



**Male and female students' understandings and experiences of gender-based violence on
a university campus residence in KwaZulu-Natal**

By

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Declaration

I, Charnell Ruby Naidu (Student Number: 216077026) declare that:

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- ii. This dissertation has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.
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- v. The work discussed in this dissertation was carried out in the School of Education, University of KwaZulu-Natal in 2019 under the supervision of Doctor B.M.Anderson (supervisor).
- vi. The Ethical Clearance No. HSS / 0347 / 019M was granted before conducting the study.

Signed

Date

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my late niece, my guardian angel

Rozanne Glynis Mei.

Whose butterfly spirit I felt throughout this journey.

You are always in my heart.

Love and miss you sweetiepie.

Declaration

‘As the candidate’s supervisor I agree to the submission of this thesis’.

Signed



Name Dr Bronwynne Anderson.....

Date ...17 February 2020.....

Abstract

Using qualitative research, this study explored the understandings, exposure to and experiences of gender-based violence of males and females at a University of KwaZulu-Natal campus residence. The study is located within the interpretivist paradigm, as it set out to obtain deeper insight and understandings into the pervasiveness of gender-based violence at the campus. The data collection method utilised in the study was semi-structured interviews with 15 male and 15 female participants. Findings were developed through the use of thematic analysis, within an eclectic theoretical framework. The findings are first that gender-based violence is highly prevalent at the university campus residences. Gender-based violence manifests in various ways; these include physical, sexual, emotional, financial and structural abuse. The findings reveal that patriarchy promotes gender oppression in all avenues of society, resulting in male university students using it to justify their use of violence against females and non-conforming genders. The socialisation process of males and females results in unequal power relations in ways that simultaneously rendered males powerful and females powerless. The study found that alcohol and drug parties on campus exacerbated gender-based violence. The study also found that first year students were more vulnerable to transactional sex and rape at campus residences and homophobic violence is rife on campus residences. Lastly, the findings illustrate that the cultural acceptance of gender-based violence serves not only to normalise it but that it also perpetuates this social ill at university campus residences. Based on the findings, the study offers some suggestions and recommendations that all the relevant stakeholders could consider and implement in an effort to reduce gender-based violence at the university residences. These include education, curriculum changes, policy implementation, security upgrades and structured reporting mechanisms.

Okucashuniwe: Ngokocwaningo

Kusetshenziswe indlela yocwaningo lapho kubhekwa khona izimpendulo emibuzweni efana nokuthi kungani nokuthi kwenzeka kanjani ukuthi abantu baziphathe ngendlela abaziphatha ngayo. Lesifundo sibheka kabanzi indlela yokucabanga kwabesilisa nabesifazane, kuphenywa kabanzi izimo ezithinta udlame lwangezobulili ngaphakathi ezindaweni zokuhlala KwiNyuvesi yaKwaZulu Natali. Isifundo singesivulekile njengoba inhloso kungukuthola kabanzi nokuqonda ngokujulile imbangela yokwanda okungaka kodlame lwangokobulili kulesi sikhungo. Ukuqoqwa kolwazi kulesi sifundo kusetshenziswe le evulelekile. Le engalandeli uhla lwemibuzo nezimpendulo. Kuba ingxoxo evulelekile lapho lowo obuzwayo ethola ithuba lokukhuluma akhuleleke ngesihloko. Kuxoxiswane nabesilisa abayishumi nesihlanu ngokunjalo nabesifazane abayishumi nesihlanu (15) ababambe iqhaza kulo lolu cwaningo. Ulwazi olutholakele lucutshungulwe kusetshenziswa indlela yokubheka okufanayo okuqhamukile ocwaningweni naleyo evulelekile engagxilile ohlakeni olulodwa. Imiphumela ebalulekile iveze ukuthi ukuhlukumeza ngokobulili ngaphakathi esikhungweni semfundo ephakeme kudla lubi. Udlame lwangokobulili luvela ngezindlela ezahlukeneyo, ngingabala ukushaya, ngokocansi, ngokomoya, ngokwezezimali nalapho abantu besuke bengeke bakwazi ukuzivikela ngenxa yemithetho ebekiwe. Imiphumela yocwaningo iphinde yaveza ukuthi imithetho ebekwe uhulumeni ukuthi indoda ayiphikiswa kwekushoyo ingenye yezinto ezicindezelayo ngokobulili kuyo yonke imiphakathu, okuholele ekutheni abafundi besilisa emanyuvesi bakusebenzise lokhu ukuzivikela ekuhlukumezeni abesifazane nalabo bolulili obungaqondile kobubodwa. Indlela yokuxhumana phakathi kwabesilisa nabesifazane iholele esimeni sokungalingani ngokwamandla ekuzwaneni ngendlela yokuthi njalo abesilisa yibo abathathwa njengabanamandla kuthi abesifazane bona bangabi yilutho emiphakathini. Ucwaningo luveze ukuthi imicimbi lapho kudliwa utshwala nezidakamizwa ngaphakathi esikhungweni yiko okubhebhethekisa loludlame. Ucwaningo luphinde lwaveze ukuthi abafundi bonyaka wokuqala yibo abahlaseleka kakhulu kwizimo lapho kulalwa nabo ngoba bethenjise okuthile bazithole sebedlwenguleka ngaphakathi ezindaweni zokuhlala esikhungweni nezima lapho becwaswa ngokwesimo sobulili babo. Okokugcina, imiphumela yocwaningo iveza kabanzi ukuthi isiko aligcini nje ngokubeka isimo sokuhlukumeza ngokobulili kube into ejwayelekile noma engeyona inkinga kodwa kunaloko iyakuqhubela phambili ngaphakathi ezindaweni zokuhlala kuzo izikhungo. Ngokwalemiphumela etholakele, ucwaningo luveze izincomo ezithile neziphakamiso ukuthi zonke izinhlobo azibambe iqhaza emizamweni yokunciphisa udlame lwangokobulili ngaphakathi ezindaweni zokuhlala esikhungweni semfundo ephakeme. Lokhu kubala umnyango wezemfundo, ukushintshwa kwendlela yokufunda nokufundisa, ukubekwa kwemithetho, ukuthuthukiswa kwezokuphepha nezindlela zokubika loludlame.

