noted that not all masculinities are associate with violence, as there are those that Salazar et al. (2020) refer to as caring masculinities, which are constructed in ways that reject men's dominance over women. Although not all men are violent, certain men derive social power from the use of violence against women (Jewkes et al., 2015a). The authors (2015) note that violence is not always imposed on the victims, but it is sometimes accepted by both men and women as a social norm, hence lending itself to what Connell calls hegemonic masculinity. It is this form of masculinity that highlights the need to focus more on men in order to challenge the perceptions that normalise violence. It can be noticed from the above views that the discourse about GBV (perpetration or prevention) is almost impossible without incorporating masculinities, not unless we are talking about violence in general and are not interested in power dynamics between men and women and among men.

To understand how violence feeds into the constructions of gender, it is necessary to trace it back to how the natural capabilities of men and women have for a long time been used as a motive to construct social capabilities. Stiehm (2000) explains this:

Biology is certainly not destiny, but it remains true that women can give birth to and nurse the young, while men cannot. In contrast, there is nothing men can do that women cannot. Because men do not have a unique capacity by which to define themselves, they tend to define themselves by oppositeness – specifically, as being the opposite of women. (p. 223)

The above excerpt shows that men feel obligated to find alternative mechanism and unique capacity by which to define themselves in their attempt to match up with women. The author asserts that men define themselves by a social role, which involves the exercise of power (which often translates into violence) as a way of protecting their susceptible masculinities (Stiehm, 2000). While in societies that are driven by gender equality, differences between men and women are not emphasised, most societies have a tendency to attach a higher social value to men, hence yielding a plethora of norms that feed into unequal power relations between them (Jewkes et al., 2015a). However, as I will discuss it in the next section, the literature shows that some men feel obliged to discuss social issues (e.g. oppressive use of power by a social category of men; gender-based violence etc.) that are deemed detrimental to their society despite the general perceived need for men to protect their masculinities.

Notwithstanding the fact that not all men are violent, Jewkes et al. (2015a) raise an important point, that the use of violence against women by the majority of men is a source of power for all men as a social category. This suggests that whether the connection is deemed indirect in relation to some men (who are not violent) and direct in relation to the majority of men (who are violent), women remain victims of the unequal power relations. Equally important is understanding that individual woman's tolerance and internalisation of violence perpetrated by men does not make the unequal gender relations any better or less oppressive. Instead, such gender relations lend themselves to hegemonic masculinity, whereby women, due to broader structural norms, have come to understand their own oppression and victimisation as legitimate. This resonates with Messerschmidt's (2019) explanation that hegemonic masculinity is meaningless without

emphasised femininities or non-hegemonic masculinities, as it is all about “the legitimisation of relationship of superordination and subordination” (p. 86), suggesting that hegemonic masculinity legitimates and normalises unequal gender relations.

As men are not naturally violent, instead as a social category of power, construct themselves in ways that sometimes produce violence, it is important to be critical of the ways in which they construct their social role. Hearn (2012) asserts that in many societies, men are responsible for different kinds of violence, ranging from intimate partners to institutional violence. The author acknowledges that violence is not a “fixed set of behaviours”, and that not all men are actively involved in violence, but alerts us to most men’s complicity in violence (Hearn, 2012, p. 590). For that reason, Hearn (2019) contends that there is a need to be critical of men and their masculinities when studying them, which suggests that there has to be a clear understanding of how masculinities are connected to violence. Jewkes, et al. (2015a) explain that the connection between violence and men may be related to social values, attributes and roles expected for men by society that engender gender, in this case, masculinities. This is particularly informative to this study, as it suggests that my interest in understanding what constitutes GBV cannot be seen in isolation and without seeking to understand how masculinities are constructed. This view informed the formulation of the study’s objectives as seeking to explore how masculinities are connected to GBV.

Although it has been acknowledged that not all men are violent, Partab (2012) notes that the larger the level of gender inequality in society, the more elevated the level of violence against women. The levels of gender inequality in societies characterised by different forms of violence have seen the formation of equality-driven #movements, such as the #MeToo (see Flood, 2019a) and #MenAreTrash (see Makama, et al., 2019). These movements attempt to address issues of violence against women by men. While they may have their own challenges, they are also indicative of societies that are fed up with the levels of violence against and victimisation of women by men. As Partab (2012) asserts, what needs to be examined is the interrelationship between men and masculinity, which her study identified as a gap. As not all masculinities are violent, I add that what needs to be explored is the connection between men, masculinity and violence.

3.7. Working with Men to End Violence

The prevalence of GBV worldwide has led to the realisation that prevention of such violence necessitates that men be involved in playing a role (Casey et al., 2018). Men's role is important due to the way in which they construct their masculinities as well as the way gender norms are associated with violence (Jewkes et al., 2015a). For this reason, working with men is a way of creating an opportunity that evokes their perceptions and understandings about their gender identities and general gender norms (Casey, et al., 2018). Peacock and Barker (2014) assert that working with men acknowledges that although men are the main perpetrators, they also have valid reasons to end violence. For example, among others, some men have witnessed violence being perpetrated against females close to them (Peacock and Barker, 2014). For this reason, Chakraborty's et al. (2020) ethnographic study with male allies in a violence against women and girls (VAWG) prevention program in India found that a more contextualised exploration of men's lived experiences and conditions was necessary, instead of expecting quick behavioural and attitudinal changes. Hossain et al. (2014) concur that work with men needs to be focused in order to bring about change. Flood (2019b) provides three reasons why men should be involved in the attempts to address violence, especially against women. First, the main perpetrators of violence are men, and focusing on them, their attitudes and behaviours, is therefore necessary. Second, at different levels (individual, family and society), violence occurs as a result of constructions of masculinity. Third, because masculinities can be deconstructed and reconstructed, men can play a positive role in attempts to address violence.

Indeed, working with or studying men in and of itself does not translate into a new radical approach to research (Hearn 2004). However, the subject matter, rationale, objectives and the process of studying men are important factors that determine whether or not the choice of working with men was worthwhile. Given the connection between masculinities and violence, as demonstrated in the literature reviewed above, men's involvement in an attempt to prevent GBV is critical and has to be characterised by criticalness. In working with men, Kaufman's (2000) long-standing assertion is informative:

The personal insecurities conferred by a failure to make the masculine grade, or simply, the threat of failure, is enough to propel many men, particularly when they are young, into a vortex of fear, isolation, anger, self-punishment, self-hatred and aggression. Within

such an emotional state, violence becomes a compensatory mechanism. It is a way of re-establishing the masculine equilibrium, of asserting to oneself and others one's masculine credentials. (p. 214)

It could be deduced that men's involvement in violence is not unmotivated and accidental, but they resort to violence to urgently protect and maintain their masculinities when they perceive them to be threatened. As to why engaging in violence (rather than other ways of being men) would seem an appropriate immediate mechanism to protect men's masculinities, it is an implicit objective of this study by its focus on how those men who are already engaging on social issues establish their "masculine equilibrium" (Kaufman, 2000, p. 214). This will be the exploration of the forms of masculinities they turn to in rejecting the dominant forms of masculinities. By seeking to understand how MUPES construct their masculinities in relation to GBV, this study moves in a direction towards meeting the ways that have always been critical in challenging men's violence, namely;

- Dismantling the structures of men's power and privilege
- Re-defining masculinity
- Involving men to reshape the sexual organisation of society, in particular, our institutions.
- Activities that involve men and boys in actually challenging themselves and other men to end all forms of violence. (Kaufman, 2000, p. 214)

On the understanding that in working with men, we are not dealing with them per se, but with the cultural traditions that underpin their practices and inform the way they construct themselves (Ratele, 2015), the above (quoted) suggestions help to maintain a critical eye in this process. These suggestions draw attention to the need to focus on masculinities to end violence. Colpitts (2019) concurs that addressing GBV necessitates dealing with hegemonic masculine norms. Furthermore, Ratele (2015) teaches us that when we engage men we are, in essence, engaging gender, and for that reason, it is important that we bear in mind how the concerned men understand, construct and perform gender in their everyday lives, and most informative for this study, how they position themselves on the gender terrain.

Studies have been conducted in keeping with the view that working with men on its own is not a solution, unless we heed Ratele's (2015) suggestion that when studying men, we are engaging not just male bodies, but gender, which necessitates being critical of them. For example, Partab (2012) explains that her study involved violent men in making sense of their decision to use violence as a choice in domestic conflict resolution. She explored the role that religion and culture play in such choices, hence suggesting awareness of the potential impact of broader social institutions on masculinities. While the present study is guided by the principles of being critical of men and the understanding that the way in which they construct themselves is embedded in the cultural traditions, it looks at men from a different perspective. I treat the men involved in this study as potential change agents rather than as perpetrators. For that reason, the question that is important here is a 'How' (they construct themselves differently, rejecting, accepting or reworking dominant forms of masculinities) rather than a 'Why' (they construct themselves violently, as this is not the reason they are peer educators). It is my view that involving men as potential change agents is an important step towards being critical of them and allows them to question their own beliefs, which is vital in mitigating violence. It is for this reason that this present study involved MUPES as participants, as they already have an interest in engaging in social issues, which I tapped into to explore how they envisaged their role in addressing GBV. As Peacock and Barker (2014) assert that involving men as part of the solution rightly acknowledges that men also have motivations to support and promote gender equality by addressing violence perpetrated by men against women.

Similarly, Colpitts (2019, p. 429) asserts that working with men is a vital aspect of addressing GBV, and that it is improbable to achieve gender equity without engaging 'half of the equation' (men), that is, not dealing with the root cause of violence. As noted earlier by Ratele (2015), that men's constructions of masculinities are not divorced from their cultural traditions, I consider men a step in the direction of the root cause, but not the root cause in and of themselves. As men are in the direction from where violence and other forms of oppression come, engaging them is critical, as it rightly puts the responsibility on them. Ruspini, et al. (2011) assert that engaging men in the fight against behaviour that hurts them and people around them can advance the agenda of social change, while Jewkes, et al. (2015b) concur that creating a platform and space to engage with men is a significant way to explore masculine identities. Fundamentally, the authors believe that it is critical to strike a balance between focus on men's power, oppressive elements of hegemonic

masculinities and the positive elements of men's constructions of masculinities. Hence, I now focus on peer education, which is a strategy that has been associated with some positivity in prevention programs.

3.8. The Role of Peer Educators in Preventing GBV

Peer educators can perform a variety of roles in their communities, including educational institutions, namely: education, activism, outreach and counselling (Rose-Clarke et al., 2019). First, peer educators can provide education to their peers with the intention to influence their attitude and expand their knowledge; second, through activism, they can conduct awareness campaigns calling for new policies or change in existing ones; third, through outreach initiatives, they can access and engage marginalised peers; finally given proper training, they can provide basic counselling support to their peers (Rose-Clarke et al., 2019). Peer educators have been utilised by organisations that work with youth due to their important role in facilitating desired change in a number of areas (Moolman et al., 2020). Sun et al. (2018) add that after having been appropriately trained, peer educators are often regarded as role models by their peers who interact with them about critical topics. The characteristic of approachability makes peer educators vital vehicles in the transmission of information to their peers as opposed to receiving it from adult professionals (Dickenson, 2015; Ekmekci, et al., 2018). Notwithstanding the improvements in attitudes, knowledge and behaviours, Sun et al. (2018) caution that prolonged exposure time to peer education is necessary for there to be easily noticeable changes in peer educators' behaviour.

Peer education has been noted as being a useful method towards sexual violence prevention and instrumental in encouraging behaviour change (McMahon, et al., 2014; Moolman et al., 2020). As peer educators often have common characteristics, including but not limited to their backgrounds, peer education as a method allows them to share useful information towards violence prevention (McMahon et al., 2014). Not only does peer education at educational institutions allow for formal diffusion of information through educational programs, but it also allows for informal dissemination of information by way of social interactions with other students in residences and informal gatherings (McMahon, 2009). By becoming active members in peer education, peer educators' knowledge, attitudes and behaviour with regard to sexual violence improves (Sun et al., 2018; McMahon, 2009). For example, Christensen's (2014) study found that peer educators were

encouraged to subvert social norms related to sexual violence, to take responsibility, and to be part of the solutions to problems.

However, for peer educators to challenge oppressive social norms is not without its challenges. As Goransson (2013) notes that it is sometimes regarded as taking the wrong side for men to participate in programmes where women's rights are explicitly upheld and results in their being labelled as traitors by other men. Notwithstanding the challenges, research has shown that peer education can be instrumental in the process of seeking solutions to societal problems (Denison et al., 2012). By peer educators, this present study refers to male university undergraduate students who are prospective teachers, being recruited and trained by the Campus HIV/AIDS Support Unit (CHASU) for the purposes of passing HIV/AIDS education to their university peers.

Research has shown a link between HIV/AIDS and GBV (Beydoun and Beydoun, 2013; Bhana, 2009; Collins et al., 2009; de Lange et al., 2012; Peacock and Barker, 2014). Beydoun and Beydoun (2013) note that health care utilisation is higher among women who have experienced GBV. Furthermore, there is a long-standing view that the ideals of masculinity, such as those that regard male sexual needs as uncontrollable, multiple partners as evidence of sexual prowess, and dominance over women (physical and sexual) as manly, can place both young men and women at high risk of HIV infection (Barker and Ricardo, 2005). By focusing on peer-educator students, this study is able to show how the aforementioned ideals of masculinity are accepted, rejected or reworked.

3.9. Summary and implications of the literature

The literature has shown the link between constructions of masculinities and violence. While studies acknowledged the multiplicity of masculinities, suggesting that not all of them are related to violence, hegemonic forms were considered key in maintaining unequal gender relations. The literature further explained the general characteristics of hegemonic masculinities that can maintain unequal gender relations in implicit and explicit ways, and the perceived need for a man to be the tough, heterosexual, head of his household, financial provider with sexual prowess, and most importantly, exercising dominance over women. Acts of hypermasculinities, such as risky behaviours and different forms of violence against women, were also highlighted as important

sources of power for men in their quest for dominance over females. It was noted that men's perpetration of violence has been highlighted by different anti-violence hashtag movements, such as #Metoo and #MenAreTrash.

Owing to the fact that men are the main perpetrators and women the main victims of GBV, some research at universities has tended to focus on female students, which puts more responsibility on the potential victims rather than on men (as my study does) to construct themselves differently. However, there has been a realisation by scholars about the need to also involve male students in GBV studies. The recent studies reviewed here, which focused on GBV at universities and involved male students (among other groups) as participants, do not clearly explain GBV as a masculinity issue. As indicated earlier, these studies even use the term masculinity or masculinities either twice, once or not at all, which creates a gap in the literature as far as the gendered nature of university violence is concerned. This creates an impression that GBV at universities is unrelated to masculinities, which then begs the question, what is gendered about (university) GBV if it is explored independently of the constructions of gender (masculinities and femininities)? The literature has shown that work with men is important, as the way in which they construct their masculinities and the associated gender norms are related to violence. For this reason, unless men's perpetration of violence is perceived as biologically informed, studying troubling GBV at universities is likely to answer the above question and expand our knowledge if it is premised on theories that can explain the social construction of men, which my study intends to do.

The literature also demonstrated that peer education has positive effects on peer educators, such as improvements in their knowledge, attitudes and behaviour. Therefore, by involving male students who voluntarily became peer educators, this present study will be able to explore multiple understandings of masculinities, those that feed into unequal gender relations resulting in GBV and those that challenge the status quo. This would be impractical with a randomly selected group of male students who are not peer educators, as the literature has indicated typical women-blaming attitudes from such groups. It is important to acknowledge that men are not passive recipients and agents of cultural principles; instead, they have motives to question the status quo, and if given the appropriate questions, are capable of reflecting on their masculinities and practices. While the study acknowledges that all men enjoy patriarchal benefits, it posits that men are not a homogenous

and unchanging group. Therefore, involving them as potential change agents yields the exploration of the ways in which they accept, rework or reject hegemonic ideals of masculinities and patriarchal principles. It is for this reason this study engaged MUPES, as the way they willingly positioned themselves by voluntarily becoming peer educators seems oppositional to the norm, and how they construct themselves may contribute to understanding the conditions that can encourage men to be interested in change(ing).

3.10. Conclusion

This chapter synthesised local and international literature that showed the relationship between GBV, men and constructions of masculinities. First, it focused on GBV as a global phenomenon and some contestations around the term ‘GBV’ and then discussed the prevalence of GBV in universities. It thereafter looked at the role of the ideology of patriarchy in maintaining the status quo, that being perpetrating GBV by men and reviewed constructions of masculinities in Africa, highlighting multiple ways in which men construct themselves and some recent shifts in masculinities. Research that connects violence and masculinities was reviewed. This was followed by a review of the value of working with men to address GBV. The chapter then concludes with a review of the literature that shows the positive role of peer educators in prevention initiatives and its implications for the study.

CHAPTER 4. METHODOLOGY

4.1. Introduction

Research methodology is the plan of action, the design that underpins the use of particular data generation methods as a means to accomplish the study objectives (O'Donoghue, 2019). This chapter seeks to give a critical and reflexive engagement of this study's process. For researchers to mention their methodological stances is a way of positioning themselves ontologically (Owino, 2014). This chapter reviews the methodological approach adopted, using qualitative research within a critical paradigm. It presents the methods of data generation and analysis, and the ethical issues taken into consideration. Research necessitates that the researcher's identity and experiences in relation to the research participants be taken seriously, which necessitated my being aware of issues of reflexivity throughout the research process.

4.2. Methodological Approach

This study uses a case study design using qualitative methods within the context of the critical paradigm.

4.2.1. *Case Study*

A case study design is used to explore certain phenomena in one or more settings, and can employ a multiplicity of data collection methods (qualitative, quantitative or mixed) contingent upon the research questions (Fraser and Mays, 2020). Owing to this element of flexibility, among other things, a case study research is thought of as “a research design or as a strategy for increasing understanding”, but certainly not as a method in and of itself (Fraser and Mays, 2020, p. 181). VanWynsberghe and Khan (2007) assert that a “case study is a transparadigmatic and transdisciplinary heuristic that involves the careful delineation of phenomena for which evidence is being collected” (p. 84). Given the acknowledgement that a case study can be seen as positioned anywhere between a research methodology and a method (Miles, 2015), it is important to clarify that it was used as a methodology that was predicated on relevant ontological, epistemological and axiological bases, as discussed in the next section (4.2.2.). As a methodology, a case study requires that the bounding and representation of the case be taken into consideration (Miles, 2015). While there has been some criticism levelled against case study research revolving around issues of

generalisability, some researchers have found the criticism misguided, as it disregards the value of “a context-dependent investigation” and the resultant knowledge (Flyvbjerg, 2006; Miles, 2015, p. 310). For this reason, Miles (2015) asserts that a case study recognises complexity in exploring and analysing social practice. Pearson et al. (2015) add that they (case studies) have the required rigour for credibility and possible generalisability when conducted with careful consideration of the selected case, ethical issues concerning participants and data management.

Furthermore, Thomas (2021) asserts that when a researcher conducts a case study, they are “interested in that thing in itself”, which could be a person, a group, an institution, a country, an event etc. The author emphasises that of importance in a case study research is how unique each one of the previously mentioned ‘things’ is as a case under investigation, which calls for the justification of the selected case (Thomas, 2021). This case selection, for example, as it applies to this study, may be based on the fact that the case is different from what may appear to be a norm in their setting, with a focus on the case seeking to develop a “polyhedron of intelligibility” (Foucault as cited in Thomas 2021, p. 5). In this study, this implies not looking at the MUPES only from one perspective (yielding a one dimensional view) associated with GBV perpetration as men, but attempting to give a three-dimensional view that considers their possible role towards GBV reduction. There are a number of questions that are asked when asserting that the study is a case study, and I will deal with two of such questions due to their importance, as raised by Fraser and May (2020).

What constitutes a case for the study?

The study focused on male university students who were peer educators (MUPES) and lived in university residences. These students had demonstrated interest in discussing social issues by joining a Campus HIV/AIDS Support Unit (CHASU), as discussed in detail later in section 4.4. (study sample). A clear delineation of the case from the unit of analysis is essential in case study research (VanWynsberghe and Khan 2007). While the MUPES constituted the case for the study, masculinities and GBV (the connection) were the phenomena under research. This is clearly presented more nuancedly as the units of analysis in the finding chapters (5, 6, 7), in consistence with VanWynsberghe and Khan’s (2007) assertion about a case study that “researchers cannot definitively state the unit of analysis at the outset of the research; it must come into focus as the

research progresses” (p. 90). To address any confusion about the phenomena being researched, the link between masculinities and violence was discussed in section 3.6., while the link between HIV and GBV (justifying the selection of HIV peer educators) was discussed in section 3.8.

Where do the boundaries of the case lie?

The MUPES were selected from the CHASU as an organisation within the university that works with particular groups of students who possess specific characteristics and are known as peer educators, which marks the boundary of the case, and were therefore not any randomly selected male university students. This is consistent with the view that case studies have a boundary that facilitates definition, as it may be based on the characteristics of a group (Cohen et al., 2011). The question of how the case was selected is dealt with in detail in section 4.4.

Different typologies have been used to define case studies, with Stake (1995), based on how the case is selected, suggesting three types of the case studies; first, intrinsic case studies, where rather than the case being selected, it is given. Second, the instrumental case study, where the case selection is based on its (case’s) potential to contribute to understanding a given phenomenon. Third, the collective case study, which is an extended version of the previous type, as it involves selecting two or more cases. Basing it on study purpose, Yin (2014) also suggests three types of case study; namely, the exploratory case study, which is a form of pilot study important for subsequent research; a descriptive case study that offers a context-based description of a phenomenon; and an explanatory case study that aims to explain the factors causing a particular event. The current study draws on both scholars’ typologies and can be understood as an instrumental descriptive case study, in that its focus on male students who are peer educators and lived in university residences yielded a contextualised understanding of the connection between masculinities and GBV.

As a case study is “transparadigmatic” (VanWynsbergh and Khan, 2007, p. 84) and can be used with any research approach, the next section discusses the qualitative research approach, and positions the study ontologically, epistemologically and axiologically.

4.2.2. *Qualitative Research*

According to Cohen et al. (2011), qualitative data analysis involves making sense of data in terms of the participants' definitions of the situation, noting patterns, themes, categories and regularities. A qualitative research approach was adopted for data generation and analysis to understand the phenomena of GBV and masculinities in terms of the meanings that male university peer-educator students (MUPES) attached to them. This research approach yielded the acquisition of textual data that enabled me to interpret the explanations that the participants offered around the phenomena (Denzin and Lincoln, 2017). As qualitative research elucidates and sheds some light on people's beliefs and perceptions, adopting it as an approach in conducting this study proved instrumental in understanding how MUPES constructions of masculinities were related to GBV. As qualitative research reveals the meanings that people ascribe to practices, situations and social phenomena (Leavy, 2017), I was guided by the research questions to explore the connection between GBV and masculinities.

Furthermore, qualitative researchers have to make up their minds regarding certain assumptions, which are philosophical in nature, prior to embarking on a qualitative study, and need to take a clear position in terms of ontology, epistemology and axiology (Creswell, 2013). Ontology focuses on the nature of being, and qualitative researchers adopt the view of the multiplicity of realities (Leavy, 2017, Creswell, 2013). Therefore, such researchers take cognisance of participants' varying realities, which is evident in how they quote comments to justify their propositions. Regarding epistemology, qualitative researchers concern themselves with narrowing the gap between themselves and the participants as an important way to get to know better both the participants and their environment. It is within prolonged close proximity with participants that qualitative researchers get first-hand information that they need to report confidently (Creswell, 2013). In terms of axiology, qualitative researchers declare their values and biases that they come with to the study (Creswell, 2013). The quality of a qualitative study also lies with the way in which researchers are able to deal with their positionality, which is something they need to make explicit.

This study did not ignore these philosophical assumptions; the amount of time I spent in the field with the MUPES and attending some of their programmes contributing to my understanding of

peer education and MUPES themselves. Although I did not record as data anything that I observed during the CHASU programmes that the MUPES organised, those opportunities presented moments of enlightenment about male students as peer educators. I can still remember vividly one of these programmes where a female facilitator led the discussion and MUPES were at ease discussing all sorts of controversial social issues (e.g. condom use, initiating sex etc.). This helped me appreciate the level of willingness and enthusiasm to share ideas that MUPES demonstrated. Under the reflexivity section of this chapter, I discuss my positionality and the issues that arose out of it, with the ontology, epistemology and axiology being taken into consideration.

Not only do qualitative researchers have to consider the above discussed philosophical assumptions, but they also need to heed Maxwell's (2013) suggestion that a qualitative study as a matter of necessity should be based on an appropriate paradigm, with this study adopting a critical paradigm approach.

4.2.3. Critical Paradigm

The critical paradigm was deemed useful in exploring masculinities with the intention to propose gender transformation. As Hussain et al. (as cited in Asghar, 2013) assert that the critical paradigm leans more towards qualitative research. O'Donoghue (2019) asserts that the critical paradigm helps understand the causes of powerlessness of certain social groups, as it has a particular view of reality, and treats reality based on a number of factors, including but not limited to cultural, political, social and economic. This suggests that the way people perceive the world does not happen in isolation, but is strongly impacted by the aforementioned factors in a number of ways, with people's perceptions being subjectively contingent upon their position in society. However, other paradigms, such as positivism and interpretivism, do not explicitly share the same view. Hence, Cohen et al. (2011) argue that positivism and interpretivism paradigms are lacking in their explanation of social practice, due to their disregard of influential factors. While the interpretivism paradigm is interpretive, the critical paradigm goes beyond that level and is prescriptive, as it openly asserts the necessary characteristics of a democratic society (Cohen, et al., 2011). This is a society where equality is paramount and not society, as Bertram and Christiansen (2014) explain, that is composed of the powerful and the powerless. The prescriptive nature of this paradigm or "its inherent reformatory fervour" as Asghar (2013, p. 3121) puts it, allowed me to explore the

extent to which external factors influenced MUPES' understandings of masculinities in relation to GBV, and how such influence was lessened in order to achieve gender transformation. This is in accordance with the view that critical researchers aim at questioning the structural components of reality as a way to effect emancipating change (Bertram and Christiansen, 2014). Not only did this paradigm allow me to uncover the interests at work in the institution, but it also yielded the exploration of what MUPES thought their role could be in cleansing the society of detrimental interest-laden perceptions that stand in the way of equality.

Researchers such as Mahlomaholo and Cohen et al. (as cited in Myende, 2014) assert that being critical of the human condition in research means:

- Going beyond understanding the phenomena and striving to change them.
- Being driven by emancipating the disempowered, to redress inequality and promote individual freedoms with a democratic society.
- Promoting a research enterprise that seeks to identify and break 'false' fragmented or distorted consciousness.
- Being reflexive, questioning our reflections and challenging our attitudes and prejudices.
- Challenging repression, dominant ideologies and dominant power while promoting the neglected voices by ensuring reciprocity and shared learning, the participation of all and catering for interests of the oppressed. (p. 25)

In the context of GBV, the above suggestions about being critical of human conditions make it clear that the critical paradigm encourages researchers to engage certain people in order to facilitate change that would benefit those involved, or others. Bhana and Anderson (2013) assert that scholarly work noted that GBV has been so normalised in South Africa that women have begun to understand their relationships based on their vulnerability as females and the dominance of male. The critical paradigm asserts that dominant groups of a society structurally and culturally create social problems in order to oppress subordinate groups and that social problems do not stem out of people as individuals per se or from their biological factors (Payne, 2014). Therefore, I argue that in order to address the suggestions listed above about being critical of human conditions, research has to focus on men, as GBV is a structural (social) problem. This is in accordance with Payne's (2014) assertion that a fitting response to structural societal problems is social change to

deal with the main source of the problem. Given the view that patriarchy dehumanises men (Partab, 2012), it follows that patriarchy affects men first, who in turn behave in ways that affect women, suggesting that engaging men increases the prospects of social change.

For this study to work within a critical paradigm, but to also focus on the empowered (men) rather than the disempowered (women), is an approach that addresses criticisms levelled against the paradigm that, it only takes suggestions from the oppressed people into cognisance and as legitimate for social transformation, treating contributions from people with power and resources with scepticism (Payne, 2014). Had this study focused on women rather than men, it would not have been able to reveal and challenge some of the problematic perceptions embedded in the way in which MUPES sometimes constructed their masculinities; as a result, contributing to the naturalisation of inequality. This study recognises the patriarchal power and resources MUPES had as men, but at the same time, notes the negative and oppressive influence from the very patriarchy that rewards them with supremacy.

On the assumption that in order to prevent GBV, research needs to engage men (not necessarily as perpetrators, but as members of society who willingly or unwillingly enjoy patriarchal dividend), this study engaged MUPES as a way of penetrating their everyday realities and reveal the power dynamics manifested through their understandings of masculinities. Furthermore, the study explored how MUPES deal with traditional notions of hegemonic masculinity and patriarchy towards more equitable and non-violent gender relations on campus. The study assumed that uncovering patriarchal interests and beliefs would create space and increase the possibility for MUPES to realise the possible role they can play as men towards addressing GBV. Therefore, the critical paradigm was the most suitable paradigm within which to conduct this research, as it has an emancipatory interest and regards MUPES as potential change agents.

Partab (2012) asserts that critical research promotes people's agency, and their ability to achieve social change. Furthermore, there is a view that being cognisant of the prospect of change means that people have a determination to influence social arrangements, rather than the social order being decided upon by external factors without their control (Payne in Partab 2012, p. 56). As MUPES voluntarily became peer educators, which is a clear manifestation of their desire to engage

in critical social issues, this study provided a suitable platform for these male students to reflect on their own understandings and beliefs about masculinities. As Payne (2014) states, when people's awareness is raised, they are bound to come to the realisation that there are always alternatives to current assumptions about society. Partab (2012) explains that, unlike positivism, the critical paradigm acknowledges reflective ways of knowing and the importance of interaction for generating knowledge. This view is informative to this study, as it afforded men an enabling environment to reflect through interaction on their understandings of masculinities.

4.3. Study Location and Population

The study was conducted in one of the five campuses of the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN), which came into existence in 2004 as a result of a merger between the University of Natal (four campuses) and the University of Durban-Westville (one campus). The five campuses are: Edgewood, Howard Collage, Nelson Mandela Medical School, Westville and Pietermaritzburg. The campuses have a diverse student population representative of South Africa's demographic, they also have some international students. As some campuses have on- and off-campus student residences as well as both day and resident students, they are an environment where students interact inside the buildings as well as in public spaces. I selected the study participants from the university AIDS programme, which has Campus HIV/AIDS Support Units (CHASU) in each of the university's campuses that aim to alleviate the impact of HIV/AIDS within the university and the broader community. This programme seeks to mobilise the university community to play an active role in HIV prevention.

4.4. Study Sample

While methodology and research tools remain significant elements of any study, an appropriate sampling strategy is equally important (Cohen et al., 2011). In this study I used purposive sampling, which is a strategy where the researcher deliberately and purposefully selects participants due to their particular qualities (Etikan et al., 2016). The researcher makes a determination about who can provide information that is suitable for the research objectives, which requires the selection of information-rich participants who are willing to participate (Flick et al., 2014). Given the need to address GBV, which in this study is regarded as being perpetrated by men, I needed to work with male student participants who had an interest in social issues. I

purposefully selected a group of male students who stayed in the university residences and were members of CHASU, being known as peer educators. As far as peer education recruitment is concerned, students who are expected to participate in CHASU as peer educators should have the following qualities:

- Interest in healthy lifestyle practices and a good role model
- Able to approach and speak to other students
- Comfortable working independently and in groups
- Willing to work in a collaborative environment

This study focused on male university students who had voluntarily joined CHASU because they had an interest in a healthy lifestyle and wanted to be part of a solution on social issues. While CHASU has a female students' and a male students' forum, participants of this study were selected from an active men's forum because they were males who appeared eager to bring about change on campus concerning social issues such as HIV/AIDS, which the reviewed literature linked to GBV (Bhana, 2009; Beydoun and Beydoun, 2013; Collins et al., 2009; de Lange et al., 2012; Peacock and Barker, 2014). The study considered determinants such as race, age, socio-economic background insignificant in selecting the sample. Furthermore, MUPES did not represent the broader population of men on campus, but themselves as a special group of men. This is in accordance with Cohen's et al. (2011) assertion that a purposive sample originates from the researcher aiming at a particular group knowingly that it does not represent the wider population, but it only represents itself. This study purposefully sought to gain an in-depth understanding of masculinities as they relate to GBV from MUPES' perspectives with the intention to explore alternative masculinities. For that reason, the issue of generalisability was insignificant.

I extended the invitation to participate in this study to the 22 members of the men's forum of CHASU who were present at the initial meeting. All met my study's inclusion criterion being peer-educator students who lived in campus residences, with 17 being included due to the withdrawal of five students after having participated in only one data generation session (mapping workshop). Of the 17, 16 were returning students in various levels of study. The MUPES' understandings of masculinities had never been explored for the purposes of research on how they relate to GBV. Therefore, as a special group of students, who by becoming peer educators did so knowingly that

they were almost adopting an oppositional discourse, I considered their articulations of masculinities vital to the understanding of masculinities and GBV. Table 4.1 presents the participants' relevant biographical information.

Table 4.1 Participants' biographical details

Names for the three map sketching groups. Participants selected one member to present the map				
Leaders Presenter: Ayanda		Optimists Presenter: Gugu	Challengers Presenter: Abongwe	
	Participants' pseudonyms	Years at university	Years as a peer educator	
1	Abongwe	1 - 2	1 - 2	
2	Bafana	3 - 4	1 - 2	
3	Celimpilo	3 - 4	3 - 4	
4	Delani	3 - 4	3 - 4	
5	Freedom	3 - 4	1 - 2	
6	Gugu	1 - 2	1 - 2	
7	Innocent	3 - 4	3 - 4	
8	Lucky	3 - 4	3 - 4	
9	Mongezi	1 - 2	1 - 2	
10	Njabulo	3 - 4	1 - 2	
11	Nkululeko	3 - 4	1 - 2	
12	Oscar	3 - 4	3 - 4	
13	Phakama	1 - 2	1 - 2	
14	Qiniso	1 - 2	1 - 2	
15	Richard	3 - 4	1 - 2	
16	Simo	1 - 2	1 - 2	
17	Sphiwe	3 - 4	1 - 2	
18	Ayanda	As these students only participated in one mapping activity and not the individual interviews or focus group discussions, the above information was not obtained.		
19	Dumsani			
20	Linda			
21	Sizwe			
22	Vincent			
Focus Group Discussion 1 and drawings		Focus Group Discussion 2 and drawings		
Bafana Celimpilo Delani Richard		Gugu Mongezi Qiniso Simo		

4.5. Data Generation

To contextualise the data generation process, Table 4.2 indicates the different methods and tools used to address the three study Objectives.

Table 4.2: Study objectives and methods

Objectives		Methods		
1	To explore what meanings male university peer-educator students attach to gender-based violence.	a. Workshop (mapping)	b. Individual interviews	c. Focus group discussion and drawings
2	To explore how male university peer-educator students' understandings of masculinities are connected to gender-based violence.			
3	To explore how male university peer-educator students envisage their role in reducing GBV on campus.			

Data was obtained during a workshop, when mapping was used to obtain visual data, as well as interviews and focus group discussions with drawing, when verbal data was generated to be used as text for analysis. The need to increase research participants' involvement and control of the data production process resulted in the use of various data generation tools (Rule & Vaughn, 2011), such as mapping and drawings (Copeland and Agosto, 2012).

To address Objective 1, a workshop was held during which mapping was used to complement the conventional data generation methods of semi-structured individual interviews and focus group discussions (FGDs). Vince and Warren (2012) support this approach and assert that while visuals are useful at an early stage of the data generation process, their significance regresses at a later stage. This suggests that the textual data produced out of visuals become more important than the visuals themselves, as the former represents participants' negotiated interpretations of their own graphics. As a researcher, I did not attach personal meanings to the visuals ahead of participants' explanations, but relied on their explanations to be able to form interpretations, and where explanations were not clear, elicitation ensued. According to Vince and Warren (2012), textual data supersedes visual data.

The workshop was followed by 17 individual interviews to elicit more individualised responses and two focus group discussions to address Objectives 1, 2 and 3, where participants were also encouraged to produce visual representations of their views. Combining drawings and FGDs saw participants working more collaboratively and having more points of reflections, as they sometimes disagreed not only on the suitability of the drawings to represent the views, but also on the views. Although all participants participated in the making of the drawing to represent certain views, some later challenged the very drawing and related perceptions. This was important, as it suggested that the drawings could be misleading without participants' interpretations, which became the textual data I paid more attention to. The direct interpretation of the drawings by myself would have distorted the data, and undermined the MUPES' voices and the negotiation of views that took place.

4.5.1. Workshop

The data generation process began with a workshop, to which all 22 students who had signed the consent form were invited. To ensure that all participants who had signed the consent forms made it to this first session, I negotiated that we meet immediately after one of their scheduled CHASU workshops, which I was allowed to sit in. The study mapping workshop was held on-campus at a time when participants could all be present, its purpose being explained, after which they were divided into three groups to undertake a mapping exercise to sketch a map of the campus highlighting important areas, following the instructions indicated in the workshop schedule (Appendix 4). Mapping as a tool allows for creative expression and representation in generating data, with the participants being asked to draw a map (layout) of their institution as a way to view the campus in relation to violence from their perspective. Using a workshop as a first data generation method, wherein the map sketching was done, gave the MUPES the opportunity to choose and attach their own meanings to specific areas on campus in relation to violence. This related to the study Objective 1, as it focused on the meanings (from their presentations) the MUPES attached to space, gender and violence.

Rule and Vaughn (2011) assert that mapping is a convenient tool for producing a collective sense of how participants see their immediate world, and works better with a reasonable number of participants to ensure that the process is characterised by active engagement between them. To

minimise my influence and encourage the MUPES to interact with one another to share ideas during the map sketching, I only gave a very brief explanation of what they were expected to do and then provided them with written guidelines so that they could interpret and produce maps as per their shared interpretations and views in their respective groups. Allowing them the freedom to interpret the written guidelines and to sketch maps accordingly minimised an undue interference by me and increased the interaction within each group.

Working in small groups, the participants drew the maps of their institution and marked places that they considered unsafe and safe for students, the kind of activities that take place in those places and their relation to violence. Thereafter, each group selected one student to do an oral presentation on their behalf. Copeland and Agosto (2012) assert that this approach of using visuals for data generation provides participants with the opportunity to express complex ideas in simple ways. I recorded notes during the oral presentations regarding issues that I thought still needed further probing during the subsequent data generation sessions.

4.5.2. Semi-structured Individual Interview

An interview is semi-structured when it is planned to ascertain subjective views and opinions from people in relation to a particular situation, for example, it uses a predetermined interview schedule with semi-structured questions (McIntosh and Morse, 2015). While the researcher has to ask each participant the questions in the same way, they are at liberty to deviate slightly from the interview schedule in order to probe further and allow the participant to elaborate on the initial response. I conducted 17 semi-structured individual interviews using an interview schedule and started each one by probing some of the things that participants said or did not say during the mapping session. My personal notes and the maps with the participants' and groups' names were instrumental in this regard. The relevant group map was brought to each individual interview in case a participant needed to refer to it. Copeland and Agosto (2012) emphasise the importance of getting participants' explanations of their visuals where they attach their own meaning. Starting all individual interviews by referring to the mapping session proved helpful in terms of lessening the initial one-on-one tension and yielded data that was descriptive.

As there was a connection between the data generation methods used, the interviews gave me an opportunity to obtain data that might have been missed during the map sketching session. Participants were still willing to share their individual views regarding areas they had marked as unsafe on the maps, telling me about *what* kind of activities, *who* the participants were, and whether or not the activities were related to violence. Adopting this type of interview was useful, as Cohen et al. (2011) argue that it helps the researcher obtain unique, ununiformed, personalised information about how individuals view the situation.

It was at this stage of data generation that I realised that my personal characteristics were critical elements in my relationship with the participants. Regarding scheduling data generation sessions, participants were never under any duress to attend when they had other plans (e.g. CHASU related, academic or personal). Attending some of their programs was another way of building a rapport between myself and the participants, which not only helped me address the potential effects of the outsider status as far as peer education was concerned, but also to deal with power dynamics, that being to strengthen our relationship in order not to be the one based on the ‘powerful’ researcher and ‘powerless’ participants. While I always tried to reduce power imbalances during data generation sessions, I felt that the balancing was at peril when it came to the logistical planning of certain sessions. For example, some participants would agree to meet with me for individual interviews, but would sometimes not arrive. While my flexibility was a sign of a relationship that was not characterised by participants being under duress, it clearly did have negative effects in that it encouraged some of the participants to keep postponing their individual interviews. While this prolonged the data generation process, it suggested that they understood their rights as I explained to them in relation to their participation in the study.

Creating a WhatsApp group that I then used to arrange the data generation sessions and to thank individual participants for participating in an individual interview encouraged them to keep their appointments. The chairperson of the peer-educator students, who was also a participant, was instrumental in reminding them about their dates, as posted by me on the WhatsApp group.

The interview schedule (Appendix 5) consisted of four parts:

- a. biographical details: years at this institution, years as a peer educator

- b. Objective 1: understandings of gender, violence, and their connection
- c. Objective 2: being a man within this institution, views about the concept of a real man etc.
- d. Objective 3: peer educators' role in addressing gender-based violence, dealing with the dominant and harmful perceptions of being a man on campus

4.5.3. Focus group discussion

While the individual interviews produced rich data, the study objectives necessitated a platform that would also allow the participants to navigate their constructions of masculinities together. The focus group discussions in which drawings were produced were instrumental in stimulating the participants to engage actively, this being consistent with the assertion that if “men learn to be men in front of other men”, it is then in the similar milieu men “can unlearn some of the more unproductive lessons about manhood and relearn and reinforce some of the positive lessons” (Brooks as cited in Partab, 2012, p. 83). Using drawing as part of the focus group discussions created an opportunity for data that was not directly reliant on language skills (Rule & Vaughn, 2011). This is in line with the general definition of focus group discussions, as any group discussion where the researcher actively stimulates and listens attentively to the group interaction (Kitzinger and Barber as cited in Flick, 2018).

Two focus group sessions were organised, and as the same participants who had been interviewed were involved, the only details obtained were which focus group they belonged to. Working as a group being guided by the FGD schedule (Appendix 6), they were firstly asked to draw their impression of a perpetrator and victim based on their understanding of GBV and these two kinds of people, and secondly, to discuss their representations, which strengthened the trustworthiness of the data by lessening my own misinterpretations. Their drawings ignited discussion about the predominant gender regarding the cases of perpetration of violence and the contributing factors, with men as a gender being considered responsible. They also had the opportunity to draw pictures that depicted life on campus and represented what it meant to be a man. As they were working collaboratively to produce the group pictures during the drawing process, they did not always agree about the features to be included. There was considerable discussion during the drawing process, suggesting moments of learning and unlearning. The drawings contributed greatly to the discussion, as participants were able to explain each feature of the drawing, hence converting

pictorial data to text. The FGD schedule related to the three Objectives, with sub-questions being explored due to issues being raised in the mapping workshop and individual interviews.

Among other issues, participants also discussed how they dealt with the possible influence by dominant traditional (harmful) perceptions in their daily university life. Discussion around this issue shed some light on the extent to which MUPES' understandings and constructions of masculinities might or might not be connected to GBV. According to Flick (2018), the advantage of using FGDs is that they allow a researcher to present a problem, which participants discuss in an attempt to find alternative ways to address. Similarly, the MUPES formulated different mottos to express their views on GBV and then discussed them. During the discussion of these mottos, I was able to read more into their attitudes towards gender transformation. This facilitated the exploration of how they rejected/accepted/reworked dominant perceptions. The FGDs proved to be the most suitable data generation method to supplement the individual interviews, as they created a relaxed atmosphere where all the participants were under no duress to respond, but responded when it was convenient for each to do so. Cohen et al. (2011) argue that, unlike individual interviews, FGDs engender a wider variety of responses, and strengthen the discussions by allowing diversity of opinions. As Flick (2018) suggests, FGD becomes an important instrument to reshape and help individual participants reflect on their personal opinions, especially those that may be regarded as incorrect, extreme or not socially shared. In order to capture and keep the data, I audio recorded all data generation sessions.

4.6. Data Analysis

Data analysis is a process of taking out meaning from chunks of collected data (Owino, 2014), and requires a systematic approach that can allow the extraction of relevant meaning. The approach should make it possible for the researcher to explain the process of data analysis with all its intricacies. This study adopted Thematic Analysis (TA) as an approach that could facilitate the meaning-making of the data while at the same time following a logical and explainable procedure. As qualitative data generation depends on interpretation, Alhojailan (2012) states that participants' explanations for their thoughts are important. Furthermore, the role of TA in the process of identifying some contributing factors to the issues raised by participants cannot be downplayed, especially as it allows the coding and categorisation of data into themes (Alhojailan. 2012). Clarke

and Braun (2013) define TA as a vital method for detecting and analysing patterns in qualitative data. The authors also stress that TA is more an analytic method than it is a methodology and as such, it is theoretically flexible (Clarke and Braun, 2013). Therefore, using a flexible analytic method as TA involves iterative data related exercises between different yet interlinked stages. In this study, I used Braun and Clarke's (2006) model to thematic analysis, as it provides a step-by-step guide to analysing qualitative data.

However, before the thematic analysis could take place, the three types of data collected for this study, that being presentations about the maps, audio discussions from interviews, and drawing analysis from the focus group discussions, had to be standardised for analysis. To enable them all to be thematically analysed, the following analysis was done:

1. Visual mapping: the audio-recorded presentations from the mapping workshop were transcribed verbatim and analysed thematically. In presenting the findings in Chapter 5, the maps are provided to give context to the data relating to Objective 1.
2. Individual recorded interviews: the audio-recorded interviews were transcribed and thematically analysed.
3. Focus group discussions of drawings: the audio-recorded discussions of the focus groups discussions were transcribed verbatim and analysed thematically, with the visual representations being presented in Chapters 5 and 6 to contextualise the findings.