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Chapter One

1.1. Introduction to the study

This chapter provides the background, the focus and the rationale of the study. It also presents the research objectives that guided this research study. In addition, it also provides a brief description of the context of the study as well as the methodology, data analysis and ethical issues. It concludes with an outline of the organisation and structure of the entire dissertation, which is entitled: Male and female students' understandings and experiences of gender-based violence on a University campus residence in KwaZulu-Natal.

1.2. Background

A plethora of literature shows that gender-based violence (GBV) at university residences is not unique to South Africa and that it is pervasive throughout the world (Mengo & Black, 2016; Singh, Mudaly & Singh-Pillay, 2015; Katz & Moore, 2013; Gordon & Collins, 2013). Empirical research shows that university authorities around the world and here in South Africa, where this study is located, acknowledge the urgent need to address safety and security issues at university residences (Bhana & Pillay, 2018; Gordon, 2017; Singh, Mabaso, Mudaly & Singh-Pillay, 2016; Mengo & Black, 2016; Sexual Violence Task Team, 2016). The focus of this study is on GBV in an on-campus university residence in KwaZulu –Natal.

The unprecedented levels of gender-based violence at university residences is a cause for concern. This has heightened students' fears and has placed the scourge of GBV and its eradication at the top of universities' list of priorities such as student funding and accommodation, safety and security issues as well as policy review (Gordon, 2017; Singh et al., 2016). Despite the fact that several universities have gender-based violence and sexual harassment policies in place, many students are unaware of these policies (Gordon, 2017; Singh et al., 2016). This lack of awareness may not only result in escalated levels of the scourge but may also contribute to the lack of reporting of incidents. Further, existing research indicates that, in the area of university gender-based violence, gaps between policy-making and implementation urgently need to be assessed as they are fundamental to the failing to ensure safe campuses (Singh et al., 2016; Bedera & Nordmeyer, 2015; MacKay & Magwaza, 2008).

Despite the burgeoning literature on resistance and resilience to gender-based violence, it continues to operate at systemic levels, emanating from patriarchal norms that normalise it (Moletsane & Theron, 2017; Gordon, 2017; Bhana & Anderson, 2013; Masten & Wright, 2010).

Therefore, it is imperative that we explore the link between gender-based violence, patriarchy and gender norms and try to understand the reasons behind the culture of violence against females and non-conforming genders at university residences.

By disrupting these harmful gender norms and patriarchy. It is possible to work towards alleviating, in some way, this culture of violence, particularly against women and girls, as well as homophobic violence and hate crimes emanating from variegated constructions of gender.

Despite concerted, collaborative efforts by relevant stakeholders such as university managements, the Department of Justice and Constitutional Development, the Commission of Gender Equality and other gender related institutions to eradicate this social injustice, it continues unabated. Empirical research has consistently shown that males are predominantly the perpetrators of this scourge, while females are most likely to become the victims of gender-based violence (Moletsane & Theron, 2017; Gordon, 2017; Singh, Mudaly & Singh-Pillay, 2015; Hames, 2009). However, empirical research has also shown that males experience gender-based violence as they too, fall victim to patriarchal practices that perpetuate gender-based violence, based on their sexual orientation (Jagessar & Msibi, 2015; Yost & Gilmore, 2011; Eskin, Kaynak-Demir & Demir, 2005; Russel, Franz & Driscoll, 2001). It is evident that males are prone to gender-based violence at the hands of other males and females (Jagessar & Msibi, 2015; Yost & Gilmore, 2011; Taulke-Johnson, 2010). This study will contribute to the existing scholarship around gender-based violence at university residences and includes not only largely victim (females) but perpetrator (males) responses as well.

1.3. Focus and rationale of the study

The study focuses on exploring male and female university students' understandings and experiences of gender-based violence at a university campus residence in KwaZulu-Natal. The purposive sampling will include both heterosexual and non-conforming gender students who are at different levels of their studies (first year to fourth year). This will provide a comprehensive understanding of the magnitude of the issue at university campuses and allow a perspective from both new students and those who have been at campus for four years. The study also sets out to gain a deeper insight into the types of gender-based violence students are exposed to and how they deal with it, as well as to explore the connection between gender-based violence and gender power.

While pursuing my Honours degree I became acquainted with many students who resided in campus residences. We studied gender education together and our Independent Research

Projects (IRP) research for our Honours degree (Gender Specialisation) lead to many robust, controversial and interesting debates and discussion on the issue of gender-based violence at campus residences. Many students were vociferous about this issue and this sparked my interest in the topic. In my current research for my Masters Degree (Gender Specialisation), I have included both male and female students as this will give me a comprehensive view of gender-based violence as it occurs at university residences.

There is a burgeoning literature in this field (Gordon, 2017; Singh, Mudaly & Singh-Pillay, 2016; Jagessar & Msibi, 2015; Taulke-Johnson, 2010; Hames, 2009). However, more research is required, as this gender injustice continues to hamper the progress of gender equality, especially at Higher Education Institutions (HEI) (Moletsane & Theron, 2017; Gordon, 2017; Sexual Violence Task Team, 2016; Singh et al., 2016; Jagessar & Msibi, 2015; MacKay & Magwaza, 2008).

Despite constitutional guarantees of gender justice for all, students at university residences continue to have their rights to gender equality violated (Singh et al., 2016; Sexual Violence Task Team, 2016). Gender-based violence is a human rights violation that impacts negatively on all students; research shows that this scourge not only disrupts the victim's academic performance, their physical and psychological well-being and career aspirations, but also undermines the integrity and ethics of educational activities (Sexual Violence Task Team, 2016; Gordon & Collins, 2013; Collins, Loots, Meyiwa & Mistrey, 2009; Soudien, 2008).

Research shows that many students perceive GBV to be a personal issue as they hail from backgrounds where this scourge is sometimes culturally acceptable in heterosexual relationships. As a result, fear and embarrassment result in suppressed emotions and they may therefore remain silent (Bhana & Pillay, 2018; Moletsane & Theron, 2017; Gordon, 2017; Singh, Mudaly, Singh-Pillay, 2015; Bhana & Anderson, 2013). It is this culture of silence that perpetuates the insidious GBV at university residences, where men with hegemonic masculinities violently police and attack not only females but also non-conforming genders (Jagessar & Msibi, 2015; Yost & Gilmore, 2011).

Universities are progressive, liberating institutions that are duty bound to create safe campus environments free from any form of gender injustice yet sadly, they mirror the narrow-minded view of society that tolerates and normalises GBV (Bhana & Pillay, 2018; Moletsane & Theron, 2017; Singh, Mabaso, Mudaly & Singh-Pillay, 2016; Gordon & Collins, 2013; Bhana & Anderson, 2013; Hames, 2009). Numerous studies show that the heteronormative culture at HEI discriminates and brutalises non-confirming genders and instead of symbolising beacons of tolerance of diversity they have become breeding grounds for GBV (Bhana & Pillay, 2018;

Gordon, 2017; Singh, Mudaly, Singh-Pillay, 2015; Jagessar & Msibi, 2015; Bhana, 2014; Connell, 2005).

There is a clarion call for university gender-based violence policies to be preventative rather than reactive and for a compulsory GBV module to be included in the curriculum (Gordon, 2017; Moletsane & Theron, 2017; Singh et al.,2016; Sexual Violence Task Team, 2016).According to various researchers, the way forward is to challenge harmful patriarchal laws, initiate dialogue with the aim of solidarity in eliminating GBV and to investigate ways in which policy implementation can be monitored and evaluated (Gordon,2017; Moletsane & Theron, 2017; Sexual Violence Task Team, 2016; Singh et al.,2016; Singh, Mudaly & Singh-Pillay, 2015; Gordon & Collins, 2013; Soudien, 2008).