4.6.1. Braun and Clarke's Model of Thematic Analysis

Braun and Clarke (2006) offer a step-by-step guide to thematic analysis that is relevant to this study, as indicated in Figure 4.2.

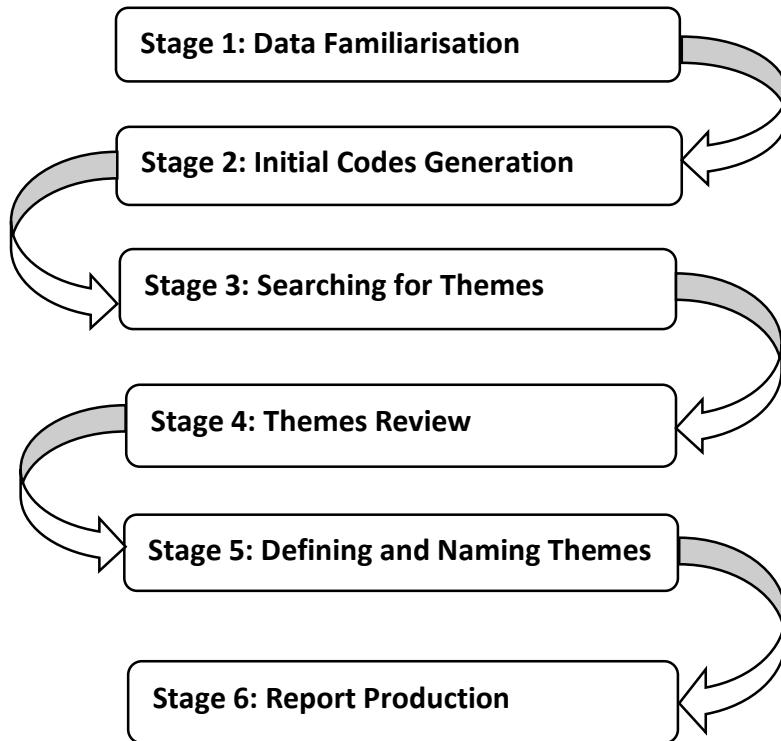


Figure 4.2 Braun and Clarke's (2006) six-phase guide to the thematic analysis

Before I describe how the model was used to analyse the data, some key considerations of its application are briefly reviewed to facilitate the understanding of the approach I adopted. While it is true that TA is about identifying themes by way of checking for frequency within each data item and such frequency across the whole data set, Braun and Clarke (2006) warn that prevalence does not mean that the theme is vital. The authors also caution that a theme is not a theme only because significant attention is given to it within many data items, but can be a few sentences or even appear relatively few times in the entire data set. This suggests that a researcher should not be passive in the process of analysing and expect themes to emerge or be easily identifiable only through prevalence. Instead, as Braun and Clarke (2006) assert, a researcher has to be active in the process of analysing data and remain mindful that what is important is their discretion in deciding what a theme is. The significance of a theme should be judged in terms of the extent to which it relates to the research question/Objectives, rather than based on quantification (Braun and Clarke, 2006). This suggests that rigidity in the process of analysing data is an approach that a researcher who uses TA appropriately should not adopt.

Furthermore, in a quest to be active in the process of analysing data, a researcher also has to make up their mind as to which level the themes will be identified, semantic or latent (Boyatzis as cited in Braun and Clarke, 2006). Identifying themes at a semantic level means focusing on the explicit meanings of data (Braun and Clarke, 2006). This approach does not allow a researcher to transcend the obvious meaning of what a participant has said, written or drawn. It would also inform the way a researcher organises the data, where the focus would be to identify and combine different segments of data based solely on their semantic content. Theme identification at a latent level is interpretative and implicit, and transcends the apparent meanings of data, with the intention being to examine the underlying assumptions, ideas and perceptions (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Perhaps the important questions at this stage are; what is it that helps a researcher consider that there could be underlying perceptions worth examining, and how does it help the researcher to examine those perceptions? The answers to the questions converge on one thing and that is research epistemology.

Braun and Clarke (2006) argue that research epistemology serves as a guide, which indicated what a researcher can or cannot say about the data, that is, how to theorise meaning. For example, a researcher who works from an essentialist approach can theorise participants' experiences and perceptions and derive meaning directly. However, one who works from a constructionist perspective cannot derive meaning directly from participants' perceptions and assumptions, as Braun and Clarke (2006) aver, these are products of social construction rather than inherent parts of individual participants. This suggests that thematic analysis from a constructionist perspective is compatible with identifying themes at a latent level. Similarly, this present study uses theories of masculinities, which are based on social constructionism, and as such informed the identification of themes at a latent level, as explained later. Braun and Clarke (2006) support this approach and state that conducting thematic analysis within a constructionist framework intends theorising the socio-cultural and structural contexts that informed the individual perceptions shared by participants. There has to be a connection between the way in which data are being interpreted and the theoretical framework of the study.

Regardless of the level at which themes are identified (semantic or latent), Braun and Clarke (2006) suggest that the researcher's analytic conclusions need to transcend the surface of the data. The

authors suggest a few critical questions that a researcher has to start asking as they approach the last stage of the analysis:

- a) What does this theme mean?
- b) What are the assumptions underpinning it?
- c) What are the implications of this theme?
- d) What conditions are likely to have given rise to it?
- e) Why do people talk about this thing in this particular way (as opposed to other ways)?
- f) What is the overall story the different themes reveal about the topic? (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p. 94)

I now outline how the Braun and Clarke's (2006) model was used to analyse the data, which consisted of three map sketching and presentation recordings, 17 individual interviews and two focus group discussions.

Stage 1. Data Familiarisation: the audio-recorded data was transcribed verbatim into written form in order to facilitate analysis. Braun and Clarke (2006) advise that a transcript at very least should produce a verbatim version of all participants' verbal and important nonverbal communication. The benefits of transcribing data as a researcher transcend data familiarity, and has also been recognised by other researchers, such as Lapadat and Lindsay (as cited in Braun and Clarke, 2006), who argue that the level of attention required to transcribe facilitates the kind of reading and interpretative skills required to analyse.

Upon completing the transcripts, I embarked on an active process of repeatedly reading the data to search for patterns of responses and the meanings thereof. Reading the transcripts several times allowed me to begin to make sense of the data beyond the semantic level. Braun and Clarke (2006) contend that selectivity and passing over the re-reading stage of data analysis have regrettable repercussions in the end for the entire analysis process. The process of re-reading the data involved jotting down some ideas as a way of trying to go towards the latent level of meaning-making.

Stage 2. Initial Codes Generation: this is an important component of analysis as it allows a researcher to arrange data into meaningful categories (Braun and Clarke, 2006), which is facilitated by a researcher's familiarity with the data and their approach to analysis. Braun and Clarke (2006), state that coding depends on whether themes will be data- or theory-driven, and further explain that in the former, the themes will solely rely on data, whereas in the latter, it is possible for the researcher to approach the data with certain questions that they might want to code around. The data was analysed with respect to the study questions; 1) the meanings attached to gender-based violence 2) understandings of masculinities and the connections to GBV and 3) their envisaged roles as men towards reducing gender-based violence.

All the instances in each data item where the participants mentioned something that related to the aforementioned topics or any related issue became part of the data set. I colour coded the data sections related to each of the three topics, which produced three broad categories of data. After reading and colour coding the data, I still had segments of unmarked data in most data items. This prompted the need to carefully go through the unmarked data, which resulted in further colour coding. This resulted in a broad category (marked by a grey colour) being identified, which related to some of the contributory factors to GBV. This broad category and its data were used to add a dimension of safety to the already existing one about meanings associated with GBV. The process of reworking by dividing and combining certain segments of data resulted in the collapsing of some and the formation of new broad categories. This reworking process was a necessary part of analysis, as Braun and Clarke (2006) assert that no data set is immune from contradiction and as such, it will be characterised by inconsistencies within and across data items. Therefore, reworking the initial broad categories was an attempt to address and, to a certain extent, smooth the inconsistencies.

Coding is about pinpointing an interesting scholarly feature of the data at a semantic or latent level as long as it can be analysed meaningfully in relation to the phenomenon under research (Braun and Clarke, 2006). In the case of this study, I had to thoroughly read the data in each reworked broad category, which led to the identification of significant features of the data.

The segments of data containing such important parts of the data were coded using appropriate labels. All segments of data relevant to a particular label were moved and put together under the same label. Braun and Clarke (2006) suggest that coding should be done for as many prospective themes as possible, as some data might turn out to be significant at a later stage.

Stage 3. Searching for Themes: the focus then moves beyond the codes to potential themes. While codes were still important, I paid attention to the connections that existed among the codes and their significance in forming themes. This phase is about carefully analysing the codes in order to determine how they may be combined to create themes. To facilitate the process of analysing the codes, Braun and Clarke (2006) suggest the use of various visual tools, including tables, which a researcher may manoeuvre as necessary into themes.

I therefore used certain symbols (T1 = theme 1, T2 = theme 2) to identify and mark some connections among the codes in relation to potential themes. This back and forth exercise necessitated me to play around with the codes in an attempt to make meaning of them in such a way that they showed some connection worth marking as a potential theme. Tables were used to visually represent an iterative process of thematising the codes, and the final versions of such tables are presented at the beginning of each relevant analysis chapter.

Stage 4. Themes Review: this entailed scrutinising whether or not the themes were consistent with the codes and the data set. Checking whether or not the themes worked in compliance with the codes and data set was a very active process that required the consideration of the study's objectives. This meant that I had to go through the literature review and theoretical framework several times before making an informed decision about the validity of the codes or the themes. Owing to the repeated routine of looking at the literature, theoretical framework and the data, I decided to adopt this iterative exercise as a useful approach. The literature-theory-data (LTD) approach was also instrumental in keeping me on track and in pointing out certain aspects of data for appropriate further analysis. As a result, in some instances I had to move some segments of data between the codes in order to ensure that codes were coherent. However, some codes had to be combined into one due to the overlap

in meanings, and others moved from one theme to another in order to meet the principle of internal ‘homogeneity and external heterogeneity’ of the themes (Patton in Braun and Clarke, 2006). This principle dictates that data within themes have to be meaningful and coherent, while simultaneously being clear differences between them. Rereading and recoding data was such a long and repetitious exercise that I had to heed Braun and Clarke’s (2006) advice that due to the endlessness of the process of recoding, if a researcher is merely attempting to make more nuanced the codes that already work, they must realise this and cease refining timeously.

Stage 5. Defining and Naming Themes: this entailed defining and refining the themes by embarking on the process of identifying the gist of each theme and looking closely at the data that made up each one. Braun and Clarke (2006) note the need to avoid the propensity of wanting the themes to be miscellaneous and varied in terms of data. In compliance with this view, I had to reorganise the coded data extracts within each theme in order to have some internal coherence, and in that way, it was easy to identify the segments of data that were not contributing to the overall story of each theme. Furthermore, this process facilitated the identification of interesting aspects of each theme in relation to research questions. Braun and Clarke (2006) assert that this phase is critical in the process of analysing data because not only does it guide a researcher to define what the themes are, but it also helps them realise what their themes are not. This phase delineates and determines the scope of each theme. Braun and Clarke (2006) assert that the researcher’s ability to succinctly describe the content of each theme is expressive of their clarity regarding the definitions and scope of the themes.

Stage 6. Report Production: it was important to select convincing data extract examples to include in the report, and necessitated the use of the literature-theory-data (LTD) approach, which helped to position the analysis within the scope of the research objectives and questions. Without using this approach, it would have been challenging to go beyond data description to the narration of a complex yet logical story of the data. Hence, Braun and Clarke (2006) aver that the report, together with its data extracts, should be characterised by lucidity, coherence and succinctness. This view was informative to this study as it served as a guiding principle to ensure that the aforementioned characteristics were taken into

cognisance when analysing within and across the themes. While it is desirable to write a report that tells a complicated story of the data, Braun and Clarke (2006) note that we need not choose complex data extracts but easily identifiable ones that exemplify the issue under discussion. To this end, the data for each objective is presented in a separate chapter using relevant extracts, with Chapter 5 focusing on Objective 1, Chapter 6 on Objective 2, and Chapter 7 on Objective 3. However, there are some overlaps, that being indicative of the complexity of the issues being analysed. At the beginning of the next chapter, I present the entire data reduction process (Figure 5.1) to contextualise the findings and avoid including them in the methodology.

4.7. Ethical Considerations

The following ethical considerations were applied:

Ethical approval: the study did not start until ethical approval had been granted by the University of KwaZulu-Natal's Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (Appendix 1).

Permission: this study sought to work with university students, which necessitated the gatekeeper's permission being granted. A letter was written to the concerned university campus registry, and after supplying all the necessary information, permission was granted to conduct the study (Appendix 2). The male university students I wanted to work with were active and busy members of the Campus HIV/AIDS Support Unit (CHASU). A letter was written to the campus-based manager of CHASU requesting permission to work with his organisation's peer-educator students. He requested a meeting, at which I presented the objectives of my study and addressed all his questions as a way of seeking access to the members of his organisation. I assured the manager that the study would not disturb their planned activities or academic schedules. He then organised a meeting between the peer-educator students and myself where I explained my study and requested their participation. Their rights, should they be interested in participating, were explained, and they were provided with detailed information letters to give them some time to make an informed decision. Those interested were asked to return the signed declaration part of the consent letter to the manager, who informed me that 22 students had returned their consent letters. I then obtained the cell phone numbers of the participants and arranged the first data generation session.

Participants' rights: at the start of all the engagements with the participants they were reminded that their names would not be used, hence the use of pseudonyms, which would ensure confidentiality of their responses. They were also informed that they could withdraw at any stage of the process without their involvement in the CHASU being affected. They were also informed that all the sessions would be audio recorded but that these would be used for data transcription purposes only, and that no audio data would be released to enable any person to be identified. They were all required to sign informed consent forms (Appendix 3) before the sessions started, and provided with a copy. They were assured that the information provided would be used for academic purposes only, and would be kept for five years, after which it would be destroyed. They were informed that there would be no financial reward for participating, but that they would be making an important contribution to enhancing the country's understanding of masculinities and GBV. While the study was not planned to engender any form of stress, I as a matter of precaution, advised participants to consult the student counselling should their participation lead to any anxiety.

4.8. Credibility and Trustworthiness

For a qualitative study to be considered trustworthy, a researcher must show that, among other things, the process of data analysis has been carried out in a precise and exhaustive fashion with details of the methods of analysis being given (Nowell et al., 2017). To this end, I used thematic analysis in a systematic manner following Braun and Clarke's (2006) guide. To show the study's trustworthiness, I focused on the four key criteria: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (Lincoln and Guba as cited in Cohen et al., 2011).

a) *Credibility*

Credibility looks at how congruent are the research findings with reality. Hence Shenton (2004) suggests that credibility can be achieved by the development of an early familiarity with the culture of the participating organisation before the first data collection interactions take place. As a former residence student of the institution, to improve familiarity, I decided to attend some of CHASU's programmes organised for its peer educators. Attending these programmes helped me to understand peer education and its goals on campus, which was critical in interpreting the data, in terms of what type of students peer educators were and

what their mandate was on campus, hence addressing my own expectational biases of their understandings of masculinities in relation to GBV. It was clear to me before data collection that although the peer-educator students were organised under the banner of HIV and AIDS, they were interested in discussing various social issues.

After data collection, I transcribed all data myself, which was a critical data familiarisation stage in the process of a systematic thematic analysis presented earlier in section 4.6.1. Some researchers concur that prolonged engagement with data facilitates its credibility (Amankwaa, 2016; Nowell et al., 2017). In addition, Shenton (2004) asserts that triangulation, whereby different data collection methods and tools are used, can help achieve credibility. In this study, drawings, mapping, individual interviews and focus group discussions were used to compensate for their possible individual limitations.

b) Transferability

Transferability is concerned with the extent to which the findings of one study can be applied to other situations (Shenton, 2004). As the findings of a qualitative study are specific to a small number of particular environments and individuals, it is impossible to demonstrate that the findings and conclusions are applicable to other situations and populations (Shenton, 2004). While this is the case, Nowell et al. (2017) assert that a researcher should ensure to provide thick descriptions to help those who may wish to transfer the findings be able to judge the feasibility of transferability. In consistency with this view, I saw to it that the findings of the study are understood within context by giving a detailed discussion in sections 4.3. and 4.4. about where the participants were based and their total number (even the fact that some withdrew their participation). In section 4.5. I further discussed in detail the data collection methods and incorporated tools used in relation to the study objectives, which included specifying the number of data collection sessions held. With these details, I have attempted to facilitate the judgement of my study's transferability, which feeds into its trustworthiness.

c) Dependability

A close relationship is noted between credibility and dependability. Shenton (2004) argues that, in practice, a demonstration of credibility goes some distance in ensuring dependability, and that this may also be achieved through the use of compatibly overlapping methods, such as individual interviews and focus group discussions. For this reason, in this study, I used individual interviews and then focus group discussions to, among other purposes, verify consistency, which Golafshani (2003) associates with the concept of dependability, in the participants' responses,

d) Confirmability

Confirmability is concerned with ensuring that the findings of the study are a result of participants' experiences and ideas rather than the preferences of a researcher (Nowell, et al., 2017; Shenton, 2004). For this reason, during the data analysis process (see section 4.6.1, stage 4), I thoroughly reviewed the themes, checking if they were consistent with the codes and the data. I also needed to check the themes' consistency with the literature and the theoretical framework, which was a key back-and-forth routine that I termed the literature-theory-data (LTD) approach to confirming findings.

Some of the data collected from the mapping workshop were scrutinised during the individual interviews, where I started each interview by asking questions referring to the maps. Not only did this help confirm the data, but it also offered the participants the opportunity to expand with more personalised responses to questions that they had previously given a group's view during the workshop. Using appropriate research instruments in the form of a workshop, interview and focus group discussion schedules was important, as it ensured that participants were mostly asked similar questions and guided to discuss similar issues during the focus group discussions, hence ensuring that the study's objectives were addressed.

Lincoln and Guba (1985) assert that reflexivity is key in meeting the feature of confirmability in qualitative research, and I discuss this in the next section.

4.9. Research Reflexivity

While the discussion of the data generation process was characterised by some reflexivity, there were other issues that cut across different data generation methods that needed me to be more reflexive throughout the study. The relationship between the researcher and the participants is an important part of any qualitative study in terms of how it affects the link between facts and values (Ormston, et al., 2014). There is a view among some researchers that the phenomenon under research is independent and not affected by the researcher's conduct during the research process (Ormston et al., 2014). This view upholds the researcher's objectivity and imagines it possible to have value-free research. However, there is a contrary view that participants, in one way or the other, are affected by the research process, and that the interactive nature of the relationship between the researcher and the phenomenon makes objectivity unrealistic (Ormston et al., 2014). Owing to the aforementioned contrasting views, there is a suggestion for a neutral stance, which acknowledges the impracticality of a value-free research, and encourages researchers to make their assumptions, values and biases explicit. Empathic neutrality is a concept that is used for this non-judgemental approach to research and highlights the significance of reflexivity in qualitative research (Ormston et al., 2014). In support of the latter view, Berger (2015) concurs that researchers need to self-monitor meticulously the influence on the research of their beliefs, experiences, personal characteristics, gender, race, age and biases. Furthermore, given the need for qualitative researchers to address their subjectivities, Banks (2014) asserts that the positionality of a researcher, including, but not limited to their cultural consciousness, ought to be taken into cognisance.

My identity as a Black male was both an advantage and a challenge. Although all discussions were conducted in English, most (15 out of 17) participants' mother tongue was isiZulu. As they knew that isiZulu was also my mother tongue, this tempted them to assume that I would not be interested in listening to their views about their culture, which was also my culture. Realising the impact these omissions would have on the data generated, I immediately addressed them by asking many follow-up questions and encouraging the participants to explain their attitudes and perceptions as comprehensively as possible. Briefly, I consider myself to have been an insider and an outsider, simultaneously. I was an insider in terms of being a former undergraduate student who lived and worked (part-time) as a resident assistant (RA) in the residences at the University of KwaZulu-

Natal; and to the majority of the participants I was an insider due to similar cultural backgrounds. However, I was an outsider in terms of CHASU's peer education, as this was a programme with specific goals aimed at spreading HIV/AIDS education to the rest of the student populace. As I was there as a researcher with no particular focus on HIV & AIDS, and not as one of the facilitators in some of their campaigns and programs, this gave me an outsider status as far as peer education was concerned.

Efforts to address and minimise potential negative effects of the outsider status were made by attending some of the CHASU's programs, such as their debate. Sitting in during some of their programs did not only make me look more like an insider who was interested in the work they were doing, rather than an outsider who wanted to collect data, but also made me have a better understanding of peer education beyond theory. The insider status that I enjoyed due to the shared cultural backgrounds and being a former undergraduate student had both advantages and disadvantages, which could potentially have had unfavourable effects to the data in terms of depth, which I addressed. To lessen the negative effects of the insider status, which could have influenced the quantity and quality of data I could access, I had to self-monitor throughout the data generation process. This self-monitoring also meant changing the manner in which I asked certain questions. For example, when referring to certain university buildings, I did not call them by their names to allow participants to give full descriptions of everything.

4.10. Conclusion

The qualitative data obtained in this study entailed the use of various methods, namely a workshop during which the campus context of GBV was mapped, followed by individual interviews to explore their perceptions about the three study Objectives, and focus group discussions that entailed drawing pictures that depicted, among other things, perpetrators and victims of violence. To enable the use of thematic analysis, the audio recorded data had to be standardised by transcribing them into text. Thereafter, I explained how Braun and Clarke's (2006) model was used to analyse the textual data, and the process resulted in various themes that are discussed in the ensuing data analysis chapters.

CHAPTER 5. MEANINGS ATTACHED TO GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

5.1. Introduction

This chapter addresses critical question 1, that being: What meanings do male university peer-educator students attach to gender-based violence on campus? While the analysis of the data was planned that each chapter would answer a specific critical question, there are some overlaps between them, with issues discussed in one chapter also answering critical questions other than the one intended, which shows the complexity of both the data and issues that are being analysed. Chapter 6 seeks to answer critical question 2 and addresses perceptions and notions that were vital in the constructions of campus masculinities in relation to GBV. However, the identification of themes where participants constructed masculinities that challenged the cultural construction of being men suggested that masculinities were related not only to the perpetration, but also to the potential reduction of GBV. For this reason, Chapter 7 deals with those masculinities that were constructed in a way that portrayed participants as potential change agents with regard to GBV, hence simultaneously addressing critical questions 2 and 3. Chapter 7 speaks more directly to critical question 3, as it focuses on the remaking of campus masculinities, which characterised most of the participants' articulations about their role in reducing GBV. The critical questions were:

1. What meanings do male university peer-educator students attach to gender-based violence on campus?
2. How are male university peer-educator students' understandings of masculinities connected to gender-based violence on campus?
3. How do male university peer-educator students envisage their role in reducing gender-based violence on campus?

The qualitative data from 22 data items were grouped into three broad categories that related more generally to the research objectives. The review of the data in these broad categories, which involved moving some of data, resulted in renaming two of the categories in accordance with the critical questions. Thereafter, several codes were used to mark meaningful data by dividing and combining them (codes) into meaningful groups (themes), which became the units of analysis, as indicated in Figure 5.1.

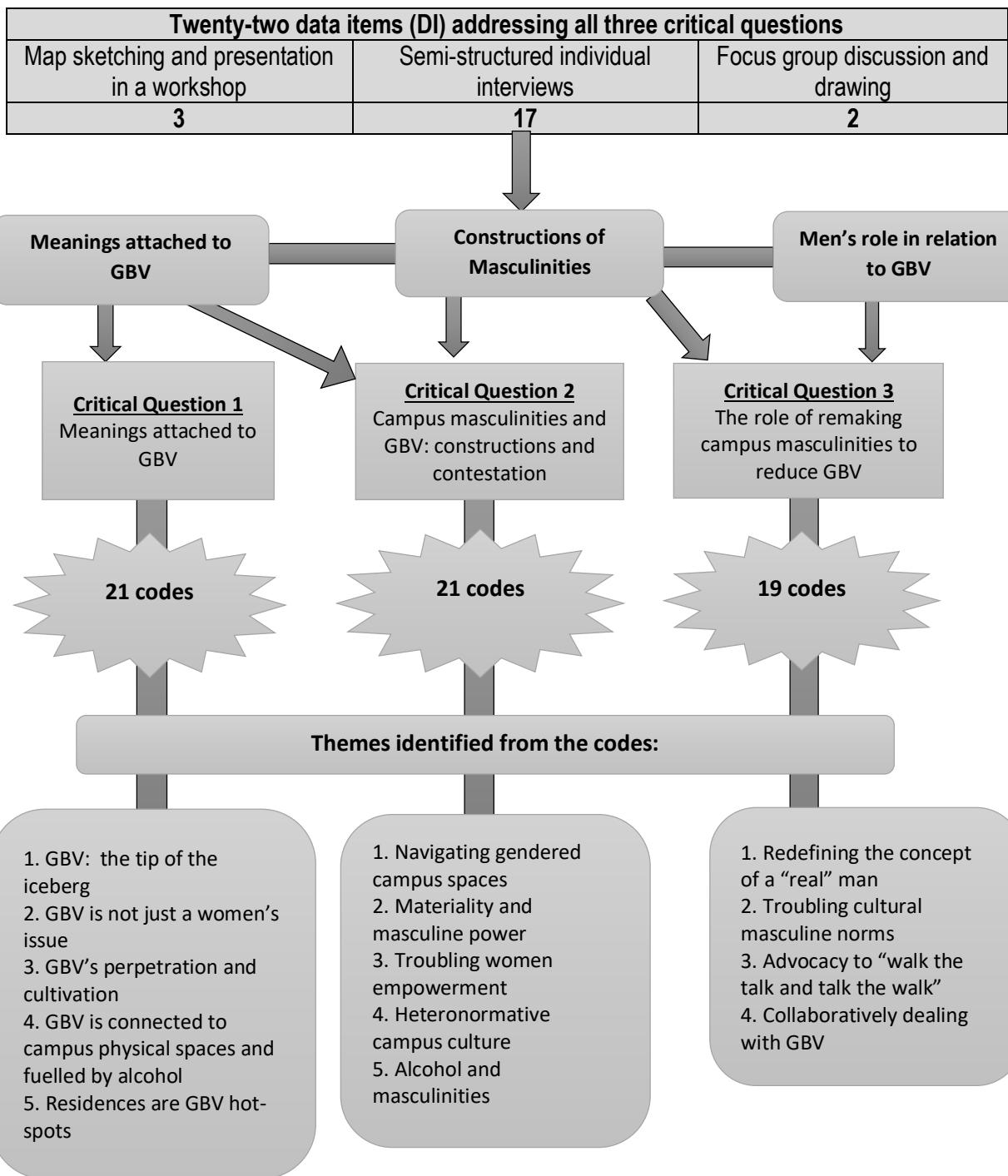


Figure 5.1 Summary of Data Reduction Process

The 21 codes distilled for critical question 1 were divided into five themes, as indicated in Table 5.1, with each theme being discussed with respect to critical question 1.

Table 5.1 Codes and Themes for Critical Question 1

Codes	Themes (units of analysis)
a. The role of social institutions b. Normalising imbalanced gender relations c. Violence as masculine d. Patriarchal norms e. Cultural masculine norms	1. GBV: the tip of the iceberg
a. Most men are perpetrators, and some are victims b. Gender (not sex) specific violence c. Homophobic attitude d. GBV cuts across gender	2. GBV is not just a women's issue
a. The value of women's agency b. An outcome of masculinities and femininities c. Complicit victims d. Challenging violence e. The dominant and the subordinate	3. Perpetration and cultivation of GBV
a. Unsafe campus spaces b. Substance abuse and violence c. Gendered activities d. Consolidating masculine power	4. GBV is connected to campus physical spaces and fuelled by alcohol
a. Residences and violence b. Non-gendered violence c. Sexual partnerships	5. Residences are GBV hot-spots

5.2. GBV: The Tip of the Iceberg

This theme was developed from five codes (Table 5.2), the data for which will be used to present the analysis.

Table 5.2 Codes and Theme 1

Codes	Theme (unit of analysis)
a. The role of social institutions b. Normalising imbalanced gender relations c. Violence as masculine d. Patriarchal norms e. Cultural masculine norms	GBV: the tip of the iceberg

The majority of male university peer-educator students (MUPES) demonstrated an awareness of GBV being prevalent and problematic on campus. Many indicated that this type of violence was a consequence of broader structural issues. For example, when asked during the focus group discussion to draw a picture of a perpetrator of GBV, MUPES from a focus group discussion (FGD2) drew a picture (Appendix 7) of a hand holding a hammer, hitting a nail into a leg of a table, and explained as follows:

Here we drew a hand holding a hammer and the hand represents different factors that cause the hammer to knock the nail. These are religious and cultural factors. By the way, the hammer represents a man. We also drew a table that is being made as you can see that some of the nails are still not knocked tightly down...(Gugu).

So, here we are trying to illustrate that a man is superior and a woman is inferior, and she needs a man, a hammer in order for her (nail) to do what she was meant to do. Surely, the nail can't knock itself down in order to fasten the legs of a table. Yah, with this drawing, I think that's the message we are trying to put across (Mongezi).

In much of the interactions, the MUPES talked generally about men's behaviour. It was not always easy to determine whether they were giving information about themselves or about other male students. After listening to the above explanation of this analogy, I was able to understand that participants wanted to paint a picture of their observations and what they felt was the general feeling among other men within the institution. This excerpt suggests that to the majority of men that MUPES interact with, women are regarded as naturally inferior to men and always need men for guidance. In talking about other male students, the MUPES in the study attempt to disassociate themselves from the patriarchal conditions and GBV. However, Burrell (2020) asserts that even men who appear to have adopted progressive views on social issues are, like any other men, intertwined with the inequalities of patriarchy. The MUPES in this FGD demonstrated an understanding of social-cultural dynamics, with the perception that a hammer (man) is controlled by a hand (social factors e.g. religion and culture) indicating that men are not only individually responsible for the oppression of women. The analogy suggests that MUPES accept that men in general are perpetrators of GBV, but at the same time that being perpetrators does not mean they are the cause, as they emphasised that a hammer (man) is controlled by a hand (social factors). Furthermore, the analogy suggests that men (hammer) are instrumental in helping women (nails)

serve their perceived purpose and this appears to be men's strategy of gaining social control at the expense of women.

While their explanations demonstrated a degree of understandings about the social construction of gender and masculinities, it also gives the impression that men are also victims of social factors. What is problematic about the aforementioned perception is that by stating that men are controlled by external factors depicts men as passive products of social processes and as mere tools in the process of women's victimisation, whereas in reality, many men have a lot to gain as a social category when women are oppressed. Connell (1995) explains this collective gain by men and calls it the patriarchal dividend of complicit masculinities. In the context of the above excerpt, this suggests a connection between patriarchal benefits and men's susceptibility to control by social factors, which are interpreted by men as a social mandate that enables them to maintain their dominance. Similar to Connell (1995), Partab (2012) agrees that these are privileges of patriarchy in that they give a wrong impression that it is acceptable for men to do certain things, even to the extent of causing harm to others, especially women. The perception behind the analogy also lends itself to hegemonic constructions of masculinities, in that women are regarded as instrumental in their own victimisation, as in the hammer and nails relationship. As nails would be considered useless without a hammer, the perception portrays women's social utility, as if it were dependent on men, and that women should find this to be a necessary kind of relationship in order for them to fulfil their expected gender role. This resonates with Swain's (2006) understanding of Gramsci's assertion that hegemony tends to operate in a way that the dominated are complicit in their own victimisation and subordination. However, Hearn (2004) asserts that hegemony relies on the consent of certain men and a rather implicitly complex consent of some women to operate within power-laden patriarchal relationships. Considering these views, hegemonic masculinity leads to the society-wide internalisation and acceptance of subordination by the dominated, and to the societal recognition of certain oppressive practices, as perceived in line with culture.

While culture is mentioned in the above excerpt as one of the external factors that impact the way in which men relate to women, the participants had varying interpretations of culture. Some participants thought that the true meaning of what culture requires of everyone lies with an individual. As Oscar said during an individual interview:

My culture says if you are a man, you have to be a protector and the provider for the family. It doesn't say you have to beat up your wife...it simply says be responsible. To women it says they must also be responsible. They should be soft and caring...However, I do not agree that a woman's place is in the kitchen while a man goes to work, I believe that there should be 50:50. I believe a woman should be active, look for a job and not just sit down at home looking after children.

Oscar suggests that culture is not prescriptive, and that individuals have the ability to accept or reject unequal gender practices. His expression further suggests that culture should not be understood as unchanging and immune from scrutiny and this should be in the interest of society, rather than only one social category. For example, Oscar contends that both men and women are expected to demonstrate a strong sense of responsibility in society. In practice, he thought this sense of responsibility should break traditional gender norms, where women and men are expected to perform certain specific roles due to their gender. For example, finding a job and not conforming to predetermined gender roles, such as home chores, is what Oscar suggests destabilises a traditionalist view of culture. This reveals the multiplicity of meanings attachable to culture. Therefore, when the MUPES during FGD2 cited culture as a contributor to the perpetration of violence against women, this revealed their own understandings of culture and the meanings they attached to gender and violence. The differences between what the MUPES said during FGD2 and Oscar's view during the individual interview suggest that a unidirectional relationship cannot be assumed to exist regarding the influence of culture on people's thoughts and actions. People can also construct ideas that differ from their traditional culture, hence enabling them to hold different views about what culture they subscribe to and the meaning that they give their opinions, especially with regard to gender and the interaction between the genders.

While Oscar expressed it as a positive principle that his culture requires a man to be a provider and a protector of his family, this (possibly unintentionally) feeds into a social norm that portrays women as being unable to make appropriate decisions and take responsibility, that only men have the authority to deal with issues related to situations that include women. This principle can maintain unequal gender relations, where women need men as protectors and providers, which feeds into hegemonic masculine norms, where it is considered legitimate to assign a dominant position to a man (protector or provider of the family). However, Oscar viewed this from a different perspective, that being to promote an egalitarian relationship between men and women, where a

woman can empower herself economically through finding a job. This view suggests Oscar's desire to change the cultural principle that encourages only men to be providers. Oscar's view that challenges his culture is consistent with Owino's (2014) assertion that given the changes in South Africa, men are encouraged to embrace the new ways of being men, where women are economically empowered. By challenging a specific principle of his culture that maintains women's subordination, Oscar constructed a non-hegemonic and transformative form of masculinity, as he proposed an equality driven relationship between men and women. The failure by society (as implied by Oscar) to culturise women's good practices, such as the one of providing for their families in an equality based relationship, is an indication that the manifestations of culture in and of themselves may not be the main problem when it comes to women's victimisation. That is, culture does not determine its own terms and form, being a representation of the ideas, beliefs, values and practices of a particular group, being influenced by underlying ideological roots. While culture may be used to justify oppressive practices, as evident in the FGD2 excerpt, it cannot be used to justify its own existence and associated meanings. This suggests that for the MUPES to have attached a particular meaning to culture, something informed that meaning other than the culture itself. For that reason, it is conceivable that GBV and culture owe their existence to patriarchy (Tjombe in Britton and Shook, 2014). The connection between GBV, culture and patriarchy suggests that GBV is the tip of the iceberg, indicative of critical issues that are intertwined in the fabric of culture and yet to be dismantled.

When I probed further during FGD2 the perception that a hammer has to be used to knock the nail down, Qiniso said; “*...if you hit the nail with a large force it might bend, so the hammer (man) would always be there, but it depends on how the hammer is used to put the nail (woman) in its place*”. By this view, Qiniso suggests that men's dominance over women is a necessity, but it may vary in degrees. This is despite acknowledging the harm that men's dominance has on women. Qiniso talked about an imbalanced power relationship, hence violence between men and women being inevitable. However, it was interesting to see how the research process itself facilitated the reflections and revisions of some MUPES' views. For example, Gugu who had been a part of the FGD about a hammer and nail analogy, changed his mind and challenged the very perception of the inevitability of violence between men and women. As he said;

On second thought to your question, I think there is an alternative to using a hammer and that is a screwdriver. With the screwdriver, you patiently push the screw down WITHOUT KNOCKING OR BENDING IT. Eventually, the screw tightens the table... Yes, in fact, a hammer is the actual perpetrator, but the screwdriver is a man with morals and values who would always screw it down gently. So, this is a man who is very humble.

Gugu's reflections suggest the possibility of a peaceful and non-violent relationship between men and women as he emphatically (high-pitched voice and gestures) said "*without knocking or bending it*". If fixing a table symbolised a problem, Gugu contends that women did not need men's forced help as hammers to identify and solve the problem. His view suggests that men and women are able to solve problems when they work in partnership (as a screwdriver and a screw). While this appears to be a well-intentioned view, it suggests a gentler form of control, as it maintains the perception that explains women's (screw) role in relation to men's (hammer or screwdriver), and regards it (men's role) as deterministic. In saying "*on second thought*", not only did Gugu acknowledge that he had supported the group's view about the need to use a hammer to hit a nail, but he also portrayed himself as an independent thinker within the group whose views were not influenced, at least dogmatically, by the focus group context. If at all, the focus group context seems to have influenced him differently, that being to construct a masculine identity characterised by reflexivity, which is consistent with the assertion that men's (and boys') engagement in groups and individual interviews is not merely a chance for them to "*put into words thoughts and feelings they already had*", but they discursively produce multiple masculinities as they interact in such contexts (Frosh, Phoenix and Pattman, 2002, p. 48). Indeed, Gugu's view recognises women's role in solving problems without being forced to by men. This is reminiscent of what Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka, a South African politician and United Nations official, who is currently serving as the Executive Director of UN Women, said in her speech during the United Nations Celebration of International Women's Day in New York on 8th March 2019, that women are not consumers of prescribed solutions, they can design solutions for themselves. This clearly suggests that women are the glue, which does not need anything else to work. Therefore, from the hammer and nail analogy there are two views. There is a view that lends itself to hegemonic masculinities that sees violence and dominance over women as a gender role that men need to play, hence engendering unequal gender relations. Alternatively, there is a view that moves away from constructions of

hegemonic masculinities to value-based masculinities that portray men as willing to be part of a solution through power negotiation, rather than being part of a problem through dominance.

The data suggests that efforts to deal with GBV that focus on it alone are misjudging the enormity of the problem, with the MUPES during FGD1 and 2 blaming non-interventionist attitudes of societies, due to factors that influence culture, such as religion, as they said:

... society has to be blamed for all this because at times they would hear of GBV taking place, but would not do anything. As a result, the perpetrator would continue to victimise other people... It all goes back to the bible and cultural beliefs. From a very young age we understood a male gender to be superior than a female gender. Even when there is a conflict the male gets to be listened to and his views respected. (FGD2)
...our societies are also perpetrators of GBV, in fact our society shapes how we think (FGD1).

MUPES articulations suggest that GBV is part of broader sociocultural issues, that being the interaction between beliefs, customs and practices within cultures and societies, with influence that is not limited to people's thoughts and feelings but their behaviours as well in a community (Maguele and Khuzwayo, 2019). It also suggests that society's interpretation of and reliance on Christian religious principles within their cultural context renders a conducive milieu for GBV to thrive. This concurs with Owino's (2014) view that the understandings of (Christian) religious beliefs on gender orders contribute to the construction of problematically dominant masculinities. The excerpts suggest that GBV is an outcome of the process of socialisation from childhood, which encouraged some MUPES, to construct themselves in ways that conform to gender constitutive religious principles manifesting through their culture.

The perceived need for men and women to construct themselves in consistence with dominant gender norms was also evident when the MUPES, during FGD1, talked about the similar ways in which men and women react to their victimisation.

In South Africa, we are facing the crisis where some people are afraid to report cases of GBV, for example, a girl victim would rather keep it to herself...
[Similarly]...when we look at the recent incident that took place in Hluhluwe where 2 women raped a man. These women even took a video and posted it on WhatsApp. The man who was a victim was so afraid to report the case in such a way that even the video was taken to the police by another person.

The excerpt speaks to masculinity norms within which men are ever ready and always interested in sex and therefore cannot be raped. While the incident of a raped man does not have sufficient details to be interpreted as GBV, it is informative about the role of socialisation in men's decision making, especially when their gender is at the centre of the situation. It seems that the man was caught up in the socialisation dilemma, where reporting the matter would be inconsistent with the perception that men cannot be raped by women, or that allowed it to happen, hence suggesting that non-reporting of violence of this nature is not an individual decision per se. This maintains the status quo of normalising violence instead of addressing it, in that it engenders fear of reporting among the victims due to disbelief or ridicule.

For example, MUPES talked about both men and women not reporting their victimisation, which begs the question, what could lead both women and men to react in a similar way to their victimisation? (reluctance to report). Forbes-Mewett and McCulloch (2015), in an attempt to answer this question, state that the under-reporting of GBV is due to fear of further victimisation and lack of trust in institutional procedures. While this may be true, I argue that the fear of further victimisation should not be understood in a limited way, as in the fear that the perpetrator would continue to victimise in retaliation. However, the fear should also be understood as the fear of further victimisation (of a different form) by society questioning their masculinity, in a case of a man, or victim-blaming in a case of a woman. Therefore, to avoid this kind of structural victimisation, some victims may choose to downplay their sufferings. The MUPES' varying views suggest that although violence may be directed to an individual, how the individual responds to violence has to meet societal expectations, that being to conform to gender norms. This suggests that while the man talked about in the excerpt may have demonstrated a kind of non-violent masculinity by not fighting back with violence against the women in his own defence during the rape incident, dominant gender norms, which expect men to be interested in sex, guided his ultimate reaction to his victimisation. It appears that he preferred to keep quiet about the incident to prevent being ridiculed at the police station, which may have dented his masculinity. Weiss (2010) concurs that the notion of a 'real' man encourages men to avoid behaviours perceived to be related to femininity, that is, men who are overpowered by others (men or women) may be taken to have failed in their masculine duty due to weakness. As victimisation is feminised, men's reporting violence perpetrated against them may be in conflict with the dominant forms of

masculinity. Weiss (2010) attributes men's reluctance to report women-perpetrated victimisations to shame. This is due to the notion that women are harmless and weak "men admitting that they did not want sex with women or that they were forced to do something sexual by women inverts heterosexual scripts and challenges overall norms of masculinity" (Weiss, 2010, p. 292). This suggests that men's attitude, behaviour and practice are influenced by socio-cultural perceptions. The view that GBV resulted from broader socio-cultural issues was also expressed during individual interviews, where it was mainly understood as being connected to the power ascribed to men's roles. For example, Abongwe said:

...in society, men are given roles that give them power...when a man wants to resolve problems he has to use his power that he has been given by the society. So, all in all, men are considered as people with power and women as powerless, and I think that contributes to GBV (Individual interview).

Abongwe understood GBV as a product of socio-cultural configuration of relations between men and women where the former are regarded as having power over the latter. Abongwe's view suggests that this social arrangement that positions men as powerful and women as powerless predetermines unequal gender relationships, from which violence emanates. The problem with the ascription of power to men's predetermined roles was also expressed by Bafana, who thought that the roles and societal expectations of men result in them perceiving themselves as superior to women, as he said

"basically, in my culture I know that a man is somebody who is a provider, so you need to provide for your family so that the community can say this one is a man" (Individual interview).

This suggests that a male has to behave in particular ways and successfully perform assigned roles and duties in order to be recognised as a man and maintain the ascribed power and status. Another role to which power was ascribed is that of men being constructed as protectors. In this regard, Celimpilo during the individual interview explained that as a man,

...you protect not only your family, but the society in which you live. So, the protection of the dignity of the society lies with men. However, a woman is someone who is always expected to support the views of a man.

This reinforces the notion that women and men are unequal, in that Celimpilo's drawing from his culture perceived the former as having a secondary role of showing support for the latter. This further suggests that for women to be recognised as good is dependent on the extent to which they perform the subservient role to men, rather than any direct role or contribution to society. Similarly, Gugu referring to his (Xhosa) culture, shared a view that contributed to the narrative of men being constructed as superior to women as he said:

...a woman is not dominant, because even if she could say something and a man intervenes, it would change and no one would go against that. So, my culture still believes in the superiority of men...

...in my culture, violence defines a real man... Yes, violence does characterise you a real man [even] here [on campus], some people still have an old mentality that if you are a man you should be violent... I am known to be a boy [as opposed to being a man] where I come from because I no more believe in violence (Individual interview).

Although Gugu was speaking from a different cultural background (Xhosa) to that of the majority of MUPES (Zulu), his views contributed to the same narrative, which constructed men as superior to women and their use of violence being linked to this position. In this view, behaving nonviolently is tantamount to behaving unmanly, which constructs violence as an important masculinising act on campus. However, Gugu distanced himself from this understanding, as he emphatically labeled it as "*an old mentality*". By this, Gugu constructed himself reflectively, which he maintained in the focus group discussion about men being likened to a hammer where he offered an alternative analogy of screwdriver. The consequences on campus of his position on the matter (the view that violence is a sign of being a real man) were not clear, but in his community it had resulted in his demotion in the hierarchy of masculinities, as he was subsequently considered a 'boy' rather than a 'man'. This suggests that men's decision to construct themselves independently of violence challenges harmful normative construction of masculinities.

Owing to the view that being violent gives men culturally acceptable dominance over women who are perceived as "*not dominant*", as Gugu explained, some MUPES thought cultural perceptions are biased against women. For example, Freedom, during the individual interview thought that GBV reinforces cultural double standards at the expense of women as he said; "*culturally, it is not expected for a woman to beat up her husband, whereas it is not a problem for a man to beat up his wife*". This resonates with Jackson's (2014) findings, where beating a woman was culturally

considered an acceptable way of reminding a woman about her position in the family. This way, power predicated on cultural principles is unidirectional, as it is used by men who are perceived to be superior to women, who are perceived to be inferior, and for that reason, it is considered culturally abnormal to reverse this power configuration. It is a normalised double standardisation, and Christofides et al. (2020) assert that such inequitable gender relations structurally normalise women's subordination and violence against them. While violence was attributed to broader socio-cultural processes by most MUPES, Innocent's view reveals that there are multiple interpretations of cultural principles;

As a Zulu man, my culture says a man is a head, a man is a ruler. It also depends on families. For example, in other families, a man is someone who is powerful; someone not supposed to be challenged, someone who hits other people, someone who always responds with violence and people would say that's a real man. On the other hand, a woman is an expressive someone, a caregiver, someone who supports (Individual Interview).