1.4. Aims and objectives of the study

While there exists a plethora of literature that shows that females are largely the victims of gender-based violence at the hands of male perpetrators (Moletsane & Theron, 2017; Gordon, 2017; Singh et al.,2016), there is an emergence of research that shows that males are also victims of this scourge (Bhana & Pillay, 2018; Jagessar & Msibi, 2015; Yost & Gilmore, 2011; Taulke-Johnson, 2010). Therefore, this study focuses on both male and female students' understandings and experiences of gender-based violence.This gender-inclusive research can provide a more comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon of gender-based violence as it affects both male and female university students. This research aims and objectives for this study are:

1. To explore male and female university students' understandings and experiences of gender-based violence (GBV) on campus university residences.
2. To gain a deeper insight into the types of gender-based violence that male and female students are exposed to at on-campus university residences and how they deal with it.
3. To explore the connection between gender-based violence, gender power and patriarchy.
4. To understand what coping mechanisms these students resort to in an environment that renders them vulnerable.

The critical questions that guided this research study are:

1. What are male and female students' understandings and experiences of gender-based violence (GBV) at on-campus university residences?
2. What are the types of gender-based violence male and female students are exposed to at on-campus university residences and how do they deal with it?
3. What is the connection between gender-based violence, genderpower and patriarchy?
4. What coping mechanisms do these students have at their disposal especially in an environment that renders them vulnerable?

1.5. Context of the study (research site)

The study is located at a university in the province of KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa. The campus comprises 12 residences that accommodate over 600 students from diverse backgrounds who live in the available on- and off- campus residences. There are single and double rooms available where students have an option to live in separate female or separate male residences or to cohabit. There are communal ablution and kitchen facilities. This situation may not suit students who value their privacy.

Many students who study at this university are recipients of bursaries and grants. A large proportion of students who reside in the campus residences are dependent on monthly food allowances that may or may not be sufficient to support their basic needs. These students regularly confront social and economic challenges that very often contribute to the high rates of gender-based violence that is prevalent at university residences. Research shows that many students who are involved in transactional sex experience gender-based violence (Varjavandi, 2017; Hames, 2009).

While studying for my Honours Degree (Gender Specialisation) with my fellow students, we had discussed at length the challenges that many first year students, in particular, experience with regards to securing accommodation on campus. Some desperate students were forced to share rooms with several others, while some had to pay in cash and kind in order to live on residence. This points to the university's inability to provide adequate accommodation for all students who need this facility. It is within this context that students, particularly females and homosexuals, find themselves vulnerable to GBV and transactional sex that occurs at this university campus.

1.6. Brief description of research design, methodology, data analysis and ethical issues

The study draws on qualitative research within the interpretivist paradigm (Braun & Clark, 2013; Cresswell, 2012). For the purpose of this study, data will be generated using individual semi-structured individual interviews (Bertram & Christiansen, 2014; Silverman, 2013; MacKenzie & Knipe, 2006) which will be inductively analysed. This inductive analysis will enhance our understanding of male and female students' understanding and experiences of gender-based violence at this university campus residence. All ethical issues regarding trustworthiness such as transferability, dependability, credibility and confirmability have been considered and discussed in chapter three.

1.7. Brief outline of the chapters (structure and organisation)

Chapter One: Introduction of the study

This chapter deals with the introduction to the study. It provides the focus and rationale of the study. It highlights the objectives, aims and critical research questions guiding this study. A brief description of the context of the study, the methodology, data analysis as well as ethical issues are highlighted. Lastly, it provides a brief outline of the chapters of the dissertation. This chapter provides the historical background and an overall understanding of the research study, which sets out to explore male and female students' understandings and experiences of gender-based violence at a university campus residence in KwaZulu-Natal.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

For the purpose of this research, the relevant scholarly literature on gender-based violence at university campus residences is discussed. The literature used is both local and international, as gender-based violence is a global problem. The literature review is organised into different themes for a more in-depth analysis of male and female students' understandings and experiences of gender-based violence at university campus residences. The theoretical frameworks that were used to underpin this study are also discussed.

Chapter Three: Research design and methodology

This chapter discusses the methodology utilised in this study. In order to explore male and female students' understandings and experiences of gender-based violence, it was crucial that

I adopted a qualitative interpretivist approach. This interpretivist paradigm is critical in order to understand the individual's interpretation of the world and their experiences (Bertram & Christiansen, 2014). In order to yield rich data, the sampling strategy was purposive, with a snowballing technique employed. Data collection took the form of individual semi-structured interviews. Data from these was inductively analysed and the emergence of themes became evident. All ethical considerations and limitations of the study are explained in detail in chapter three.