Although Innocent believed that his culture generally constructs a man as someone who should be the head of the family, he was of the view that different families interpret this cultural principle differently, as others attach violence to it, which he disapproved of. This suggests that even within the cultural terrain there is a choice not to be violent. For Innocent, being a head is not tantamount to being powerful, as he made a distinction between a man who is powerful in his family and a man who is a head of the family. He believed that a powerful man is characterised by violence towards others as a means to achieve some form of masculinity. An example of such interpretation was Mongezi's view during the individual interview that,

my culture allows a man [as the head of the family] to beat his woman for anything that he feels deserves punishment.

By this view, Mongezi attached violence to the notion of man's headship, whereas Innocent did not see that connection. To Innocent, a man's headship could refer to a man who is not violent, but who is still a symbol of authority as per cultural principles. This suggests that, due to its openness to multiple interpretations, culture is as fluid as the masculinities that emanate from it. In an attempt to emphasise his understanding of violence as unrelated to culture, Innocent further said

Yah...sometimes it is necessary for one [man] to have that force, but I strongly stand against violence. I believe opting for violence is a sign of failure to think straight and logical.

Although it was not clear what the said force would translate into in practice, it can be inferred that Innocent did not regard the force as a form of violence, as he expressed a strong view against it (violence). Similar to Innocent, Qiniso spoke out against violence directed to women, and thought it was a serious problem that needed to be resolved, as he explained;

Yah...in fact, the issue of gender-based violence is quite a big issue that should be reformed at some point; not reformed actually, but cleared or erased. Biblically speaking, people may say a woman was made to help a man, but now we are here and we make choices, so I don't think we should dehumanise another gender (Individual interview).

Qiniso identified GBV as an issue that needs to be addressed, and was also direct about how women should not be trapped in religious principles that result in their subordination. To Qiniso, GBV is dehumanising and for that reason it should be curbed. Similarly, the connection between GBV and broader cultural gender norms was considered as neither permanent nor intergenerational. For instance, during the individual interview, Abongwe shared his personal exposure to violence:

I do not remember myself getting so angry that I eventually hit someone. So, I would say that the violence that used to take place at home...at home there used to be instances of violence, so I would say that it helped me to see that violence is not a good thing...it [witnessing violence] was painful.

Abongwe's acknowledgement that violence is bad suggests that for him it is not an important component of being a man. His position against violence suggests that exposure to violence does not automatically translate into further perpetration. However, it highlights the possibility of a man becoming a change agent on the basis that he was affected ("it was painful") by the violence he observed. This suggests that while exposure to violence may encourage some men to construct themselves violently, it can also be a motive for other men to construct themselves differently. Importantly, Abongwe's view suggests that men's violent childhood experiences should not exempt them from taking responsibility for their violent behaviour as adults.

The analysis of data in this theme has suggested that GBV is the tip of the iceberg, in that, there are several underlying factors from which it emanates. The theme has positioned GBV as a problematic outcome of patriarchy facilitated through culture. Regardless of who the victims are,

MUPES treated GBV as the outcome of a serious problem in society, but not only as a women's problem. The next section discusses this view at length as per MUPES' articulations.

5.3. GBV is not Just a Women's Issue

This theme was formed from four sets of coded data, which I use throughout this section to present the analysis (Table 5.3)

Table 5.3. Codes and Theme 2

Codes	Theme (unit of analysis)
a. Most men are perpetrators, and some are victims b. Gender (not sex) specific violence c. Homophobic attitude d. GBV cuts across gender	GBV is not just a women's issue

Owing to the fact that women are the main victims of GBV, it has been erroneously conceptualised as a women's issue (le Roux and Toit, 2017). It was evident that MUPES mainly rejected the conceptualisation of GBV as a women's issue based on two reasons. These are, that some men are also victims of GBV, as it is associated with gender power; and that it should not be up to women to prevent it, but up to men to change the ways in which they construct themselves. The MUPES believed that there are some men who also become victims of GBV, and that it is related to gender power. For that reason, scrutinising the gendered nature of the violence is what constitutes a better understanding of the scourge, hence avoiding the temptation to simply associate it with women.

The idea that GBV not only affects women featured in different data items when various questions were being answered. For example, during the mapping workshop, when answering the question about which students are potential victims of GBV on campus, the MUPES from the group called Leaders, when presenting their map (Appendix 8), said "*it is both males and females, because nowadays when everyone is drunk you can never tell who will inflict violence upon someone else. So, it goes either way*". During FGD1, Delani said "*even amongst us here, there could be victims of GBV, but we would not know because men do not share*". Similar views that emphasise the idea that men can also be victims were expressed by the MUPES in their respective individual interviews when sharing their understandings of GBV in relation to its perpetrators and victims.

These are presented consecutively to underscore the commonality in their general conceptualisation of the scourge:

... this is a gender specific kind of violence; it could be male or female because nowadays, much as we continue saying it's women who are victims, but males do also become victims of violence. So, it is violence that you become a victim of because you are that thing, you are a male or you are a female (Abongwe).

To me, this [gender-based violence] means that any violence that can take place is not considered here, if we underline the word 'based', it means we are talking about violence that has to do with gender. For example, violence directed to a female by a male and to a male by a female. So, here we are not just looking at violence that can happen haphazardly elsewhere (Gugu).

Thinking about gender-based violence; the fact that there is a word 'gender' it means something. I think it is whereby a male abuses a female or; a female abuses a male, because nowadays some of brothers are abused by their girlfriends (Njabulo).

It can be inferred from the excerpts that the MUPES are using the word 'gender' synonymously with biological sex to suggest that violence between males and females is mechanically gender-based, and that it can happen in any direction between the genders, which equates to violence perpetrated by men with that perpetrated by women. This does not consider the socio-cultural components of violence that make it gendered. While their understanding answers part of the question in terms of who is perpetrating violence against whom, it does not demonstrate the MUPES' deep comprehension of GBV that focuses on "who is doing what to whom, in which contexts, to which effects and to whose overall benefit" (Boyle, 2019, p. 32). Disregarding these questions neutralises GBV as if it were violence that "*happen[s] haphazardly*", as Gugu said, although (to a certain extent) contradicting his own claim about GBV being equally likely to be perpetrated by either sex.

While the MUPES seemed to be aware that GBV is a problem that affects female students the most on campus, they did not express this idea explicitly, perhaps due to their limited understanding of 'gender', which they simplistically explained as if it meant biological sex. This suggests that at a conceptual level, GBV is complex, and has hence been characterised by a myriad of interpretations. For example, it has been interpreted as violence against women (VAW) (e.g. Acosta, 2020), as a

masculinities issue resulting in gender hierarchies, with both women and certain men being likely to be affected due to a particular group of men embarking on masculinising acts to gain dominance (e.g. Boyle, 2019; Buiten and Naidoo, 2020) and resulting from predetermined social roles seeking to reproduce gender roles (e.g. Mnawulezi et al., 2018). However, during the individual interview, Bafana was rather more specific about his understanding of who the perpetrators and victims of GBV are, as he said, “*males can be victimised by females verbally, but in most cases it's males that victimise the women*”. Similarly, during his individual interview, Nkululeko said “*women need to be taught how to speak to a man and avoid shouting [at a man]*”.

I argue that while certain men can be victims of GBV perpetrated by other men, women’s violent acts against men are not automatically gender-based, as GBV is, as Abongwe noted, “*a gender specific kind of violence*”. While ‘gender specific’ alone may not be enough to suggest that Abongwe is referring to gender power, talking about GBV as violence that is ‘not haphazard’ (Gugu-individual interview) suggests that some MUPES understood it to be associated with how society is already structured around the notion of the powerful and powerless. In this view, GBV is not haphazard, as it emanates from already existing power-laden gender relations, which encourage gender inequality by reproducing gender roles (Mnawulezi et al., 2018).

While Bafana shared the view that GBV can also be perpetrated against men, he contextualised his view by making it clear which men he was referring to. He talked about homosexual men, suggesting that it would be a mistake to think of GBV as being synonymous with VAW. Bafana believed that people’s varied backgrounds had everything to do with how others tended to treat homosexual men, as he said during the individual interview:

...we come from different backgrounds, so some of us don't understand this thing [homosexuality], so when it's happening some tend to act violently, some tend to use vulgar language towards those gays....They are the ones who are perpetuating violence because us as males who interact with girls and not other guys when he [homosexual man] is trying to show that he is interested in you, that's when a problem starts. If they can live their own lives without coming to us the environment could be conducive...There needs to be lessons given to those people as to how they must behave.

While this emphasises the view that some men can be victims of GBV, it does not support the view that women are perpetrators of that violence, and exemplifies the ‘othering’ attitude of homosexual men by men. Bafana’s expressions were themselves characterised by homophobic undertones, as he constructed men’s interest in and interaction with women as a defining characteristic of what he understood to be a man, and contends that homosexual men lacked this key element, and for that reason thought they made heterosexual men uncomfortable. While Anderson and McCormack (2016) talk about inclusive masculinities that do not reject men’s manifestations of femininity through different forms of homophobic attitudes, Bafana’s views lend themselves to non-inclusive masculinities. Bafana’s desire for there to be lessons aimed at nonconforming men’s behaviour suggests a homohysteric campus, where the interaction, attitude and behaviour among men are premised on homophobia, which makes homosexual men uncomfortable to be socially regarded as such (Anderson and McCormack, 2016, p. 2).

This suggests that GBV cannot be understood out of context and is therefore fluid, as the masculinities mostly affect women in a patriarchal society, and some men in heteropatriarchal societies and homohysteric settings (Anderson and McCormack, 2016). This highlights the importance of the three levels at which masculinities that contribute to GBV can be constructed, namely local, regional and global (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). The prevailing notion in a heteropatriarchal setting is that not only are men superior to women, but also to their fellow men (Partab, 2012). The perpetration of GBV that is informed by the setting lends itself to constructions of hegemonic masculinities, which highlights the geography of the masculinities, that being the significance of where the construction of masculinities is taking place e.g. locally, regionally or globally (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). Understanding victims of GBV in terms of these three levels is important, as it helps to explain that while some men could be victims of GBV from fellow men at one geographic level, women remain victims at all levels, hence making them the main victims and men the main perpetrators. Patriarchy is an ideology that is key in constructing hegemonic masculinities, which maintain unequal gender relations and operates at a global level, with the main victims being women (Dutt, 2018). Similarly, at a regional level, through culture, constructions of hegemonic masculinities affect women the most. However, at a local level, and in this case in a heteropatriarchal university campus environment, as Bafana’s view and his own attitude suggest, constructions of harmful masculinities affect both homosexual men and women

as a particular group of men seek to maintain dominance and gender hierarchy (Boyle, 2019; Buiten and Naidoo 2020).

Bafana's view attributed some of the violence and homophobic attitudes towards nonconforming men to the perpetrators' backgrounds, which is a problematic excuse but useful as a pointer towards addressing GBV. Bafana suggests that their background has shaped their thoughts and perceptions in a way that makes them exceptionalise nonconformity by some men, which contributes to non-tolerant masculinities on campus. This is consistent with conservative, often dismissive cultural and traditional teachings, where conformity with predetermined gender roles and enactments is encouraged. As Casey et al. (2018) suggest, the use of violence by men complies with traditional notions of masculinity that stress dominance over femininity. Therefore, Bafana's understanding of GBV (in the form of homophobia), related to his background, implicitly implies that it is cultural. This suggests that while it can be an individual practice, such as his own comments during the interview, it is informed by structural prescripts and therefore attempts to address it needs to aim beyond a man as an individual to men as a social category.

Furthermore, the 'othering' of nonconforming men by Bafana suggests that he is not against GBV directed to them, as he feels that their behaviour is inconsistent with his understanding of being a man. To state that there is a problem when nonconforming men interact with conforming males suggests that the former are expected to find and occupy their own space within the male-terrain without encroaching on the latter's. This, it seems, would maintain the traditional view of a man, with homosexuality being a compromise of Bafana's sense of being a man. Njabulo, during the individual interview, also expressed a view that suggested that he did not think it was normal for a man to do what nonconforming men on campus do;

...gay students expose themselves and they are very bubbly. What they do is that, they dress up like females and wear make-up like females, they wear weaves. They are very conspicuous, like when they are there in the meals [campus canteen] you would easily notice them because of how they associate and communicate with one another.

Similar to Bafana, Njabulo's view portrays the campus as a homohysteric environment, where non-inclusive masculinities are constructed at the expense of nonconforming male students, which promotes gender hierarchy within the social category of men.

The MUPES believed that GBV was not just a women's issue, as it should not be up to them to prevent the scourge, but up to men to construct themselves differently. This was expressed in the context of the international 16 days of activism against GBV during FGD2 where the MUPES shared the view that:

This campaign [the 16 days of activism against GBV] is based on women and children abuse. So, obviously, they are being abused by men. This campaign should... educate men that what they are doing is wrong (FGD2).

The MUPES rationalised the motive and purpose of the campaign, and acknowledged that it was aimed at encouraging men to construct themselves in unoppressive ways. While during some individual interviews there was an emphasis on the idea that not only women are affected by GBV, in a FGD, the MUPES shared a view about the need to prevent violence perpetrated by men through campaigns, such as the 16 days of activism against GBV. This suggests that although the MUPES claimed (mostly during individual interviews) that some men are also victims, men as a social category are dominant, this characteristic operating to maintain unequal gender relations, where women and children suffer. As the MUPES regarded GBV as the maintenance of unequal gender relationships, for which men (as a social category rather than a few or smaller groups) are responsible, their understanding suggests the existence of a problem not just with hegemonic construction of masculinities, but with patriarchy. This resonates with Bahlied's (2015) assertion that a key element of patriarchy is the gendered violence that men perpetrate against women to demonstrate their (men's) normalised dominance.

While possible interventions are discussed in detail in Chapter 7, the MUPES thought that a reductionist approach to preventing GBV, which looks at it on an individual man's level, would not succeed, as they believed it requires the social category of men to work together towards eliminating it. This suggests that masculinities should be at the centre of any attempts to curb violence, as it seems that the presence of other men is important in how an individual man constructs himself as a man, as evident in these expressions from FGD1 "*it's easy for men to understand one another*", "*it is easy to listen to another man*", "*if men gather together*". These expressions suggest that men approve of one another's masculine credentials, in that the MUPES believed that a man would find it easier being convinced by fellow men to behave in particular ways. This suggests that men are able to transition and construct themselves differently if it is

approved by other men as an accepted way of being a man, which highlights the need for men to work together towards redefining their social role. As Phakama emphasised during an individual interview that men

have a major role as well. This gender-based violence is more practised by males than females, so they are the ones who should be responsible to alleviate it as well.

Simo, during the individual interview, expressed a view that supported the previous view as he said:

I think everyone should take action [against GBV] because this thing affects all of us...GBV does not affect only a specific gender group, but all. Even though males are perpetrators, they are sometimes also affected...we are living in a different era now where some women do beat up their husbands.

While GBV is mainly perpetrated by men, the above excerpt suggests that addressing it should not polarise the social categories of men and women, but rather promote activism and agency across the gender spectrum. Such an approach can mitigate against violence that is predicated on hegemonic constructions of masculinities, that being perpetration based on the perceived legitimacy due to femininities' role. As Lucky during his individual interview added

I believe everyone should be involved, but a large percentage of men would have to be involved...as much as that would be difficult because there are people who still have their own stereotypes and myths when it comes to equality...

While Lucky supported the view that preventing GBV is not only the responsibility of women, he thought that the idea of equality is treated with stereotypical attitudes, which makes it challenging to actualise. This raises a question as to why men resist gender transformation. Ratele (2015) contends that men resist transformation and continue to adopt hegemonic forms of masculinities although these are detrimental not only to women but also to (men) themselves due to their commitment to gender privilege. This suggests the existence of a masculine dilemma for men, as committing to gender transformation means giving up on male gender privileges, which may be perceived important for their sense of being men.

Simo and Lucky's emphasis that everyone should be involved in GBV prevention as it (varyingly) affects both genders, and the latter's acknowledgement that there is still a certain level of resistance from some men, suggest that there are three potential positions that men can occupy in relation to GBV, namely: perpetrators, victims or potential change agents (Vetten and Ratele, 2013). This is

important in understanding the connection between GBV and masculinities, as it suggests that the scourge is not linear and unchanging, in that men can perpetrate violence, as noted by Phakama, that “*GBV is more practised by males*”; they can feel as victims in that “*some women do beat up their husbands*” (Simo), or they can be willing to play a role in challenging violence that results in or from unequal gender relations, as was evident in FGD1 when the MUPES said “*we could embark on a campaign regarding GBV*”.

The discussion in this theme shows that the participants recognised that GBV is not only a women’s issue, in that it also takes the form of homophobia as part of gender policing amongst men. Importantly, the analysis in this theme shows that it is not up to women to prevent GBV, as men should be and are capable of constructing themselves differently. The next theme presents and analyses the data about how the MUPES believed women ought to internalise no dominant gender norms, as that cultivates the perpetration of GBV against them.

5.4. Perpetration and Cultivation of GBV

This theme was developed from five codes whose raw data will be used throughout this section to present the analysis (Table 5.4).

Table 5.4. Codes and Theme 3

Codes	Theme (unit of analysis)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. The value of women’s agency b. An outcome of masculinities and femininities c. Complicit victims d. Challenging violence e. The dominant and the subordinate 	Perpetration and cultivation of GBV

The MUPES did not dispute that men are mainly responsible for the perpetration of violence against women. Some had strong views about who was responsible for committing GBV, and felt that some women sometimes contribute to GBV directed to them by men. For example, during FGD1 the MUPES said:

...[some] victims are the perpetrators of GBV, because the decision that they make can perpetrate GBV... girl is a victim of GBV, but instead of reporting the matter to the police, where she can get assistance or counselling, she decides to keep it to

herself... In the long run, this will keep on killing her. The bad thing is that if the same thing happens to her friend, she will also advise her to keep it to herself.

This view suggests that it is the responsibility of women to prevent GBV. There were some elements of victim-blaming attitudes in the MUPES' conceptualisation of GBV, in that they thought victims, by not reporting their victimisation, were as responsible as the perpetrators, that such decisions cultivate the scourge. As masculinities are constructed in relation to one another, and most importantly in relation to femininities, the MUPES' view suggests that internalisation of oppression and violence by women indirectly contributes to the scourge of GBV, as it strengthens those oppressive masculinities. This links women's reaction to their victimisation to emphasised femininities, whereby GBV may be taken for granted and not be regarded as harmful, but as part of a social norm, hence creating an impression that it does not warrant reporting. The above excerpt suggests that certain constructions of femininities are problematic in that they construct a tolerance of GBV as a sign of being a good woman, which normalises their subordination. However, there is an important dimension that the MUPES' view disregards, that is the social norms that encourage certain behaviours, as well as the roles that apply across the gender spectrum that encourages conformity from both men and women.

The MUPES' view is reductionist by assuming that if individual women stood up against GBV by reporting it, this would automatically put an end to GBV at a structural level. This perception overlooks the social construction element in GBV that motivates it, and suggests that it cannot simply be addressed by reporting it. For example, Cantalupo (2014), in a study conducted in the United States of America, asserts that a university community has limited information about the incidents of violence within it due to a number of students not reporting their victimisation in fear of the possibility of it not being believed by those in authority, among other reasons. In this regard, McIlwaine (2013) emphasises that identifying GBV requires that there be a direct relationship between the gender of the victim and the motive of the violence. This suggests that rather than being a matter that simply needs to be reported, GBV requires challenging those motivating social norms that feed into harmful masculinities. This is more appropriate, given List's (2017) observation that some women are reluctant to report different forms of GBV perpetrated against them by men even when their anonymity is assured, hence highlighting the effects of the sociocultural processes that put pressure on them to behave in certain expected ways.

Furthermore, being determined that GBV needs to be explored regarding the way that men and women interact to maintain it, the MUPES during FGD1 likened it to apartheid “*...this thing is like what happened during apartheid, most people when they look at Whites, they see them as perpetrators of apartheid, forgetting that there were Black people who pushed this thing of apartheid.*” Similar to the earlier excerpt, this quotation implicitly suggests that women are also responsible for GBV in some way. MUPES also said:

...regarding GBV, at first you become a victim, then after your decision about you being a victim then it gets to the point where it is clear to tell whether you are a perpetrator or not. If you become a victim and you do nothing about it, you let the person who broke the law go unpunished, so there is no justice served. When a person who victimised you gets away with it, he would continue victimising other people, taking his actions as a norm (FGD1).

While the MUPES acknowledged that women are the main victims, they thought that the way in which they react to GBV is important in determining its existence. To them, GBV is a process, where there are first level perpetrators in the form of men who initiate violence against women in order to achieve their masculine goals. Once the process of victimisation has begun, they suggest, there is a possibility of second level perpetrators in the form of some women who unintentionally and in conformity with societal (feminine) expectations tolerate unquestioningly all sorts of victimisation from men, hence maintaining the status quo. This suggests that GBV is associated with hegemonic forms of masculinities, which feed into unequal gender relations through perceived legitimacy and their relationality to femininity (Messerchmidt, 2019). Most of the MUPES thought it was important that women expressed their views against GBV and not cultivate it, as Qiniso said during an individual interview.

...power does not mean you should have your fist on. Power doesn't mean that you should use your physical energy, but power is in mind, power is in actions and power is in the words that you speak. I think, basically, they (women) should speak out and that's the first step of everything; so they should speak out and say No to violence.

While Qiniso believed that women are able to address GBV if they realise that the power is in their own agency, his conceptualisation of power suggests a simplistic understanding in that it disregards the social construction component of it, which makes it problematic. A similar view that attached particular significance to women’s voice was expressed by the MUPES during FGD1, where they said “*women are able to express themselves to one another about anything that may*

be troubling them. However, it's very hard for a man to do the same". This highlights the extent to which societal expectations of what it means to be a man and a woman influence men's attitudes. The belief that women can deal with GBV by using their perceived unique characteristic (being expressive), which men assumingly cannot do, suggests that MUPES treat masculinity and femininity differently. For this essentialist view about women to have been raised in a focus group discussion reveals its shared masculine underpinnings, and this resonates with Frosh, Phoenix and Pattman's (2002) observation of boys' tendency to construct themselves in ways that conformed to dominant masculine norms when engaging in a group. This, for example, included articulations that reinforced the perception that women (and girls) are capable of sympathetically talking about anything among themselves, as they are perceived to be different from men (and boys) (Frosh, Phoenix and Pattman, 2002). This suggests that masculine emotionalism (Owino, 2014), where men openly express their feelings, is regarded as a weakness that is associated with femininity, which is the reason MUPES during FGD1 believed women should use it (emotionalism) to prevent GBV.

While there were instances where the MUPES thought addressing GBV needed both men and women to work collaboratively, they were also occasions where they felt strongly that women in their own capacity had a role to play to end it. As part of a discussion during FGD2, Gugu felt that:

If we keep saying men stop this and men stop that while women are not doing anything it's not going to help...Women need to work together and fight this GBV, like the women of the past who united on the 9th of August and expressed themselves. So if women could work together I am sure that they would be able to win the fight, and even the men would get the message across that what they are doing is wrong.

During the individual interview, Innocent said:

...female students... are confused in their own way... For a female student to stick around with a boyfriend who always beats her up shows that there is something wrong with her, she does not know who she is. For example, there are female students who say he treats me well even though he drinks, but he treats me well so for me he is a real man. So, it really depends on how we look at it [GBV], but in some cases females are not innocent victims.

Gugu's view suggests that GBV is an issue of masculinities and femininities, in that he believed that the focus on how men should construct themselves differently needs to be complemented by

women's collective agency to discourage harmful ways in which men behave towards them. Innocent's expression contributes to the general women-blaming attitude; which research has found to be held by some male university students (Kaufman et al. 2019). However, that is not the only thing it contributes to, as his articulations lend themselves to issues of hegemonic masculinities, which are constructed in relation to femininities with some perceived degree of legitimisation by women (Messerschmidt, 2019). This suggests that GBV perpetrated by men against women who are perceived to be "*not doing anything*" to stop their own victimisation contributes to normalised unequal gender relations, as women's actions are interpreted (by Innocent) as some kind of consent, perhaps due to internalised social norms. On the basis that GBV is seen to be resulting from the interaction between masculinities and femininities, addressing it necessitates the reconfiguration of both hegemonic masculinities and emphasised femininities.

The analysis of the data in this theme shows the MUPES' understanding of GBV to not only be a masculinities issue but also as an issue of femininities. The MUPES strongly believed that women also need to construct themselves differently by not internalising oppressive social norms that contribute to unequal gender relations, from which GBV perpetrated against them emanates. While social norms can generally be understood as implicit factors for GBV, there are explicit factors that the MUPES associated with the scourge, on which the next theme focuses.

5.5. GBV is Connected to Physical Campus Spaces and Fuelled by Alcohol

This theme resulted from four segments of coded data that I use all through this section to present the analysis (Table 5.5).

Table 5.5. Codes and Theme 4

Codes	Theme (unit of analysis)
a. Unsafe campus spaces b. Substance abuse and violence c. Gendered activities d. Consolidating masculine power	GBV is connected to campus physical spaces and fuelled by alcohol

There was a general perception among the MUPES that GBV occurred in certain physical spaces due to their characteristics. When the MUPES were given a chance to draw an outline of their institution showing areas that they deemed safe and unsafe for students, all three groups highlighted similar areas as unsafe. It became apparent during the presentation of the maps and subsequent interviews that the MUPES thought there was a connection between violence and the areas they had marked as unsafe. As Abongwe explained during the individual interview, the reason they had marked certain areas unsafe:

Most of the areas that we marked as not safe are areas that are hidden; even security guards do not go there to check. You only see security guards by the main gate, RMS control room and they only patrol around the campus for example in the T-block. However, you do not find security guards in the designated areas and there are no cameras in those areas. Therefore, those areas are not safe.

Unlike in Ngabaza et al. (2015), where areas that were described in a similar way as in the above excerpt were constructed as unsafe by female students, here it is male students who seemed concerned about the unsafe nature of those areas for students due to the lack of monitoring by security personnel and the absence of cameras. Although the physical spaces cannot victimise a person per se, Abongwe's expression suggests that they could become the convenient spaces where perpetration of violence by opportunistic perpetrators could go almost unnoticed, as he continued to explain that: "...people do take advantage that ok this place is hidden so we can use it and do whatever we like". While it does not follow that students go to such places with the only intention to do GBV related activities, the MUPES thought that students could go to such spaces to do 'whatever' they consider prohibited in the public open spaces. The following excerpt notes one such area that all the MUPES mentioned where students would feel at liberty to do as they pleased, and hence creating a sense of fear among other students, particularly females. Freedom, during the individual interview, gave a description of the area:

Dark City does not have lights and it has trees; it is normally occupied by students who are smoking dagga and consume alcohol. If a girl student were to go past that area alone, those guys being influenced by alcohol could do something untraceable since there are no cameras. Hence, it is called Dark City.

Freedom's expression highlights the role of the physical environment in facilitating GBV, as he specifically thought about the likelihood of female students becoming victims at the hands of male

students near the area due to the absence of lights and cameras. In addition to the area being a potential hot-spot for GBV due to physical characteristics, Freedom felt that even the kind of activities that students engage in when in that area facilitate GBV. Similarly, Simo, during the individual interview, explained that “*that place [Dark City] is unsafe because not all students take drugs, so if a sober minded student goes past by that place he/she risks being harassed*”. This suggests that Simo has prior knowledge of activities that result in particular forms of GBV as he constructed harassment out of the typical behaviour around Dark City. Although not claiming that it would be a non-consensual kind of activity, Abongwe, during the interview, explained that students do “*all sorts of things; in fact, ... at night sometimes people do have sex in that area*”. By this, Abongwe suggests an important connection between the physical space, related activities/behaviours and possible GBV, which underscores campus spaces as one of the factors to be considered when dealing with the scourge. It was evident during the individual interview with Celimpilo that Dark City was used by different groups of students, regardless of their gender, as he explained:

What happens is that when people are not attending they just go there and hang around. The people who call themselves ciphers [students perceived to have no influence and who held no important position on campus] sit there, smoke, then start rapping, and beat the beat boxes. At times, they end up drinking and smoking dagga, so really that place is not safe...And when you look at how these students sit there, they actually sit separately in their sexual orientation groups. So, they do not do things together but the same things separately. It's more the sharing of space than anything else.

All the MUPES had something similar to say about ‘Dark City’, which is an open area near the Student Sports Union building with an amphitheatre that can accommodate many students. The excerpt sheds light on the typical reasons why the fear that was constructed around Dark City was more than just the concern about the physical outlook of the area, and more about the kind of activities that took place. Regardless of the fact that the fear around Dark City was being constructed by male students, it is important to note that they were mostly concerned about the possibility of female students getting hurt, which suggests that they were aware of the danger that men as a social category posed to women on campus. This suggests that the activities that took place in Dark City limited the campus spaces that female students could use or even go near without risking violence.

This resonates with Ngabaza's et al. (2015) findings, where female students stated that they had witnessed their male counterparts fighting, and that their knowledge of previous incidents of female students' rapes by drunk male students increased their anxiety about walking alone near those specific areas on campus. Similar to the above female participants, the MUPES in this current study understood GBV as victimisation, which is facilitated to a certain extent by the environment in which people find themselves. This suggests that attempts to address GBV should explore the role of the physical environment on perpetrators, how it encourages them to opportunistically actualise their detrimental perceptions. This is not to suggest that the physical space should take the blame, as it does not hold any perceptions against anyone. However, Ratele (2013) contends that time and space (when and where) are important factors in the constructions of masculinities, hence suggesting that an area such as Dark City could encourage male students to construct themselves in particular ways. When asked who they thought were the possible victims of the activities that took place in 'Dark City', this was a typical response from most of the MUPES in their respective individual interviews:

...females, because as a man, it could be easy for me to defend myself, whereas women, as we know are weak, they might not be able to defend themselves, so I think they are the possible victims (Freedom).

The above excerpt highlights that females become targets for something that is beyond their control, that being females has perceived connotations of weakness and defencelessness. Such a perception debunks any defensive attitudes and explanations by men that the way in which women wear is a way of drawing men's attention (see Kaufman et al., 2019), which creates a wrong impression that under those circumstances, sexual abuse is inevitable. Many MUPES' shared perception regarded females as possible victims and as weak, regardless of what and how they are wearing. Therefore, I argue that if physical strength is considered a masculine characteristic that is necessary for defence against different forms of abuse, and women are perceived to lack it, this makes violence perpetrated by men against them (women) gender-based, as it is motivated by preconceived ideas that they are 'physically weak'. Based on this view, alleviating GBV is more a men's responsibility in terms of paradigm shift than it is women's in terms of gaining physical strength for defence, and this puts masculinities at the centre of GBV.

Substance abuse and drinking alcohol are often associated with masculinities (Hatcher et al., 2014), which has implications for women, as research shows that violence perpetrated against them often emanates from alcohol overuse by men (Layland et al., 2019). The data in this present study also speaks to the alcohol-induced violence, as Freedom, during the individual interview, responded to the question as to whether or not female students were intentionally targeted victims:

Yes, because as men when we are drunk it feels as if alcohol has moved down to your genitalia, and you feel like you could get a woman immediately for sexual gratification. And at that stage when your girlfriend is not around as a man you end up wanting to grab any girl around you. As a result, a fight starts as there are, in most cases, more men than women when the drinking takes place, so two or more men would be fighting for one woman.

Not only did Freedom's expression naturalise the effects of alcohol on men, but it also suggests an acceptance of hegemonic norms of men as naturally competitive, and where women are objectified as the prize. This makes alcohol a vital strategy that particular groups of men use to maintain their dominance not only over women, but also over other men. During the individual interview, Bafana explained that:

...let's say we have a function on campus, you would find that most of the students would be under the influence of alcohol, and some of them tend to violate or think that they have authority to take any girl they want. If the woman says I am not comfortable doing this, that's when the problem starts, because if you are under the influence you would not reason so they end up beating them when they do not want to sleep with you. Sometimes they beat them because they saw that that chick is with the other dude, so there are many things that happen when people are under the influence of alcohol, more especially when there are functions on campus.

Bafana's view suggests that there is a connection between alcohol and sexual coercion, all predicated on men's perceived superiority to women, which they assume gives them control and authority over them. As evident in the excerpt, Bafana contends that sometimes females become easy targets when men are under the influence of alcohol, with drinking being regarded as something that triggered the biological aspects of men, leading to a strong desire for sex. This desire was assumed to be so strong that a man would even resort to satisfying it with any woman in the absence of his girlfriend. This lends itself to hegemonic norms of masculinity, in which men's sexual priorities are privileged and necessitate manifestation of heterosexual prowess

(Connell, 1987) to normalise their sexual dominance. In addition, as bravery is characteristic of masculine identity, drinking alcohol by male students has masculine motives to show dominance over others through violence that may not otherwise happen (Nkosi et al., 2016; Rich et al., 2015).

During the mapping workshop presentations, MUPES from different groups emphasised that certain areas on campus were unsafe due to the activities students engaged in. For example, the Optimists group when presenting their map (Appendix 9) said “*they smoke, drink and ill-treat other students*”; and “*they abuse substances, e.g. alcohol, weed/dagga and cigarette*” (Leaders). The MUPES contend that this may result in violence “*because when someone is drunk there [in Dark City area] ... the discussion may escalate into a fight*” and that “*while they [male and female students] do that [abusing substances] a person who is most likely to be abused or threatened is a female because she is feminine*” (Leaders). The MUPES from the Challengers group shared the same view, and said when in areas they marked as unsafe on the map (Appendix 10), students “*use drugs and alcohol... can be uncontrollable and abusive, [and that as a result] females are helpless to males because males use power to dominate females.*”

This resonates with Ngabaza et al. (2015), who asserted that notwithstanding the scarcity of research focusing on safe and unsafe areas on university campuses, safety remains a significant component of every student’s university life. Research has shown that students have different constructions of safe and unsafe areas, which is related to their gender. For example, Ngabaza et al. (2015) sought to explore how students’ perceptions of safe and unsafe spaces are mediated by social identities in one of South Africa’s urban universities, with female students noting specific spaces on campus, such as ‘The Barn’ and ‘Condom Square’ as being responsible for their intensified fear of being victims of GBV. This fear was informed by the sexual nature of violence that occurred in those spaces, which eventually led female students to prefer walking in groups near such spaces (Ngabaza et al., 2015). Based on this, students’ constructions of safe or unsafe areas and what demonstrations of masculinity make an area unsafe remain important.

The data in this theme positions drinking alcohol as a masculinising act that maintains hegemonic norms of masculinity, this being a key factor in facilitating unequal gender relations through violence. Owing to the fact that constructions of masculinities are informed by space, time and

dominant social norms, the data suggest that violence emanating from the activities that take place in particular campus spaces, such as sexual coercion by men in Dark City, are gender-based. The MUPES did not only associate open public spaces with violence, but they also focused on buildings where students spend most of their time on campus, these being the residences.

5.6. Residences are GBV Hot-spots

In this theme, I use the data from three codes, as indicated in Table 5.6

Table 5.6. Codes and Theme 5

Codes	Theme (unit of analysis)
a. Residences and violence b. Non-gendered violence c. Sexual partnerships	Residences are GBV hot-spots

The MUPES marked residences as unsafe, and contended that they too could be associated with GBV, hence they referred to them as hot-spots. Their reference ‘hot-spots’ referred to the campus spaces where GBV was most prevalent. While there was one instance during the mapping workshop where the MUPES talked about residences as unsafe and associable with violence, most of the data that highlighted this association came from individual interviews, and it was not clear why this view did not feature in the FGDs. During the individual interview, Freedom used other incidents to explain how he believed residences could easily be GBV hot-spots:

Another area that we marked as unsafe was the residences. In the residences, it is very easy for a student to get injured without anyone being caught as a perpetrator, that's how unsafe they are. The thing is, the camera is only at the entrance and as you go up into the residence, there is none. Since the introduction of Wi-fi in the residences crime level has increased, as almost all students now own a laptop. So, if it is possible for a person to enter the residence and steal a laptop without being noticed, I believe it would be easy as well for a person to enter the residence and kill or rape a student (Freedom).

Freedom attached importance to the physical characteristics of the residences, such as the absence of cameras and thought this was a contributing factor to their being unsafe. This suggests that fear of getting caught is a deterrent when cameras are installed. He rationalised the stealing of laptops

as an indicator that more serious and harmful acts of violence, such as GBV, were possible in the residences, suggesting an understanding that it feeds into the general student safety concerns. By observing the stealing that had happened in the residences, Freedom was able to construct residences as unsafe and as potential sites of GBV. During the map drawing workshop, a group of MUPES called ‘Challengers’ expressed a similar view, that “*residences are unsafe because they are the hot-spots for gender-based violence*”. For MUPES to label residences as GBV hot-spots during the first data collection session (where the focus was on map sketching and presentation) is critical, as it suggests a particular understanding of campus spaces and violence; and it is for this reason that this theme discusses GBV using participants’ exact descriptive phrase. When asked if there were any incidents of violence he had witnessed or heard of in the residences, during the individual interview, Freedom responded by saying:

Yes, in the residences, when students have been drinking, as an SRC member they would call me and tell me that students are fighting. In some cases, when one arrives at the scene you would find that students would have hurt each other so much so that one would be forced to call an ambulance. When you try to investigate as to what was the cause/motive of a fight you would find that it’s nothing tangible, but mostly motivated by the fact that students were under the influence of alcohol. At times, they would be fighting over a girlfriend.

In this excerpt, not only does Freedom’s observation highlight the hegemonic norm of competitiveness by men, it also underscores the importance of internal dominance among men. This means that violent masculinities not only seek to achieve dominance over female students, but also over other male students in order for a particular group of men to be elevated in the hierarchy of masculinities. In this view, involvement in a fight over women suggests the subscription to the notion of a ‘real man’, which emphasises his heterosexuality. Furthermore, there were some normalised attitudes towards GBV in the residences, as was evident during the individual interview:

Many couples in the residences stay together, so that’s the reason there is GBV, because when you stay with your girlfriend it is very easy to end up beating her up each time you have a quarrel, perhaps as a result of your upbringing (Njabulo).

Njabulo’s expression normalises unequal gender relations, as it suggests that women’s victimisation is expected when a man and a woman stayed together. His articulation feeds into the dominant social norm that perceives men as powerful and women as powerless (Mnawulezi et al.,

2018). A relationship that is characterised by man's superiority and woman's inferiority is the normal order of things, as Oscar in the interview emphasised the perception that "*people who are in relationships would argue, and as you know that a man is powerful, he would beat up his girlfriend*". Oscar even used the expression "*as you know*", hence expecting me to be aware of the underlying perception in campus relationships. In an environment where women were, by implication, perceived as worthy of an inferior position to that of men, it was not surprising what Qiniso said during the individual interview; "*I think the residences are unsafe; for example, here at Tree-villa (pseudonym) there was an occurrence of rape assault*". Considering the normalised perception that men are powerful, as noted by Oscar, perpetration of violence against women in the form of rape contributes to the constructions of dominating masculinities, where the motive is the exercise of power over women (Messerschmidt, 2012).

While some incidents affect female students more directly, such as rape and sexual assault, others create a sense of fear in all students, regardless of gender. For example, Innocent, during the individual interview, felt that:

...in the residences we are not safe. For example, last year there was an incident whereby students found drawings of knives and death notes on their doors saying 'today you're going to die' or something bad is going to happen to you. This really means we are not safe...

Innocent's expression highlights what he considered to be his general feeling about residences. In the incident that Innocent talked about it was not clear who the potential perpetrators could have been, but he was very emphatic in his explanation about how unsafe residences were for students, including himself. While some incidents that the MUPES talked about clearly normalised unequal gender relations, the above incident highlights a non-gendered kind of violence, as there appeared to be no clear domination or subordination among the genders. Owing to the belief that residences were not safe, some MUPES constructed their own homes as safer, which suggests that the holistic quality of residences is of paramount importance in enabling students' learning and safety (Botha et al., 2013), as Abongwe said:

"I would like to also add that people who are not affected [by violence] are those that do not stay in the university residences, but stay at their homes, because they just come for lectures and go back home without getting a chance to explore the university".

In this theme, the data shows that residences are associated with dominant social norms that maintain imbalanced power relationships from which violence against women emanates. The data also suggests that residences are unsafe due to both gendered and non-gendered kinds of violence, which makes all students regardless of gender potential victims in some way while in the residences.

5.7. Conclusion

The data was analysed within five themes relating to the meanings that MUPES attached to GBV, namely; GBV as the tip of the iceberg, as not just a women's issue, its perpetration and cultivation, its connection to campus physical spaces and being fuelled by alcohol, and residences as its hot-spots. First, the results show that GBV emanates from socio-cultural processes, hence positioning it as a problematic outcome of patriarchy facilitated through culture. Second, the data shows how GBV is not just a women's issue, as it is also used to police gender in the form of homophobia amongst men. Furthermore, the data emphasises that it is not up to women to prevent GBV, as men are capable of constructing themselves differently. Third, the results show that MUPES understand GBV not only to be a masculinities issue, but also to be associated with femininities, as they strongly believed that women also need to construct themselves differently by rejecting and not internalising oppressive social norms that contribute to unequal gender relations. Fourth, the data positioned drinking alcohol as a masculinising act that maintains hegemonic masculine norms, hence facilitating unequal gender relations manifesting through violence perpetrated against women at specific campus spaces. Finally, the results show that residences are associated with harmful social norms that contribute to imbalanced power relationships, and this being a key in subjecting female students to different forms of GBV. The data further shows that residences are constructed as unsafe to all students irrespective of gender due to the prevalence of non-gendered kinds of violence, where MUPES felt all students are potential victims.

CHAPTER 6. CAMPUS MASCULINITIES AND GBV: CONSTRUCTIONS AND CONTESTATIONS

6.1. Introduction

This chapter presents and analyses the data on the MUPES' understandings of masculinities in relation to the GBV. These are discussed under the following themes; navigating gendered campus spaces; materiality and masculine power; troubling women empowerment; heteronormative campus culture; and alcohol and masculinities. The 21 codes distilled for critical question 2 were divided into five themes, as indicated in Table 6.1, and answer this question: How are male university peer-educator students' understandings of masculinities connected to gender-based violence on campus?

Table 6.1 Codes and Themes for Critical Question 2

Codes	Themes (units of analysis)
a. Masculine spaces and activities b. Feminine spaces c. Gender policing d. Masculinity and academic excellence	1. Navigating gendered campus spaces
a. Money and masculinity b. Expensive cloths as a masculine resource c. Masculinity and bursaries d. Multiple partnerships	2. Materiality and masculine power
a. Monitoring women's empowerment b. Empowerment vs perceived feminine values c. Women and education d. Traditional gender roles	3. Troubling women empowerment
a. Promoting heterosexuality b. The notion of a 'real' man c. Homophobic attitude d. Rurality and cultural rigidity e. Masculinity vs being studious	4. Heteronormative campus culture
a. Alcohol as a symbol of masculinity b. Naturalising men's response to alcohol c. Rejecting drinking as manly d. Alcohol and bravery	5. Alcohol and masculinities

6.2. Navigating Gendered Campus Spaces

This theme was formed from four sets of coded data, which are used throughout this section to present the analysis (Table 6.2).

Table 6.2. Codes and Theme 1

Codes	Theme (unit of analysis)
a. Masculine spaces and activities b. Feminine spaces c. Gender policing d. Masculinity and academic excellence	Navigating gendered campus spaces

It was evident from most of the MUPES' responses that certain campus spaces were gendered, some feminine and others masculine, and was not limited to the buildings and physical spaces, being related to the associated activities. This was evident in the fieldwork when asked to draw a picture that represented campus life in order to see how they viewed their environment, the MUPES from FGD1 drew a picture (Appendix 11) of a library with some students standing outside. During the discussion, Richard explained why they thought the picture represented life on campus “...because here we normally see girls in the library and boys just stay outside. As you can see that in the drawing [we portray] other boys [as]... complaining when they see this other guy entering the library”. Richard's expression suggests that some students only expected female students to use the campus library, hence gendering the space.

Important to Richard's explanation was his emphasis on the position of male and female students in relation to the library, that being females inside and males outside. By standing outside the library, it seems, male students were playing a particular role, which was monitoring the space in terms of whether other students complied with their (men who stood outside) expectations regarding the use of the library. As men, they felt compromised by those other men who used the library, as evident in Richard's quotation where the male students standing outside the library (in the drawing) were described as “complaining”, which suggests that they associated the library with femaleness. While some male students constructed using the library as not characteristic of their understanding of a man, the continuation to use it by some other male students suggests a contestation of the gendered campus space, as some male students regarded it a neutral space to

be used by any student regardless of gender. Therefore, their use of the library challenged its very gendered nature. As part of the discussion during FGD1 Celimpilo added that:

Another thing, we are trying through this picture to represent a [campus] norm. If I may take you to our campus during the day and ask you to observe what is happening near the library, you would notice that guys would be standing outside teasing all the girls that are going to the library. Now, it's creating the mentality that once you go to the library you are behaving like a woman. It's like a library is designated for women.

The complex gendered nature of the library space was not just evident in male students policing one another at the library entrance. Celimpilo's view suggests that it was also a site for sexual harassment of female students by male students, which is a form of GBV. The gender policing that took place at the library entrance (as evident in both Richard's and Celimpilo's quotations) suggests that, for a male student, walking into the library was tantamount to walking from masculinity to femininity. By implication, this engendered a perception that was used to define a real man on campus as, among other things, someone who did not use the library. This links to my discussion in section 6.5, where I discuss some views on how academic excellence was considered not masculine. The attitude demonstrated by some male students that sought to dominate and determine the terms about the library, as noted by Richard and Celimpilo, lends itself to dominating masculinities. These are characterised by control of specific interactions and the exercise of power over other people and events (Messerschmidt, 2012). While the demonstration of such masculinity did not contribute to hegemonic masculine norms, in that it did not result in unequal gender relations through perceived legitimacy from the females, it remained a harmful form of masculinity, as it limited other students' campus space by feminising it. However, the nonconformity of some male students to the notion that feminised the library, which they demonstrated by continuing to use it, challenged the dominating masculinity.

It is important to historicise the perceptions contained in Richard's and Celimpilo's expressions to show that feminising the library was a notion associated with constructions of masculinities. Historically, libraries have been described by some researchers as neutral places without barriers, where people are accepted regardless of their race, ethnicity, gender and class (Kuh and Gonyea. 2003). Therefore, the understanding by some students, as noted by Celimpilo, that when a male

student used the library he was behaving like a woman, which I call ‘the feminisation of the library’, is not natural, but an institutionalised social construction. Furthermore, Leckie and Hopkins (2002), borrowing from Oldenburg (1991), use the concept of the ‘third places’ to refer to libraries. Oldenburg (1991) describes the ‘third place’ as a common term for a range of public places that host the regular, voluntary and informal gatherings of individuals outside home and work, and are regarded as neutral ground where people can come and go as they please.

Building on this idea, Leckie and Hopkins (2002) state that on a university campus, the first such place could be the residences or off-campus apartments, the second could be the tutorial blocks and the third the library. However, recent research suggests a shift in conceptualising space that challenges their neutrality. For example, Wrede (2015), in the discussion of the criticisms against the idea of space as neutral, notes that “...space is never neutral but always discursively constructed..., shaped by power structures... [it is] articulated through cultural discourse, including gender discourse” (p. 11). The author asserts that understanding space, in this case the campus library, needs to consider the way in which social norms and notions play themselves out (Wrede, 2015). While university libraries have for a long time been deemed neutral and non-discriminatory places conducive for learning, Richard and Celimpilo’s views suggest that they (libraries) are dynamic, that there has been a shift and they are now gendered spaces.

The MUPES presented their views as part of what they had observed to be a norm on campus (involving other male students), suggesting that they stood apart from such positioning that feminised the library space. However, when asked later on (during the same FGD1) if they themselves used the library, Celimpilo said *“for me as a peer educator, uh (silence); personally, if I want to study seriously maybe if I have an exam, I do not go there at all. I don’t believe in going to the library”*. From the way Celimpilo responded, it seems that the question brought about some ambivalence that created some awkwardness in terms of his own positionality on the matter as he tentatively started answering in his capacity as a peer educator, but suddenly invoked another identity, the self. This instance suggests that Celimpilo treated his peer educator identity as different from his identity as a male university student in terms of expected behaviour. This is telling about the conditions, being peer educators, which can encourage men to construct themselves differently. For Celimpilo to have been careful (*“for me as a peer educator, uh*

(silence); personally, ... ”) not to associate his personal choice (not to use the library) with his peer-educator identity might have been influenced by the presence of fellow MUPES whom he did not want to misrepresent, or be judged by. However, this was not probed in the individual interview with him, so it is not clear whether he would have responded less skeptically in that context, as men (and boys) perform gender differently, contingent upon social context; and for that reason, their responses are “neither more nor less authentic” in group than in individual interview (Frosh, Phoenix and Pattman, 2002, p. 120).

Celimpilo’s response suggests that different male students promoted the notion (feminisation of the library) through explicit and implicit ways. The example of the former were those male students who stood outside the library and openly discouraged other men from using it, and the latter being Celimpilo’s choice not to go to the library at all. This is consistent with Hearn’s (2004) assertion that despite their collective dominance, men are individual agents of social practices, suggesting that Celimpilo’s personal choice complied with the notion (even if unintendedly) rather than challenging it. Celimpilo found it problematic for other men to associate the library with femaleness, yet he himself did not use it, and when asked why he cited many “*disturbances*” and said “*If I am in my room, it’s much better. So, I’m not avoiding any remarks [from other men who stand outside the library], actually I don’t care about such*”.

Regardless of Celimpilo’s reasons for not using the library, and the fact that he did not label the library as a female students’ place, his (implicit) actions and attitude converged with other explicit promoters of the perception (the library as a feminine space). This suggests (unintended) complicity to harmful constructions of a man on campus as someone who does not associate with the library, hence suggesting that dealing with harmful masculinities that can contribute to GBV in a given setting necessitates clear activism by men to avoid inadvertent complicity, which maintains the status quo; hence lending itself to complicit masculinities (Connell, 1995). Such forms are constructed in subtle ways, and although they do not embody hegemonic masculinities, they do realise some benefits out of unequal gender relations (Connell, 1995), that being the general dominance of men on campus through behaviour that sets the trend. The perception that the library was for female students was also sexist, in that it portrayed women as intellectually

inferior to men, which is a patriarchal notion (Coetzee, 2001), hence the perceived need to often use the library to improve their academic performance.

In line with the understanding that there were feminine and masculine spaces and activities on campus, when I asked the MUPES during FGD2 how they understood a victim of GBV, they drew a picture (Appendix 12) and explained it as follows:

Here we drew a picture of a woman who is part of a women's soccer team that has been denied to use the university soccer field for their tournament just because males want to use it to practise. So, now she is [portrayed as] crying. In fact, a tournament is more important than a training session because a tournament happens once in a while. We believe this to be a form of GBV because she has been abused emotionally, as she reacts with emotions (Mongezi-FGD2).

The MUPES' conceptualisation of a victim of GBV this way suggests that they did not see male students' dominance on campus as limited to the control of certain buildings and practices by assigning a particular gender to them, as discussed earlier. However, MUPES thought that male students' dominance extended to operate even in open spaces, such as the sports fields. The excerpt also suggests that the gender order on campus is in favour of men, and renders women's motives for wanting to use campus spaces invalid. This understanding suggests a collective domination and exertion of power by male over female students with respect to campus spaces, rather than being controlled by a small group of men who sought to dominate both other male and female students. Thus, it is more associated with the 'hegemony of men' (Hearn, 2012) over women that intends to maintain patriarchal gender relations on campus, where a sport field was regarded as a gendered masculine space that was the domain of male students. When I further asked the MUPES during FGD2 as to why they drew a woman to represent a victim of men's tendency to dominate campus space they noted:

...our first reason is that, as we used soccer and we cannot shy away from the fact that it used to be a men's sport, but now it's no longer like that. We are living in the 21st century and things have changed. Women in some sports are still subjected to oppression, as you can see how we illustrated this in the picture...So, here it is clear that males do use their power and superiority to oppress women. These males are... doing GBV because these were women. Had it been other males' team they wouldn't have done this, maybe they would have negotiated or let them play because it's a tournament (Gugu-FGD2).

Gugu's response added another dimension to the matter of male students' domination of campus space. According to Gugu, the issue in their conceptualisation of a victim was the kind of sport (soccer) the women intended to play, which is conventionally associated with men. This suggests that by disallowing the female students space to play their soccer tournament, men were protecting soccer as a perceived symbol of masculinity. In this view, women's interest in soccer threatened men's vulnerable masculinities, and was likely to deconstruct the essentialist notion they held that portrayed soccer as an only men's sport. By saying "*had it been other males' team, they wouldn't have done this*", Gugu suggests that male students' attitude was predicated on gender power, hence contributing to women's subordination. These findings are consistent with Scandurra et al. (2019), who focused on three Italian soccer teams that were characterised by differences in gender and sexual orientation, and found that the game was still a representation of heterosexual men's dominance, not only over women but also over nonconforming men.

While disallowing female students the opportunity to play soccer on the sport field was indicative of subcultural challenges faced by female students on campus, research shows that women, through agency, can deal with men's negative attitudes of protecting certain sports that are perceived as masculine. For example, Comley (2016) conducted a study that examined how recreational women surfers in southern California experienced and contested being marginalised in surfing as a male-dominated sport. The study found that to deal with this marginalisation, the women developed coping strategies, which included being assertive by "calling for waves instead of passively waiting for male surfers to 'burn [them]' (when a surfer who does not have the right of way steals a wave from another surfer)" (Comley, 2016, p. 2). During the discussion, Gugu added that "*so, this picture portrays that men still find it hard to understand that women are free to play whatever sport they like and that their choice should be respected*". Gugu's acknowledgement suggests that men's attitude is related to gender norms that expect men and women to participate in particular sports that are consistent with the predetermined social categorisation of their activities and roles. By explaining the picture this way, Gugu constructed himself as a man who was aware of some of the hindrances to gender equality, suggesting that the negative attitude of some men towards change is one. His acknowledgement of women's rights, "*women are free to play whatever sport they like*" challenges the campus gender norm as it suggests de-gendering sports.

The data in the previous chapter showed how the campus space, such as ‘Dark City’ (area near the student sports union building with an amphitheater) engendered a sense of fear among students due to its physical characteristics. The data in this chapter show that it was also a gendered masculine space. During the individual interview, Lucky described Dark City as “*...an area up there near the cafeteria...[that] is not well lit, so when it's dark, [it is] ... risky especially for women*”. In their presentation during the mapping workshop, MUPES from a group called Optimist felt that places such as Dark City were not safe “*because mostly males are found in these places, as a result they are likely to cause violence to one another*”. This comment suggests that while space is gendered in terms of it being associated with females or males, it can also be an area of contestation among men as they construct themselves. In terms of which men dominate the space and participate in the activities that take place there, Celimpilo noted during the individual interview, “*I can say in terms of gender, male students are the ones who participate mostly. But in terms of sexual orientation, I can say it's straight male students and the rest of the deviant males ...*”.

Celimpilo’s comment suggests that Dark City was primarily a heteronormative space, but that homosexual men could also occupy the area, which might lead to the space being contested. Furthermore, in emphasising the importance of space to male students on campus, the MUPES explained that “*...dominantly it's males who use these places*” (Challengers-Mapping workshop) and “*...in most cases, males like to find a corner or a spot where they would sit*” (Leaders-Mapping workshop). These comments suggest that occupying certain spaces on campus was an expression of one’s gender, which is consistent with Nakhal’s (2015) assertion that “[b]oth gender and space are similar in reflecting social norms into the lived experience of the everyday” (p. 17). In this view, Dark City was a gendered masculine space that signified maleness and heterosexuality.

Not only were public campus spaces gendered masculine in terms of who occupied them, but also due to the masculine activities that took place there. For example, to the question about unsafe campus areas, Phakama said during the interview

“*even now as I was coming here I saw drunk male students fighting and one was bleeding; so such incidents do make the area unsafe for other students... in the car parks when they are drunk they tend to be violent against each other*”.

This suggests that male students could even dominate (through violent masculine practices that engendered fear to other students) public campus spaces. While Phakama's expression suggested that certain campus car parks were conducive environments for the display of masculine characteristics, Celimpilo suggests that the presence of other students in the area was vital for male students to showcase their maleness, as he said "*another area that we marked as unsafe was Khwezi park. It is a small space that is sometimes occupied by more than 500 students waiting for their buses [to take them to their off-campus residences] ... at times it [the fighting of male students] happens in the absence of security guards*". The display of normative masculine practices in front of other students in a public space suggests the perceived need by some male students to be seen to be masculine, but more importantly, it marks the car park (due to a number of spectators) as an opportune space to prove/defend one's masculinity. This resonates with Wrede's (2015) interpretation of Judith Butler's conceptualisation of the link between gender and space, which contends that repeatedly performing gender in public strengthens gender identity, and highlights the importance of the physical environment in the construction of masculinities.

The analysis of the data in this theme suggests that there are gendered masculine and feminine spaces on campus that create grounds for GBV. The data indicates that male students dominate not only the particular campus space, but also certain activities by assigning gender to them. As the data shows, this influences the meaning attached to the idea of being a man on campus, as someone who distances themselves from, uses certain spaces or engages in activities, due to them being associated with a particular gender.

6.3. Materiality and Masculine Power

This theme was developed from four codes (Table 6.3.), the data for which will be used to present the analysis.

Table 6.3. Codes and Theme 2

Codes	Theme (unit of analysis)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Money and masculinity b. Expensive cloths as a masculine resource c. Masculinity and bursaries d. Multiple partnerships 	Materiality and masculine power

The data shows that the material things that male students had, such as money and expensive clothes, were a measure of their masculinity. For example, not having money was regarded as a sign of powerlessness, which could not enable a man to engage in relationships with women, as evident in the following excerpt:

In the issue of money, I have a story... I don't know whether I was not regarded as a man because I didn't have money... Multiple times I asked this lady out, and you know, what she told me was that I should have money to take her out and also to do her hair. So, what I am trying to emphasise here is that even the subdominant group [women] do characterise a real man by how much he can spend. This is enough evidence that in our society there are people who really believe that a man should have money, be muscular and have multiple partners (Qiniso-FGD2).

While proving that one had money was an important way in which male students constructed themselves on campus, being physically muscular and having many girlfriends confirmed one's heterosexuality. The perceived need for a man to have money to spend on women suggests that money was an important masculine resource on campus, which male students used in conformity with the notion that they were providers. Qiniso was also emphatic that female students attached money to their understanding of a man on campus, suggesting complicity in this construction of a man, with money being used to lure them. Men's use of money to construct themselves in a way that was recognised by women lends itself to hegemonic masculinities, in that by recognising that money is an important component of a man, women give legitimacy to constructions that result in their own subordination, hence creating grounds for possible GBV. Botha and Ratele (as cited in Ratele, 2015) concur that money plays an important role in the constructions of masculinities and assert that it is key to the definition of what makes men feel powerful or subordinate. The authors made this argument in the context of a labour strike by the Black men at the mines in South Africa in 2012 and contend that those men were fighting for their masculine credentials in order to be perceived as worthy as any other men (Botha and Ratele in Ratele, 2015). This emphasises the view that money is important for a man to maintain his dominance and also to be recognised as such by others, as Mongezi during the same focus group discussion (FGD2) stressed, that "*based on my observation of what is happening on our campus, I think a man is judged according to whether he has money or not, and many girlfriends*".

The MUPES often talked about money and multiple partners in their description of what a man was on campus, suggesting that there was a perceived need to use money in a way that proved one's heterosexuality by involvement in multiple heterosexual relationships. According to Lucky, during the individual interview, portraying one's heterosexuality was associated with cultural expectations, as he explained that for Black African men

"we normally judge and are judged by the number of girls we have had sex with. Being a stud is how we judge a real man; however, it is wrong because to have moved from one relationship to another shows that there is very low level of maturity".

In support of the wrongness of the perception, as expressed by Lucky, Ratele (2014) asserts that the need for heterosexuality to be constantly defended (through different behaviours such as having many girlfriends) is indicative of its unnaturalness, suggesting that is it not the natural order of things, but a mere social construct. While portraying heterosexuality by men is vital for them to maintain their masculinities, as noted by Lucky, it is detrimental to women, as it renders them as instruments in men's masculine endeavors. I look more closely at the issue of heteronormativity on campus in Section 6.5 of this chapter.

The notion that to be recognised as a man on campus students needed to have money resulted in the masculinisation of the university student financial assistance programs, such as bursaries, as Simo explained during the individual interview:

Females believe that a man is someone who has money to share with them. For example, we have different bursaries here, and you would hear them saying "what can I do with a person who has NSFAS [National Student Financial Aid Scheme - provided to undergraduate students who cannot afford to pay for their tertiary education due to their financial background] ...I want a person who has DOE [the Department of Education bursary], the Funza Lushaka [bursary] etc."

Simo suggested that the allocation of funds to be accessible to bursary students was different from that of the NSFAS students. For this reason, what was being valorised was not a male student's intellectual capabilities for having met the strict bursary qualifying requirements, but the money that was allocated to students was what resulted in them being constructed as real man on campus, as they had access to a campus masculine resource (money). This contributes to hegemonic masculinity, in that those campus men with masculinised bursaries were perceived more powerful

than those who received NSFAS funding, which Simo suggested allocated less money than other scholarships. Apart from campus men being recognised by others as real men due to the type of funding they had, bursaries also helped campus men play a socially recognised role of men as providers to their families, as Bafana explained during the individual interview:

You know, I just got a bursary and I got some money, and I just thought about where I come from, so I remembered that the situation at home is not very well. I had to take half of that money and give it back to where I come from because those people need money to live and to survive.

As Bafana felt that taking half of his bursary allocation and giving it to his family was his demonstration of being a man, it suggests that the bursary enabled him to be a man. It allowed him to conform to the notion of a provider, hence reinforcing the importance of a bursary as a source of money to help male students perform their masculine roles beyond the campus setting. Furthermore, it was evident during the individual interview with Oscar that money was a key masculine resource as he explained, “*I think I have not yet found something that would better define me as a man. I already feel like I have my degree but that alone is not enough. I want to have money; I want to be successful*”. Oscar’s expression suggests that money would remain an important factor in how he constructs himself even post-university. Generally, material things influenced the ways in which campus men constructed themselves. For example, despite being a peer educator, Innocent, during the interview, expressed feeling being less powerful when dealing with certain kinds of male students, as he said “*other people do have that attitude that you cannot tell me anything, and to start with, I come from a very rich family, I drive a car while being a student, so there is absolutely nothing you can tell me*”. This comment reveals contesting masculinities on campus, depending on the power assigned to the masculine resource. For example, some constructed their masculinities out of the money from the bursaries, which they also used to support their families. However, others invoked their family status and the possession of a car to construct themselves as more powerful.

Money was not the only masculine resource that was key in constructing campus masculinities to show power over other men and women, with clothing also being important. The data shows that men wore particular clothing as a way of seeking attention from female students, whom they enticed to become their sexual partners, hence maintaining their dominance as men. In addition,

male students sought attention through clothing from other male students in order to gain masculine prestige. This was evident when the MUPES answered a question about being a man on campus, as indicated by Oscar during the individual interview:

...Men who wear expensive clothes are the same people who have many girlfriends and they take pride in this, as they normally boast about how many girls they have had sex with.

Oscar's observation suggests that expensive clothes are a vital masculine resource, as they enable male students to attract more female students and engage in multiple partnerships, which is a masculinity measure. In this view, wearing particular clothes on campus enables them to assume a dominant (campus-wide) masculine gender identity. It is apparent from Oscar's view that the masculine identity predicated on clothing contributes to women's subordination, as he noted that men would boast about the number of women they would have lured, which objectifies women as some kind of a prize. This resonates with Barry's (2018) assertion that some men use dress to maintain social domination and an unequal gender system. Dress therefore enabled a male body to be socially recognisable, and for that reason, men on campus valorised clothing as a vital masculine resource, despite it resulting in female student's subordination. Emphasising the idea that female students became subordinated as men constructed themselves in particular ways, Celimpilo during FGD1 said:

...here ... [on campus], we are living in the environment where most males actually do not care what is happening to women. For example, if a male and female students are in a relationship and the male is hurting his partner and the female partner reacts by crying to that emotional abuse, the male partner does not care at all. Most men believe that if a woman keeps crying or making more demands than you can afford, they believe there is no need to keep begging because there are so many fish out there - there are so many girls out there. As long as I have my carvela (expensive shoes), I can jump from one woman to another.

Not being bothered by female students' expression of emotions emanating from their abuse by men suggests that the kind of relationships that students have on campus tend to serve male students' masculine self-image. This pretentious attitude by men, which is supported by their possession of a campus-wide masculine resource in the form of 'carvela', feeds into hegemonic masculine norms. Barry (2018) asserts that men "dress to reinforce hegemonic masculinity, gain social advantages, and subsequently preserve the gender order" (p. 638). This self-serving attitude

by campus men was made clear by referring to women as fish, suggesting that some men saw themselves as anglers and their expensive clothes as baits to lure women. Adding to the prevailing women's subordination on campus, Delani (during the same FGD1) explained, "*...using female students is a norm on this campus, you use a lady, you drop her*", referring to this men's behaviour as "*ukushaya izingane*", meaning 'having sex with many girls'. Delani also said "*in order to be regarded as a man, [you are expected to] go out to those ladies and [to] wear expensive clothes*". Delani's view suggests a strong connection between clothing and multiple sexual partnerships in constructing campus masculinities. A similar view was expressed by Phakama during the individual interview, who said "*... again you need to be fashionable and dress in a trending way...have a particular haircut...have many girlfriends... the violence emanates there because they [men] challenge each other... become enemies and end up fighting*".

According to Phakama, as being fashionable was an important symbol of masculinity, male students adopted a competitive attitude and contested one another over it, leading to physical violence. This suggests that it was important for a male student to meet the campus definition of a man in order to be appropriately positioned on the hierarchy of campus masculinities. This lends itself to hegemonic masculinities when considering Demetriou's (2001) assertion that such a form of masculinity generates dominance not only over women but also over subordinate masculinities. The author refers to these two connected aspects of hegemonic masculinity as internal and external hegemony, where the former is essential to paving the way for the latter (Demetriou, 2001). This suggests that after some male students have secured domination and isolated themselves from the rest of other male students through socially recognised practices, such as wearing expensive clothing, they then go on to maintain their dominance over women. Barry (2018) states that "fashion functions as a principal means by which men's visible gender identities are established as not only different from women but also from other men" (p. 638). For example, in the present study, male students claimed dominance over female students by having many girlfriends.

In Naidu and Mazibuko's (2015) view, this is a creation of identity, where that which is worn expresses identity based on materiality. However, suggesting that men are able to construct themselves differently, even in environments where expensive clothing appears to be a gendered masculine resource, Phakama distanced himself from a definition of a man that valorised clothing,

but spoke as an observer using the pronoun “*they*”. Similarly, during the individual interview, Sphiwe shared an incident that suggested that some students did not subscribe to the notion that masculinised clothing.

...there was even a post on our social media page of a shoe (Carvela) and a caption that read thus ‘the only expensive shoe that makes you look cheap’. The person who posted that got lots of attacks from others because there is a perception that if you are a man and you have money, buy a Carvela and it would prove your manhood.

Despite the perceived need for male students to live up to their masculine goals by being able to buy a pair of carvela shoes as a masculine resource that marked them as different on campus, other students rejected the conceptualisation and attached a different meaning to the shoes, as evident in this part of the excerpt “*the only expensive shoe that makes you look cheap*”. While both groups of students recognised that carvela were a kind of shoes that marked men’s bodies, their views revealed their subjectivities about the implication of this marking. The attacks from other students suggest that dominance predicated on materiality prevailed and was vital for campus masculinities. For that reason, those who were opposed to the social media post felt that a masculine strategy, which marked them as real campus men, was being threatened. This suggests that clothes have specific functions to men, meaning that they can unmark, mark or re-mark men’s bodies (Barry, 2018). In explaining these key functions, Barry (2018) states that by expressing dominant masculine performances (which are understated), such as wearing dark suits, the clothes unmark men’s bodies, whereas, by manifesting marginalised and expressive gender performances, through bright and expensive items, the clothes mark men’s bodies (Barry, 2018). Owing to men’s decisions to masculinise certain items they wear, clothes re-mark men’s bodies by continuously expressing “new masculine subjectivities” (Barry, 2018, p. 640). In this view, the wearing of the controversial carvela shoes was an attempt to articulate a newer form of masculinity on campus with a sense of materiality.

Associating clothing with the idea of being a man creates the impression that being fashionable is limited to dominant masculinities. However, Demetriou (2001) asserts that for straight men to be preoccupied with fashion is simply the appropriation and translation of homosexual men’s elements, which suggests an effort to create hybrid masculinity for dominance purposes. Bridges (2014) concurs that the dependence of other men on nonconforming men’s aesthetics develops

normalised enactments of ‘straight’ masculinities, but does not challenge the system of inequality on which they are premised. In another work, Bridges and Pascoe, (2014) describe this hegemonic strategy as the fortification of boundaries, where men with power masculinise certain components of marginalised identities that they co-opt. In other words, male students’ construction of campus masculinities using fashion did not appreciate the way marginalised men constructed themselves, but appropriated only those elements that could strengthen their own masculinities. For this reason, the way they constructed themselves did not contribute to inclusion (Anderson and McCormack, 2016) but to hybrid masculinities.

Appropriation of some components of other constructions was also evident among marginalised masculinities who co-opted more feminine elements in order to be more visible and trendy. For example, Njabulo noted during an individual interview that “*gay students expose themselves... they dress up like females and wear make-up like females, they wear weaves*”. This suggests that explicit nonconformity to normative constructions of gender was a strategy by some campus men to reconfigure gender patterns and hierarchies on campus. Barry and Wainer’s (2017) study, which focused on how the suit was understood and embodied by men, revealed that they wore the suit to embody hegemonic masculinity (e.g. power and status), and is a good example of how men can reposition themselves through the things that they wear. The men in Barry and Weiner’s (2017) study were careful in their dress decisions, and did not want to wear “wrong clothing” (p. 22), as they believed it would make them look vulnerable and feminine. For this reason, wearing a suit (as a hegemonic masculine symbol) protected them from being labelled as a “fraud in their masculinity” (Barry and Weiner, 2017, p. 22).

In contrast to the above findings, the nonconforming men that Njabulo talked about during the individual interview challenged the hegemonic masculine norms by not hiding their interest in dressing in ways associated with femininity. This suggests that the men did not associate the way they constructed themselves to weakness, although Njabulo ironically thought they exposed themselves. This is consistent with the findings of Naidu and Mazibuko’s (2015) study conducted in a township in South Africa, which found that while colourful clothes are associated with femininity, the male participants, who referred to themselves as ‘Izikhethane’, regarded their

clothes as being key to their constructions of masculinity, as they distinguished them from other men.

This theme has highlighted how materiality in the form of money, expensive clothing and sometimes driving a car contribute to construction of GBV facilitating hegemonic masculinities on campus. The theme also showed how the idea of being fashionable is an important masculine resource for both conforming and nonconforming men, suggesting contestations in campus masculinities, suggesting a fight for internal dominance and a powerful position on the hierarchy of masculinities. While this theme mainly concerned itself with the way in which men ensured internal dominance, the next theme focuses on MUPES' articulations that contributed to men's external dominance, that being the subordination of women.

6.4. Troubling Women Empowerment

This theme was formed from four sets of coded data, which I use throughout this section to present the analysis (Table 6.4.)

Table 6.4. Codes and Theme 3

Codes	Theme (unit of analysis)
a. Monitoring women's empowerment b. Empowerment vs perceived feminine values c. Women and education d. Traditional gender roles	Troubling women empowerment

Achieving balanced power relationships necessitates empowering women in order to address their subordination in the form of GBV. However, the data in this theme suggests that women empowerment can be construed as troubling to the vulnerable masculinities. During FGD1, the MUPES demonstrated an awareness of women empowerment as affording them equal opportunities as men, that being the route to gender equality. However, they were very mindful that achieving gender equality through women empowerment could face societal resistance due to dominant gender norms. For example, Delani (during FGD1) believed that:

...in a scenario where a man helps his wife while she is at work, there would be no problem because they support each other. However, the family of the husband may still come back and say to the wife that she must get a maid because she has money.

They may complain that lobolo was paid so the man can't do the house chores, especially, in the rural areas that could be a problem. In fact, GBV is more of a problem in rural areas. Even as we grow up we tend to be influenced not to marry an educated woman because she would bring all the modern ways into your marriage, [suggesting that the] best way is to marry an uneducated woman who would always respect you as a man.

Delani's expression suggests that women empowerment in the form of education is a threat to men's supremacy, hence marriage was used as a gate-keeping strategy to maintain gender norms, by encouraging young men to marry women who would be prepared to conform. The expectation for a woman to hire another woman to do home chores on her behalf suggests that the determination of roles based on gender and the association of home chores, with femaleness is a dominant gender norm that can militate against women empowerment in subtle ways. This is indicative of a problematic gender order, which accepts women empowerment on condition that it will not interfere with men's patriarchal privileges. The way in which Delani thought the husband's family would invoke the lobolo (bride's price) suggests that it is a cultural mechanism by which men officialise their dominance to allow them to objectify women. For this reason, education received by women is construed as an undesired emancipatory strategy that can help them subvert men's dominance. Delani associated this mentality with rural areas, suggesting a relationship between rurality and rigid conformity to oppressive gender norms that contribute to GBV. During the same focus group discussion (FGD1), Celimpilo admitted that at one stage he got influenced by the perception that educated women were not good to marry, as he said:

...even myself, when I grew up I used to say I don't want to marry an educated woman, but a woman who would remain at home while I go to work. ... Now I wish I could marry a teacher, because I have realised many things.

Delani then replied:

...my colleague here said when he grew up he wanted to have an uneducated woman, but when he got to university he changed his mind. So, education does change the way a person thinks, but I can't stop wondering how one could positively influence those men back in rural areas.

Celimpilo acknowledged that, in conformity with his traditional belief, he once wished to marry an uneducated woman who would be a housewife, hence maintain the notion that men are providers and women are servers. It was also interesting to note the MUPES analysing each

another's views, as it highlighted commonalities in their views. For example, Delani was able to infer that Celimpilo had changed his attitude about the kind of woman he would want to marry after exposure to university life, which Celimpilo did not deny. To Delani, Celimpilo's case was a great example of the power of education in facilitating paradigm shifts. This supported Delani's earlier view about how they were influenced to think that education would be a bad influence on their potential wives. Ironically, this suggests that education is a powerful form of empowerment if it creates discomfort in communities where oppressive gender norms are held.

After one of the MUPES shared a story during the FGD1 about a woman who expected her husband to support her with house chores, claiming that she too was supporting him by paying his medical aid fees, Celimpilo reacted by asking a question to other MUPES "*Do you think the cause is women empowerment or simply lack of respect on her side?*" Delani thought it was due to both lack of respect and women empowerment, as he said:

It could be lack of respect on her side, but again if one does not respect you it's important to ask her what you have done for her to see fit not to respect you. Also, it could be women empowerment; generally, when a person comes to you for the first time wanting something she tends to be so humble, but once empowered she forgets how she got that power. Even if you go to her asking for something, she would give you attitude, but smile at people of her standard.

Celimpilo's decision to react by posing a question that signaled only two possible answers subtly put the blame on a woman, and assumed that other MUPES would share the same view. His view suggests that women's efforts to have relationships premised on equality risk their views being reduced to disrespect or bad influence of empowerment, which is problematic in the context of GBV. Delani's expression also added to this problematic view, as it revealed pessimism around women empowerment, suggesting the vulnerability of masculinities, especially as evident in his expression of self-doubt that a woman "*would give you attitude but smile at people of her standard*". As Messerschmidt (as cited in Bach, 2019) asserts, certain acts of oppression and violence emanate from masculinity challenges, that being contextual interaction that results in masculine degradation.

Furthermore, the MUPES were aware that women empowerment has implications for dominant gender norms, such as the notion of men being the head of their families. For example, Celimpilo noted the following during FGD1:

Realistically speaking, if we say a man is the head nowadays, we cannot support it because women also work as men and bring income. If women could be empowered and employed, I believe that could help address such norms quickly. I think women empowerment is very important; be it knowledge or anything that could empower them. Really, this thing of saying the man is the head is dangerous because if the man dies, it would mean that the home is finished. So, personally, I don't support the view that a man is the head, because it causes violence in many families.

Celimpilo suggests that the notion of ‘man’s headship’ in a family cannot coexist with women empowerment, the two being incompatible and at cross purposes. For him, the relevance of the notion of men’s headship ceased when women started to be empowered. Such a notion feeds into the dominant masculine gender norms that describe a man as the provider in his family, which Celimpilo challenged, as he felt that greater women empowerment was the way to neutralise such norms. The notion that a man is the head and the provider in his family suggests an interdependence among the hegemonic norms, which works as a system to maintain unequal gender relations through women subordination. The assertion in the excerpt that “*if we say a man is the head nowadays, we cannot support it because women also work as men and bring income*” suggests that men’s headship is now used as a source of men’s power and dominance that is predicated on patriarchal gender norms, where men are perceived superior to women, regardless of what women are capable of doing. For this reason, women empowerment seems to be a direct threat to men’s perceived supremacy, which engenders a feeling of emasculation and disempowerment. Dworkin et al. (2012) assert that adapting to feelings of disempowerment leads to the construction of hyper-masculinities that are characterised by violence. This suggests that men’s resistance to women empowerment can lead to GBV as men attempt to regain power in order to maintain their dominance.

While the essence of Celimpilo’s expression seemed to be that the notion of men’s headship sought to maintain men’s dominance at all cost and that women empowerment could neutralise it, Delani expressed a different view:

...I would like to differ slightly with the previous speaker. What he has said is true, but I don't know if there could be a way to monitor this women empowerment, because when women have been given too much power they would end up misusing that empowerment. Let us take for instance a family where a woman is a nurse and a man drives a taxi. Obviously, the woman would get more salary than a man. Such things eventually create problems in the family, because a woman would start associating more with people of her class and undermine her husband. The man would no longer feel like the head even during discussions.... Women empowerment goes hand in hand with disrespect... A home without a man becomes the playground where other people could do as they please. If there are girls, boys would just come and take the girls. However, in the presence of a man, the home is respected and other people can't do as they please.

The comment suggests that any deviation from traditional gender roles challenges normative masculinities, and this opens the door for justified violence as men ‘protect’ their vulnerable selves. To Delani, women empowerment was only necessary provided that it would not limit men’s patriarchal privileges, hence he suggested a need to monitor it. This suggests that while women empowerment is a desirable transformative cause, it is a threat to those forms of masculinities predicated on hegemonic norms. For Delani to think that it is problematic when a wife earns more than a husband emphasises that money is an important masculine resource used by men to facilitate unequal gender relations. By implication, Delani feared that women empowerment could reconfigure gender relations, leading to the subversion of men’s power in favour of women. This resonates with the assertion that the fear of being labeled weak is a vital principle for construction of harmful masculinities that can potentially contribute to GBV (Bach, 2019). Furthermore, Delani thought disrespect for their husbands was a potential characteristic behaviour by women associated with women empowerment, suggesting vulnerability of masculinities.

Dominant gender norms, such as the predetermination of roles based on gender, was also highlighted as an area in gender relations that can be affected by women empowerment, as Delani also said “*even food maybe would no longer be served on a tray by the woman, but she would simply send a child to serve food*”. The notion of being a man was not viewed from the perspective of merely a male figure, but it was associated with gender norms, that being a man as a symbol of power and authority. This was evident in Delani’s statement that “*a man as the head of the home is something I don't look at in terms of children or any support, but in terms of the respectability*

of the home”. This suggests that the fact that women have access to a masculine resource in the form of money is not enough to change the imbalanced power relations because they are premised on broader social norms that label men as powerful figures, heads of their families, protectors and providers. This suggests that the presence of a male figure in a family is not taken to be the presence of a man if he is unable to perform being a man. Such constructions of masculinity legitimate male power and female subordination, as they are premised on deep-seated traditional cultural notions.

The conditionality around women empowerment, that being the idea that it needs to happen in restricted ways in order not to destabilise masculinities, was expressed both explicitly (as discussed above) and implicitly, as evident in the following excerpt by Celimpilo:

Back home I have a neighbour who works in the farm as a tractor driver and his wife works as an HOD [head of department] at a school. They own a beautiful car and it is mostly driven by the man, but we all understand that a person who could have afforded to buy that car was the woman. In other words, they are living a normal life. It means the woman did not allow her wealth to define who she is, but she stuck to her morals and values.

With this view, Celimpilo had intended to emphasise that women empowerment was necessary, as he knew of a family that lived harmoniously despite the wife making a larger financial contribution to the family finances than her husband. However, there were implicit modalities in his expression that he thought were vital for woman empowerment to be meaningful and not destructive in gender relations. Although it might not have been intended, the excerpt also suggests the redefinition of concepts to produce new meanings that maintain men’s dominance. For example, the wife is perceived as having good morals and values because she allows her valuable contribution to the family to be attributed to her husband by allowing him to be a regular driver of an expensive car, which Celimpilo was sure his wife had bought. This suggests a problematic expectation, that despite the woman having financial power and independence, she had to downplay her success to protect her husband’s vulnerable masculinity, which was based on materiality.

In this view, women empowerment is something that some women can handle, which suggests their subservience to men, despite empowerment ironically proving their success in dealing with it. The excerpt shows how things could be regarded as normal when a woman is prepared to

conform to the restrictive social norms that assigned a subordinate position to her as a woman and a dominant one to the husband. While the woman in the excerpt was perceived to epitomise how women should handle empowerment, a woman who is outspoken about her rights was considered immoral and lacking womanly values. As Delani explained in relation to the earlier case of a man whose wife was a nurse “*she would tell him that she buys him clothes, and the only thing he can afford is airtime and maybe 10 kg of rice. So, can you see how this thing of women empowerment affects the man if a woman has lost her values?*”

Similar to Celimpilo, Delani redefined the concept of values to suit his understanding of a woman who is unable to handle empowerment and therefore poses a threat to masculinities. This creates the impression that for a woman to blindly subordinate herself to a man is good and acceptable practice. This is an example of a hypernorm that not only subordinates and subjudicates all other values, but also determines what is to be regarded as acceptable values (Coetzee 2001). In this view, due to the fact that the woman did not comply with the social norms of the dominant discourse, she was branded as abnormal, as she relinquished her perceived position of subservience due to her empowerment. During FGD2, Mongezi attributed such branding of women as abnormal to culture, as he said; “*...it goes back to cultural beliefs, that a woman needs a man in everything; she cannot do anything without a man. However, it is problematic because it means that women would forever be dependent on us...that is not good*”. This suggests that when a woman is able to live independently of a man it challenges deep-rooted cultural learnings, and is therefore construed as a behaviour lacking in good values, as it does not conform to the imbalanced power relationships between men and women. However, Mongezi was able to clearly distance himself from this understanding as he labeled it as “*problematic*” and “*not good*”, which suggests that he embraced gender transformation.

Women who are empowered pose as threats to certain men, as was evident during FGD2 when Qiniso said:

It is tricky though, because if you empower women first, they become exposed to violence from their husbands, who would think they are no longer respectful towards them. For that reason, I think we should focus on men, they should know that it is no longer 60:40, but 50:50. Now the problem is that it is very hard for a man to change.

It is the circles of socialisation that have taught us that we are not set to do certain duties, like domestic duties.

Considering Qiniso's view that women empowerment exposes them to further victimisation at the hands of men, focusing on the social category of men is essential for gender equality. Important in Qiniso's view is that men's behaviour emanates from the way they have been socialised, suggesting that it is not natural and it can be deconstructed. This resonates with Ratele's (2015) assertion that when focusing on men, we should be mindful that we are dealing with the cultural tradition upon which their attitudes and constructions of themselves are based. This suggests that breaking the circle of socialisation is the way to address men's resistance against women empowerment, as this can encourage them to construct themselves differently, hence addressing GBV, which emanates from their harmful behaviours. In the view that masculinities are fluid (Ricardo and Barker, 2008), they can be deconstructed and reconstructed towards gender equitable versions. By saying "*we should start to teach our children that duties of a man can be done by a woman and vice versa*", Qiniso suggests that if it is possible to socialise people towards gender inequality, it should also be possible to socialise them towards gender equality.

Despite the MUPES' clear intentions and positive attitude towards gender transformation, which they often demonstrated, deep-seated elements of socialisation still found expression in their views. For example, Bafana said the following during the individual interview about the notion that 'women's place is in the kitchen':

...as we are now living in a democratic society, things have changed. Even though norms were there, now we are living in the 21st century... I think what we need to teach ourselves is that we now have developed our thinking, so everybody deserves a chance to participate academically and do whatever he or she wants to do. I think now that norm must be developed. Even though a woman needs to do the house chores, she still needs to go to work in order to meet her partner halfway. So, I would say even though that norm is still there, a woman's place is not in the kitchen because women can do better than men so we are all equal.

The above excerpt demonstrates a generally positive attitude towards gender equality. However, it remains problematic that some MUPES demonstrated subtle doubts about gender transformation as they said "*it is very hard for a man to change*" (Qiniso-FGD2) and that "*there is still a long way to go*" (Mongezi-individual interview). This suggests that it is important to be critical of the extent

to which men are willing to change and give up all the privileges that come with patriarchy. For example, it is evident in the above statement that Bafana was in support of gender equality and believed that women should develop themselves academically and find good jobs. However, his expression suggests that this should happen in addition to predetermined social roles rather than replace them, which is also problematic as it proposes an expansion of women's responsibilities without expecting men to commit to any nonconforming roles.

Bafana therefore contradicted his statement that "*we need to understand that we are all equal, that's what the constitution of South Africa says*". This contradiction suggests that Bafana supports the idea of empowering women only to the extent that it will not reorganise gender relations and roles at the expense of men. The kind of empowerment suggested by Bafana is not consistent with Kaur's (2010) definition of women empowerment, which includes the expansion of opportunities and choices for women in all fields, such as social, economic, political and psychological. This way, empowerment strengthens women to subvert the repressive patriarchal ideology while sharing responsibility with men on an equal basis (Kaur, 2010). This conceptualisation of women empowerment is critical, as it shows how empowering women is not about men's emasculation, but their liberation from inequitable value system.

The analysis of the data has highlighted two understandings to women empowerment, that being the strategy to facilitate gender transformation as a way to emasculate men, and to subvert their power by interfering with their patriarchal privileges. As a result, men feel a need to use their assigned power to protect not women (ironically), but their own power and vulnerable masculinities from the women, hence normalising power-laden and unequal relations, which can lead to more incidents of GBV. The analysis has suggested that while achieving women empowerment needs continued women's agency, it is difficult without men's involvement and willingness to change the harmful ways in which they construct themselves, including the perceived need to be heterosexual, which the next theme discusses.

6.5. Heteronormative Campus Culture

This theme was developed from five codes, whose raw data will be used in this section to present the analysis (Table 6.5).

Table 6.5. Codes and Theme 4

Codes	Theme (unit of analysis)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Promoting heterosexuality b. The notion of a 'real' man c. Homophobic attitude d. Rurality and cultural rigidity e. Masculinity vs being studious 	Heteronormative campus culture

The data shows that while homosexuality was actively rejected, heteronormativity was culturally promoted. For example, during the individual interviews, Delani saw his homophobic responses as being part of his culture, as he had previously commented about rural cultural norms:

...for me, as a person who grew up in a rural area, it does not go down well to see a man kissing another man. In fact, it irritates me, and it could make me lose control and temper and end up swearing at them, of which it is wrong.

By making reference to growing up in a rural area, Delani reveals how traditional and cultural constructions inform the way men who are considered as deviating and nonconforming to heteronormativity are viewed. Such use of cultural background to support his prejudice towards homosexuality is consistent with the view that it is important to be aware that when we are engaging with men, we are not simply dealing with the individual but with the social and cultural traditions that inform their perceptions and understandings, hence shaping their practices (Ratele, 2015). Delani's response further suggests that if a man is viewed as being different, such as a homosexual, he is susceptible to GBV, as other men protect their own (hegemonic) versions of masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity is characterised by norms of heterosexuality, marriage and reproduction (Connell, 1987), and was regarded by some MUPES as the only possible form of masculinity, as was evident from Sphiwe's comment during his individual interview:

Those are not real men, you asked about real men. So, (in my culture) gay people are not men, because a real man cannot be attracted to another man. They may wear pants and everything like men, just because we are living in a democratic country, but they are not real men. A man is someone who can produce... who can take a wife and have a family. A gay couple cannot have a child, but a real man and a woman can have children.

Through this response, Sphiwe associated himself with heteronormative definitions of the notion of a "real man." He views "real men" as heterosexual, that they form the positive side of an

oppositional binary within which homosexuality is the negative converse. Real men are considered “real” because they engage in heterosexual penetration where producing offspring is possible. This notion reinforces family life as being within heteronormative boundaries, where non-conforming men are viewed as unnatural and unmanly on the basis that they cannot demonstrate the perceived critical function of reproduction, which suggests that procreation is a strategy that gives practical meaning to a man’s identity.

Adopting an attitude and a behaviour that promoted heterosexuality was something that some MUPES thought was significant for a male student to be recognised as a man on campus and a vital strategy to achieve popularity. Mongezi, during the individual interview, said that some women, just like men, found it strange for a male student not to have a girlfriend, which is something that put his heterosexuality under scrutiny.

You are regarded as a real man here when you have a girlfriend. If you don't have a girlfriend, you are judged not only by male gender, but the female gender as well. They would ask you...why don't you have a girlfriend? Basically, to be regarded as a real man here, you must be in a relationship and people must know. If people don't know...they then think there is something wrong with you or you are homosexual.

Although only implicitly expressed, the perceived need for a male student to be heterosexual by ensuring that at least he has a girlfriend feeds into a heteronormative campus culture. For both male and female students (as Mongezi claimed) to see it as problematic and troubling for a man not to have a girlfriend indirectly promotes and normalises heterosexuality at the expense of homosexuality. Mongezi’s emphasis on the expectation to have a girlfriend rather than girlfriends suggests that the former is more important to prove heterosexuality while the latter is more vital in constructing masculinities. In this view, having a girlfriend disassociates a man from homosexuality. Ratele (2013) notes that, due to the perceived need to be heterosexual, men exaggerate any traditional rule of masculinity in fear of being perceived as homosexual, or not a real man, as per societal standards. To this end, during the individual interview, Innocent stated that to be recognised as a real man, one “*...must have many girlfriends ...at times a guy would have five girlfriends, and there is this thing that people believe in here ...that there is not a person's person but our person*”.