Chapter Four: Data analysis

This chapter presents an in-depth analysis of the qualitative data that was inductively analysed with a view of gaining a deeper understanding of both male and female students' understandings and experiences of gender-based violence as it occurs at university campus residences. The recorded data was interpreted and analysed using the theoretical frameworks that underpin this study as an analytical lens and is thereafter further organised accordingly into themes and discussed. The relevant literature is used to support or refute findings.

Chapter Five: Conclusion

This chapter summarises the dissertation with conclusions about the main findings of the study. It both provides recommendations based on the main findings and provides recommendations for further research on the phenomenon of gender-based violence.

In the next chapter I discuss the Literature Review.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

This chapter reviews the relevant literature on gender-based violence, particularly with regard to male and female university students who reside in on-campus residences. In keeping with the aims of this study, the review focuses on both male and female students' understandings and experiences of gender-based violence as it occurs in the university residences. The burgeoning literature of gender-based violence at universities campus residences is indicative of the high rate of this phenomenon (Gordon, 2017; Singh, Mudaly & Singh-Pillay, 2016; Jagessar & Msibi, 2015; Bhana, 2014; Hames, 2009). Research shows that this scourge continues to plague students despite constitutional guarantees of gender equality for all (Bhana & Pillay, 2018; Gordon, 2017; Jagessar & Msibi, 2015). Empirical research shows that although female students are more often the victims of gender-based violence, males too can fall victim to this scourge (Bhana & Pillay, 2018; Gordon, 2017; Sexual Violence Task Team; 2016).

Previously there was very little research in the area of male victims, but there has been a recent emergence of research in this field (Bhana & Pillay, 2018; Jagessar & Msibi, 2015; Msibi, 2012). This review therefore integrates both local and international literature relating to men and women as both victims and perpetrators of gender-based violence. Apart from discussing various aspects of the phenomenon of gender-based violence, this chapter will also elaborate on the specific concepts relating to gender-based violence and will discuss the theoretical frameworks that underpin this study. Using a gender lens as the central theoretical framework will provide a comprehensive understanding of gender-based violence as it affects both male and female university students.

2.2. The phenomenon of gender-based violence

Violence is described as the intentional act against another individual or groups of people, designed to cause physical and psychological pain (Heretick, 2003). A study by Lau and Stevens (2010, p.627) on the exploration of male violence against females describes violence "as an experience of both losing control of oneself and having control over others". Violence is a form of deviant behaviour, morally degenerative as it threatens the health, undermines the dignity and restricts the civil liberties of the victims (Findano, 2012; Puri, 2010). As a result of patriarchal practices that are firmly entrenched in gender inequality, victims of violence may sometimes internalise their abuse and hence this act of aggression is normalised (Johnson,

2006; Dobash & Dobash, 2005; Watts & Zimmerman, 2002). Gender remains an important variable in all relationships, and it is interlinked with gender-based violence, as males are socialised to be domineering and to 'act out' when distressed, while females are socialised to be subordinate and to passively internalise their pain and emotions (Nolen-Hoeksema, Wisco & Lyumbirsky, 2008; Ericson & Ciarlo, 2000). However, empirical evidence points to the discrepancy between male victimisation and the traditional gender norms as males who identify with oppositional masculinity are prone to attack by men who practise hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1995). Females who identify with masculinity are also sanctioned and prone to threats of 'corrective rape' (Msibi, 2012). Halberstam's (2012) work on female masculinity highlights the discrepancy between stereotypical gendered norms of female femininity and female masculinity. Females whose image and behaviour defy the conventional gender norms are perceived as transgressive and there exists a cultural intolerance towards this form of deviance (Halberstam, 2012).

Despite the fact that not all female masculinities are same-sex orientated, they nevertheless remain misunderstood and marginalised in relation to gender normativity (Halberstam, 2012). Female masculinities contradict female femininities while simultaneously challenging male masculinities and in so doing, they disrupt the heteronormativity of society. Halberstam (2012) affirms the ambiguous nature of empowered female masculinities, wherein females may possess the physical features of males while simultaneously identifying as female. In this way, they hold the master key to a more powerful, transgressive version of masculinity that is not afraid to use violence. This resonates with Connell (1995; 2005) who asserts that both male and female perpetrators of violence have strong masculine gender traits that imbibe control and power and that render vulnerable the victim, regardless of their gender.