The campus principle that “*there is not a person’s person*”, and the normalising of multiple partnerships highlights men’s determination to prove their heterosexuality and to strengthen their masculinities through gaining dominance over other men (those with fewer or no girlfriends). Furthermore, to emphasise the heteronormative campus culture, Celimpilo explained that even their role as peer educators was sometimes questioned and put under scrutiny by some other students, as he said, “*another thing, they think you are there [in peer education] to protect homosexuals or you are an ‘after-nine’. An after-nine is a male who has a girlfriend and behaves normal during the day, but at night he sneaks into other male students’ rooms*” (Individual interview). The way other students viewed peer educators suggests their conformity to a heteronormative culture that treats homosexuality as problematic on campus. This resonates with Swain’s (2006) assertion that being different from the popular and accepted standards puts boys/men in a challenging position, where they risk being degraded to an inferior status. Furthermore, this suggests that the campus culture contributes to homohysteria, as it engenders fear (among men) to be taken to be homosexual by other students (Anderson and McCormack, 2016, p. 2). This appears to be a factor, as there is a perceived need among some men to have a girlfriend, which leaves no doubt about their heterosexuality.

However, some MUPES openly distanced themselves from the campus culture that promoted engaging in multiple partnerships as a sign of being a man. For example, Richard, during the individual interview, said:

I don’t have the mentality that a real man is somebody with many girlfriends. There are guys here at the university who don’t have girlfriends, but they are real men, in terms of how they treat other women – they respect other people. These guys have a potential academically speaking – they have big goals and they can change other people’s lives for the better. I think the issue of having girlfriends is just a decision they have not taken.

Apparent in Richard’s view was the meaning he attached to the notion of a real man, suggesting his awareness of the popular way in which a man was defined on campus, that being somebody who engages in multiple partnerships. Richard’s view, which is characterised by respect for women, suggests that portraying heterosexuality by having a girlfriend, or even many, is not the inherent part of being a man, but the way in which men construct their masculinities. Furthermore,

disassociating engaging in multiple partnerships from the notion of a real man deconstructs the perception that heterosexuality is a sign of being a man.

Although Richard did not want to label other students as homosexuals, he implied that those students without girlfriends needed to be respected for their choice, as they have the potential to change their society, and have consciously made a decision to construct themselves differently. This resonates with Munyuki, Vincent and Mayeza's (2018) assertion that when homosexual students encounter acceptance and a university environment that normalises rather than exceptionalises their sexuality, they feel safe. Similarly, during an individual interview, Bafana distanced himself from a common habit on campus that "*when you are a man, you need to take all the first-year students and make them your girlfriends ...[Instead, he explained that]to be a real man for me is taking into consideration that those ...are still novice ...so we need to teach them not to use them as sex slaves...no!*" The common denominator between Richard's and Bafana's views was that they both spoke against involvement in multiple sexual partnerships as a sign of being a man, hence challenging the status quo by constructing themselves differently. This resonates with Burrell's (2020) assertion that men (with progressive views) can sometimes disassociate themselves from the problems in their setting (e.g. disassociating from other men, violence and patriarchy). While Richard and Bafana distanced themselves from other men whose behaviour (they believed) was problematic, I argue that they moved beyond dissociation, by challenging the dominant campus masculine norms, as they clearly articulated the alternative ways in which they conceptualised being a 'real' man in the face of oppressive campus norms. In the next chapter, I discuss in depth multiple instances where most MUPES adopted such oppositional discourses, hence constructing themselves as potential change agents as far as GBV was concerned.

The heteronormative campus culture was also evident through the homosexualisation of certain student practices in an attempt to privilege heterosexuality. For example, basing it on their observations, some MUPES talked about how academic excellence was considered by other male students to be characteristic of homosexuality. By academic excellence, they referred to one's efforts towards achieving and maintaining good academic performance by studying hard. This was

evident in the way they defined a campus ‘real’ man during their respective individual interviews; as in the response from Bafana:

A person who excels academically is never regarded as a man. It's our belief that such a person does not have time to spend with girls, but he devotes more time to books because he might be gay. At times you would find that a person is straight, it is just that he knows how to shape his future [that he focuses on his academic performance].

From the excerpt, it is evident that the notion on campus of a man and the concept of academic excellence were taken to be incompatible. Instead, academic excellence was homosexualised, as it was seen as an appropriate characteristic of a “gay” man. This suggests that not paying attention to your academic performance positioned a male student as heterosexual, as he was understood to be focusing on normative characteristics of a heterosexual man, such as spending time with girls. This idea became clearer when Delani explained what was expected from a man on campus, that “*having many girlfriends is one of the things that makes one gain respect of being regarded as a man, but academic excellence is secondary*” (Individual interview). Delani’s response did not only suggest that heterosexuality was a prerequisite to being regarded as a man, but it also emphasised the importance of sexual prowess through multiple partnerships.

When academic excellence was compared with other ways of being a man on campus, it became apparent that the prevailing norm shadowed it (academic excellence), as Richard in his individual interview explained “*as students, the attitude is that if he excels [academically], so what? I have five girlfriends and he has only one that I can take at any time*”. This suggests contestations of campus masculinities, as those men who constructed their masculinities by valorising academic excellence were considered not man enough without subscription to the notion of sexual prowess and multiple partnerships. This contributed to the hierarchical stratification of male students on campus, whereby those who were seen to be portraying the perceived homosexual elements through their practices were subordinated. However, some MUPES distanced themselves from a number of the prevailing notions on campus, for example, Gugu during the interview said “*they call you a nerd [if you excel academically] ...*” using the pronoun “*they*” to suggest that he did not share the same view. While Richard’s earlier comments portrayed himself as part of the campus notion (homosexualisation of academic excellence), Gugu clearly distanced himself. Homosexualising academic excellence lends itself to constructions of hegemonic masculinity, as

it promotes hierarchical gender relations, where certain group of male students was seen as inferior and subordinate due to their practices that did not meet hegemonic masculine norms. Exceptionalising campus men's interest in academic excellence as unmanly contributes to what Messerschmidt (2019) calls "the ubiquity of hegemonic masculinities" (p. 89), and that with time normalises gender inequality at a given setting. However, the way Gugu positioned himself regarding this notion is important, as he othered those men who supported it, hence highlighting multiple ways in which men can position themselves on dominant social norms, which includes the non-hegemonic masculinities that they produce in the process.

The data in this theme shows that the heteronormative campus culture excludes nonconformity to hegemonic masculine norms, such as multiple partnerships, which creates an environment that promotes GBV in the form of homophobia. While the data shows noncommittal views from some MUPES, it also signals the adoption of an oppositional discourse by others, suggesting that men can be potential change agents. However, the subtle ways in which male students conformed to a notion of a campus 'real man' were evident, despite the practices they involved themselves in not always leading directly to violence, such as drinking alcohol, which the next section discusses.

6.6. Alcohol and Masculinities

This theme resulted from four segments of coded data that I use throughout this section to present the analysis (Table 6.6.).

Table 6.6. Codes and Theme 5

Codes	Theme (unit of analysis)
a. Alcohol as a symbol of masculinity b. Naturalising men's response to alcohol c. Rejecting drinking as manly d. Alcohol and bravery	Alcohol and masculinities

While the data in section 5.5 related to drinking alcohol by male students as an act that made women more likely to become victims of violence perpetrated by men on campus, the data in this theme show how alcohol was a masculine exercise, even in instances where it did not result in violence. This means that when men drank alcohol, even if not to the point of intoxication, that was already an achievement of a particular masculine goal. The data presented in this section is

consistent with what the research on men and alcohol shows, that drinking alcohol is dominated by men because it is an expression of masculine prowess (Peralta et al., 2018). This suggests that drinking alcohol does not have to result in violence against a woman to be associative with masculinities. Instead, alcohol is an important masculine symbol among men, as was evident during FGD2, where the MUPES described campus life by drawing a picture (Appendix 13) about which Mongezi said “*this picture represents life on our campus. As you can see here, we have Vodka, which is alcohol... On campus, male students drink a lot of alcohol...*”. Mongezi’s expression and his emphasis on males and alcohol suggest a connection between the two, which influences the way campus life is viewed (in this case by the MUPES). For example, Mongezi’s focus on male students when talking about alcohol suggests that he understood alcohol to be especially important to how men constructed themselves on campus, hence emphasising Peralta’s et al. (2018) assertion that men drink alcohol as a way of manifesting their masculinity. Underscoring the masculinity element in drinking “*a lot of alcohol*” (Mongezi FGD2), the authors assert that a man who easily gets drunk is not considered a ‘real’ man in settings where hegemonic norms prevail (Peralta et al., 2018). This view suggests that male students who drink alcohol on campus are in keeping with dominant forms of masculinity by idealising alcohol as vital in men’s constructions of themselves. The picture of a Vodka bottle in the MUPES’ drawing suggested the level of drinking on campus and the most preferred kind of alcohol. This is consistent with the research that was conducted in another South African university, which found that undergraduate students who participated in the study indicated Vodka as one of their preferred type of alcohol (Nyandu and Ross, 2019). During FGD2, Qiniso added that:

So, the lifestyle is really influenced by alcohol. There is no week in which I don't see a male student drunk. It's even worse when there has been a payout from NSFAS. That's all I can say...drinking is a habit [for men].

For Qiniso to conceptualise drinking by campus men as a habit suggests that, to a certain extent, it facilitates manifestations of the accepted forms of being a man. Given that the requirements to be an ideal masculine man may be unachievable by some men due to the lack of other vital masculine resources, such as the possession of material things, drinking may become a compensatory masculinity making strategy, which influences male students’ ‘lifestyle’. This strategy lends itself to dominant masculine norms that valorise drinking as key in university male students’ construction of themselves, especially when they cannot access other masculinity

resources (Peralta, et al., 2018). For Qiniso to talk about drinking alcohol as a lifestyle for men suggests that it is an exalted and dominant way of constructing oneself as a man. This resonates with Messerschmidt's (2012) assertion that dominant masculinities are celebrated and common forms of being men in a particular setting.

The spending of National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS) bursary money on alcohol by male students suggests that it is more important to their masculinities than livelihoods, and that it is essential to their masculine position as men on campus. This is in accordance with Lebreton's et al. (2016) findings from a study in five French universities, where male students counted and valorised the number of empty alcohol bottles after drinking, claiming that those containers were a "source of pride" (p. 12) for them as men, suggesting the varying extent to which some men can engage in alcohol abuse to achieve a dominant form of masculinity, depending on the number of empty bottles. The researchers found that male students believed that only real men could drink beer successfully, hold their beer and behave normally. Such conceptualisation resonates with the findings of this present study, where the data show how drinking alcohol was vital in the construction of masculinities, even when it did not result in violence. However, the MUPES also suggested that alcohol could be an important resource for men to achieve other masculine goals, in accordance with the notion that the desire for sex is manly. This was evident in Freedom's expression during the individual interview, when he said "*as men, when we are drunk, it feels as if alcohol has moved down to your genitalia and you feel like you could get a woman immediately for sexual gratification*". This construction suggests that alcohol can also be an exercise of power by men over women and hence dominating. Important to dominating masculinities is the control of specific interactions and the exercise of power over other people and events, in Freedom's case, that would be the unnegotiated sex due to a perceived justified sex drive from alcohol (Messerschmidt, 2012).

Alcohol was such a key concept in the MUPES' descriptions of campus life that they mentioned it even when talking about safety. For example, although he was describing the issue of safety on campus, alcohol was Abongwe's closest example during the individual interview, as he said "*these residences are not like off-campus residences, where you are asked to produce a student card at the entrance and are allowed to stay for a specific time. Here you are even able to bring in*

alcohol'. This suggests that drinking alcohol was a normal men's behaviour on campus. However, Abongwe rejected the dominant template of masculinity premised on alcohol, as he said "*I do not believe that one needs to drink alcohol to show that he is a man. So, peer education taught me that one need not manifest power in order to show that he has it*". Abongwe talked about not drinking alcohol as tantamount to not demonstrating power, suggesting that drinking may be related to men's desire to demonstrate their perceived power through certain behaviours emanating from alcohol consumption. Abongwe's expression highlights his adoption of an oppositional discourse to what he saw as a norm, hence constructing himself differently by trivialising the role of alcohol in being a man. Similarly, during the interview, Freedom, distanced himself from some traditional norms, including the notion that a real man is the one who drinks, as he said:

This thing was wrong from the beginning, to believe that by avoiding crying would make a male a man, whereas males should be sharing their frustrations with people around them so as to lessen the stress. You know, others even believe that a man should drink alcohol.

Freedom attributed certain notions, including masculinising alcohol, to problematic cultural norms that expect particular behaviours and practices from men. To him, the masculinisation of alcohol was not an isolated notion, but it was one out of many masculine norms predicated on cultural principles. For this reason, it is important to consider the social and cultural aspects in our quest to understand alcohol use by men (Hughes et al., 2016), as it is not only the resultant (violent) behaviour that is problematic, but the notion itself that drinking, even if not to the point of intoxication, is a sign of masculinity. To emphasise that drinking alcohol alone was an important symbol of masculinity, intertwined with other campus-wide manifestations of masculinities, Gugu, during the individual interview when describing dominant campus masculinities, said "*here [on campus] ...the body height, the body size, moustache and beard, being part of a gang that specialises in impregnating girls and dress[ing] nicely and formally..., and drinking alcohol*" were campus masculine imperatives. On alcohol, Gugu also added that "*to be a real man here means you should drink alcohol and attend every bash [party]*". While Nyandu and Ross (2019), in their investigation of students' drinking patterns, adopted a social learning theoretical perspective, highlighting social inclusion as a driving factor from a masculinity theoretical point of view, with Gugu's expression emphasising drinking as being vital for constructing themselves as man, and how they are constructed by others on campus. This suggests that alcohol, as mentioned among

other popular masculinity manifestations, is also a campus symbol of masculinity. Nkululeko, during the individual interview, was more direct, and made his position clear on the manifestations of masculinity that were popular on campus, as he explained;

Here students live a false life that is full of influences. For example, female students think of a real man as someone who has money to spend on alcohol. If you want to be cool and be recognised as a man, you must find a way to be popular and involve yourself in wrong things, like drinking alcohol, multiple sexual partners, wearing expensive clothes.

In almost all instances where the MUPES talked about alcohol, they mentioned it alongside other problematic masculine norms, suggesting that they understood it as equally connected to masculinities. However, Nkululeko, as evident in the excerpt, rejected such constructions of a man, as he described those behaviours by using phrases such as “*false life*” and “*wrong things*”. His rejection of hegemonic masculine norms lends itself to protest masculinities (Connell, 1995), in that Nkululeko took a strong position (by labeling them) against the manifestations of hegemonic masculinities, hence undermining their legitimacy. Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) assert that protest masculinities may result in the revision of some aspects of hegemonic masculinity for the betterment of society. In accordance with Ngubane and Singh’s (2021) assertion that drinking alcohol may facilitate men’s demonstration of aspects of hegemonic masculinity, Nkululeko’s view suggests that the very decision to drink feeds into hegemonic masculine norms, in that even women judge a real man based on his ability to spend money on alcohol, which, as highlighted in the previous chapter, may lead to violence against them. In addition, Nkululeko’s expression suggests that the way in which some female students construct themselves unintendedly facilitates hegemonic masculine norms on campus. Hence, Messerchtdmidt (2019) emphasises that hegemonic masculinities should be understood in relation to femininities. According to Nkululeko’s observation, meeting the requirements of being considered as a man on campus involves specific behavioural expectations, with drinking alcohol being among those. Hence, Lebreton et al. (2016) assert that drinking alcohol is in conformity with “dominant assumptions of what it means to be a real man” (p. 2), and is a vital component of gender relations predicated on a socially constructed system. This supports my argument that while men’s drinking of alcohol often results in gendered acts of violence against women, even by merely drinking alcohol, men are still ‘doing’ gender.

The data in this section shows that alcohol is a masculine resource, and as such, drinking was important to campus men. More importantly, the data highlights that alcohol is related to masculinities before it is related to violence, because by only drinking, men are already engaging in constant constructions of themselves as men, which suggests that GBV is not a direct outcome of alcohol, not least as it is perpetrated, even by those who do not drink.

6.7. Conclusion

The data focusing on constructions of campus masculinities and their relation to GBV was divided into five themes namely, navigating gendered campus spaces, materiality and masculine power; troubling women empowerment; heteronormative campus culture; and alcohol and masculinities. First, the results suggest that there are gendered masculine and feminine spaces on campus, which creates the impression that occupying them is a way of expressing one's gender, hence space gender policing occurs. Second, the data shows that material things, such as money and expensive clothes, contribute to the construction of hegemonic forms of campus masculinities that maintain unequal gender relations. Third, women empowerment is potentially gender transformative, as the data showed that it is regarded as troubling to the harmful masculinities that sustain GBV. Fourth, the results show that the campus has a heteronormative culture that exceptionalises nonconformity to hegemonic masculine norms, such as multiple sexual partnerships. Finally, the data show that alcohol is a campus masculine resource, and that it has a direct relationship with masculinities and an indirect one with violence. The data in this chapter suggested that there are contestations in the constructions of campus masculinities, as men seek to maintain internal dominance within the social category of men on campus. The next chapter discusses how the MUPES envisaged their role in reducing GBV.

CHAPTER 7. THE ROLE OF REMAKING CAMPUS MASCULINITIES TO REDUCE GBV

7.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I present and analyse data on the MUPES' understandings of masculinities that contributed to the deconstruction of the harmful normative ones that feed into violence. The data that relate to the remaking of masculinities is presented and analysed within the following themes; redefining the concept of a 'real' man, troubling cultural masculine norms, advocacy to 'walk the talk and talk the walk', and collaboratively dealing with GBV.

The 19 codes distilled for critical question 3 were divided into four themes, as indicated in Table 7.1, with each theme being discussed with respect to critical question 3: How do male university peer-educator students envisage their role in reducing gender-based violence on campus?

Table 7.1 Codes and Themes for Critical Question 3

Codes	Themes (units of analysis)
a. Questioning 'real' in real man b. Rejecting harmful masculine norms c. Men's capability to change d. Negotiated roles and responsibilities e. Respect for women	1. Redefining the concept of a 'real' man
a. Biased cultural principles b. Problematising men's headship c. Culture and change d. Expressiveness as masculine	2. Troubling cultural masculine norms
a. Walk the talk and talk the walk b. Encouraging agency c. Calling on women or blaming them d. Imagining change e. Re-negotiating masculinity	3. Advocacy to 'walk the talk and talk the walk'
a. Masculinities interact with femininities b. Nothing about women without them c. Campaigning against GBV d. Women are capable to fight GBV e. The role of peer education on men	4. Collaboratively dealing with GBV

7.2. Redefining the Concept of a ‘Real’ Man

This theme was developed from five codes (Table 7.2), the data for which is used to present the analysis.

Table 7.2. Codes and Theme 1

Codes	Theme (unit of analysis)
a. Questioning ‘real’ in real man b. Rejecting harmful masculine norms c. Men’s capability to change d. Negotiated roles and responsibilities e. Respect for women	Redefining the concept of a ‘real’ man

The notion of a ‘real’ man, as evident in the previous chapter, was used to describe a man whose attitudes and behaviours were exalted on campus, despite the negative effects. However, most of the MUPES were very critical of the positive usage of the concept to describe what they thought were negative behaviours. Below is a typical example of MUPES’ concerns about the concept.

I think the use of words is very important...when we say ‘real’, it means that even if it’s not the truth, but by using the word ‘real’ to define a man, it means that even if those characteristics are negative...they describe a real man. It means this word ‘real’ has been used to manipulate people. Culturally, I think they meant good to define a real man as a protector, but now they [men] have manipulated all of that into their own agendas. This [university campus] society believes that a real man makes his girlfriend submit to him, beats his girlfriend, drinks alcohol, has many girlfriends. And if I have friends who believe in that, I would want to do the negative things so that I can become a real man. As I am doing that, I would think I am becoming a real man, while I am moving away from being the real man that I was. Instead, I would be moving into their [own] definition of a real man and start beating my girlfriend in accordance with the definition of a real man by society (Njabulo- Individual interview).

Like Njabulo, many of the MUPES interviewed did not have a problem with the concept per se, as they believed it could have been meant to encourage good behaviour amongst men. Instead, they identified it as problematic, that the concept is used to describe men who engage in harmful ways to construct themselves. While the notion of a man as a ‘protector’ emanates from cultural gender norms, and is indeed problematic, many MUPES thought there might have been good cultural intentions for using the concept of a ‘real man’. For that reason, they held men in general accountable for their harmful behaviour emanating from what they believed to be a manipulation

of the concept. This suggests that MUPES thought it was possible for men to construct themselves independently of culture, instead of invoking it as the basis for their hurtful behaviours that normalise violence, as evident in this part of the excerpt “*real man makes his girlfriend submit to him, beats his girlfriend*”. The foregoing criticism of the concept of a real man suggests the MUPES’ attempts to deconstruct it. Scheibling (2020) asserts that as a way to understand the complex ways in which men maintain gender, it is important to explore not only how they construct or deconstruct masculinities, but also how they reconstruct them. In this view, the MUPES’ criticism of the concept of a real man facilitates the understanding of how they (in the process) reworked the oppressive perceptions associated with the concept, and what new behaviours they suggested in line with such reconstruction. As the ways in which men constructed themselves in conformity to the notion of a real men contributed to imbalanced gender relations on campus, the MUPES re-conceptualised the concept to describe men’s behaviours that were associated with gender equality. Hence, they kept using the concept in a way that suggested they were talking about a different real man (DRM), whose behaviour and attitude was exemplary, as Mongezi explained during the individual interview:

A real man is someone who is responsible, someone who admits and apologises when he has made a mistake, someone who takes charge in the situations, someone who protects his loved ones, a leader, a person who is the first to take a step forward. A person who listens to a female voice and does not take a decision with friends and expect his girlfriend to implement.

While it is evident in the excerpt that some MUPES did not undo all the traditional perceptions associated with the concept of a ‘real’ man (e.g. being a protector), they redefined and repurposed them to equate to equal gender relations, where a man listens to a woman rather than expect her to submit. The excerpt suggests that the concept should be associated with a man who constructs himself differently, that being a different real man (DRM), which suggests remaking campus masculinities. The analysis of the MUPES’ shared view suggests that a DRM ought to be unique in many respects. Mongezi implied that the DRM constructs himself in a way that breaks cultural norms about masculinity, where taking the blame is regarded as being weak and defending oneself as being manly. Instead, admission of wrongdoing was what Mongezi thought contributed to a DRM’s sense of responsibility. This is in contrast with the general ways in which traditional real men on campus, as evident in the previous chapter, constructed themselves. The idea that

“listen[ing] to a female” constitutes a DRM resonates with Singh’s (2016) assertion that men’s willingness to listen to their partners, which attaches value to communication, is a step towards relationships that are characterised by impartiality and equity, and regards women’s opinions as vital in discussions. This challenges the traditional unequal gender relationships, where women are expected to be passive participants in discussions with their partners, that being to avoid questioning.

While some of the MUPES were less direct about their commitments to gender transformation, most were more direct and even gave practical examples as to why they felt it was important for men to construct themselves differently. For example, Delani, during the individual interview, said:

Before, I used to believe that a man is someone who stays away from home chores, instead focuses on outdoor activities. But later on, I have realised that in as much as I am a man, I can take responsibility. Nowadays, women are allowed to go to work, so at some stage it could happen that I am left home with kids. So, if I cannot cook it means that my kids will suffer. But if I understand that my wife’s responsibilities are also mine, things will be OK because it would mean that even if a baby needs to be changed [diapers], I will be able to do so. In the kitchen, I also need to know what is going on. I need to cook because my wife could fall sick, would that mean we don’t eat? Even when it comes to doing washing, I would do that as a man.

Although, at one point during FGD1, Delani had some reservations about women empowerment (“*I don’t know if there could be a way to monitor this women empowerment*”), his articulations during the individual interview as per the excerpt demonstrated that changing conservative norms of masculinity was possible and underway. It seems that the individual interview context enabled him to be more critical of the traditional determination of roles (which he explicitly stated) based on gender, suggesting it exaggerated the differences between men and women to the detriment and subordination of women. Delani admitted that it used to be his belief that men were meant for activities expected to be done outside the house, hence implying that activities inside the house were meant for women. His willingness to participate in house chores that are traditionally assigned to women suggests a manifestation of a caring version of masculinity. Scambor et al. (2014) concur that caring masculinities are characterised by men’s caregiving roles rather than the traditional provider and protector roles. In this view, by talking about his willingness to take those

roles traditionally considered as feminine, Delani was constructing an inclusive form of masculinity, in that he accepted some elements of conservative versions of femininity to reconstruct himself differently. This is consistent with Scheibling's (2020) assertion that "caring masculinities thus represent a redoing of gender" (p. 8). Delani's reconstruction of his masculinity presents a different version of a real man that prioritises equality over patriarchal privileges. Discursive reconstruction of masculinity was also evident when some MUPES expressed themselves on sexual issues as shown below:

Researcher: Would you stop a sexual activity when asked to by your partner?

Yeah, just in seconds I would stop. A real man respects a woman and if she says no, you stop. Even tomorrow and the day after tomorrow I still have a chance. You know, there are small things that could end up putting you into trouble, like when she says no and you continue persuading her, you never know the following day she may claim that you raped her. So, if she says no! It's no! (Individual interview).

While the data in the previous chapter showed the normalisation of men's sexual advances to women, especially when men are under the influence of alcohol, Sphiwe in this excerpt suggests that he respects women's decisions, as he expressed his commitment to treating 'a no as a no'. However, this seems to be driven by fear of negative repercussions for himself, such as being accused of rape. Such contradictions in the attempt to deconstruct harmful masculinities suggest the complexities that characterise the process of reconstructing better versions of being men. Despite the fear of arrest for rape being a possible deterrent for Sphiwe to accept a woman's negative answer to sexual advances, his attitude still portrays him as a man who was reflective and understood the repercussions of his actions, which suggests the reconstruction of masculinity that was centred around both responsible and possibly selfish behaviours. To the extent that he said he would not force himself on a woman, he constructed himself responsibly. However, his fear of being arrested prioritises himself instead of showing his understanding of the harm that violence causes to women.

Some MUPES' articulations of their masculinities were much clearer, for example, during the individual interview, when Celimpilo said, "*Yes, I would stop, because sexual intercourse is not meant to satisfy only one person but both partners. So, if a girl says no it's obvious that there is something wrong with her at that moment. So, if you try to continue, you would worsen the*

situation." Such articulation about sex is contrary to the traditional constructions of masculinities that position men as having a right to sex at any time within the relationship. Celimpilo's view recognises sexual desire and pleasure not as male entitlement and privilege, and that women are not objects of desire but are desiring beings.

Delani also indicated that it was important to respect women's decisions, as he indicated during the interview, when answering the aforementioned question:

Yes, now I would stop, but before peer education I do not want to lie, I would not stop. Instead, I would think she is undermining me. Now that I am informed, the minute she says stop, I would stop and check with her because there are many possible reasons. For example, she may have just realised that we are about to be involved in unprotected sex or she may have remembered that she is on her periods.

Delani identifies peer education as an important vehicle for transformation. By explaining how he would have reacted to the same situation before peer education and how he would react now, Delani suggests that men have the capacity to change. Given the right conditions (being a peer educator) and exposure to engaging platforms, more positive versions of masculinities can be created. He identifies peer education as a valuable intervention to facilitate transformation. In this view, masculinities can be deconstructed and reconstructed, and this resonates with Partab's (2012) assertion that "an informed understanding [of] the landscape of the gender discourse necessitates the deconstruction of meaning which men attach to their gender" (p. 106). Delani emphasised that prior to his engagements as a peer educator, he would have interpreted the rejection from his girlfriend as undermining to his masculinity. Critical in this explanation is the word 'undermining', which suggests that no matter how justified a woman may be in her decision to say no to sexual activity, it would be deemed as an attempt to subvert a man's power. This suggests that in such instances enforcing compliance through violence is deemed necessary to protect the vulnerable masculinities.

Delani suggested that as a peer educator, his exposure to this platform contributed to his paradigm shift, as he would react caringly, suggesting an emergent reconstruction of masculinity. Delani's ability to spell out some of the possible reasons that could lead a woman to say 'no' to a sexual activity contributes to caring masculinities that do not seek to maintain imbalanced power relations.

Given his acknowledgement that before becoming a peer educator he would have regarded the rejection by his girlfriend as an attack on his masculinity, Delani's response suggests he reconstructed caring as masculine, rather than masculinity as caring (Scheibling, 2020). This prioritises good (caring) behaviour as integral to be considered a DRM, instead of focusing on constructing masculinity, which may or may not involve caring. In other words, caring forms part of a DRM whose behaviour is characterised by being critical and reflective about their actions, suggesting it does not define a traditional real man whose behaviour is motivated by his desire to be recognised as a man.

Similar deep reflection was also evident during the focus group discussions with the MUPES, where some rejected the supposedly inherited masculine norms that regarded violence as transgenerational, as evident below:

If I grew up in a family where my dad used to beat up my mom, when I grow up and have a girlfriend, I would also do the same.

I would like to differ with what he said. For example, let's say there are two boys in a family; one wants to grow up and do what the father is doing and the other to do something different to what the father is doing. What I can say is that one can grow up wanting to change the situation. In other words, he may want to respect women. So, he may grow up and avoid by all means being a perpetrator [of violence].

Not only did the focus group discussion provide a platform for the MUPES to challenge each other's views, but it also served as a catalyst for them to reflect on possible better versions of masculinities that are not premised on hegemonic masculine norms. Bafana's view suggests that men can construct themselves differently, despite the violent family conditions under which they grow up. In this view, men have agency to challenge gender norms that treat violence (especially against women) as characteristic of a real man. A similar view, where some MUPES constructed themselves in a way that suggested a new version of masculinity that was focused on men's agency to change and not conform to hegemonic masculine norms, was expressed by Abongwe during the individual interview. Abongwe explained how he did not resort to violence to solve problems as he said;

...so I would say that the violence that used to take place at home [influenced my attitude], because even at home there used to be instances of violence. So, I would say that it helped me to see that violence is not a good thing, even though it was painful.

Both Bafana's and Abongwe's views on violent family conditions suggest that even men who have direct experiences of violence can choose to do things differently. Having experienced violence, Abongwe decided to change instead of reproducing it, this excuse often being used as a reason to explain violent men. Constructing masculinities this way is indeed different and vital in facilitating social change, with Magaraggia (2012), based on an interview with Connell, suggesting that the construction of such non-violent masculinities can be identified as "ongoing functional ways of being a man" (p. 117). That way, the MUPES' views suggest a transformation of harmful masculinities on campus. Connell (2005) referred to this kind of gender reform, where men position themselves against their own privileges (in this case, not conforming to the notion that violence is a sign of being a real man), and reconstruct masculinities to maintain gender equality. Therefore, Bafana and Abongwe's decision to reject violence as vital in the construction of themselves as men highlights the possibilities for men not only to reflect on traditional notions of masculinities that condone violence, but also to reconstruct them to end violence.

The majority of the MUPES' shared view on the reconceptualisation of the notion of a real man in favour of a DRM was characterised by them questioning (in order to invalidate) the cultural and traditional perceptions underpinning the original notion. To the extent that the MUPES were able to come up with new characteristic behaviours for the DRM, I argue that they reconstructed themselves in a way that contributed to the idea of becoming better men, whose articulations suggested a new form of masculinity on campus that may maintain better gender relations not premised on oppressive traditions. This is in accordance with scholars who have been critical of the notion of a real man, such as Scheibling (2020), who contends that men should be challenged to become better men rather than real men.

The data discussed in this theme shows that while gender transformation is long overdue, there is no silver bullet to GBV emanating from hegemonic masculine norms, as the deconstruction of masculinities is characterised by complexities and contradictions as men reconstruct themselves. For example, some men constructed inclusive forms of masculinities that are characterised by both conservative feminine elements (e.g. caring) and traditional masculine ones (e.g. being a protector and a provider) in an attempt to challenge and deconstruct hegemonic masculinities. Some scholars note that this has the potential to slowly dismantle the harmful ways in which men construct

themselves, as the inclusion of the perceived feminine elements is not always superficial (Duncanson, 2015). While gender inequality is premised on cultural and traditional gender norms, most of the MUPES were very critical of their own cultural learnings, which the next section explores as a theme.

7.3. Troubling Cultural Gender Norms

This theme resulted from four segments of coded data that I use throughout this section to present the analysis (Table 7.3).

Table 7.3 Codes and Theme 2

Codes	Theme (unit of analysis)
a. Biased cultural principles b. Problematising men's headship c. Culture and change d. Expressiveness as masculine	Troubling cultural masculine norms

Despite sporadic contradictions, most MUPES were able to challenge some cultural perceptions underpinning the idea of being a man that are seldom questioned. The majority of the MUPES had a shared view that some cultural learnings maintained hegemonic masculine norms on campus, and that culture is not fixed and needed to be looked at from different perspectives. To most of the MUPES, culture is dynamic and needs to respond to current and changing circumstances. However, there were contradictory ideas expressed in response to the question about men as heads of their families. For example, during the individual interview, Freedom said:

I do not condone this thing [men's headship], because in actual fact, we both need each other. You know, in some families, men are unemployed, and a powerful person is a mother in terms of being the breadwinner. So, really if a man is said to be the head, a woman should be the neck to support the head and therefore men should respect their women. So, this culture should change, because perhaps it is something that worked for our great grandfathers, who were not educated, but for us as an educated and civilised generation it does not work, and we must change this thing that a man will always be right and a woman should succumb to all those things.

Freedom sees normative masculine gender roles, such as being a breadwinner, as fluid and connected to earning power, and more importantly, could be occupied by men or women.

However, in his assertion that men should respect women (because they act as the neck for the head), Freedom suggests that the gender relation between men and women is power-laden and hierarchical, in that women deserve respect due to their supportive roles. Notwithstanding the contradiction in his expression, Freedom advocated for gender equality, positioning patriarchy as something associated with the uneducated and uncivilised people of the past. While cultural norms are vital contributors to constructions of gender, even those that are harmful, they (norms) often are not challenged, not least by men. This is understandable, as most cultural norms position men as more powerful, as providers for women and children, and as the head of their families. However, Freedom, as evident in the excerpt, clearly questioned such cultural norms. While he and other MUPES were mindful of the patriarchal benefits that come with the perception of men being regarded as the heads of their families, they felt that in practice, it was not justifiable, especially when considering the new developments in the form of women empowerment. Hence, Freedom thought that it was problematic to assign a title of headship to men on the basis of them being providers and breadwinners in their families, as he believed that some women now perform those roles. This lends itself to what Cheryan and Markus (2020) refer to as masculine defaults, which are a form of bias, where characteristics, behaviours and practices socially associated with the male gender role are valued and considered necessary parts of a particular cultural context. Similarly, Innocent, during the individual interview, said:

...the way our culture views a man and a woman is suppressive, because credit is not given to women...there are women who are men in their families. In my case, my mother is my mother and my father, because as I am here at university, it is because of her.

Implicit in Innocent's quotation is the contradiction arising from his view of men as the heads of their families due to the roles they perform, those that when performed by women make them the heads, and hence men. While Innocent's view challenges this patriarchal norm of men's headship by highlighting its fluidity, it simultaneously reinforces the notion that there are roles that are manly, hence feeding into masculine defaults. Freedom's and Innocent's comments highlight the complexity and contradiction that characterise the process of challenging the masculine defaults emanating from cultural norms that undermine and treat as inferior any role, unless performed by a man. Cheryan and Markus (2020) assert that a culture characterised by masculine defaults is more challenging for women to succeed in, because even in instances when men and women have

masculine behaviours to the same extent, women do not get the same recognition as men. Not only is the notion of men's headship socially valued as a masculine default, there is also power assigned to it, as evident in Innocent's quotation "*women who are men in their families*" to describe a perceived masculine role performed by a woman, and from Freedom that "*a powerful person is a mother in terms of being the breadwinner*". Indeed, Freedom still regarded being a breadwinner as a powerful role, even when performed by women, which challenged the legitimacy of the cultural determination of gender roles.

A critical view of cultural norms was also expressed by the MUPES who took part in FGD1, where they signaled a need to transform gender relations. For example, Celimpilo said:

When they said the man is the head of the family that was another era; and now we are living in another era. So, we need to look at what led to that belief that the man is the head of the family. The answer is simple; women were not empowered at that time. So, the old mentality does not work now. One female peer educator [during a CHASU meeting with female peers] shared a story that at her home it is her mother who contributes more income. As a result of that, they live a good life, because her father understands that very well and he does not believe in man being the only head.

Celimpilo strongly believed that the perception of regarding men as the family head was dangerous and hence labeled it as "*old mentality*", which should not be allowed to exist or to even influence men's behaviours and attitudes. He was of the view that the perception is so outdated that it is difficult for men to construct themselves around it and still be able to justify it. The admission by Celimpilo that it is difficult to support such a perception is critical. First, as he said that women are now, to a certain extent, empowered, as they are able to work and contribute some income to their families, this suggests that continued engagement with men to challenge the underlying cultural perceptions is needed in order for women empowerment to be realised. Second, his admission is useful, as it underscores that while women have an agency to empower themselves, men have a responsibility to construct themselves differently, even when they are not being engaged. While what Celimpilo called an 'old mentality' may be regarded as abnormal for a man to maintain an equal relationship with his wife, even if she contributes more financially, he considered it as a new normal, which is desirable for the whole society and not just individual families.

Furthermore, as part of looking at culture from different perspectives, during FGD1, the MUPES expressed a shared view that there are other perceptions that men need to look at more critically. As Celimpilo explained that “*from our traditional perspective, we have a saying that ‘indod’ ayikhali, ikhalela ngaphakathi*” [a man does not cry, but he keeps it to and within himself]. *Those are the things that I think we must try and turn around*”. Similarly, Gugu, during the interview said “*...culture has a wrong philosophy that men should not cry... culture really got it all wrong...they got it all wrong*”. This was a perception that the MUPES thought had caused men to find it hard to express their emotions when they are hurt to protect their sense of being men. This perception suggests that an expressive man is regarded as weak, and that ‘masculine emotionalism’ (Owino, 2014) is equated to femininity. However, the MUPES felt that the status quo needs to change, and as in Owino’s (2014) study, they thought men need to be encouraged to “get in touch with their emotions” (p. 190). Lucky, who was not part of the FGD, indicated during the individual interview that he supported the above view, as he said:

Being a man in my culture...what I can say is that there is a clash... [emanating from] the old ways of viewing a man and the expectations of society. We have now shifted from the context where a man is not expected to cry and is numb to pain. However, there are people within our society who think that a man should be viewed as it used to be the case back in the days. But my understanding is that a man should not be a person who should be strong in everything, but a person who is able to voice out his opinion, even emotionally. In other words, if he feels like crying he should be given a chance to cry.

Lucky’s view suggests that he was comfortable with masculine emotionalism being one of the qualities of a man, instead of it being regarded as a pejorative to define a man. His acknowledgement that society is not homogenous, as people have different views on what behaviours and practices should be associated with being a man, is telling about the complexity of gender. That is, the cultural principles on which people’s expectations of a man are based tend to be interpreted differently. They are interpreted conservatively by supporting the notion that a man is “*a person who should be strong in everything*”, and progressively as in the case of Lucky’s personal view that “*if he [a man] feels like crying he should be given a chance to cry*”. By saying “*should be given...*”, Lucky suggests that men perform gender following prescriptive cultural scripts, hence creating the impression that any behavioural transgressions need approval, as they are off-script performances. This resonates with Montes’ (2013) assertion that gender and culture

control not only what emotion can be expressed to whom and in what contexts, but importantly, what kind of emotions is entitled to what gender. Similar to Lucky, Innocent, during the individual interview, expressed the view that men are “*under cultural pressure [because they] inherit these things [gender appropriate behaviours] at a very young age as boys*”, which is a view that Harris III and Harper (2008) support, as they assert that “young men are socialised at very early ages to strategically avoid values, attitudes, and behaviours that are socially constructed as feminine or gay” (p. 29).

Similar to other MUPES, Simo, during an individual interview, expressed a view that culture is dynamic and fluid, and that it should respond to and be relevant to current circumstances, as he said “*I believe that culture evolves, what was happening in 1806 cannot be expected to be happening now*”. This view challenges not only the inheritance of cultural principles, but also the unquestioning application thereof. By identifying a mismatch between the cultural perceptions and current times, Simo suggests that there needs to be a change in the cultural norms. In this view, changing the underlying harmful social norms is a move towards gender transformation that can address related issues, such as GBV (Boonzaier et al., 2019).

The emphasis on culture and time by some of the MUPES suggests that their understanding of the former is fluid and changeable. For example, while Simo cited 1806 as the year associated with stringent cultural perceptions, Nkululeko, during the individual interview, felt that “*in South Africa, we are all free after 1994*”, suggesting that it was a year that should be understood to symbolise, among other things, equality and gender transformation. However, as this is not the case, Simo challenged the cultural principles and the interpretation thereof as not evolving to allow “*today’s generation... [to] adopt what is happening now and...to choose their lifestyle*”. To illustrate the point that culture should be interpreted progressively, Simo problematised the cultural masculine norm that defines a man as a provider by citing women-headed families and those where a woman is the breadwinner, and adding that “*if we were to follow cultural beliefs at all times, we would get confused*”. This highlighted the changing social circumstances that should be considered in interpreting culture.

This critical view of culture redefines not only men but women as social categories that are equally capable of fulfilling social roles across gender lines. This is important in dealing with GBV, as the notion that a man is a provider is assigned with social power that is exercised over women. For this reason, when asked which cultural norms he supported, Simo replied by saying, “*none, as I said, that we are now living in another era, so I don't believe there should be fixed roles for women and men*”. In support of the view that fixed roles for women and men are an indirect way to suppressing women, as Simo implied, Gugu, during the individual interview, acknowledged that “*now, people who are progressive and who are able to keep up with the education levels are women. So, if we suppress women in all levels, it will get to the point where we hinder them from accessing power, which could be in leadership*”. By this, Gugu suggests that preventing women from accessing opportunities is problematic, as it keeps them away from roles assigned with power, and hence maintains the notion that they are powerless, which portrays women empowerment as troubling rather than transformative.

The analysis of the data in this theme indicated the MUPES’ critical view of cultural gender norms, where they questioned the relevance of some of the traditional perceptions. The data suggested some contradictions, with MUPES simultaneously challenged and reproduced cultural norms of masculinity. Many asserted that culture needs to be fluid, in consistence with changing times, where gender roles are not fixed. Furthermore, the data highlighted a rejection of the understanding of a man that exceptionalises masculine emotionalism in favour of the progressive interpretations of culture that do not contribute to unequal gender relations. The next theme focuses on how the MUPES’ rejection of hegemonic masculine norms, premised on cultural expectations, repositioned them in gender relations as potential change agents.

7.4. Advocacy to ‘Walk the Talk and Talk the Walk.’

This theme was formed from five sets of coded data, which I use throughout this section to present the analysis (Table 7.4.)

Table 7.4. Codes and Theme 3

Codes	Theme (unit of analysis)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Walk the talk and talk the walk b. Encouraging agency c. Calling on women or blaming them d. Imagining change e. Re-negotiating masculinity 	Advocacy to ‘walk the talk and talk the walk’

Despite the cultural expectations of their having to behave in certain ways, the majority of MUPES believed that men should be at the forefront in the fight against GBV. They expressed a view that men should start to show their commitment to equality, and to fighting GBV by reconciling their actions with their words, and being centred around the motto ‘walk the talk and talk the walk’. During the individual interview, Mongezi expressed a concern that if individual men remained passive about the fight against GBV, it would normalise the scourge, as he said:

I believe that the world is not dangerous [only] because of the people who do harm, but [also due to doing] nothing about those who do harm... if I may just fold my arms and sit back just because I am not perpetrating GBV, that is the reason perpetrators continue.

This view challenges men to rethink the way they construct themselves by actively challenging masculine norms that promote GBV. To emphasise the view that men should be active and their articulations of gender be associable with their actions and vice versa, Innocent expressed an understanding of a real man as a person who “*must have integrity, protect his family and those around him...[he] must make a change and influence good change*”. Innocent’s view highlights two important points. First, in challenging men to be responsible in their behaviour by not hurting others but protecting them, it (even if unintendedly) normalises the traditional role of men as proctors. Second, the assertion that a man “*must make... and influence good change*” suggests that as individual men change, they should encourage the same in others, hence becoming change agents. The two contradictory implications of Innocent’s view are critical, as they show how deeply embedded traditional notions of masculinity are, and that change seems to be challenging, even for those men who have intention. Similarly, Freedom expressed a view that repositioned the idea of a man in gender relation as he said “*I do not believe that I should have many girlfriends, instead I respect women. I put my family first and that’s what makes me feel like a real man. And I walk the talk and talk the walk, what I say is what I do*”. Being concerned about the reconciliation

of one's gender articulations and actions in light of the respect for women contributes to constructions of non-hegemonic masculinities as it holds men accountable for their actions. For this reason, it highlights Freedom's potential to become a change agent, and this is consistent with Moolman's et al. (2020) assertion that peer educators facilitate desired change. In the case of this study, the MUPES facilitate the understanding of what characterises the attempts (e.g. willingness or resistance) to achieve the desired change, in that, the way some of them constructed themselves underscored the complexities emanating from their investment in some hegemonic masculine norms as they sought to deconstruct them.

As part of envisaging their role as men, most MUPES thought that it is important for every man to have a motto that he follows to encourage good practice. For example, during FGD1, Bafana said "*for me, I think the great words from Gandhi could be the best motto, 'be the change that you want to see'. If you want to see change in your community, you yourself must change first. Change the way you think and change your perception*". Bafana's motto challenges men to be introspective and look critically at the perceptions and beliefs that generally influence their behaviours and attitudes. By this motto, Bafana repositions men from being perpetrators of GBV to being possible role players in the process of change. In this view, if men are a dominant social category and individual agents of social practices (Hearn, 2004), they are individually responsible for social change.

While the idea of working collaboratively with women to address GBV, discussed in the next section, was regarded as important, some MUPES expressed the views in a way that suggested women-blaming (even if unintentionally). For example, Delani believed that both women and men should challenge the oppressive traditional norms, as he explained:

A silent victim is the same as a perpetrator. I believe that if you have been victimised and you don't speak out, you are the same as the perpetrator, because it means you admire the person who victimised you. It means you do not challenge it [violence], so how can you be able to help others (FGD1).

Delani's view removed the responsibility from perpetrators for their violation and placed it on victims to prevent it. Delani seems to suggest that the way some women construct themselves by conforming to social norms prevents them from challenging the violence perpetrated against them,

and this supposedly gives a perceived legitimacy to the construction of hegemonic masculinities, which rely on femininities. Hence, Messerschmidt (2019) emphasises that relationality and legitimisation are the vital components of hegemonic masculinities. If a victim is a woman, Delani's view suggests that not speaking out about their victimisation is the construction of emphasised femininity, which results from and in unequal power relations of hegemonic masculinities (Messerschmidt, 2019).

During the focus group discussions, the MUPES offered a variety of mottos that they thought would encourage men to construct themselves differently. For example, Celimpilo expressed his motto by way of a question as he said "*How would you feel if the kind of a person you are now had to marry your sister?*" By this question, Celimpilo attempted to encourage empathy amongst men. He invited other MUPES to reflect on the ways they constructed themselves as men and their understandings of the notion of being a man, hence facilitating the deconstruction of their traditional conceptualisation. To Gugu, "*until GBV is completely alleviated, the struggle continues*". This motto suggests that there are no quick solutions to addressing GBV and that continued efforts are needed. The equating of GBV to a "*struggle*" is an important acknowledgement, and suggests that challenging it results in resistance due to social norms that need to be dismantled. For this reason, Mongezi thought "*alleviating GBV through positive actions and self-introspection*" was part of a possible intervention. This motto encourages men to be critical of their behaviours and their understandings of themselves as men emanating from the way they have been socialised. A common denominator in the above mottos is their inward focus on the way in which they thought they should construct themselves to contribute to gender transformation. Sharing their mottos during the focus group discussions motivated them to imagine their possible roles in the fight against GBV. This is similar to Christensen's (2014) findings, which show that not only did the undergraduate students who participated in peer-education and sexual assault prevention intervention presentations receive encouragement to challenge and subvert oppressive social norms that contribute to sexual violence, but that they were also encouraged to take responsibility and sought to be part of the solutions.

The MUPES who participated in FGD1 felt that their mottos could be put into action as a way of encouraging other men to construct themselves in ways that do not lead to violence. For example, when asked how their mottos could be actualised, Delani said:

At times we run away from social networks. I know they are informal, but we need to use them. There are so many bad slogans that get posted and people tend to love them, so I think even with these mottos. Maybe we can have a short video or a cartoon related to it [motto] and each time you post something you put #tag then your motto. The motto would gain popularity amongst friends and eventually among the majority of student population. Even when we have our CHASU campaign about an issue related to GBV we would put this motto, we could even come up with a song. Even during our debates, we could always include this slogan.

This view was supported by other MUPES during the focus group discussion, who believed that it was time that social networks were dominated by issues that mattered. The MUPES' determination to actualise their mottos using social media platforms as a possible intervention strategy deconstructs the notion that GBV is a women's issue (le Roux and Toit, 2017). Their willingness to publicly engage in efforts to address GBV suggests a commitment to influence the construction of better masculinities on campus. In addition, the MUPES acknowledge that they are an influential group of male students whose exemplary behaviour can be simulated by other male students. Flood (2019b) asserts that men should be involved in efforts to end GBV as they are the main perpetrators, violence emanates from the construction of masculinities, and most importantly, can be deconstructed and reconstructed. Therefore, the MUPES envisaged their role being to deconstruct and encourage the reconstruction of better masculinities campus-wide, as well as through their CHASU campaigns and debates. This suggests that they understood themselves as potential change agents, whose positive mottos could help other men to question and rework some of the traditional perceptions that might have always influenced their behaviour, hence resulting in the redefinition of a man on campus.

Section 6.2. (Navigating gendered campus spaces) in the previous chapter discussed the instances when the MUPES talked about a common attitude by certain men on campus of distancing themselves from the perceived 'feminine spaces', which included the campus library. As the MUPES talked about that attitude as something which they were against, I asked as to how they

thought the perception of feminising the library could be addressed, to which Delani said during FGD1:

The people we must focus on are those that stand outside the library. Maybe we can have some programs where we take them inside the library and let them see the positivity of working in the library. This may help them realise that the library is not only for female students, gays or maybe guys who are from rural areas...So I think the problem should be fixed [with those who stand] outside because inside there is nothing to fix.

As many MUPES believed that the motive behind gender policing the library was the perceived connection between the library and femaleness, they thought it could help the situation engaging the men (who stand outside the library) through a program that would involve taking them inside as an attempt to change their attitude and possibly redefine it as a neutral campus space, rather than as a determinant of one's gender. Envisaging their role this way repositions the MUPES in gender relations as men who could potentially destabilise the status quo.

As the focus group discussion took place during the 16 days of activisms against GBV, during FGD2 they recognised that the campaign should engage men more strongly. Gugu, who was not even aware that we were in the middle of the campaign said “*We come from different backgrounds, some of us don't even know right and wrong, but through such programmes or campaigns we learn. So, it's important that we all get the information that advertises such a significant campaign.*” By emphasising their background, Gugu suggests that there are deep social learnings that play out in their attitudes, hence necessitating men like himself to be the main targets of the campaign (which he only got to know about during the discussion). Similarly, Simo during the discussion (FGD2) acknowledged that “*this campaign is based on women and children abuse. So, obviously, or in most cases they are being abused by men. This campaign should, therefore, educate men that what they are doing is wrong.*” Gugu and Simo’s admission that men are perpetrators and need to be engaged shows their attempt to deconstruct hegemonic masculine norms that normalise (by denying or justifying) violence perpetrated by men, which is consistent with Colpitts’ (2019) assertion that dealing with GBV takes dismantling such (hegemonic) norms.

Similar to Gugu and Simo, Bafana, during the individual interview, unreservedly accepted that men are perpetrators of GBV and that something needed to be done about it, as he said:

As men, as we are the perpetrators, we can change the situation by engaging in small groups, in the small sessions and discuss these issues as we are doing in men's forum to try and come up with solutions in order to go and change the minds of other men, and change the way of thinking, because the only way we can change this thing is to change the way we think.

Bafana's view positions men as both perpetrators and potential change agents. The emphasis he put on the need for men to change the way of thinking suggests that he understood men's perpetration of violence as emanating from the dominant social norms that predetermine how a typical man behaves, which shapes their understandings of gender. For Bafana to think that men need to come together to deliberate better ways of constructing themselves is telling about his understanding of masculinities as capable of being renegotiated to valorise better constructions. This suggests that men have agency to reposition themselves by being critical of their attitudes, with Ratele (2015) emphasising that engaging men is equivalent to dealing with gender and for that reason, it is important to understand how they position themselves in gender relations.

Furthermore, the willingness to have engagements that are critical of the ways in which men have been socialised about gender was evident in Bafana's explanation of why he had an interest in discussing social issues:

At my current age, I am trying to learn, I am trying to figure out why the things that are happening in the world are happening, you know. I have questions, so by engaging and having discussions with other people, maybe my questions will be answered or I can bring answers to other people. So, discussions of that kind do help a lot (Individual interview).

Not only does Bafana's interest in engaging in social issues suggest that the way men construct themselves is not fixed, but it also suggests that perceptions on which their masculinities are predicated are time, space and context-sensitive. Bafana prefaced his inquisitiveness with an expression that "*at my current age*", suggesting the importance of time, and also said "*having discussions with other people*", underscoring the role of space and context in the process of negotiating masculinities. Bafana portrayed himself as a man who was open to other people being critical of his understandings of masculinities, which suggests that the deconstruction and reconstruction of the dominant norms that contribute to the construction of hegemonic masculinities depend on men's willing to engage in discussions that might challenge their social

learnings. Indeed, as fluid arrangements of social practice, masculinities are bound to change right from the moment of their construction (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). In the case of Bafana, the potential change in his understandings of masculinities is self-motivated, as he felt he needed to have his questions answered by others, which resonates with the assertion that hegemonic masculine norms do not mechanically satisfy all men's desires, in that some men may be encouraged to desire change due to contradictory masculine bonds (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). For this reason, the authors assert that men such as Bafana, who are self-driven to engage in discussions where their cultural and traditional perceptions might be challenged, "...are not cultural dopes" (p. 853).

Similar to the earlier view that valorised men's engagement, Richard, during FGD 1, stressed that "*it's easy for men to understand one another*", which suggests that men negotiate their individual masculinities better in front of other men. For this reason, the majority of MUPES did not take their role lightly, as they believed that they were potential change agents who can influence the construction of caring masculinities, as Bafana said, "*most of the sessions that we have [on campus] change the way one thinks...the most important thing is the way we think, once you change the way you think it's when you start to know which is the right thing and which is the wrong thing*". Although not all men can immediately change simply because they were involved in a discussion, Celimpilo believed that

if you take one man who has multiple partners and teach [him] about GBV, and he understands that there are such and such misconceptions that we need to refrain from... make him understand the era in which we live, [he] could go back to his many girlfriends and teach them too (Individual interview).

These views reveal how most MUPES repositioned themselves in gender relations by accepting that men are perpetrators, but more importantly, that they can reconstruct themselves differently by engaging in discussions. However, the way in which many MUPES constructed themselves as potential change agents sometimes revealed the complexity of maintaining equal gender relations. For example, during FGD1, Richard said:

...men should play a leading role because..., it is easy to listen to another man telling you how to behave as a man...

Delani added that:

I believe that if men gather together and say guys, let us stop this thing, I believe it could work. Let me make an example. You see, when we have strikes as students, it is males who take the initiative and lead... Even now we could embark on a campaign regarding GBV.

Although this was part of an envisaged men's role, it portrays them as having agency to solve social problems in a way that assumes female students lack. While this construction of their role as men sought to deconstruct more harmful versions of masculinities and emphasise their commitment to challenge violence, it simultaneously reinforces the hegemonic masculine norms that contribute to unequal gender relations by presupposing that women are incapable of leading the change initiatives. This positions them as powerful, and hence sustains the traditional relations of male domination and female subordination.

The analysis of the data in this theme shows that the majority of MUPES understand the culpability of men in GBV and position themselves as potential change agents in challenging unequal gender relations. However, the analysis also shows that the very commitment to balanced gender relations is sometimes characterised by articulations that reinforce men's traditional position of domination, which suggests the complexity in deconstructing and reconstructing masculinities. Given that hegemonic masculinities are constructed in relation to femininities, the analysis of the data suggests that their deconstruction and reconstruction cannot exclude women. Therefore, the next section looks at an envisaged collaborative approach to dealing with GBV.

7.5. Collaboratively Dealing with GBV

This theme presents the analysis from five sets of codes (Table 7.5.) whose data I use right throughout this section.

Table 7.5. Codes and Theme 4

Codes	Theme (unit of analysis)
a. Masculinities interact with femininities b. Nothing about women without them c. Campaigning against GBV d. Women are capable to fight GBV e. The role of peer education on men	Collaboratively dealing with GBV

The features of relationality (to femininities) and the perceived legitimation by femininities and non-hegemonic masculinities, are critical in the construction of hegemonic masculinities (Messerschmidt, 2019). In accordance with this view, many MUPES expressed an understanding that while men are the main perpetrators of GBV (due to hegemonic masculinities), and as such should play a role towards addressing it, men's role is meaningless without working collaboratively with women. For example, when asked who between males and females they thought should play a role in fighting GBV, Bafana during FGD1 said "*they need to work collaboratively*". He also added that:

In some instances, in order for us to prove that we are men, we are influenced by women. At times, women criticise men who don't wear certain brands. For example, if you don't buy from Markham or Truworths, they will say no I can't date this man. So, as a man you end up wanting to get money in order to satisfy what women expect of you. So, I think when it comes to GBV they [men and women] need to work collaboratively because they influence each other [to maintain hegemonic norms].

Bafana's view that women influence men to behave in certain ways, and that some women despise men who do not conform to hegemonic masculine norms, such as masculine materiality in the form of expensive brands, suggests his understanding of the ways in which masculinities and femininities are intertwined. He argues that there is a shared responsibility between men and women to dismantle harmful social norms. This view suggests that men's involvement in gender transformation is incomplete if women are not part of it, which resonates with the assertion that given that "the situation of men and women in societies is relational, the role of men cannot be understood if the role of women is neglected" (Scambor et al., 2014, p. 553). In agreement with this view, Celimpilo, during FGD1 said:

...when we are alone as men, what would inform our views having not been told how we violate and oppress them [women]? So, I believe that both females and males have a role to play against GBV. In fact, as we are seated like this, we have speculated many cases without actually giving them a chance to voice out their opinions.

Celimpilo's response rejects a traditional view of men as the problem solvers; instead, it is critical of the men's role in gender transformation. To Celimpilo, working with men alone to end violence is problematic, as it reinforces the patriarchal norm that men are superior and women inferior in dealing with social issues. He even questioned the very discussion we were having, suggesting that it was one dimensional, as it did not involve women, which resonates with Hearn's (2004)

argument that the focus on men has a potential risk of re-excluding women. It is my argument that for Celimpilo to be so critical of his role to ensure it does not reinforce hegemonic and patriarchal norms is itself gender transformative. In this view, while focusing on men is important as an attempt to deconstruct harmful masculinities, care should be taken not to encourage the reproduction of oppressive ways of being men or the reinforcement of patriarchal norms. Celimpilo's view suggests that when men and women work collaboratively to end violence, it will help men reflect more carefully about the ways in which they construct themselves. This notion reveals a shared view by most MUPES that GBV is an issue that needs men to be involved in.

Similarly, during FGD2, the MUPES supported the view of getting women involved, although in a slightly different way that put an emphasis on women's solidarity. For example, Mongezi expressed his view as a rhetorical question when he said "*Would we, the minority of men that have a positive mind, be able to change the majority of men who think that women should be oppressed? I think the fight should start with the women population because they are the majority* [that does not benefit from GBV]". While Mongezi acknowledged the role that men can play in fighting violence, he envisaged a more important role that women can play. This construction of women is inconsistent with the patriarchal norm that positions women as inferior and incapable of solving problems (Dutt, 2018). In other words, Mongezi valorised women's potential role, which suggests a construction of himself that does not conform to the notion of male domination and women subordination. In an attempt to emphasise the role of women in facilitating gender transformation, Mongezi said:

Women need to work together and fight this GBV, like the women of the past who united on the 9th of August and expressed themselves. So, if women could work together I am sure that they would be able to win the fight, and even the men would get the message across that what they are doing is wrong.

Mongezi's expression suggests that women have agency and are powerful in their own right. He refers to past women movements that had a great impact on how women are viewed. Given the role played by emphasised femininities (through legitimisation) in maintaining hegemonic forms of masculinities that sustain unequal gender relations, Mongezi's view suggests that women's solidarity can prove powerful to address GBV. This view also suggests that if women construct themselves in ways that do not feed into hegemonic masculine norms, such as showing interest in

men who wear expensive clothes, as mentioned by Bafana earlier, it will be a good attempt to address the power imbalance between the genders. To avoid portraying men as a social category that is naturally capable of solving social issues, Mongezi added that “*women should spearhead the campaign against GBV...as men who have a positive mind and who understand their problem, we can support them*”. These views valorise a collaborative approach to GBV that does not portray any of the genders as more important, which was an important typical reflection by most MUPES, as it was a different way of constructing themselves as men.

Not only did the majority of MUPES think working with women was necessary to avoid portraying men as the only problem solvers, they also thought it was important for men to reflect on the ways in which they construct themselves, especially as part of the peer education. A typical response during the FGD1 was when Bafana explained “*remember that all the traditional norms we grew up with never got challenged. So, peer education is the right platform to engage on those issues...It's important to understand that in order to grow you need to change the way you think*” . Bafana contended that peer education was instrumental in collaborative engagements, where both men and women can be critical of their own constructions of masculinities and femininities. This view suggests that peer education removes the power of age and authority, as it provides fertile conditions to challenge and transform harmful traditional norms that lead to violence.

Many MUPES’ willingness to be challenged in terms of their social learnings is indicative of their level of preparedness and determination to addressing GBV by dismantling some oppressive elements, which formed part of their socialisation. Saying “*in order to grow, you need to change the way you think*” suggests Bafana’s readiness to undergo a paradigm shift and to reflect on the patriarchal privileges he enjoys as a man. Most MUPES also felt that the result of working collaboratively with women to address GBV will empower both men and women, as Celimpilo stressed that “*after that [working with women], we would go out empowered and share with other students of our respective genders...we would go out and preach a relevant gospel to them*”. Furthermore, Delani thought that it would be important for men to know about the most oppressive assumptions and perceptions that keep female students subordinated on campus. To this end, he thought it would help to “*organise debates between men and women on GBV, [where] the aim would be to collect some important information about how women feel and what men think*”

(FGD1). This view deconstructs the notion that treats social norms as natural and not open for discussion, not least with women.

Based on the optimism many MUPES had about peer education in terms of dealing with GBV, I asked them as to how they demonstrate their sense of being men on campus. Abongwe's answer is a typical one as it captures some of the shared views:

Ok, you know, before I became a peer educator, back home I used to do all the negative things that other men did to manifest their power. In the township as a man you are expected to behave in a particular way. For example, you are expected to drink alcohol, have many girlfriends and go at night with other men, and those are the things I used to do. I would say peer education has really helped me to realise that things like drinking alcohol it's something that only lasts for a particular moment. So, I do not believe that one needs to drink alcohol to show that he is a man. So, peer education taught me that one does not need to manifest power in order to show that he has it (Individual interview).

Abongwe's view suggests that peer education is a strategy that can help to address social issues, as he made reference to his own situation before he joined the peer education program. It is clear from his view that masculinities can be deconstructed and reconstructed, depending on space and time. In his case, he started to redefine his understanding of the notion of a man when he joined the peer education program at university where he participated in discussions about social issues. Similarly, Celimpilo believed that it was possible for a violent man to change, as he said "*Yeah, it is possible through education, in fact, through peer education, because if I, at this age, do something wrong, like being violent, and I get advice from a person of my age, it would be easier to understand and change*". This suggests that while there is a need for men and women to work collaboratively, it is essential for men themselves to engage one another in order to neutralise some oppressive perceptions through which they construct their masculinities.

The MUPES' shared the view that being a peer educator was important, and suggests that it is a way of being a man on campus that is characterised by a willingness to be critical of their perceptions, attitudes and behaviours. Given that the MUPES joined the peer education program voluntarily, it is possible that they wanted to construct themselves differently on campus. Swain (2006) asserts that in some instances, there are limited features of masculinities for men to choose

from, which may lead men to construct what he calls personalised masculinities, that being, men's own forms of identity that, among other things, do not seek to subordinate others. Based on this assertion, I argue that the MUPES voluntarily joined peer education as an alternative space that could enable them to construct themselves differently, hence creating their own masculine identity on campus as peer educators.

The analysis of the data in this theme suggests that MUPES see masculinities and femininities as relational, in that they thought their attempts to address GBV would not be meaningful without the women, whom they regard as having the agency to bring about change in their own right. Important in this view is the MUPES' rejection of a patriarchal norm that regards men as superior and always capable of solving problems independently of women. The data suggest that a collaborative approach that includes peer education towards reducing GBV has a potential to evoke the necessary reflection for men, hence facilitating gender transformation.

7.6. Conclusion

The chapter discussed the MUPES' role of remaking campus masculinities through four themes, namely: redefining the concept of a 'real' man, troubling cultural masculine norms, advocacy to 'walk the talk and talk the walk', and collaboratively dealing with GBV. First, the data shows that gender transformation by engaging men is possible, but that there is no quick solution to GBV emanating from hegemonic masculine norms, as the attempts to deconstruct harmful masculinities are characterised by complexities and contradictions as men reconstruct themselves. Second, the data emphasised some contradictions, as some MUPES simultaneously challenged and reproduced cultural norms of masculinity. Third, the results show that the majority of MUPES understood the culpability of men in GBV, and positioned themselves as potential change agents in challenging unequal gender relations. Finally, the data show that peer education is a strategy that can help to address social issues, as it affords men an opportunity to renegotiate their masculinities. Despite some contradictions, which were indicative of the complexity and the fluidity of masculinities, the results suggested that MUPES were determined to play a role in remaking campus masculinities as a way to reduce GBV and move towards gender transformation.

CHAPTER 8. CONCLUSION

8.1. Introduction

This chapter concludes the investigation on the MUPES' understandings of masculinities in relation to GBV and synthesises the main findings discussed in the three analysis chapters in response to the study's critical questions. Thereafter, I present the contributions of the study on male university peer-educator students' understandings of masculinities and their connection to gender-based violence. It concludes by outlining the study's limitations and provides recommendations for further research.

8.2. Synthesis of the findings

Gaining insight into MUPES' understandings of masculinities and their connection to GBV was predicated on three critical questions:

1. What meanings do male university peer-educator students attach to gender-based violence?
2. How are male university peer-educator students' understandings of masculinities connected to gender-based violence?
3. How do male university peer-educator students envisage their role in reducing gender-based violence on campus?

Although there was considerable overlap between some of the themes, I have presented the discussions in accordance with the three critical questions (CQs).

8.2.1 CQ 1: What Meanings Do Male University Peer-educator Students Attach to Gender-based Violence?

To answer this question, I summarised the findings into two subheadings: asymmetrical gender power and heteropatriarchal norms create grounds for GBV, and GBV is promoted and maintained through socio-cultural processes.

8.2.1.1 Asymmetrical Gender Power and Heteropatriarchal Norms Create Grounds for GBV

While the majority of MUPES understood men to be the perpetrators and women the main victims of GBV, some thought it can happen in any direction based on the gendered power of individual

men and women. This view was informed by an understanding that portrayed relationship power as asymmetrically fluid rather than equally shared, with this being related to the power resources that are accessible to the individuals. While money was understood to be an important masculine power resource that enables men to dominate and control women, the level of education of the latter was regarded as a hindrance that sometimes has almost similar effects (as money) against the former in some families. That is, women who are educated to the extent that they challenge cultural traditional norms are considered empowered and capable of reciprocating certain forms of violence (e.g. verbal) in their defense in abusive relationships. In this view, the tragic incident that took place at Fort Hare University in February 2020, as noted by Buiten and Naidoo (2020), where a female student stabbed to death her fellow student boyfriend, may be an example of MUPES' understanding of GBV as emanating from asymmetrical gender power in relationships. This is consistent with the view that power is made up of the resources (the level of education being one) of an individual, which increases their ability to control or reject being controlled in relationships (Conroy, 2014). However, Conroy (2014) notes that empowered women who challenge their traditional gender position are sometimes exposed to more violence due to men's compensatory behaviour to protect their fragile masculinities. This highlights the connection between power processes (the interactions and power negotiations within gender relations) and power outcomes (the actual expressions of power) (Conroy, 2014), which is what the findings suggest creates the ground for GBV.

However, the meaning by some MUPES that GBV can happen in any direction between the sexes appears to be associated with their understanding of gender as synonymous with biological sex, which problematically disassociates GBV from the social constructs of masculinities and femininities, hence portraying violence as natural. In this way, the meaning they attached to GBV gender-neutralises violence, as it ignores "who is doing what to whom, in which contexts, to which effects and to whose overall benefit" (Boyle, 2019, p. 32). McIlwaine (2013) argues that regardless of the different kinds of violence, identifying GBV requires that there be a relationship between the gender of the victim and the motive for the violence perpetrated. Indeed, an understanding that assumes that GBV is equally likely to be perpetrated by either sexes is problematic, in that it normalises the scourge as if it were a gender symmetrical violence, hence not requiring urgent attention and particular focus on masculinities.

While undermining the role of masculinities in GBV, it reveals their disregard of the interaction between the three elements that Acosta (2020) deems important in explaining GBV, namely; it is structural, seeks to control and isolate the victims. The understanding that GBV can also be perpetrated by women against men suggests that the former are capable (at a structural level) of constructing themselves in ways that seek to gain control over and isolate men, this giving a simplistic meaning to the scourge, and indicating that it is still misunderstood by some men. As a gendered form of violence, GBV results in a gender hierarchy, with men still being too dominant to be regarded as victims of GBV at the hands of women. For this reason, it is important in conceptually and practically dealing with GBV to focus firmly on masculinities, rather than assume that the heterosexual violence between men and women, regardless of the direction, is automatically gender-based.

Others acknowledged the culpability of male perpetration, but believed that women were sometimes complicit due to their decision not to report their victimisation. Regarding GBV as being facilitated by women's complicity (through non-reporting) suggests that they cultivate it, which lends itself to women-blaming attitudes that neglect the traditional gender norms that consider tolerance in oppressive relationships as womanly, and also disregards the social conditions under which victimisation occurs (Jakobsen, 2014). This understanding speaks to the issues of hegemonic masculinities that acquire their perceived legitimisation from the ways in which women construct themselves, that is, the interaction between femininities and masculinities that maintain unequal gender relations (Messerschmidt, 2019). This emphasises that GBV is due to the cultural gender norms, where gender-identities are constructed in a way that takes violence as a norm predicated on the perceived inferiority of femininities to masculinities (Buitein and Naidoo, 2020). Therefore, the meaning that some MUPES attached to GBV, which disregarded this complexity in this kind of violence, suggests conformity to traditional versions of masculinities and femininities.

While GBV has sometimes been interpreted as synonymous with violence against women (VAW) (e.g. Acosta, 2020), the findings also confirm that it is more than just that. Rather, it is about asymmetrical gender power that also affects some men who do not conform to the heteronormative ways of being men on campus. This emphasises the importance of locality in the constructions of

masculinities that contribute to GBV. As the data showed, women are victims in a patriarchal society where men are regarded as superior, but that both the women and some (non-conforming) men bear the brunt of GBV in a heteropatriarchal society (e.g. their own campus) where only heterosexual men are considered to be meeting the normative standards of being perceived as ‘real’ men.

In this view, GBV is connected to issues of both internal and external dominance (Demetriou, 2001). In the former, it is characterised by gender policing among men as some attempt to subordinate others by positioning themselves in a dominant position in the hierarchy of campus masculinities. This shows how hegemonic masculinities can render other (non-hegemonic) forms subsidiary, hence producing subordinate masculinities that are relegated based on being characterised as effeminate (Connell, 1995), which subjects the men who display these forms to homophobic attacks. On the other hand, GBV is associated with external dominance, as men seek to maintain control over women, resulting in unequal gender relations. The findings suggest that GBV perpetration is always predicated on gender (suggesting the existence of ungendered kinds of violence), in that it is perpetrated particularly by men whose ultimate objective is to subordinate the women, or other groups of men, in order to construct their own masculine credentials and consolidate their dominance.

The understanding by some MUPES of GBV being a different kind of violence suggests that the violence that does not result from or in gender hierarchy is not gendered, even when between the sexes. Given that GBV maintains a gender hierarchy (Boyle, 2019; Buiten and Naidoo, 2020), I argue that it can happen even among heterosexual men in their conformity with the hegemonic masculine norms of being competitive and sexually prowessed (e.g. fighting for a girlfriend to prove one’s masculinity). This was evident in the data, men fight for a girlfriend because they want to prove to themselves and others that they are ‘real’ men, as per campus social standards. The fight (violence) is gendered, as it shows the contestation of campus masculinities, whereby winning a fight results in a favourable shift of position in the hierarchy of masculinities, hence helping one to gain some internal dominance among fellow men, which enables an external dominance over women.

The dominant understanding of GBV relates it to asymmetrical gender power and heteropatriarchal norms that promote hierarchical gender relations. Most MUPES expressed awareness of how GBV operates, suggesting that it can be addressed, which I discuss in detail in answering the 3rd critical question in section 8.2.2. The next subheading discusses the scourge as promoted through the interaction of sociocultural factors.

8.2.1.2. GBV is Promoted and Maintained Through Socio-cultural Processes

The MUPES understood GBV to be a scourge with multiple meanings, with some equating it to any violence between the sexes, as discussed earlier, while others associating it with socio-cultural processes, that being the interaction between beliefs, customs and practices located within cultures and societies that influence not only the thoughts and feelings, but also the behaviour of people in a community (Maguele and Khuzwayo, 2019). The majority of MUPES located GBV within broader socio-cultural processes in their articulations on what they thought produces GBV. Their understandings suggest that focusing on what produces GBV is essential, meaning that the perpetrator-victim discourse is necessary, but not enough to address the scourge. What the findings suggest strongly is that individual men perpetrate GBV as a result of the socio-cultural conditions that legitimise male privilege and dominance, as most MUPES drew on cultural and social explanations to express their understandings of it. This suggests that there is a distinction between who perpetrates GBV, that being individual men in their everyday interpersonal interactions, and what produces it, that being their engagement with socio-cultural factors, including patriarchy, for which men have a collective culpability. This understanding is consistent with the idea that men are collectively dominant but are individual agents of social practices (Hearn, 2012). This meaning to GBV suggests that the harmful understandings and perceptions of gender, as well as social-conditions emanating from the socio-cultural processes, upon which men construct their masculinities, are the building blocks of the scourge. Therefore, differentiating GBV production from its perpetration is essential, and informs possible intervention approaches. This suggests that it is reductionist to limit the meaning of GBV to the perpetrator-victim discourse, as it creates an impression that perpetrating it could be related to the biology of the males as perpetrators, whereas, it results from their interactions (consciously or unconsciously) with the broader socio-cultural issues, such as patriarchy and masculinities.

Although some MUPES' articulations showed their investment in cultural norms, most suggested that culture is a social institution that strengthens problematic social norms, suggesting a need for cultural dynamism, that being to do away with its harmful principles, in accordance with the current social conditions. However, slippages in their convictions were evident, as both groups of MUPES (those who challenged cultural principles and those who subscribed to some) occasionally shared views that suggested that their cultures were premised on patriarchal notions, where men are regarded as superior. This suggests that those who found some cultural elements important in constructing themselves as men conformed also to an already existing patriarchal gender order from which even cultural norms emanate. In this view, patriarchy is the underlying ideology behind culture, whose interpretations by people normalise the acts of GBV (Tjombe in Britton and Shook, 2014). Given that GBV is a global scourge, and that patriarchy operates at that level as it cuts across different cultures, associating patriarchy with GBV production is more conceivable than limiting it to cultures, which strongly suggests that all men, regardless of their cultural backgrounds, should be at the centre of this topic. The meaning associated with GBV emanating from this understanding of socio-cultural processes suggests that it is perpetrated by men, as they construct their masculinities in conformity with the cultural gender norms that are predicated on patriarchy.

For this reason, addressing GBV necessities men (in constructing themselves) giving up their patriarchal privileges, and rejecting and then reworking their cultural perceptions and understandings. This is within men's capability, as the findings show that on numerous occasions most of the MUPES were critical of their own cultural underpinnings, that being key to destabilise the traditional constructions of masculinities to reconstruct better versions. If men show agency and deconstruct the existing harmful normative constructions of the notion of a man, that will dismantle the gender power imbalance resulting from the patriarchal belief system (Mnawulezi et al., 2018). This suggests that GBV can be addressed by constructions of protest masculinities, where male students revise some aspects of hegemonic masculinities that exist on campus, as the findings show how most MUPES distanced themselves from the notion of a 'real' man and came up with the concept of DRM (different real man), being characterised by positive attitudes towards gender equality (Connell, 1995, Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). Despite some differences on

what constitutes GBV, the participants' shared understanding of it as mitigatable through their own agency is critical.

Notwithstanding the number of ways in which patriarchy has been defined, the findings show a connection to two of its long-standing yet important characteristics, that being that it assumes a religious status and adjusts norms to suit its purpose (Coetzee, 2001). In terms of assuming a religious status, some MUPES emphasised the role of religion in how they construct themselves, emphasising their interpretations of the bible to suggest men's superiority and women's inferiority. This suggests that while religious scriptures may or may not per se promote women's subordination, some MUPES' expressions indicated that the interpretation of the scriptures can maintain men's dominance due to the existing patriarchal gender order. These findings support Partab's (2012), where male participants emphasised as a religious principle the idea of women having to submit to men as 'their' heads, as they said, "*[in] Christianity... a woman should worship her man and submit to her man*" (p. 175). Similarly, in Owino's (2014) study, male participants expressed the view that "*[n]ow God's order starts with the men. He speaks of the head of the house, which is the man and from the head of the house the anointing will flow down..., the bible describes it*" (p. 167). These interpretations are similar to those of some MUPES and characteristic of eisegesis, that they are based on preconceived ideas about women rather than exegesis, which is the critical explanation of a biblical text (Coetzee, 2001). On the basis that the findings suggest that what makes violence gendered are the patriarchal underlying notions and perceptions, such as the belief that men are superior to women, which results in the constructions of oppressive masculinities; patriarchy, by assuming a religious status, facilitates and normalises GBV.

The findings emphasise that patriarchy adjusts norms to suit its purpose, in that it erroneously gives the perceived men's superiority the status of a hypernorm, and as such, modifies human behaviour significantly (Coetzee, 2001). The findings show how the expectation to conform to patriarchal norms influences individuals' decision-making by creating a fear to report GBV, when it has been normalised within the notion of men's supremacy and women's inferiority. This is consistent with the assertion that in patriarchal societies, women's failure to submit to men leads to the use of violence being considered legitimate in reminding them about their perceived subordinate position in order for men to maintain their dominance (Jakobsen, 2014). A woman

who considers reporting an incident of GBV has to first engage with socio-cultural factors, which is a process that tests the social validity of what she deems to be victimisation. It is for this reason that most MUPES' understandings of GBV production suggest an attribution not to an individual perpetrator or victim, but to an oppressive structural gender order that transcends the individual level, and manifests itself through hegemonic masculine norms that expect women to be submissive to men (Jewkes et al., 2015b).

This suggests that in patriarchal societies, women's conformity to the hegemonic masculine norms that keep them subordinated is regarded as normal rather than being characterised as contributing to unequal gender relations. This resonates with the assertion that patriarchal values, attitudes and beliefs shape our social and cultural practices, making even the oppressive social interactions appear to be acceptable (Bahlieda, 2015). When reporting GBV is regarded as going against the norm, and non-reporting as maintaining it (norm), it suggests that patriarchy has indeed adjusted the norms. To demonstrate this biased modification of the norms, List (2018) notes women's reluctance to report their victimisation, even when anonymity is guaranteed. This emphasises the constructions of hegemonic masculinities, in that to the extent that women may internalise GBV as a norm, or may be complicit in downplaying it (by not reporting) due to patriarchal standards. This constitutes a perceived legitimisation of their own subordination, which is essential to maintaining imbalanced power relations (Messerchmidt, 2019). The GBV happening under such circumstances on a university campus may not be easy to notice, as Dunne et al. (2006) emphasise that implicit forms of gendered violence engender gender polarisation that can be hard to identify, as they are regarded as inherent parts of institutional social relations.

The participants understand that the inequalities that facilitate GBV are promoted through patriarchal and traditional gender norms from a young age, which suggests being socialised to maintain unequal gender relations, where masculinity and femininity are conceptualised as binary opposites, with men being constructed as powerful and women as powerless. Given this view, I argue that men see themselves as simultaneously the victims of patriarchy and the perpetrators of GBV, through which they manifest their dominance. Given the need to address the scourge of GBV, conceptualising it this way is essential to making sure that men take responsibility, either as victims of patriarchy who ought to have an agency to reject patriarchal privileges, or as perpetrators

of GBV who consolidate their dominance through harmful constructions of themselves as men, and as such, who should deconstruct those and reconstruct themselves differently. While not all patriarchal norms were clearly associated with GBV, those that were understood to be embedded in MUPES' cultures were related to the scourge. This means that patriarchy manifests itself through the interpretations of culture, which in turn is expressed in many ways, including but not limited to normalised incidents of GBV. I therefore, argue that "using culture to enforce compliance" (Singh and Naicker, 2019, p. 8), acceptance and tolerance of any kind is indeed problematic, as it normalises and ethicises that which is ethically anomalous, such as GBV.

8.2.2. CQ 2: How are Male University Peer-educator Students' Understandings of Masculinities Connected to Gender-based Violence?

In answering this question, I summarised the findings into five subheadings, namely; gendered campus spaces support masculinising practices and gender policing, GBV is associated with the material power to dominate, women empowerment is instrumental in dismantling GBV facilitating masculine privileges, heteronormativity promotes harmful masculinities and, complying with and challenging hegemonic masculine constructions.

8.2.2.1. Gendered Campus Spaces Support Masculinising Practices and Gender Policing

The participants associated GBV with certain campus practices that are regarded as masculine. For example, most MUPES' understandings of GBV related it to an area on campus that students called Dark City (an open space without proper lighting at night), as they believed students abused substances and drank alcohol there to construct themselves as men in conformity with a hegemonic norm of being a 'real' man. While drinking alcohol was regarded as a masculinity-making exercise, most MUPES also thought that it was an important factor that facilitated GBV on campus, based on the notion that men have an uncontrollable sexual desires when drunk. This perceived irrepressibility portrays male students' violent behaviour as natural, hence normalising the sexual assault of women and the competitive behaviour amongst men. These findings are consistent with those of other studies that drinking alcohol is regarded as a dominant masculine exercise that contributes to men's violent behaviour towards others (Nkosi et al., 2016; Rich, et al., 2015). Considering that most MUPES associated alcohol with the notion of a 'real' man on campus, the perpetration of violence by a drunk man does not suggest a direct influence of alcohol on GBV,

but an indirect one. This means that addressing GBV does not simply necessitate depriving men of alcohol, as it is not perpetrated only by drunk men. Instead, this suggests that men's perpetration of violence emanates from their preconceived ideas (associated with sociocultural processes as discussed earlier) about gender in relation to themselves and women, which means that alcohol only gives some men the courage to express that which they already hold as a belief. Therefore, it is more appropriate to talk about the alcohol-masculinity-violence connections, as this clearly indicates that alcohol abuse by men is in and of itself gendered, which is what leads to violent behaviour towards women. For this reason, the characteristics of a physical environment (e.g. Dark City) and time are important in the construction of campus masculinities, as they facilitate the alcohol intake and then the actual expression of the latent harmful views, which is often characterised by sexual harassment against women. The finding that there are increased incidences of unsolicited sexual advances and coercion towards female students with alcohol abuse are in accordance with studies on alcohol use and GBV at South African universities (Layland et al., 2019).

The student residences were also regarded as private spaces where female students experience violence at the hands of their partners due to their failure to be submissive to them as men in line with the notion that regards men as powerful and women as powerless (Mnawulezi et al., 2018). The MUPES also talked about incidents where male students fight over girlfriends in the residences, hence constructing them as unsafe spaces and associated with GBV. These findings are consistent with those from other studies that found that university residences were constructed as unsafe spaces characterised by gendered forms of violence (Gordon and Collins, 2013; Ngabaza et al., 2015). Therefore, a comprehensive understanding of GBV taking place in an educational institution needs also to consider the role played by the physical environment (public or private) in facilitating the manifestations of hegemonic masculine norms (including alcohol abuse as a symbol of masculinity) that contribute to the perpetration of gendered forms of violence by men.

Masculinities are actively policed by men, with the policing taking place in multiple ways, the findings showing that there were gendered feminine (e.g. the library) and masculine (e.g. the sports fields) spaces that contributed to implicit forms of GBV. The construction of these campus spaces in this way led to them being monitored in terms of who used them. In the case of the gendered

feminine spaces, the gender policing of the library as a perceived feminine space by some men was characterised by stigmatisation of those men who used it, as their gender was scrutinised, thereby portraying them as occupying a subordinate position in the hierarchy of campus masculinities. For a male student, entering the library was construed as a transition in gender (from masculinity to femininity), or a confirmation thereof, thereby lending itself to the constructions of subordinate masculinities that are associated with men who are perceived to be feminine (Connell, 1995). Subordinate masculinities are important, as they suggest the existence of hegemonic forms that are exalted and used to maintain gender hierarchy as well as unequal gender relations on campus, which contributes to various forms of GBV, including homophobia (discussed in detail later in section 8.2.2.4) (Buiten and Naidoo, 2020). Regarding the gendered masculine spaces, the understanding of a prejudicial and exclusionary implicit gender policing of female students by males, in terms not only of sports fields but also sport code (soccer), suggests that these were associated with masculinity and not femininity. For male students to construct themselves in this way indicates the fragility of some forms of campus masculinities, creating an impression that certain sports are inherently associated with maleness. Hence, Schippers (2007) contends that masculinities are, and ought to be understood as social locations that individuals can enter through practice, regardless of sex.

This finding that some campus spaces are gendered shows how the subtle forms of GBV emanate from the harmful ways in which some males construct themselves. Clearly, the feature of legitimisation, which is important in the construction of hegemonic masculinities that contribute to unequal gender relations, is not met by the above finding, as female students did not legitimise their own victimisation. This is important, as it suggests that GBV in its various forms can also be perpetrated outside of clear unequal gender relations resulting from hegemonic masculinities. Instead, this indicates that some male students use campus spaces to control and determine the meaning of gender, which suggests the existence of dominating masculinities that control not only the specific interactions, but also the exercise of masculine power over female students (e.g. by denying them to use the sport field), and by some male students exceptionalising their use of the feminised library (Messerschmidt, 2012). This feeds into the assertion that “[b]oth gender and space are similar in reflecting social norms into the lived experience” (Nakhal, 2015, p. 17).

8.2.2.2. GBV is Associated with the Material Power to Dominate

Campus masculinities that were constructed around materiality were hegemonic, and contributed to the unequal gender relations through female students' perceived consenting behaviours that suggested legitimisation to their subordination. The construction of these masculinities was premised on the campus masculine resources, such as money and expensive clothes. Having money, which they used to lure the female students, assisted the male students to construct themselves in ways consistent with the hegemonic masculine norm of being perceived as providers for females, thereby subordinating and exposing them to GBV (e.g. sexual assaults). Money was a masculine resource assigned with power on campus, in that male students who were holders of bursaries that were believed to be paying well were regarded as powerful compared to those who had lower paying sponsorships. Being perceived as powerful was important for male students to maintain their dominance, particularly over females, showing that financial power was linked to success. Given that money was a campus masculine resource that facilitated imbalanced power relations, I argue that it contributed to masculinity constructions that sustained implicit forms of GBV, which were easily normalised, such as men's demonstration of sexual prowess through involvement in multiple sexual relationships, where females are objectified and used as a measure of masculinity and prizes.

Furthermore, the idea of being fashionable (by wearing expensive clothes) is an essential masculine resource on campus for both conforming and nonconforming men, leading to some implicit contestations in campus masculinities, and a fight for internal dominance and a powerful position in the hierarchy of masculinities. The masculinisation of clothing contributed to both hegemonic and dominant masculinities. The understanding that males who wore expensive clothes engaged in multiple partnerships, and that the female students preferred them, regardless of the toxicity in those relationships, lends itself to hegemonic masculinities that contribute to GBV. Hence, Barry (2018) asserts that men "dress to reinforce hegemonic masculinity, gain social advantages, and subsequently preserve the gender order" (p. 638). The masculine norm of competitiveness about clothing influenced the male students' behaviour towards one another, as they all wanted to achieve the dominant form of masculinity on campus. Dominant masculinities, as the most powerful, celebrated and common forms in a given setting (Beasley, 2008; Messerschmidt, 2012), influenced the hierarchy of campus masculinities, with some male students

using clothes to distinguish themselves from other males. Barry (2018) asserts that fashion operates as an important means by which men's visible gender identities are engendered as not only different from women but also from other men, which maintains their social dominance and unequal gender system in certain settings. I therefore argue that the understanding that money and clothing are important in the way in which men construct themselves on campus means that these are essential masculine resources that strengthen both hegemonic and dominant masculinities, hence facilitating GBV.

8.2.2.3. Women Empowerment: Instrumental in Dismantling GBV Facilitating Masculine Privileges

Powerful women are a threat to fragile masculinities, with some MUPES regarding women empowerment as troubling to vulnerable masculinities and the patriarchal notion of men's supremacy, from which GBV emanates, which suggests that it can be instrumental in dealing with the scourge, as it destabilises the source of men's harmful behaviours. The majority of MUPES acknowledged that male privilege was socially and culturally perpetuated, and reflecting on this in their own lives committed to promoting change, asserting that men can choose not to conform to harmful constructions of masculinities. However, some MUPES still perpetuated some notions of hegemonic masculinities, despite having demonstrated an awareness of gender inequality and its relation to violence, which was evident in their articulations about the notion of men's headship. They believed that women empowerment might lead to their emasculation as men, and that this fragility of their masculinities gives rise to the construction of violent hypermasculinities that subject women to GBV (Dworkin et al., 2012). Abelson (2014) concurs that hypermasculinities are characterised by violence and a strong belief in conservative understandings of being a man. An important point that this raises is that while some MUPES' articulations about men being regarded as heads of their families indicated multiple ways in which male power is engendered around this notion, they also used it (men's headship) to protect their privileges against women, as some understood women empowerment to be a threat. While most MUPES embraced women empowerment as gender transformative, the few who questioned its cultural legitimacy in order to preserve their patriarchal privileges and hegemonic norms highlight the importance of Ratele's (2015) assertion that in studying men, it should be borne in mind that we are engaging the cultural tradition that is responsible for the ways in which they construct themselves.

8.2.2.4. *Heteronormativity Promotes Harmful Masculinities*

Some MUPES' articulations of their masculinities rejected homosexuality, as they believed it was unmanly, thereby indicating a heteronormative understanding of being a man, which shows how there are traditional and cultural constructions about nonconforming men. This suggests that homosexuality is regarded as an inferior form of masculinity and is therefore subordinated. This finding contends that the campus culture has implications for male students to want to be seen as conforming to heteronormative definitions of being a man that expect them to demonstrate sexual prowess through multiple heterosexual relationships and at times, sexual coercion against female students. This suggests that the heteronormative campus culture encourages men to construct themselves in particular ways to fit the environment, which Ratele (2013) asserts leads to the exaggeration of harmful normative masculinities as men attempt to distance themselves from homosexuality.