Empirical research shows that violence is a problem of both sexes and therefore, both males and females are capable of inflicting violence (Johnson, 2006; Babcock, Miller & Saird, 2003; Swan & Snow, 2003). Female on male violence contradicts the widespread notion that only males are perpetrators of violence; this is in keeping with gender theorists who posit that males and females abuse each other within the context of heterosexual and homosexual relationships (Johnson, 2006; Babcock, Miller & Siard, 2003; Swan & Snow, 2003). A continuum of violence refers to the variety of abuse, from coercion and force in order to control, to physical attack, rape and even murder (Collins et al., 2009; Mama & Barnes, 2007). Within this continuum, females internalise this abuse as a social and cultural transmission of gender norms expectations and male entitlement as natural and they therefore tolerate it (Swick, 2005). According to Bancroft (2004) and Berger (2003), a continuum of violence alters all

relationships and instead of focusing on positive growth and development, the focus shifts to power and control. Similarly, Botha (2014) posits that relationships that are characterised by a cycle of violence create a platform for that violence to occur and recur. This resonates with the views of NgaKane, MuthuKrishna and Ngcobo (2012) that within a social context, ‘violence breeds violence’, while Morrell (2002) argues that violence at universities is reflective of the socio-economic conditions in society. Violence is the articulation of the inherent stress and strain that is associated with unemployment and poverty (Bhana, 2009).

According to Bhana (2009; 2014) gender transformations, in the context of socio-economic problems, have not only fixed males in stressful and powerless positions, but have also provided the catalyst for them to resort to violence in order to assert their hegemonic masculinity (Messerschmidt, 2000; Connell, 1995).

Through a process of socialisation, children internalise their roles according to their sex and they therefore act and behave according to these assigned gender norms, thus reproducing patriarchal stereotypes of masculine dominance and feminine subordination (Collings, 2011; Messerschmidt, 2005).

In patriarchal cultures, violence is the very enactment of masculinity and is used to control all females and non-conforming genders (Connell, 1995; 2005). Gender norms and expectations have resulted in gender power imbalances that render invisible victims of gender-based violence, regardless of their gender and sexual orientation, and, in this way, gender-based violence is perpetuated (Bhana & Pillay, 2018; Jagessar & Msibi, 2015; Bhana, 2014; Hames, 2009). A more inclusive, gender neutral approach to violence is defined as gender-based violence (Bullock & Cubert, 2002).

For the purpose of this study, I will use the definition of gender-based violence that appears in the United States Strategy document to prevent and to respond to gender-based violence globally (UNO, 2012) which states that gender-based violence is:

“violence that is directed at an individual based on his or her biological sex, gender identity or perceived adherence to socially defined norms of masculinity and femininity. It includes physical, sexual and psychological abuse, threats, coercion; arbitrary deprivation of liberty; and economic deprivation, whether occurring in public or private life.”

I chose this definition as it includes both male and female victims as well as members of the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, inter-sexed, queer and asexual community (LGBTIQA). The United Nations definition of violence against women (USAID, 2003) does not take into

account that violence is a problem for both genders but, according to Vetten & Bhana (2001), it does link gender-based violence with violence against women. However, it fails to explain what actually entails gender-based violence (Morrell, 2002).

Gender-based violence is therefore a more acceptable term which links gender and violence to gender power relations, as it occurs between individuals who identify with both homosexual and heterosexual communities (Morrell, 2002; Vetten & Bhana, 2001).

Because of the mental and physical health risks associated with gender-based violence, Dunkle (2004) and Potgieter (2000) regard gender-based violence as a public health issue. This concurs with Kilpatrick (2007), who indicates that victims internalise their abuse and often experience confusion, self-blame and powerlessness and this impacts on their ability to function as a healthy individual. Other studies found that there is a link between HIV infection and gender-based violence, as a woman's fear of violent attack can compromise her ability to negotiate safe sex or the disclosure of her HIV status can render her vulnerable (Moletsane & Theron, 2017; Duma, 2016, Bhana & Anderson, 2013; Adam, Mabusela & Dlamini, 2013; Arnfred, 2004).

2.3. Gender-based violence: A global phenomenon

A plethora of literature shows that gender-based violence at university residences is not unique to South Africa and that several other countries also experience this phenomenon (Mengo & Black, 2016; Katz & Moore, 2013; Gordon & Collins, 2013; Karjane, Fisher & Cullen, 2005). In Canada, the Change Project, one of twenty one projects, is a collaboration between universities, communities and other relevant stakeholders to prevent gender-based violence (Harrison, Lafreniere & Hallman, 2015). In the United States, a study on gender-based violence conducted by the Association of American Universities (AAU, 2015) revealed that 23% female students and 25% of students with non-conforming genders had experienced gender-based violence. In the United Kingdom, the National Union of Students' (NUS) on-line survey (2010) of 2058 students revealed that one in four respondents had experienced gender-based violence whilst at university. In Germany, Spain, Italy and Poland, clarion calls have been made by all relevant stakeholders for the university authorities to be preventative rather than reactive, with regard to gender-based violence on university residences. (European Union Commission, 2011; Barberet, 2005). This research indicates that gender-based violence is pervasive throughout the globe.

2.4. Gender-based violence and the link to patriarchy

Gender-based violence lays bare the edifice of patriarchy through the manner in which it violates the human rights of its victims (Young, 2000; Walby, 2005). Violence against females is part of the ‘Six Structures of Patriarchy’ that control and oppress females by consolidating male dominance in the political, economic and social spheres (Walby, 1990). According to Connell (1995; 2005) violence is the expression of masculinity and therefore, the links to gender-based violence and patriarchy cannot be overstated, especially in the light of empirical research that shows that women are eight times more likely to be subjected to and to experience sexual attack and violence (Shishana, Rehle, Simbayi, Zuma, Jooste, Zungu, Labadarios et al, 2014; Mosavel, Ahmed and Simon, 2012).

The central view of feminist theories is not only that patriarchy is a catalyst for gender-based violence, but that gender is also significant as they assert that most violent forms of gender-based violence is perpetrated by males against females (Temkin & Krahe, 2008). This view clashes with scholarship on violence and gender, which asserts that there exist multiple sites of power and inequality (Shefer, 2000; Abrahams, 2000). By adopting a gender-inclusive lens, we acknowledge there are other sources of violence against females and other non-hegemonic masculinities besides patriarchy, but that these sources are complicated by culture and sexuality (Shefer, 2000; Abraham, 2000). Butler’s (1993) heterosexual matrix concept posits that the merging (conflation) of sex, gender and sexuality leads to the normalisation of heterosexuality while marginalising other gender constructs, which may result in certain victims of gender-based violence remaining invisible. Butler’s (1990) theory of heteronormativity posits that homophobia, misogyny and heterosexism function to consolidate the heterosexual matrix resulting in sexuality and gender becoming hierarchically structured and oppositional. According to Butler (1990), heterosexuality is regarded as ‘normal’ while homosexuality is regarded as ‘abnormal’. Females are therefore submit to male power while other non-conforming genders or ‘others’ are violently ‘policed’ and brutalised. Research indicates that gender-based violence was previously perceived as a solely female issue, but it has now become a problem for non-conforming genders who remain in the shadows of masculinity (Bhana & Pillay, 2018; Jagessar & Msibi, 2015; Bhana, 2014; Taulke-Johnson, 2010). The heteronormative culture that exists at universities discriminates against members of the LGBTIQA community.

This discrimination and violence are deeply embedded in patriarchal cultures, in which males believe it is their right to regulate and dictate others’ sexuality (Jagessar & Msibi, 2015; Bhana, 2014; Jackson, 2006).

In a case study of a South African University, Gouws and Kritzing (2007) highlight the connection between patriarchy and sexual harassment by using a power differential model. Within this power differential model, females assume their passive and complacent status while males maintain their aggressive and dominant status. The passive acceptance of blame for sexual harassment is seen to reinforce male assertiveness and power (Gouws & Kritzing, 2007). This type of gender-based violence controls females in a patriarchal society. This patriarchal construction of gender into binary opposites contributes to the high rates of gender-based violence, not only in universities but also in the wider society (Seedat, Van Niekerk, Jewkes, Suffla & Ratele, 2009).

Gender-based violence is a primordial form of power inherent in a patriarchal culture that destines females to remain second class citizens (Moletsane & Theron, 2017; Singh et al., 2016; Gordon & Collins, 2013; Bhana & Anderson, 2013). It is this perception amongst males that female bodies are there to satisfy them sexually and that makes it possible for gender-based violence to occur, in a context where females negotiate their lives around fears of gender-based violence (Bhana & Anderson, 2013; Hames, 2009; De Klerk, Klazinga & McNeill, 2007). This resonates with research that asserts gender-based violence is an aspect of patriarchy where male power is implicit and where female identities are structured around this domination and vulnerability, rendering them vulnerable to sexual risk and HIV infection (Moletsane & Theron, 2017; Duma, 2016; Bhana & Anderson, 2013; Adams, Mabusela & Dlamini, 2013).