In their work on inclusive masculinities that reject homophobia, Anderson and McCormack (2016) refer to a heteronormative culture as homohysterical, in that it creates fear among men to be regarded as homosexual. The authors (2016) explain the conditions that need to be met for a culture to be considered homohysterical, namely; 1) it maintains enmity towards nonconforming men; 2) there is an awareness that nonconforming men are present in that culture; and 3) there is a belief that gender and sexuality are combined. The findings show that the campus culture met these conditions, and I argue that some men constructed non-inclusive masculinities that rendered nonconforming men subordinated. This emphasises the hierarchical arrangement of campus masculinities, whereby homosexuality is perceived as a characteristic of subordinate forms of being men (Connell, 1995). This view is consistent with the understanding that at a structural level, the interaction between people is characterised by gendered behaviours that are predicated on hegemonic and cultural gender norms, which results in violence being used to police gender transgressions and reinforce the notion of appropriate heterosexuality (Buiten and Naidoo, 2020; Msibi, 2009, Naidoo and Karels, 2012).

Given that GBV is motivated by and conforms to dominant gender norms, the findings suggest that it is perpetrated against some male students to maintain internal dominance and hierarchical masculinities on campus, hence maintaining homophobia as one of its forms (Boyle, 2019); this

has implications for the attempts to address GBV, as it suggests a holistic approach that addresses the gendered nature of violence without equating and reducing it to simply violence against women, which has a potential to normalise the very problem when it manifests itself differently through homophobia. That being said, women are disproportionately affected by GBV, hence it should not be normalised in any way, but analysed in every way.

While traditional and cultural constructions of masculinity were, in general, taken as natural and unchangeable, some MUPES rejected the hegemonic ideals that promoted heterosexuality, and embraced more fluid understandings that opened a space for agency and personal choice in how men constructed themselves. For example, some MUPES' understandings of masculinities were characterised by articulations of respect for women and nonconforming men, where they rejected the notion that portrayed heterosexuality and its related hegemonic norms as an inherent part of being a man. Disassociating hegemonic masculine norms, such as sexual prowess and engaging in multiple partnerships, from the notion of a real man, is important in deconstructing the perception that heterosexuality is a sign of being a man. The findings show that to some MUPES, homosexuality was as normal as heterosexuality, and that nonconforming students deserved respect for their choice, which has the potential to change society on issues of sexuality and gender. Such views of nonconforming men resonate with Munyuki's et al. (2018) contention that when they (nonconforming men) experience acceptance and a university atmosphere that normalises rather than exceptionalises their sexuality, they feel safe.

8.2.2.5. Complying with and Challenging Hegemonic Masculine Constructions

The findings also show how, on the whole, the MUPES' constructions of themselves as men vacillated between what I regard as unfixed masculinity-making stages, namely: hegemonic, contradictory and progressive, as indicated in Figure 8.1.

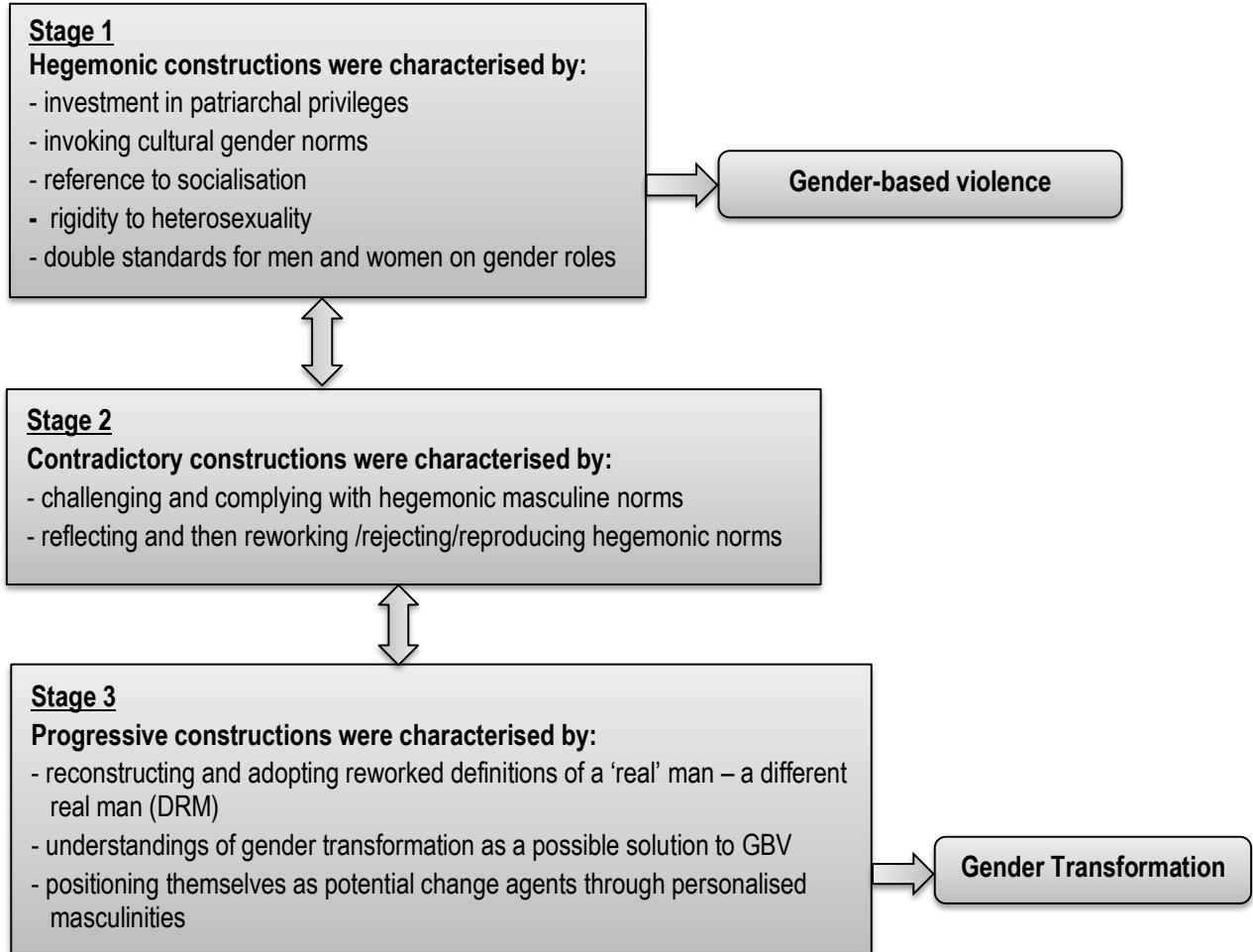


Figure 8.1 Fluid constructions of masculinities towards gender transformation

While hegemonic constructions were characterised by understandings that fed into GBV, progressive ones (discussed in section 8.2.3) focus on positive attitudes towards gender transformation that were expressed through reconstructions of new ways of being a man. Some hegemonic masculinities were constructed momentarily as some MUPES attempted to reconstruct themselves differently as men. This led to some contradictory constructions that were sometimes not permanently hegemonic nor progressive. The contradictions and ambivalences in their articulations are further support for the rejection of fixed male attributes based on biology and adds to the theoretical underpinnings of the multiple and fluid nature of masculinities.

It was at this stage that most of the MUPES were involved in reflection that resulted in the reworking of some hegemonic masculine norms, which resulted in reproducing milder versions.

These findings highlight the complexity of deconstructing hegemonic masculine norms in the quest for reconstructing the ‘progressive masculinities’ (Abelson, 2014) that can potentially reduce GBV. More importantly, they emphasise that masculinities are indeed fluid and always under construction, thereby suggesting that the continued engagement of men is critical to reducing GBV.

While the majority of MUPES often constructed themselves in ways that mostly contributed to potential gender transformation, which can address GBV, others’ constructions sustained the scourge through hegemonic masculine understandings. Labeling such constructions in terms of distinctive masculinity forms could not show clearly the relationship that was found between masculinities and GBV, as per Objective 2, given that some constructions were very momentary. The categorisation of masculinities into hegemonic, complicit, protest and subordinate (Connell, 1995) was useful in identifying and understanding certain constructions, but it did not in and of itself allow me to explain how a momentary change in masculinity-making articulations can be connected to GBV perpetration and its reduction, which is the complexity that the data was suggesting. This resonates with Hearn’s (2012) comment about hegemonic masculinity, to the effect that seeking to identify its pure form is challenging.

For this reason, Figure 8.1 shows that the way in which most MUPES constructed themselves transcended the distinctive forms of masculinities, and focused on how their articulations contributed to either GBV or potential gender transformation through the fluid constructions across the stages. The model shows how masculinities can be related not only to the perpetration of GBV, but also to the potential reduction through gender-transformative constructions. Regarding the contradictory constructions in particular, unlike a specific form of masculinity, Stage 2 accommodates the existence of conflicting ways in which some MUPES constructed themselves in their attempts to deconstruct problematic gender norms. While I am mindful that individual men’s opposition to violence does not translate to equality in gender relations (Hearn, 2012), I maintain that the contradictory constructions that resulted from men’s subscription to opposing gender norms and beliefs suggest that engaging men more can invoke the necessary reflection, which can contribute to progressive ways of being men that are key for gender transformation and equality. Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) acknowledge that internal contradictions are expected

to characterise some practices that construct masculinities. To contextualise the contradictions shown by the findings, I argue that they are a necessary stage towards gender transformation and GBV reduction, as they are an indication that there is an attempt by some men to shift (even minimally) from hegemonic masculine understandings that contribute to the scourge, in the right direction towards progressive constructions that can reduce it.

8.2.3. CQ 3: How do Male University Peer-educator Students Envisage their Role in Reducing Gender-based Violence on Campus?

The MUPES saw themselves as having the capacity to rework their own limiting identities as well as to encourage positive change in other male students. These findings are presented under the following two broad headings: deconstructing and reconstructing campus masculinities, and MUPES as potential change agents.

8.2.3.1. Deconstructing and Reconstructing Campus Masculinities

The majority of MUPES understood the blameworthiness of men regarding GBV perpetration, and positioned themselves as potential change agents in challenging hegemonic masculine norms that contribute to unequal gender relations. Most identified harmful masculinities as the causes of GBV, and envisaged their role in reducing GBV as being to deconstruct harmful masculinities and reconstruct better versions, this change being for themselves and for other male students on campus. They associated gender inequality with cultural and traditional gender norms, and were very critical of their own cultural learnings and the meanings attached to the notion of a ‘man’. In accordance with the way in which they positioned themselves, not only did most participants deconstruct hegemonic masculine norms, such as the notion of a ‘real’ man, but they also proposed its reconstruction. Given that this notion is characterised by harmful forms of traditional masculinities, of which many MUPES demonstrated awareness, they challenged it and reconstructed the concept of a different real man (DRM) who is associated with caring masculinities that are open to equality among men and with women. These findings suggest that men are simultaneously culpable of constructing harmful masculinities that contribute to GBV and capable of deconstructing them in order to reconstruct better versions. This is in line with Flood’s (2019b) assertion that because masculinities can be deconstructed, men can play a role in the fight against violence.

However, the findings also show that there is a relative rather than an absolute meaning attached to the hegemonic masculine norms, such as a ‘provider’ and a ‘protector’. For example, while most MUPES challenged other harmful aspects of the notion of a ‘real’ man, some retained the elements of a man being regarded as a protector and a provider, and attached to them different meanings associated with caring, such as their sharing house chores and child care, which they constructed as masculine. Such hybridised constructions lend themselves to inclusive masculinities (Anderson and McCormack, 2016), as they accept traditional feminine elements as masculine. Constructing masculinities in this way has the potential to gradually deconstruct the harmful masculinities, with Duncanson (2015) concurring that the inclusion of the perceived feminine aspects in the way men construct themselves is not always superficial, as it does not always suggest the strengthening of the hegemonic forms.

8.2.3.2. MUPES as Potential Change Agents

On numerous occasions, most MUPES positioned themselves as potential change agents, which suggests that peer education is a strategy that can help to reduce GBV, as it affords men an opportunity to renegotiate their masculinities, hence facilitating a possible gender transformation. To most MUPES, being a peer educator was an important identity that guided their behaviour on campus, as they often made reference to the troubling ways in which they constructed themselves before joining peer education. They also reflected on how other students treated them, mostly highlighting that they were a recognised group of male students on campus due to the campaigns and programs that they conducted for other students. Given that the MUPES joined the peer education program voluntarily, as a personal choice, I argue that they were knowingly adopting an oppositional discourse with a clear agenda to display exemplary lifestyle (as encouraged by CHASU) on campus, hence challenging the hegemonic masculine norms that contribute to such social ills as HIV/AIDS, GBV etc. This was a more personalised way of constructing themselves as men on campus that necessitated continued self-introspection and reflection on their attitude and behaviour in order to manifest a different manly identity. The participants’ reconstruction of some hegemonic masculine norms (e.g. real man to DRM) that contribute to unequal gender relations suggests a clear agenda against inequality.

Given the above background about MUPES and what the study found to be their attitudes towards reducing GBV, I argue that they constructed themselves in ways associative with the concept of ‘personalised masculinities’, which refers to boys’/men’s constructions whereby they pursue their own forms of identity in a given setting (Swain, 2006). As far as Swain (2006) is concerned, personalised masculinities do not have any cultural agenda that is prescriptive to other men’s behaviour, nor do they seek to challenge hegemonic forms. However, the way in which most MUPES constructed themselves as peer educators was progressive, their articulations having demonstrated a clear agenda to challenge those cultural and hegemonic masculine norms they found problematic, and even reconstructed some of them, such as the notion of a ‘real’ man. Their constructions of masculinities were characterised by a clear desire to progress from cultural to better ways of being men on campus. For this reason, I argue that they constructed personalised progressive masculinities, these being characterised by understandings of themselves as potential change agents who can contribute to the reduction of GBV. My argument is consistent with Jewkes et al. (2015b) who assert that any attempt to address manifestations of the problem of patriarchy (from which the findings suggest GBV emanates) should not be treated as a zero-sum game, whereby slight changes in hegemonic masculinities are treated with suspicion except when patriarchy and gender inequality have completely been addressed. Therefore, most MUPES’ constructions of their masculinities should be regarded as progressive, despite contradictions, as they largely maintained an oppositional discourse to the problem of hegemonic masculine norms.

A key point that I am asserting, based on the findings, is that peer education is an important platform that motivates male students to be at the forefront of discussions about the gender norms that produce and maintain GBV. Given that most of the MUPES were embracive of all the expectations and responsibilities that accompanied their position, and their articulations were characterised by varying degrees of reflexivity, this underscores the value of motivating young men to participate in reflecting on their own beliefs and practices, and then spread the process to include other young men. This process has the potential not only to deconstruct the harmful masculinities that lead to GBV, but also to reconstruct better ones, as it has been argued that interaction among men is critical in enabling incremental transformation of masculinities (Gibbs et al., 2020). This suggests that addressing GBV does not simply necessitate a focus on males, but on how they construct themselves as men, that being their masculinities because “men constitute

a social category of power" (Hearn, 2019, p. 55). I highlighted this as a gap in the literature review Chapter 3, section 2.5, as I had noticed some of the recent studies that explored GBV at universities involving females only, others females and males, but not using masculinity lenses to understand men's expressions, hence creating an impression that their perpetration of violence could be linked to biological elements rather than being a product of socio-cultural processes.

Those studies that focused on women only unintendedly contributed to the impression that GBV may have nothing to do with men nor their masculinities, which puts more responsibility on women. However, the findings of this study show that the harmful ways in which men construct their masculinities is connected to GBV. This suggests that using masculinity lenses to study GBV is critical, especially within the context of peer educators, whose constructions of themselves as men may also contribute to the deconstruction of hegemonic masculine norms, thereby addressing the scourge. Although the ways in which some of the MUPES constructed themselves were sometimes contradictory, the varying levels of reflexivity they showed, and being critical of some of their own cultural norms, are consistent with what the research says, that peer education is capable of engaging men in a powerful manner and enables them to change in knowledge and attitudes (Moolman et al., 2020; McMahon, et al., 2014; Rose-Clarke et al., 2019; Sun et al., 2018).

8.3. Main Contributions of the Study

As considerable research has focused on men, masculinities and violence, this study examined male university peer-educator students' understandings of masculinities and their connection to GBV by focusing on a selected sample at one of UKZN's five campuses. This study adds a critical element of progressivity to the concept of personalised masculinities that was originally "made up from boys who appeared content to pursue their own types of identity, and did not aspire to, or imitate, the leading form" of masculinity in their institutions (Swain, 2006, p. 331). When Swain (2006) proposed 'personalised' as a form of masculinity, he had experienced a similar situation as myself of the contradictory ways in which boys constructed themselves in his research sites, where he found it to be simplistic and limiting to use the existing forms of masculinities, as they did not allow him to illustrate the complexity in their constructions.

As evident in the findings in Section 8.2.2.5, some MUPES constructed themselves in contradictory and fluid ways, demonstrating their internal conflicts between deeply embedded traditional masculine norms and changed ones, within which they would need to give up some of their privileges. Considering the complexity and fluidity of masculinities as well as the need to reduce GBV through gender transformation, this study (as shown in Figure 8.1) asserts that contradictory masculinities are not stumbling blocks towards transformation but necessary potential building blocks towards desired progressive masculinities. In this view, men's contradictions facilitate a process of reflection, which is a prerequisite to achieving better forms of masculinities that challenge men's privileges. Many MUPES were largely critical of and challenged their cultural gender norms that contribute to GBV, thereby suggesting an agenda for potential gender transformation on campus. The momentary hegemonic constructions that some MUPES produced did not always (if at all) suggest resistance to change, but moments of reflection, as they were often followed by the reworked and better constructions of themselves as men. This is what suggested an element of progress in the way in which they constructed themselves, which indicated a shift in the direction towards possible gender transformation. This made it challenging to attach a specific form of masculinities out of the existing ones to explain this complexity, and for this reason, I propose that their constructions be understood as personalised progressive masculinities.

Swain's (2006) explanation about personalised masculinities is important in making my study's contribution clear regarding constructions of masculinities, and notes that:

Just because there is a culturally authoritative form of masculinity within each setting, it does not automatically follow that all boys (or men) will attempt to engage with, aspire to, or want to challenge it (either consciously or unconsciously): some, of course, are simply unable to do so. (p. 340)

This explains the context in which personalised masculinities can be constructed, which accommodates the conditions under which MUPES made a personal choice to become peer educators, knowing that they were adopting a new form of identity accompanied by expectations of exemplary behaviour on campus that does not conform to the harmful campus masculinities. Similarly, the boys in Swain's (2006) study chose to construct themselves differently and not to conform to the dominant masculinities in their schools. However, most MUPES' articulations

about masculinities, whereby they determinedly challenged most culturally motivated ways of being men on campus, and even reconstructing some, suggests progressiveness in their constructions, hence extending and adding a critical dimension to the original concept of personalised masculinities. Given that although men are collectively dominant, they are individual agents of social practices (Hearn, 2012), identifying and analysing the forms of masculinities they produce autonomously (not conforming to the existing dominant forms in their setting) is essential.

While the findings show that the harmful forms of masculinities that play out on campus often emanate from broader socio-cultural processes as scripts that predetermine gender expectations, the concept of personalised progressive masculinities implies that the institutions can be proactive by influencing an alternative institutional culture that can neutralise any existing problematic ones that students bring along. This is possible by engaging male students on social issues in order to encourage them to pursue nonviolent and progressive kinds of identity that can facilitate reflecting on their interpretations of oppressive cultural norms in a way that may lead to them producing new institutional masculine scripts from which peaceful masculinities can be constructed. This can be a critical alternative institutional culture that can help address the slavish reliance by male students on harmful cultural masculine norms to construct themselves. Therefore, I argue that peer education allows male students to construct themselves more autonomously and progressively, as it is an important platform that encourages them to lead in discussions about the gender norms that produce and promote GBV.

8.4. Limitations of the Study and Implications for Further Research

Out of a large number of male university students, this study was purposefully delimited to those few who were members of CHASU as peer educators on one of the UKZN campuses. I am not suggesting that this is a limitation per se, but it is important to contextualise the ensuing point. Focusing on peer-educator students was informed by their interest in social issues, and as GBV is a social problem that cuts across cultures, I had expected that a group of peer-educator students would be representative of a variety of cultures, hence allowing me to have a broader view of how their cultural interpretations relate, if at all, to GBV. However, the dominant culture that participants kept referring to as theirs was the Zulu culture, which was represented by 15 MUPES, and very seldom would they mention the Xhosa culture, as it was only represented by two

participants. This is a limitation as it only afforded the study a narrow view that unintendedly creates an impression that the Zulu cultural norms are the particularly problematic ones compared to those of the Xhosa, and any other cultures that were not represented. As the findings show that GBV emanates from patriarchy, and that it is sustained by cultural norms that manifest themselves through the ways men construct themselves (masculinities), peer-educator students with widely varied cultural backgrounds would have added a significant dimension in this regard.

When generating the data using the FGD and drawings, the process was characterised by some limitations. While participants were able to negotiate their views at the beginning (drawing stage) of the FGD, they did not all formulate them at the same time, with some raising objections later. For this reason, it would have helped the process if I had provided more drawing material to allow individual participants to draw their own visual representations of views and then show them to the group for discussion. Upon reaching some consensus, the group could then have made a joint drawing representing the shared views. This way, the final visual could have matched the final point of discussion. However, the way in which I handled the process produced visuals that do not capture the differences in participants' views. For example, when the participant challenged the perceptions related to the drawing they made, there was no opportunity to go back and produce another drawing to capture the new view, as at that stage, the focus was already on the participants' interpretations of the drawings. Therefore, while the differences, contradictions and some reflections were captured in text, the visuals did not show all these complexities.

As a way of suggesting what the future research could focus on, this study was methodologically delimited to male university students who were peer educators, this methodological bias enabling me to focus more on masculinities rather than on femininities. However, after attending a debate session organised by CHASU between peer-educator students (males and females) from different campuses of the university, wherein mixed-gender teams of peer-educator students explicitly and vehemently debated critical social issues, I realised that a study that involved both female and male peer-educator students could further extend our understanding of GBV. This understanding could be in relation not only to masculinities, but also to femininities to explore how the two interact to produce or challenge hegemonic masculinities, as they rely on such interaction. During one of the focus group discussions some participants thought that discussing issues that also concern women

without them was rather problematic, as it made them as men fall into the trap of assuming how women feel about their (men's) behaviour. This suggests the need for further research, but with a mixed gender of university peer-educator students.

Such a study could simultaneously focus on how male peer-educator students construct themselves around women and also explore how the females' constructions of themselves as woman mitigate against or cultivate harmful constructions of masculinities. This could contribute to our understanding of how reworked constructions of masculinities and femininities can compatibly bring about gender transformation. The study would need to be carefully planned in such a way that gender equality was an important factor in the carrying out of all the study activities and allow the participants to work in mixed-gender groups. This would further give the researcher some helpful data in terms of how men construct and practice gender equality in the presence rather than absence of women. It would be an opportune moment to extend our understanding of the challenges and contradictions that some men may face as they attempt to 'walk the talk and talk the walk', as it was found to be one of the ways through which most MUPES expressed their role to reduce GBV, as potential change agents.

8.5. Conclusion

The research grew out of the premise that addressing GBV at university necessitates the willingness of those who perpetrate it to change and that peer-educator students are ideally placed to destabilise the gender norms that students enter university with, not least those that normalise this violence. Drawing on the perspectives of male peer-educator students, I show that peer education is a critical platform for gender transformation within university settings. It encourages male students to take the lead in discussions about gender norms that produce and promote GBV. The majority of the male peer-educator students who participated in the study embraced the responsibilities that accompanied their position, their narratives being characterised by varying degrees of reflexivity. This highlights the importance of encouraging male students to reflect on their own beliefs and practices, extend that process to working with other male students, and thus challenge and rework the toxic masculinities that lead to GBV at universities.

Amongst the many harmful consequences of GBV are serious health-related issues that are both a cause and effect of socio-cultural underpinnings. Health promotion initiatives have often concerned themselves with women empowerment by focusing on their individual behaviours, policy issues and health systems (Corbin, 2018). This study argues that health promotion programs could achieve more by involving men in the fight against GBV. This would have positive outcomes for all genders, especially within university contexts. Effective health education and promotion initiatives should embrace a more gender-transformative approach that meaningfully gives men the platform to reflect (in the presence or absence of women) not only on their individual behaviours, but also on their deep-seated cultural and traditional belief systems predicated on asymmetrical gender power. This study has signalled the conditions (peer education) under which men can be engaged as potential change agents to deal with such health and social issues as GBV with a focus on deconstructing the hegemonic masculine norms that compromise men's and women's health.

The analysis of the male peer-educator students' understandings of masculinities and their connection to GBV promotes differentiation of GBV production from its perpetration, hence better informing potential intervention strategies by going beyond the reductionist perpetrator-victim discourse; instead, focusing on men's interactions with the broader socio-cultural issues.

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APPENDIX 1: ETHICAL CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE



17 March 2016

Mr Sibusiso Siphesihle Ngubane 205521573
School of Education

Dear Mr Ngubane

Protocol reference number: HSS/1842/0150

Project Title: Male University peer-educator students' understandings of masculinities and its connection to Gender Based Violence

Full Approval – Full Committee Reviewed Protocol

In response to your application received 15 December 2015, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol has been granted **FULL APPROVAL**.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment /modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number.

PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 3 years from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully

Dr Sheekha Singh (Chair)
Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

/pm

Cc Supervisor: Dr Shakila Singh
Cc Academic Leader Research: Dr SB Khosa
Cc School Administrator: Ms Tyfer Khumalo

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

Dr Sheekha Singh (Chair)

Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building

Postal Address: Private Bag X94001, Durban 4000

Telephone: +27 (0)31 260 3587/3580/4551 Facsimile: +27 (0)31 260 4609 Email: hss@ukzn.ac.za / hss@stukzn.ac.za mskh@ukzn.ac.za

Website: www.ukzn.ac.za

APPENDIX 2: GATEKEEPER'S PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH



23 October 2015

Mr Sibusiso Siphesihle Ngubane (SN 205521573)

College of Humanities

UKZN

Email: sbusisorp@gmail.com

Dear Mr Ngubane

RE: PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH

Gatekeeper's permission is hereby granted for you to conduct research at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) towards your postgraduate studies, provided Ethical clearance has been obtained. We note the title of your research project is:

"Male University peer-educator students' understandings of masculinities and its connection to Gender Based Violence".

It is noted that you will be constituting your sample by performing interviews and/or focus group discussions with male students from the University residences.

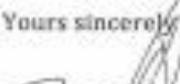
Please ensure that the following appears on your notice/questionnaire:

- Ethical clearance number;
- Research title and details of the research, the researcher and the supervisor;
- Consent form is attached to the notice/questionnaire and to be signed by user before he/she fills in questionnaire;
- gatekeepers approval by the Registrar.

You are not authorized to contact staff and students using 'Microsoft Outlook' address book.

Data collected must be treated with due confidentiality and anonymity.

Yours sincerely,


**PROFESSOR D JAGANYI
REGISTRAR (ACTING)**

Office of the Registrar

Postal Address: Private Bag X54001, Durban, South Africa

Telephone: +27 (0) 31 260 8005/2206 Facsimile: +27 (0) 31 260 7624/2204 Email: registrars@ukzn.ac.za

Website: www.ukzn.ac.za



Focusing Campuses:

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■ Howard College

■ Medical School

■ Pietermaritzburg

■ Westville

APPENDIX 3: INFORMED CONSENT LETTER



Dear Student

INFORMED CONSENT LETTER

Protocol reference number: HSS/1842/015D

My name is Sibusiso Ngubane. I am currently studying for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy with the University of KwaZulu-Natal. To meet the requirements for this degree, I am conducting a study titled: *Male peer-educator students' understandings of masculinities and its connection to gender-based violence.*

The objectives of this study are as follows: a) To explore what meanings male university peer-educator students attach to gender-based violence b) To explore how male university peer-educator students' understandings of masculinities are connected to gender-based violence c) To explore how male university peer-educator students envisage their role in reducing gender-based violence on campus. Therefore, I would like to invite you to participate in this study. Your interest in social issues that you have demonstrated by joining the Campus HIV/AIDS Support Unit (CHASU) as a peer-educator student has informed this invitation. You are deemed the most appropriate potential participant in this study.

You will be involved in the following activities; mapping workshop, individual interviews and focus group discussions with drawings. Kindly note that the date, time and venue for the sessions will be arranged and confirmed in consultation with you in due course. These sessions will be organised during the time when you are not expected to be attending lectures so as to prioritise your studies.

Please note that:

- Your confidentiality is guaranteed as your inputs will not be attributed to you in person, but reported only as a population member opinion.
- Your identity will not be revealed in writing or otherwise. Pseudonyms will be used to ensure complete anonymity. You will be informed of the date and time of all research activities/sessions.
- Each data collection session may last for about 2 hours and may be split depending on your preference. However, the interview may last for about 1 hour. Please be aware that the interview and other research activities will be audio-recorded.
- Any information given by you cannot be used against you, and the collected data will be used for purposes of this research only.

- Data will be stored in my supervisor's office after data analysis and be destroyed after 5 years.
- You have a choice to participate, not to participate or stop participating in the research at any time. You will not be penalised for taking such an action.
- Your involvement is purely for academic purposes only, and there are no financial benefits involved.
- The results of the study and any publications arising from the study will be accessible to you.
- The study is not designed to create any stress or anxiety, but if your participation gives rise to any anxiety or stress then you will be referred to the psychologist for counselling. The psychologist is Ms Lindi Ngubane and her contact details are as follows-

Telephone: 031 2603653

Email: ngubanel@ukzn.ac.za.

I may be contacted as follows:

Email: sbusisorp@gmail.com

Cell: 082 736 8189

My supervisor's contact details are:

Email: Singhs7@ukzn.ac.za

Tel: 031 2607326

You may also contact the Research Office through:

P. Mohun

HSSREC Research Office,

Email: mohunp@ukzn.ac.za

Tel: 031 260 4557

Thank you for your contribution to this research.

Yours sincerely

Sibusiso Ngubane

DECLARATION

I..... (full names of participant) hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project, and I consent to participating in the research project.

I hereby *consent* or *do not consent* to an audio recording of the data generation activities including the focus group discussions and individual interviews. (Please mark your selection with an X)

I hereby *consent* or *do not consent* to a video recording of data generation activities such as map presentations. (Please mark your selection with an X)

I understand that I am at liberty to withdraw from the project at any time, should I so desire.

SIGNATURE OF PARTICIPANT

DATE

APPENDIX 4: WORKSHOP SCHEDULE

OBJECTIVE 1

To explore what meanings male university peer-educator students attach to gender-based violence.

The researcher will explain the purpose of the workshop and then divide participants into three small groups and then provide them with materials to use for the mapping activity. Thereafter, the researcher will give participants the following instructions:

1. Select a group leader
2. Give your group a name
3. Draw a map of your institution (try and include almost all features of your institution as you know them)
4. On the map mark places that you regard as important (you may use your creativity in marking these places e.g. circle them using a colour pen).
5. Mark places you regard as less important (please use a different marking)
6. Focus on the places marked as important and now select/mark places you regard as unsafe for students.
7. Focus on places marked as less important and select/mark places you regard as unsafe for students.
8. In your group, discuss the following questions and use them to give a presentation on your map:
 - a) *Why do you consider places marked as important, important?*
 - b) *Why do you consider places marked as less important, less important?*
 - c) *What makes you think that places marked as unsafe are unsafe?*
 - d) *What makes you think that places not marked as safe are safe?*
 - e) *Is there a relationship between physical environment and safety?*
 - f) *When you say some places are unsafe, is this based on physical environment; people who characterise the environment or both? Please explain.*
 - g) *Which students, in terms of gender, usually use these places?*
 - h) *What is it that they do which you think makes the place unsafe?*
 - i) *Does what they do relate to violence?*
 - j) *If yes, which students, in terms of gender, are potential victims of that violence?*
 - k) *Do you think these students are subjected to this violence because of their gender?*
 - l) *Are places not marked as unsafe, safe? Please explain*
 - m) *Which students, in terms of gender, usually use these (safe) places?*
 - n) *What is it that they do which makes the place rather safe?*
 - o) *So, is there any relationship between gender and violence? What do you think?*
 - p) *How then do you define gender-based violence?*
9. After presentation give the map to the researcher.

APPENDIX 5: SEMI-STRUCTURED INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

A. BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

1. How long have you been in this institution?
2. How long have you been a peer educator?

B. OBJECTIVE 1

To explore what meanings male university peer-educator students attach to gender-based violence

3. Can you comment, by referring to the map, about the areas that were marked as unsafe by you/your fellow students during the mapping activity?
4. What makes you think that those areas are not safe?
5. What kind of activities take place in those areas?
6. Who are the usual participants in those activities?
7. Are those activities related to violence? If yes, what kind of violence?
8. Who is affected by the kind of activities that take place in those areas?
9. Who seem not affected by those activities?
10. What is your understanding of gender?
11. What is your understanding of violence?
12. In your view, is there a connection between gender and violence?
13. What is your understanding of gender-based violence?
14. Who do you regard as victims of GBV, Why?
15. Who do you regard as perpetrators, Why?
16. Who do you think should take responsibility in dealing with GBV?

C. OBJECTIVE 2

To explore how male university peer-educator students' understandings of masculinities are connected to gender-based violence.

17. What does it mean to be a man within this institution?
18. How do you define a real man?
19. What makes you feel like a real man?
20. What does your culture say about being a man and being a woman?
21. What do you have to say about what your culture says?
22. Which traditional/cultural norms do you subscribe to, and which ones you do not subscribe to?
23. Why do you approve of some traditional/cultural norms and disapprove of the other?
24. Would you stop a sexual activity when asked to by your partner even if you were already aroused?

25. Do you think it is important to get consent before a sexual intimacy?
26. What do you do when you hear a sexist comment directed to a female by male?

D. OBJECTIVE 3

To explore how male university peer-educator students envisage their role in reducing GBV on campus.

27. Why do you have interest in discussing social issues?
28. Who encouraged you to become a peer educator?
29. As a peer educator how are you treated by other male students?
30. Do they respect you for being a peer educator or they bully you?
31. Do you think it is important to involve men in the fight against gender-based violence?
Why?
32. What do you think your role is in addressing gender-based violence? Please explain.
33. Who do you regard yourself as regarding gender-based violence? Please explain.
(perpetrator, victim, change agent etc.)
34. How do you deal with the dominant and harmful perceptions associated with being a man on campus?
35. Do you think it is possible for a violent man to change? Please explain
36. How would you react when you hear a male “hitting on” a woman and you realise she does not want it? Would you intervene? Please explain.
37. How would you deal with a situation in which it looks like a female would end up being taken advantage of by a male student?

APPENDIX 6: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION SCHEDULE

DRAWING:

The researcher will provide the participants with materials to use for the activity. Thereafter, the researcher will give them the following instructions.

Work as a group to:

- a. Draw a picture of a perpetrator of GBV (include the features you regard as important)
- b. Draw a picture of a victim of GBV (include the features you regard as important)
- c. Draw a picture that depicts life within the institution in relation to violence.
- d. Draw a picture that represents what it means to be a man within the institution.
- e. Draw any picture that has meaning to you regarding violence on campus.

DISCUSSION:

The discussions will be facilitated by the following topics and subtopics

OBJECTIVE 1

To explore what meanings male university peer-educator students attach to gender-based violence

Topic: Meanings attached to GBV

Subtopics to guide the conversation:

1. Definition of a victim and a perpetrator of GBV
2. Reasons for depicting a perpetrator and a victim of GBV in particular ways
3. Explanations for drawing a male/female to represent a victim/perpetrator
4. Using pictures to describe the campus life in relation to violence

OBJECTIVE 2

To explore how male university peer-educators' understandings of masculinities are connected to gender-based violence.

Topic: Masculinities and GBV

Subtopics to guide the conversation:

5. Defining a campus man
6. Views on the concept of a real man
7. Culture on being a man and a woman
8. Views on traditional/cultural norms

OBJECTIVE 3

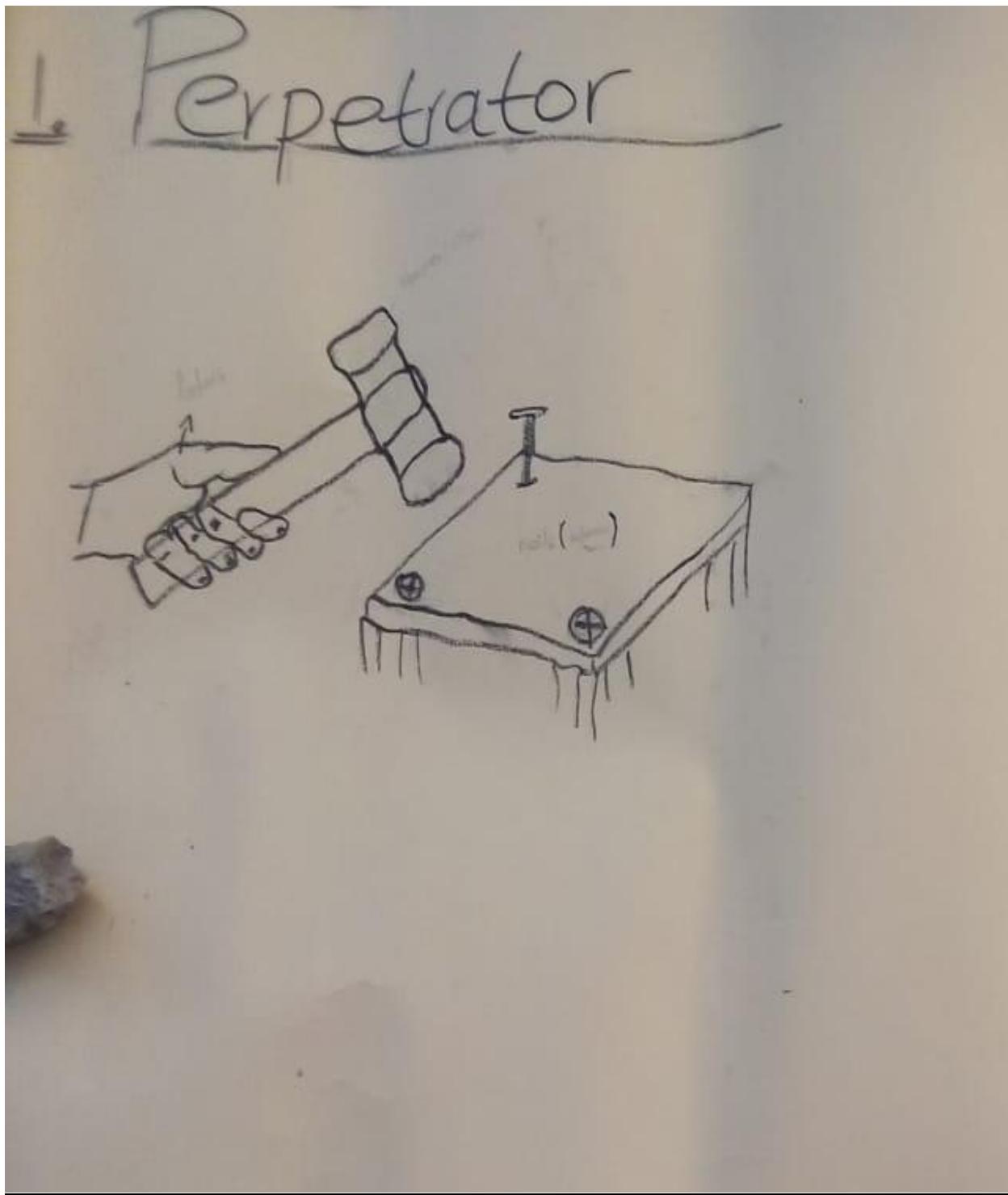
To explore how male university peer-educator students envisage their role in reducing GBV on campus.

Topic: Peer educators and GBV reduction

Subtopics to guide the conversation:

9. Dealing with the dominant and harmful perceptions associated with being a man on campus
10. The peer educators' role in addressing gender-based violence.

APPENDIX 7: AN ILLUSTRATION OF A PERPETRATOR FROM FGD2



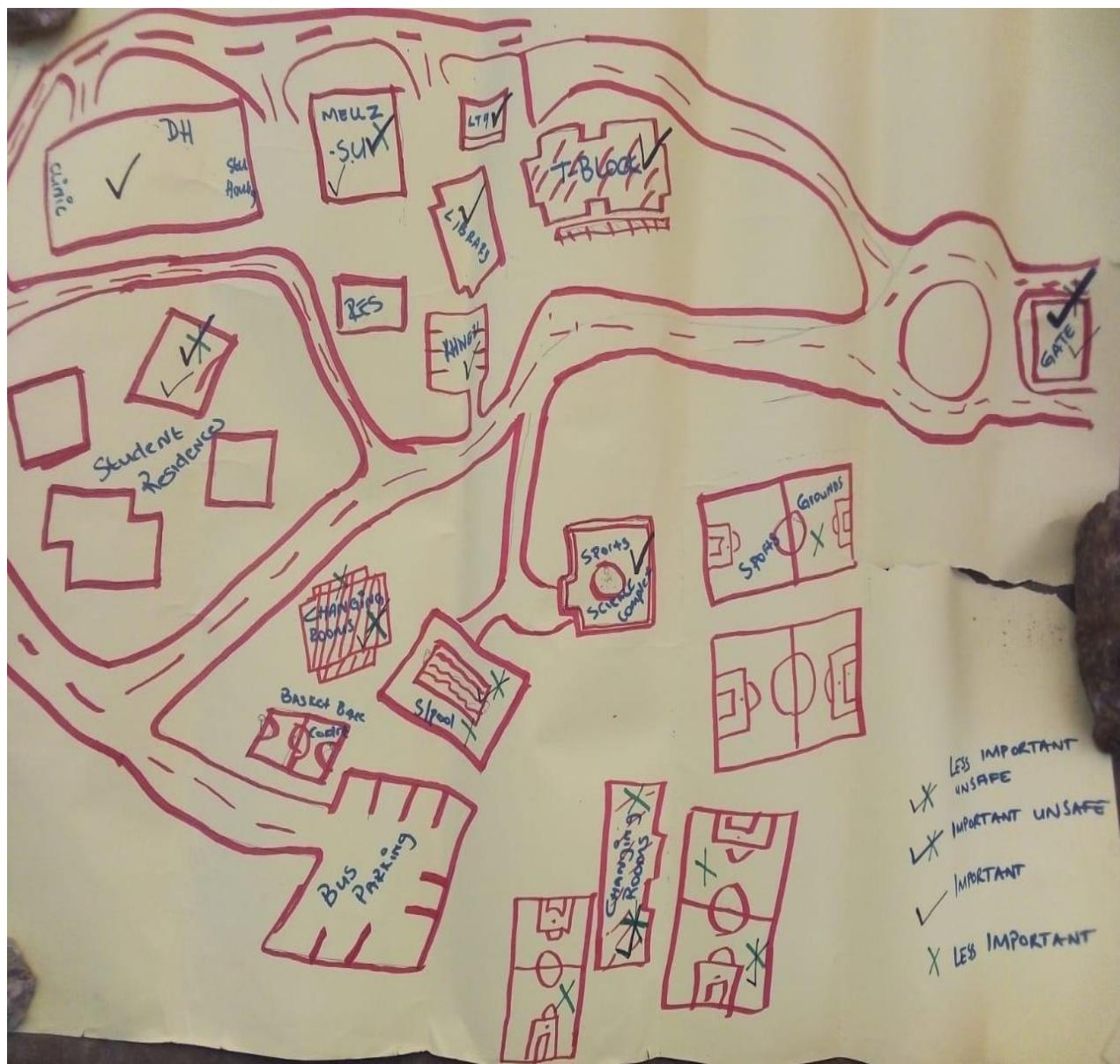
APPENDIX 8: MAP PRESENTATION BY THE LEADERS GROUP



APPENDIX 9: MAP PRESENTATION BY THE OPTIMISTS GROUP



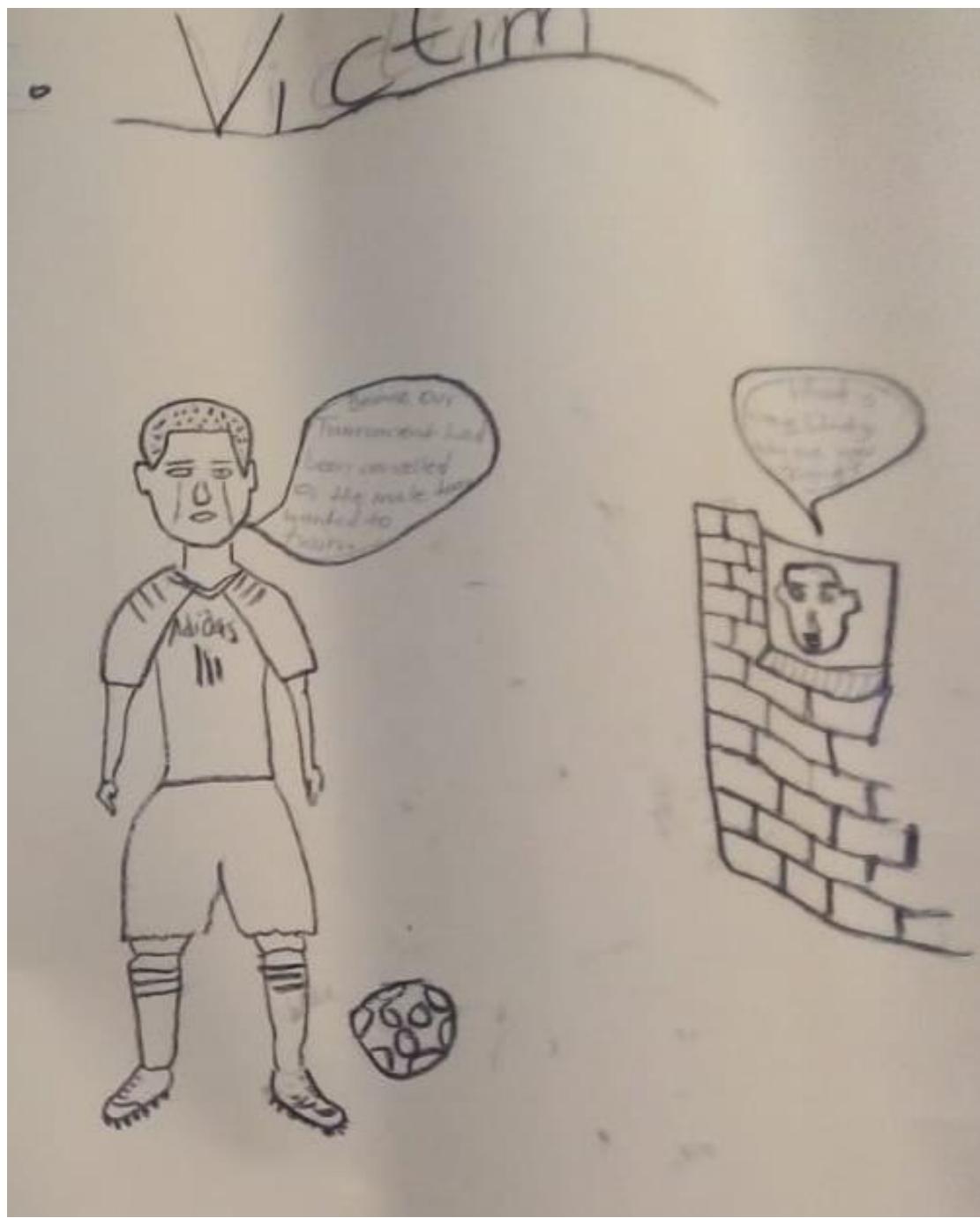
APPENDIX 10: MAP PRESENTATION BY THE CHALLENGERS GROUP



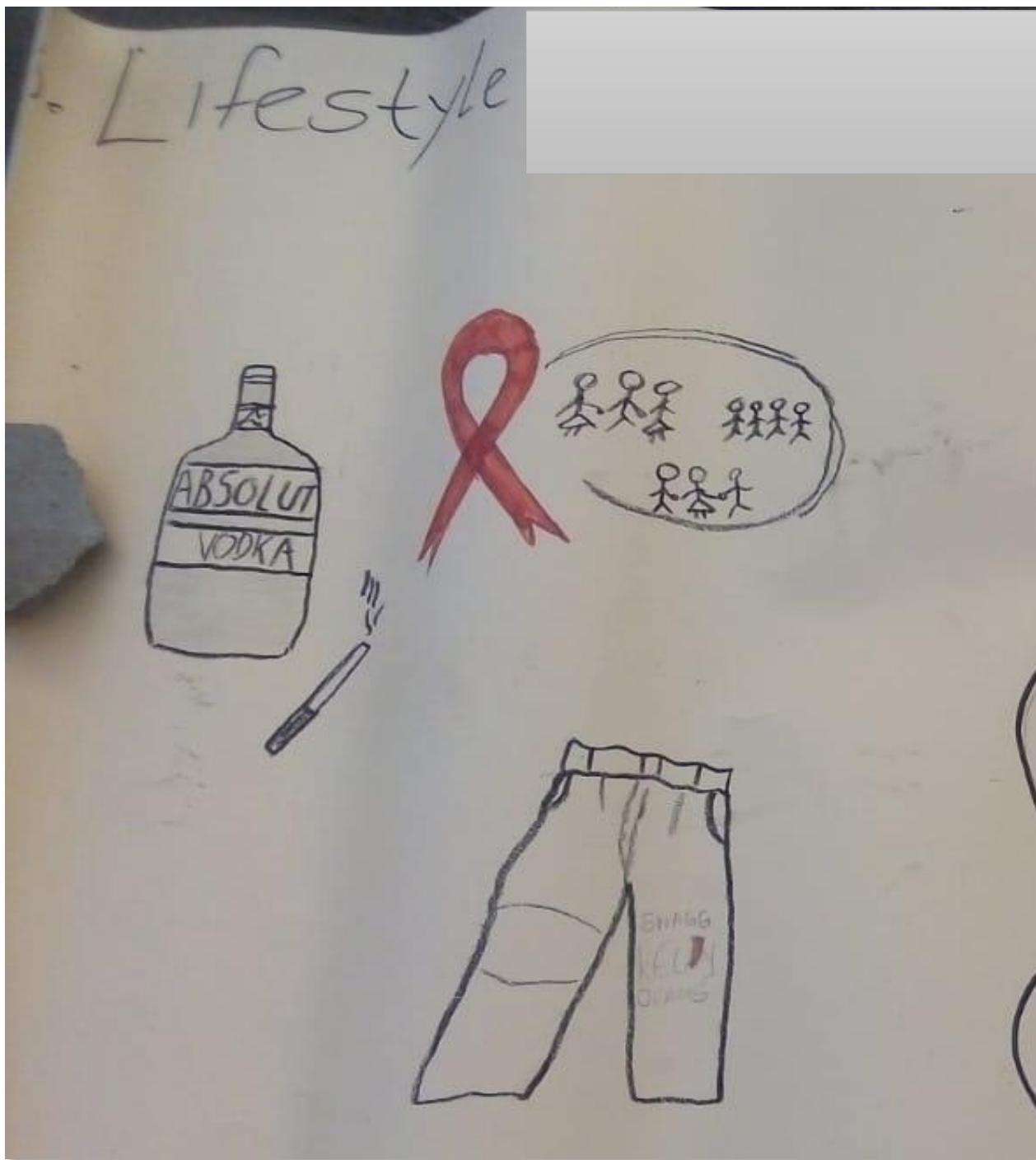
APPENDIX 11: AN ILLUSTRATION OF CAMPUS LIFE FROM FGD1



APPENDIX 12: AN ILLUSTRATION OF A VICTIM FROM FGD2



APPENDIX 13: AN ILLUSTRATION OF CAMPUS LIFE FROM FGD2



APPENDIX 14: PROOF-READER'S LETTER

Durban
South Africa
02 December 2021

To whom it may concern

**Title: Male University Peer-Educator Students' Understandings of Masculinities and
their Connection to Gender-Based Violence**

Student: Sibusiso Siphesihle Ngubane

I have edited the thesis and provided comment to the student for him to address, and am satisfied that the document is ready for submission.

Regards



Ms Carrin Martin
Academic Editor
MSocSci, PGDPH

APPENDIX 15: TURNITIN REPORT

Ngubane's Document

by Sibusiso Ngubane

Submission date: 31-Jul-2021 09:31AM (UTC+0200)

Submission ID: 1626116759

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Ngubane's Document

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APPENDIX 16: SAMPLE INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT

Individual Interview

Participant: Gugu

Date: 08 June 2016

Key:

- GBV (contributing factors); Grey
- GBV (Meanings); Red
- Masculinities; Green
- Men's envisaged role; Yellow

Researcher: How long have you been in this institution?

Participant: I've been here for 2 years.

Researcher: How long have you been a peer educator?

Participant: I joined peer education on my first year.

Researcher: Can you comment, by referring to the map, about the areas that were marked as unsafe by you/your fellow peer educators during the mapping activity?

Participant: These areas are not close to people, they just on the side so if anything bad were to happen to you, people won't see or it will only take one person maybe who is passing by to see. These places are very dangerous; I wish the university could do something to block people off these places. Like when we look at Dark city, students smoke a variety of drugs there, I am told. They drink alcohol there, and they do all this during campus hours. You can imagine if they do all this while all students are around, that is very harmful not only to themselves, but also to people who are not affiliated to those activities taking place.

Researcher: Who are the possible victims of the activities that take place there?

Participant: It is both females and males, but mostly people who are bisexual. Since in this campus we have that biased mentality, that stereotype thing, that discrimination, I can say the victims are mainly women, homosexuals and some males.

Researcher: Are there any incidents of violence that you have witnessed or heard of?

Participant: Yes, yes at the Student Union around the Dark City place, there was a bash and students were drunk. One student was caught attempting to break the bottle with the intention to stab another student and friends had to intervene. However, other students decided to run away.

Researcher: What is your understanding of gender?

Participant: Gender uh my understanding uh gender uh means that it's what you uh it's the qualities for example if a person possesses a penis you can say he is a male and when a person possesses a vagina you can say she a female. So, I think gender is about the physical qualities that you can see in a person.

Researcher: And what is your understanding of violence?

Participant: Violence, it's in the form of attack, physical contact that may lead to one being physically and emotionally hurt. To me, it's different from abuse, violence is very complex.

Researcher: So what is your understanding of gender-based violence?

Participant: To me, this means that any violence that can take place is not considered here, if we underline the word 'based', it means we are talking about the violence that has to do with gender. For example, violence directed to a female by a male and to male by female. So, here we are not just looking at violence that can happen haphazardly elsewhere.

Researcher: What does your culture say about being a man and being a woman?

Participant: My culture uh as religious and traditional as it is, it says a man should always be a man; in fact, a man is a head and that a woman should always submit. Once a man says something it should go, regardless how much a woman is dissatisfied. At times, she just has to bear and get along with that. To women, my culture does give that opportunity at home to be a mother but not a ruler. So a woman is not dominant because even if she could say something and a man intervenes, it would change and no one would go against that. So my culture still believes in the superiority of men.

Researcher: So what is your take on what your culture says about being a man and being a woman?

Participant: I see everything wrong because nowadays we living in the modern world, this world is not ruled by tradition or religion. There are things that people need to explore and if we hinder women from that, we are killing our future because nowadays future does not lie on men but on men and women. Now people who are progressive and who are able to keep up with the education levels are women. So, if we suppress women in all levels, it will get to the point where we hinder them from accessing power which could be in leadership. In a leadership position a woman might do even better in alleviating... So if, us, men continue as it was in the past, we are killing our future. Nowadays, men do not lead with that enthusiasm, they are only hungry for power. Why not give the opportunity to people who want to prove themselves because women are currently at that stage

of proving themselves. So, it is good to expose women to all opportunities equal to men at all levels.

Researcher: What makes you feel like a real man?

Participant: As I said some other time that being a male is just a matter of birth, but you choose to be a boy or man. As for me, in everything I do or say I hold myself accountable. I do not react, I respond because there is a difference between reacting and responding. There are things in life that do not require a male but a man. For example, let's say I impregnate a girl at a young age as I am and then decide to continue cruising around abusing alcohol being a party pooper; one thing should come into mind that I messed up. Regardless that my parents are financially secured, I also need to contribute 99.9% [of money] to that mess because I am the one who created that mess.

Researcher: Which traditional norms do you subscribe to and which ones you do not subscribe to?

Participant: I do not support the one that says a woman's place is in the kitchen; a kitchen is for both men and women equally sharing 50:50 out of 100. I also disagree that a woman should be a house wife or only a person who looks after the kids, this duty is for both because when they get married there is no clause that says parent and in brackets mother. In fact, they are both parents and they should both do parenting because it is for both of them not one. Regarding the one that says a man does not cry, I do believe that we as people have different perceptions. My understanding is that even if a man cries he would not just break down in tears in front of the whole family. A man is also a human being he feels pain and there are things that can beat him down. I believe that a man should hold it back within himself and find a private space and let it all out, that's how I think it should be. So it's not that men should not cry, but it's making sure that he does not do it in the open where others can see.

Researcher: Don't you think that the time between holding back your tears and eventually finding your private space to let it all out as you said, could be the moment that most men tend to or get tempted to treat others violently?

Participant: Ah yes, in that case. Since this is a point that is very complicated, I would understand and agree that if the moment in between gets prolonged, it could lead into something else. So, my answer still stands, but at the same time I have to rethink that, as I did not think about that when I

was stretching out that they should hold it within.....yes to avoid such violence because men do violate women when they are under pressure at times or under stress and heavy loads. So, I would say that culture has a wrong philosophy of that men should not cry. I think they should just let it out because they say that a strong man does not cry at all regardless whether it could be emotional or what difficulty; he just does not cry. So the culture really got it all wrong, they got it all wrong.

Researcher: What does it mean to be a real man within this institution?

Participant: *To be a real man here, it means you should drink alcohol and attend every bash. It also means that when friends say let's bunk classes, you just agree easily. It's to dress smart and nicely, wear expensive clothes; it's to spend money, buy girls nice things it can be jewellery or take them out. Being a man here it means you are a person who has disorder but which is very formal, a person who disrupts. These people are very smart in doing what they do even though it is all disorder. For example, if one could try and call them together and remind them that they are here to study so they should attend lectures etc., one answer that one should expect would that he/she is wasting their time, or maybe bored because a person would be raising an important point. They just expect a person who would come to them and say 'hey guys we are tired of this management let's strike for 2 weeks'. So they would respect you as a real man because you can push that disorder. If something has to do with order it does not progress.*

Researcher: Would you say violence is also something that defines a real man here?

Participant: *In the olden days ah, in fact, I forgot when I was answering a question about culture to mention that in my culture violence defines a real man. Yes, violence does characterise you a real man here, some people still have an old mentality that if you are a man you should be violent. I am known to be a boy where I come from because I no more believe in violence, regardless of the fact that I am a boy, I am strong, I can fight because I grew up in a location and in a farm and I could adapt to all these places. But if ever I argue with someone I have a finer way to deal with it, I just apologise even though I know I have done nothing wrong, but I just avoid having to engage in a physical fight and for that I am known to be a boy, a coward. But, if ever one would say to me you were dressed like a monkey yesterday and I react to that by giving a punch, I would then be known as a real man because they would understand how violent I am and they would fear me because a man it's somebody they fear. It's not people whom they respect, not people who have moral ethics, not people who possess real qualities of a man, but a person whom they fear, who is*

violent and does not respond but reacts to situations, that when you say one he presses you down. So, I can say that violence does characterise a real man.

Researcher: Who do you think should take responsibility in terms of dealing with GBV within this institution?

Participant: Men should. Men have a huge responsibility everywhere in the world because all these issues arise under our conscience and it is within our conscience to settle them or to do anything about these issues. The issue of violence, if we as men, let me take for example in our men's forum we are currently on a mission because our vision is to redress this issue that a boyfriend could just hit a girlfriend and everybody keeps quiet, we are in a process of redressing that. We want to stand as a forum not only for HIV/AIDS or brothers for life, but as a forum that if one does something against a woman's right we would have another way of putting you into order. So, if us as a small group expand into a large group, even other men who are not part of us would not necessarily have to meet with us to change but through observing us they would be inspired by our new way of doing things. Even women would understand that we are not doing this to give them power to dominate, but it's a way of creating a safe environment for everyone. So, it's really us men who have the responsibility to redress all this.

Researcher: Why do you have interest in discussing social issues?

Participant: It's because at times, I can't say I was fortunate, but I can say that the way I grew up, I was raised by a person who was abused, a person who believed that life has no luck for her, a person who believed she was a product of a second chance in life. Being raised by that person, even though I was out of hand at times but being raised by that person, I am not sure whether I am fortunate or what. My memory is very sharp; I can remember things from way back. There was a time when we sat down and she explained how it was going to be if things had not gone the way she had turned them to be. She has no vision of any child of hers being the victim of circumstances that held her not to progress in life. So, having to grow with that because the way I was out of hand, she could no more hold it at times, she would hit me and say 'stop doing this, stop doing that'. She also noticed that as I was growing, my attitude grew and so did my disorder. She then had to put a full stop and from that day I took a moment and said, let me think and when I looked around other families, we always said they were lucky, they were rich but when I saw how people have order; how people respect others; how people can stretch and reach out to help other people while expecting nothing in return, that's how they collect blessings in their lives. That's also how

I came across Christianity that taught me other moral ethics that if you give not expecting anything in return God will bless you and if you humble before your parents or anyone even in your level you would still be blessed. Do not expect to live life on your note but let someone else live it for you. Fortunately, my mind was transformed, things I was blind to see, and they were now visible. I was also taught to stop complaining from a distance saying why this or this should be there. For example, my mother would tell me, go build the shack for chickens and I would say to my big brother go do it. And when it's nearly done maybe on rooftop I would notice that the blocks were not properly aligned, yet I was there sitting back when the big brother started. That's what gave me a kick to say get up no more complaint no more finger pointing, I should take an initiative. So, I wanted to redress our youth because I was taught that it is good to speak to a person of your age group because, an adult, even teachers in high school would say stop making noise and listen and do your work and that's one thing they do from the beginning to the end of the year and that thing had programmed our mind such a teacher would say this. I only realised when one student stood up and said but guys can't we just do our work without having to be pushed, don't you guys think we can progress because teachers are here to help us and teach us. Look they are driving cars and you guys always say you want to drive cars, so how would you get there if you do not obey because teachers were trained to teach you. After that, because a person who is at my level had said it, I then decided and asked myself why because from young age I have always been a public speaker, I could speak with confidence, present in the assembly, I decided no, no, I think I should also form part. I told my teachers that I want to assist in presentations and anything. That's how I was groomed to understand that if something is addressed by an elderly person but it's at your level too, why not take initiative and address it, because you may find that the youth is not simply ignoring it, but it's because advice from an adult is something they are used to as people say 'usually conquers the mind', so they may just ignore. But, if I take an initiative myself and say guys here is the programme and the objectives are 1, 2, 3 and 4...and here is the timeframe...it would work. When I came here at the University I was fortunate enough to hear about such an organisation as I was told that HIV is a problem and as an Economics student, I understand that this disease affects our economy. So, when I came here my high-school mate told me about CHASU and I was interested because I wanted an organisation that would assist me assist people. So, my high-school mate introduced me to CHASU as a way of exposing me to university life quickly and he kept checking if I was ok. But, eventually I met another peer educator who then taught me what

CHASU was all about, he showed me what a peer educator should do to other people. His hospitality, he even said "I am your brother away from home", he encouraged me to speak out in case of any problem, be it funding; food etc. he was very confident and he told me he was a peer educator, he was trained and he was a good listener, so if I needed advice, he could help me. He also gave me another perspective on peer education and said it is not about dressing fancy clothes but about getting deep on addressing situations. So, he gave me a challenge that since he assisted me I must also act upon that to assist others. I believe that he was trained for me and he trained me for someone else coming. He really gave me a good kick in a boot. Even in the first men's forum that I attended I was very eager to know, and we were told that we would discuss men's issues, I was very fascinated because that's exactly what I wanted in my life.

Researcher: How are you treated by other male students who are not peer educators?

Participant: I can say as an individual and a peer educator, I am ill-treated, at one stage I felt that this is for me but in a wrong place. Therefore, I should adapt and leave it down and live my life or in this peer education I should just do as I please. But, now I am trying to be a responsible peer educator since we say no alcohol abuse, I am teaching people about STIs, I am teaching people about diseases, I am teaching people about social life, I am teaching people about healthy living whereas I am not implementing such. I believe in implementing what I say, if I say you must go that way I must go that way first. So, me trying to live up to that, it really gave me a challenge because it was exposed to people that this is the one who came new. And, from my first year trying to implement that, people who are seniors, people who have been opposing that they challenged me and I can say they almost overpowered me, but I overcame them because they just said 'next year you would see this is nothing just do this for fun'. They said I can't avoid such and such things even people who were my colleagues had gone through that stage and they kept saying I was wasting my time. You know, when there was an event and people heard that CHASU would be part of the event, you know, I am not sure whether I was fortunate or unfortunate because I would normally be chosen to go represent CHASU in such events. I would normally go with my fellow female peer educator. As a first-speaker, the moment we got there, the moment I humbly greet people, people would start discussing their own things chatting with their neighbours, all they wanted to see happening was that we wrap up and leave because they did not want to hear anything about HIV, condoms etc. So, I do believe that it's part of being ill-treated because all other people who shared poems, love poems, disease poems or music poems or sad poems, they would be very

interested because it was just something that would fascinate them without getting anything except knowing that so and so is talented. I do believe I was ill-treated and mistreated as such. I felt very small at times going to many people to present, so those times, I really was shaken, but I still stood my ground and said I would not drop out.

Researcher: Who do you regard yourself as regarding GBV? (victim, perpetrator or potential change agent)

Participant: *Because I was a victim of gender-based violence, I can say that I'm a change agent now because I have overcome all that. Maybe one could say that I should have died but since I survived, looking at the past is not an option, I'm only looking forward. So, I'm a change agent as such when we are looking at gender-based violence.*

Researcher: Which men's actions/behaviours/attitudes are mostly recognised as describing true manhood? In other words, which is/are the dominant masculinity/ies in this institution?

Participant: *Here, the body height, the body size, a moustache and a beard, being part of a gang that specialises in impregnating girls and starting to dress nicely and formally. Only talking to certain people and not everyone, in other words, being anti-social and drinking alcohol. Another thing, here being so concerned with academic excellence is regarded as being a nerd. People start looking at characteristics that can suit you, like you must be coming from a good school, no girlfriend or you are always bored. They do not look at you as a person who has positive characteristics of a man. They always find ways to go against what you are doing.*

Researcher: Do you think it is possible for a violent man to change?

Participant: *Yes, I have faith so I believe in change. I believe that a violent man can change. Regardless of the fact that it can be hard, but as a change agent if I push too hard for a person to change not for my own interests but for the interest of people who can be victimised around here. So, mine is to ensure that I have the right reasons, I have got my supporting facts clear and as to why I prefer him to change, why I approached him because some people would have the mentality that I did not approach him because I only see goodness in him or I approached him because I want to add on the violent mentality he possesses. People may have been saying that one would not change, that one would die like that. So, I would make him understand that I am not adding onto what is there already, but I'm trying to implement something new in his life that would change him for the better and good. So, it's for me to have every right reason for him to understand and have a manner to approach.*

Researcher: Would you stop a sexual activity when asked to by your partner even if you were already aroused?

Participant: *Ey ahmm, I would not lie, let me not talk on the perspective of a peer educator, but on the perspective of an ordinary boy. Honestly, it would be hard to stop, I would attempt to carry on, meaning trying to indirectly and forcefully pushing her to agree. So, indirectly because you cannot force a person directly, but forcefully beg indirectly. Be like you are begging while you are forcing your way through because you can see that you cannot go back now. You are there, so you have to be there and if not like that you rather go there because if you forcefully battle, it would lead to the point that you engage. But she would still say you forced me, whereas when you beg you would tell her that I begged and you agreed. After that, it would get to a point where even if she calls it off, and you like, but we had it because she did not want us to have it on my pick point of arousal. If maybe she had said it before we started, I would have respected her. So, on the perspective of an ordinary boy, I would indirectly beg her and force my way through until I get through.*

But as a peer, now I do understand how cruel people can be in our days, so when she says I must stop I must stop she has her reasons. If I have not engaged with her, maybe she is sick or maybe she is afraid of something else or maybe she knows it's not the right time for her. If I'm her first boyfriend maybe at home she was told that no one should engage with her. And if I force her, I might find myself in a situation where I'm arrested. So, it's important that I look at the situation and say does she really not want to have it. If I see that this person is really serious, regardless how painful it is, I would try and talk my way through maybe that would make her feel guilty and change her mind. But, if I see that she does not want it, I would have to think again and accept and sleep, I have no other choice. Maybe if it's during the day I would try and get something else to do and leave and go do it.

Researcher: That was my last question, unless you have something to add.

Participant: *Perhaps, let me use this opportunity and say that which I forgot to say about the man. I forgot to mention that a man is a responsible person, is a responsible male who knows how to man up. To man up means something; for example, if now I'm told that I have a supplementary exam and I'm a man I'm going to be strong. Maybe I'm known to be someone that does not do anything that fails, I know that I'm going to look bad on people, they would mock me, but I would man up on that regardless of what people say, I would go to that exam room and write that*

supplementary exam. This at least would be a lesson to me that would help me realise my weaknesses that I still need to work on. So, I do believe that a man possesses those two qualities namely, being responsible and ah perseverance, at the end of the day, persistence in life and to be a good example, not to your family, not your girlfriend, but to peers around you, to students around you is important. Don't only tell them what to do, but show them what to do. So, I do believe being a man and responsible person and tying to live up to good standards is not limited to physical or material things, but it also includes the attitude, how do you handle things, how do you handle your temper. Temper is another thing that differentiates a man from a boy. A boy has a short temper, and can lose it easily and a man has a short temper, but he knows how to handle it.

Researcher: Thank you very much for your time.

Participant: THANKS.

APPENDIX 17: SAMPLE FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION TRANSCRIPT

Focus Group Discussion 1

Date: 15 October 2016

Key:

- GBV: Red
- Masculinities: Green
- Men's envisaged role: Yellow

Researcher: How do you define GBV?

Bafana: GBV, I can say it's when one of the genders, ah, it's either there's a victim or a perpetrator in terms of the social issues.

Delani: I also think that GBV is whereby there is a difference between the two genders; the other one is being oppressed. Maybe a situation whereby one is superior because of his/her gender. Another thing GBV is very broad we can look at it physically and you can feel it mentally.

Celimpilo: For me GBV doesn't need to be physical; it can be emotional whereby the other gender is violating the rights of the other gender; Or an unfair judgement is made on another gender.

Researcher: How do you define a perpetrator?

Richard: A perpetrator is someone who violates the freedom of a person of the opposite gender.

Delani: For me, a perpetrator maybe let me make an example, looking at AIDS, a perpetrator for AIDS is HIV a virus that grows to cause AIDS. So, if we talk about a perpetrator we are talking about the influence of GBV. Also, perpetrators are people who are promoting a certain bad habit to continue.

Celimpilo: I think our societies are also perpetrators of GBV; in fact, our society shapes how we think.

Delani: If I may come in there. When we look at the issue of perpetrators, I would make an example; there is a difference between gender and sex. The sex is our biological organs we were born with, but gender is socially constructed; for example, if you are born with a male sex organ your parents would go out there and buy you blue cloths. If you are a girl, they would go and buy you pink cloths, skirts etc. So, when you grow up you would associate and play with children who are wearing the same cloths as you. So, if you wear such cloths it means you are a man and if you wear such cloths it means you are a woman.

Researcher: Looking at the drawings...Why did you depict a perpetrator this way?

Delani: Looking at the two pictures you can see that these are two guys, one has a girlfriend and the other doesn't have. They are smoking, sharing some drinks and playing cards. One guy is sharing a story that last night he had a fight with his girlfriend and he beat her up. Surprisingly the other guy instead of giving a positive advice, he says you are the man, what you did is good. So, this man describes a man as someone who violates other people's rights.

Bafana: In fact, even the second man is a perpetrator because you cannot value someone who is doing something wrong; this shows that he is also a perpetrator.

Celimpilo: This picture also shows that it's not only human beings that could be perpetrators but material things such as substance abuse. If you look carefully at this drawing you can see that these guys are smoking. Can you imagine if the guys were sober minded and one guy shared the story of his girlfriend; surely the response would have been different, maybe he would have judged the scenario differently. However, as they are both under the influence of a certain substance, they cannot realise that they are actually perpetrating GBV.

Researcher: Ok, let's now look at your drawing of a victim, why did you depict a victim like this?

Bafana: As we know that the perpetrator is someone who stimulates violence, so the victim is someone who suffers from what the perpetrator has done. Here, we have a picture of a woman who has been abused and she has two minds about it. First she wants to go report the incident, but she also thinks of keeping it within herself.

Richard: Yah this girl is a victim because she is not comfortable with her boyfriend; in other words, she is oppressed by her boyfriend.

Delani: Again when I look at this picture, I can say the victims are the perpetrators of GBV, because the decision that we are making they can perpetrate GBV. This girl is shown as a victim of GBV, but instead of reporting the matter to the police where she can get assistance or counselling she decides to keep it to herself. You can see that in a long run this will keep on killing her. The bad thing is that if the same thing happens to her friend she would also advise her to keep it to herself.

Celimpilo: What I can say is that regarding GBV at first you become a victim, then after your decision about you being a victim then it gets to the point where it is clear to tell whether you are a perpetrator or not. If you become a victim and you do nothing about it, then you let the person

who broke the law go unpunished, so there is no justice served. When a person who victimised you gets away with it he would continue victimising other people taking his actions as a norm. Coming to the next picture, this is what happened here in the residences even though we cannot mention names of people. There is a room here that is shared by a gay guy and a straight guy. What happens here is that they don't talk to each other at all even when they wake up. A straight guy has a girlfriend and he likes to invite his girl over and not considering that he shares the room with somebody. So, if this gay guy comes back maybe from a lecture, he would find that the room is occupied by this straight gay and his girlfriend and would not be able to access the room. In that way, the gay guy becomes a victim, but not only him, also the straight guy because when he needs something he can't ask for it from his roommate instead he would have to go to other students in other rooms.

Richard: *I think both of them are victims of GBV because it's not even easy for any one of them to walk naked in the presence of the other roommate because the one who is gay would be sexually aroused.*

Researcher: Why did you choose to draw a man to represent a perpetrator and a woman to represent a victim?

Delani: *Ok, when you look at these things, I know a man and a woman can both be perpetrators, but when we look at these things, we look in terms of the dominant and the sub-dominant one. This thing is like what happened during apartheid, most people when they look at whites they see them as perpetrators of apartheid forgetting that there were a majority of black people who pushed this thing of apartheid. So, when looking at GBV it is known that men are naturally strong compared to women, and there are fewer cases where you would find that a man has been beaten by a woman. In most cases females are beaten by men just because they support them through buying clothes etc. I think this thing of GBV is all about speaking out, men are perpetrators because they can speak out and that has a negative influence on people looking up to them. For example, if I grew up in a family where my dad used to beat up my mom, when I grow up and have a girlfriend I would also do the same.*

Bafana: *At some instances, I would like to differ with what he said. For example, let's say they are two boys in a family, one wants to grow up and do what the father is doing and the other to do something different to what the father is doing. What I can say is that one can grow up wanting to*

change the situation. In other words, he may want to respect women. So, he may grow up and avoid by all means being a perpetrator.

Celimpilo: *What I can also say in answering the question, why men as perpetrators and women as victims is that, in SA, we are facing the crisis where some people are afraid to report cases of GBV; for example, a girl victim would rather keep it in herself. When the Ministers or those in government announce crime statistics, I'm sure this year it's very high because they identified places such as Ntuzuma, Mashu and Mlazi as worse townships that have reported GBV cases. Now, the question is who was being raped? In most of those cases victims were females. So, most females who are victimised are able to stand up and speak out while with men, it's the other way around when we look at the recent incident that took place in Hluhluwe where 2 women raped a man. These women even shot a video and posted it on WhatsApp. The man who was a victim was so afraid to report the case in such a way that even the video was taken to the police by another person. However, men are mostly reported as perpetrators and women as victims. This is a stigma that we still need to strategise and see how we can eliminate.*

Researcher: When you look at your institution, are men mostly the perpetrators and women victims of GBV?

Delani: *Men are mostly the perpetrators because one has noticed that there are more men than women in this institution of higher learning. So, I think somehow the fact that males are more than females contributes to GBV.*

Richard: *Another thing, women are able to express themselves to one another about anything that may be troubling them. However, it's very hard for a man to do the same, to say my girlfriend is abusing me. In fact, some men are also victims, but they would share stories as if all is well.*

Delani: *Even amongst us here, they could be victims of GBV, but we would not know because men do not share.*

Researcher: What do you think is the reason why men find it hard to speak out?

Celimpilo: *Ok, I don't want to classify this racially, but I think it's us black men who are victims of this thing of not speaking out. I think our indigenous knowledge is, uh, I don't want to say it's problematic, but we don't want to integrate it like to shape and modify it with times, like times are changing. From our traditional perspective, we have a saying that "indod ayikhali, ikhalela ngaphakathi" meaning that if there is anyone oppressing me I must fight it alone without involving anyone. Those are the things that I think we must try and turn around.*

Researcher: How do you suggest men who conform to such norms could be helped change their mentality?

Bafana: I think as peer educators, if we could have sessions where ideas are shared that could help. We can put a scenario on the table and hear how each one of us thinks it could be dealt with, by so doing the person who may be going through the same situation could be healed indirectly so.

Richard: It is also important to find someone you trust and talk to.

Researcher: Why do you think this picture represents life within the institution?

Richard: Because here we normally see girls in the library and boys just stay outside. As you can see that in the drawing other boys are complaining when they see this other guy entering the library.

Celimpilo: Another thing, we are trying by all means through this picture to represent a norm. If I may take you to our campus during the day and ask you to observe what is happening near the library, you would notice that guys would be standing outside teasing all the girls that are going to the library. Now it's creating the mentality that once you go to the library you are behaving like a woman. It's like a library is designated for women.

Researcher: What's your take on that as a peer educator? In other words, do you also think getting inside the library to study is something that men shouldn't do?

Celimpilo: For me as a peer educator, ah (silence); personally, if I want to study seriously maybe if I have an exam, I do not go there at all. I don't believe in going to the library. But for others, yah that place is there for us students to study, so we must use. If anyone is throwing some remarks, stigma or generalisations I believe there are proper channels to deal with that.

Researcher: You said you don't go to the library, is that in avoidance of remarks from other male students or you have other reasons?

Celimpilo: No, for me I think it's not a conducive environment to learn because in that place it takes almost 30 minutes just trying to settle. After that, people are passing, noise and finally there's a bell "please keep quiet" all those disturbances. If I am in my room, it's much better. So, I'm not avoiding any remarks, actually I don't care about such.

Researcher: You have noticed and related what happens outside the library to GBV. Now, the fact that you as a peer educator doesn't go there, to what extent do you think that is like turning a blind eye on a problem that is affecting others? How can it be addressed?

Delani: I think those who are going to the library do not have a problem with it, maybe they have reached the stage where they don't care what others say. I think the people we must focus on are those that stand outside the library. Maybe we can have some programs where we take them inside the library and let them see the positivity of working in the library. This may help them realise that the library is not for female students, gays only or maybe guys who are from rural areas, those who can't even pronounce the English words properly. So, I think our focus should be on those people who stand outside the library because in order to attend to a case it should be reported. It is possible that not even a single one of those who are entering the library has reported experiencing problems to the librarian. Maybe, if people who are entering the library were suffering, we should have heard from the librarian that the students are complaining about people who stand outside the library. So, I think the problem should be fixed outside because inside there is nothing to fix.

Researcher: Let's now look at the next picture about what it means to be a man on this university campus.

Celimpilo: Ok here we have a picture of this man and this woman who is crying. So, an ideal man when a woman cries he needs to comfort or console her and say positive things. He can try anything in his power to mend the situation. However, here [on campus] we are living in the environment where most males actually do not care what is happening to women. For example; if a male and female student are in a relationship and the male is hurting his partner and the female partner reacts by crying to that emotional abuse the male partner does not care at all. Most men believe that if a woman keeps crying or making more demands than you can afford, they believe there is no need to keep begging because there are so many fish out there-there are so many girls out there. As long as I have my carvela (expensive shoes), I can jump from one woman to another.

Delani: As you can see in this picture a woman is crying but the male student says, "even if you cry I don't care". To me it seems that this guy has been using this female student, which is a norm in this campus, you use a lady, you drop her. Maybe doing whatever that he may have done to this girl was a plan to hurt her and create the opportunity to dump her for another one. He is doing this thing called "ukushaya izingane" meaning having sex with many girls. Maybe the two have

been in this relationship for a month, but already the man is feeling the pressure from friends who may be passing remarks such as “are you now married?” In that campus in order to be a man you need to be a player, they say you cannot be a man whereas you are a coach. We do not see you playing in the field, but at the same time you are claiming to be a man. In order to be regarded as a man, go out to those ladies and wear expensive clothes.

Celimpilo: *Another thing, even if these two people are not in a relationship, let us just say this is a random girl and a random boy. A [campus] man when he finds a lady crying, he would think maybe she cheated on her boyfriend and that is why he is hurting her. Men are very quick to judge. If a lady is maybe going through some depression, men would not think that maybe she has some family issues; the only think they would think of would be that she is failing to manage the multiple partners she has. Even the way men view a female, their perspective is different because they do not look at the woman as a human being who, like any other person, has personal problems that have got nothing to do with relationships. All they seem to know is that a woman would always have problems related to men.*

Researcher: Can you recall any positive characteristics of a man on campus. In other words, characteristics that are not oppressive towards women?

Delani: *Judging what my friend said here, that when you have one girlfriend you are not regarded as a real man. I think those guys who have one girlfriend they impact positively. If you are a man of integrity you would take a stand that you would not listen to what other people say and your life cannot be determined by views of other people. If you have one woman in your life it shows that you are supporting campaigns like Brothers for Life. At the same time, you are trying by all means to prevent the spread of HIV. So, if you have one partner, you value her, you make sure that you don’t do anything that could hurt her. You and your girlfriend get to know each other well without you having to take advice from other people.*

Another thing, I think there should be more seminars like the one we previously had where a guy posed a question to us. He asked us as men, how would each one of you feel if his sister got married to your friend whom you know is a player? Nobody answered that question; instead we reflected and regained our conscience. So, I think having more such seminars could really change the mentality of many boys. They could start thinking straight and see the need to limit themselves in terms of girlfriends and to reduce the number of girlfriends they have. After that, the behaviour would change, a male student would start to be a man of integrity and realise that to be a real man

he does not need brands, he does not need money because the girlfriend he would be dating would be on the same level of understanding that this is what he can afford and this is what he cannot afford. You would be doing everything as a collective. You can even go to the library with your girlfriend and the male students who normally tease other male students who enter the library saying they don't have girlfriends would be reduced. The stigma of seeing male students who go to the library as gays would also be reduced.

Researcher: Ok, who do you think should play a role in addressing GBV? Males or females?

Richard: *I think it's males*

Delani: *Males, of course.*

Bafana: *They need to work collaboratively.*

Celimpilo: *I also agree with the previous speaker.*

Bafana: *In some instances, in order for us to prove that we are men, we are influenced by women. At times women criticise men who don't wear certain brands for example if you don't buy from Markham or Truworts, they would say no I can't date this man. So as a man you end up wanting to get money in order to satisfy what women expect of you. So, I think when it comes to GBV they need to work collaboratively because they influence each other. These women when they came to university they did not care about brands, when they noticed some men wearing nicely they then started to have interest in men who wear certain cloths.*

Richard: *I still believe men should play a leading role because it is easy for men to understand one another. For example, it is easy to listen to another man telling you how to behave as a man, but a woman's opinion would be undermined.*

Delani: *In support of the previous speaker, I believe that if men gather together and say guys let us stop this thing, I believe it could work. Let me make an example, you see when we have strikes as students it is males who take the initiative and lead, but females come as followers. Even now we could embark on a campaign regarding GBV, and female students would gather to listen what male students have to say. For example, if I used to be abusive to my girlfriend and suddenly she sees me with other men campaigning against GBV that would have a positive impact. Even if she is not there, other girls would go tell my girlfriend that I have changed; they would tell her that I took a stand against GBV in front of many people. So, what I am saying is that this is possible only if the male students are also willing to testify.*

Celimpilo: Ok, let me put it this way. I'm not against the view of the two previous speakers; they are 100 percent correct. However, I agree more with the view that both should be involved. I cannot choose one party and say these should lead. I agree with the view of my colleagues that men should lead, but then I am worried how such a plan would work if the victim is not given a chance to speak. These people are not only victimised physically, but there are many other forms of abuse they go through. There are hurting things we as men say to them and they do not speak out. So, as my colleagues spoke about taking a stand, still there is a problem with that because when you take a stand what would have informed you to do that if victims are not involved in leading the campaign. So, in order for us men to act, we need information from them. It is not easy to raise awareness if people have not spoken out, and if even your girlfriend has said nothing; beside that, I would not take her serious anyway. So, women also need to be active and speak out even to their boyfriends about things they are not happy with. So, when I take a stand I would be informed by all what the females would have said. But when we are alone as men, what would inform our views having not been told how we violate and oppress them. So, I believe that both females and males have a role to play against GBV. In fact, as we are seated like this, we have speculated many cases without actually giving them a chance to voice out their opinions.

Researcher: As peer educators how do you deal with traditional patriarchal norms, such as ‘a man cannot be challenged because he is the head of the family and other’?

Celimpilo: Ok, I would like us to look at it this way. When they said the man is the head of the family that was another era, and now we are living in another era. So, we need to look at what led to that belief that the man is the head of the family. The answer is simple; women were not empowered at that time. So, the old mentality does not work now. One female peer educator shared a story that, at her home, it is her mother who contributes more income. As a result of that, they live a good life because her father understands that very well and he does not believe in a man being the only head. Realistically speaking, if we say a man is the head nowadays we cannot support it because women also work as men and bring income. If women could be empowered and employed, I believe that could help address such norms quickly. I think women empowerment is very important; be it knowledge or anything that could empower them. Really, this thing of saying the man is the head is dangerous because if the man dies it would mean that the home is finished. So, personally, I don't support the view that a man is the head because it causes violence in many families.

Delani: But at the same time, I would like to differ slightly with the previous speaker. What he has said is true, but I don't know if there could be a way to monitor this women empowerment because when women have been given too much power they would end up misusing that empowerment. Let us take for instance a family where a woman is a nurse and a man drives a taxi. Obviously, the woman would get more salary than a man. Such things eventually create problems in the family because a woman would start associating more with people of her class and undermine her husband. The man would no longer feel like the head even during discussions. Even food maybe would no longer be served in a tray by the woman, but she would simply send a child to serve food. Women empowerment or just empowerment goes hand in hand with disrespect. A man as the head of the home is something I don't look in terms of children or any support, but in terms of the respectability of the home. A home without a man becomes the playground where other people could do as they please; if there are girls, boys would just come and take the girls. However, in the presence of a man, the home is respected and other people can't do as they please.

Celimpilo: Just to argue the previous point. If I quote him correctly he said, if a woman is a nurse and a man is a taxi driver the woman would tend to associate more with people of her class. You see such things, I think we need to stick to our morals and values and not allow one's wealth to define who one really is. I think with that in mind the family could live normally. Back home, I have a neighbour who works in the farm as a tractor driver and his wife works as an HOD at school. They own a beautiful car and it is mostly driven by the man, but we all understand that a person who could have afforded to buy that car is the woman. In other words, they are living a normal life. It means the woman did not allow her wealth to define who she is, but she stuck to her morals and values.

Delani: Yah that's true as I said earlier that women empowerment is ok, but there should be a way to ensure that women do not lose their values and respect for their husbands. The reason I stick to the issue of respect is that, in the family I referred to earlier the woman shouts at her husband telling him that she pays for his Medical Aid; can you imagine a man who is so respected in the community, but does not get the same respect from his home. She would tell him that she buys him clothes, and the only thing he can afford is airtime and maybe 10 kg of rice. So, can you see how this thing of women empowerment affects the man if a woman has lost her values?

Researcher: In such a case, do you think the problem is women empowerment or lack of men empowerment in terms of understanding that they can also be supportive in other ways other than material things e.g. some house chores?

Delani: It depends, Yah in a scenario where a man helps his wife while she is at work, there would be no problem because they support each other. However, the family of the husband may still come back and say to the wife she must get a maid because she has money. They may complain that lobolo was paid so the man can't do the house chores, especially in the rural areas, that could be a problem. In fact, GBV is more of a problem in rural areas. Even as we grow up we tend to be influenced not to marry an educated woman because she would bring all the modern ways into your marriage, best way is to marry an uneducated woman who would always respect you as a man.

Celimpilo: Ok, I still want to say something regarding this, you know; even myself when I grew up, I used to say I don't want to marry an educated woman, but a woman who would remain at home while I go to work. But now I wish I could marry a teacher because I have realised many things. However, I still have a question regarding what my colleague said about the woman who told her husband that she pays for his medical aid etc. Do you colleagues think the cause is women empowerment or simply lack of respect on her side?

Delani: I look at it from different angles. It could be lack of respect on her side, but again if one does not respect you it's important to ask what you have done for her to see it fit not to respect you. Also, it could be women empowerment; generally, when a person comes to you for the first time wanting something, she tends to be so humble, but once empowered she forgets how she got that power. Even if you go to her asking for something, she would give you attitude, but smile at people of her standard.

Another thing, my colleague here said when he grew up he wanted to have an uneducated woman, but when he got to university he changed his mind. So, education does change the way a person thinks, but I can't stop wondering how one could positively influence those men back in rural areas.

Researcher: What do you think is the role of peer education in the fight against GBV?

Bafana: When we work collaboratively with women, I believe we can come up with solutions. Once we come up with solutions there are many people out there who need to be informed. Remember that all the traditional norms we grew up with never got challenged, so peer education

is the right platform to engage on those issues. We can even involve the community and hear what they have to say. It's important to understand that in order to grow you need to change the way you think.

Celimpilo: What I want to say I think it's more or less the same as what my colleague has just said here. I think in dealing with such issues as GBV, peer education is well structured because it has a men's forum and women's forum. I think we need a joint seminar where we discuss issues in order to avoid the situation where men speculate about what they think are women's problems and vice versa. In such a seminar and based on the research they would have conducted and on their observation, men would share with women some of the things done by women which men take offense at and vice versa. After that, we would go out empowered and share with other students of our respective genders. In so doing we would go out and preach a relevant gospel to them because right for now we are assuming.

Delani: Another way of doing it is to organise debates between men and women on GBV, the aim would be to collect some important information about how women feel and what men think.

Researcher: What do you think could be your motto that would better define your commitment against GBV?

Bafana: For me, I think the great words from Gandhi could be the best "Be the change that you want to see". In other words, if you want to see change in your community you yourself must change first. Change the way you think and change your perception.

Delani: For me I think I would use just two words, the victim and the perpetrator, "A silent victim is the same as a perpetrator". I believe that if you have been victimised and you don't speak out, you are the same as the perpetrator because it means you admire the person who victimised you. It means you do not challenge it, so how can you be able to help others.

Celimpilo: They keep saying English mottos, for me, I would like to see a motto that is appealing to one's conscience. Like the question that was asked by the speaker in the seminar, "How would you feel if the kind of a person you are now had to marry your sister?"

Researcher: How would the above mottos be actualised in the context of your campus?

Delani: At times, we run away from social networks, I know they are informal, but we need to use them. There are so many bad slogans that get posted and people tend to love them, so I think even with these mottos. Maybe we can have a short video or a cartoon related to it and each time you post something you put a #tag then your motto. The motto would gain popularity amongst friends

and eventually to the majority of student population. Even when we have our CHASU campaign about an issue related to GBV, we would put this motto, we could even come up with a song. Even during our debates, we could always include this slogan.

Researcher: Ok, you all seem to be in agreement. Thank you very much for your time.