Gender-based violence against females is a structural form of female oppression. It includes the acceptance and the normalisation that basic power involves a male (Gordon, 2017; Gqola, 2015; Bhana & Anderson, 2013). It is in this context that female students are at greater risk of sexual risk and HIV infection (Moletsane & Theron, 2017; Gordon, 2017; Gqola, 2015; Bhana & Anderson, 2013). Structural violence inhibits and constrains female students at university campuses, signifying a hostile environment (Gordon, 2017; Singh, Mudaly & Singh-Pillay, 2016; Hames, 2009).

In South African cultural practices like *isoka*, the practice of young men relating sexually to different partners concurrently, there is an implicit belief amongst males and more especially male students, in the context of transactional and coercive sex practices at universities, that if a male student spends money on a female, he has absolute rights to her body (Duma, 2016; Gordon & Collins, 2013; LeClerc-Madlala, 2004). Furthermore, this is compounded by the African Customary Law that African females never move beyond minor status and even though Constitutional guarantees of gender equality are made, females still largely remain the most marginalised group (Duma, 2016; Selikow, Zulu & Cedras, 2002).

Many students converge at universities having witnessed or experienced gender-based violence in their homes and communities and therefore it has become normalised (Moletsane & Theron, 2017; Gordon, 2017; Adams, Mabusela & Dlamini, 2013). Research findings indicate that the construction of femininity contributes to gender-based violence and where female students respond to gender stereotyped roles for material gain, oppression and sexualised violence is rife (Gordon, 2017; Singh, Mudaly & Singh-Pillay, 2015; Clowes, Shefer, Fouten, Vergnani & Jacobs, 2009).

2.5. Gender-based violence in South African universities

In South Africa, where this study is conducted, the situation is no different. Research indicates that gender-based violence at university residences has reached epidemic proportions (Bhana & Pillay, 2018; Moletsane & Theron, 2017; Gordon, 2017; Singh et al., 2016).

Universities are microcosms of society, where students converge with their different cultural beliefs, attitudes and behaviours that may sometimes tolerate, justify and normalise gender-based violence, not only against female students but also against non-conforming genders as well (Bhana & Pillay, 2018; Gordon, 2017; Jagessar & Msibi, 2015; Shefer, Fouten, Vergnani & Jacobs, 2009; Dastile, 2008). This concurs with Seedat van Niekerk, Jewkes, Suffla & Ratele (2009) who assert that gender is aligned within patriarchal cultures and it is this patriarchal ethos that normalises and tolerates gender-based violence that is perpetuated at universities (Clowes & Vergnani, 2012).

Encouraged by cultural structures, male students use power that is bestowed upon them by society to subordinate females and to brutalise non-conforming genders (Bhana, 2014; Msibi, 2012; Jewkes & Morrell, 2010; Pascoe, 2007).

Substantive research indicates that the gender power inequalities inherent in patriarchal society are directly responsible for the high rates of gender-based violence, not only in society at large, but also at university campuses. (Bhana, 2014; Francis & Msibi, 2011; Jewkes & Morrell, 2010; Sathipersad, 2008). This is evident in the unprecedented levels of gender-based violence at university residences, which is a cause for concern and has not only highlighted students' fears, but has also placed the scourge of gender-based violence and its eradication at the top of universities' list of priorities. Empirical research shows that male and female students are both victims and perpetrators of this human rights violation (Bhana & Pillay, 2018; Sexual Violence Task Force, 2016; Jagessar & Msibi, 2015; Bhana, 2012; Msibi, 2012; Taulke-Johnson, 2010; Jackson, 2006; WHO, 2002). However, extensive empirical research has also shown that males

are the predominant perpetrators of this dastardly scourge while females and non-conforming genders are most likely to fall victim (Bhana & Pillay, 2018; Moletsane & Theron, 2017; Gordon, 2017; Jagessar & Msibi, 2015; Connell, 2005). By adopting a gender lens framework, I will be able to achieve a more balanced comprehensive view of gender-based violence as it affects all students, regardless of their gender and sexual orientation.

Empirical research shows that, despite constitutional guarantees of gender justice for all, as well as university policies that are aimed to maintain these rights for all students, gender-based violence continues to disrupt the students' academic progress and physical and psychological well-being (Bhana & Pillay, 2018, Gordon, 2017; Moletsane & Theron, 2017; Sexual Violence Task Team, 2016; Collin, Loots, Meyiwa & Mistrey, 2009; Soudien, 2008). A safety review of South African universities conducted by MacKay & Magwaza (2008) revealed that two thousand female students experience gender-based violence in a year and that no less than ten students experienced gender-based violence on a daily basis. By any standards, this is alarming. These findings concur with the Soudien Report (2008) findings and research by Mama and Barnes (2007) that indicates that eradicating these high levels of gender-based violence at university is a challenge of epic proportions. This empirical research, together with other scholarly work on gender-based violence at universities (Bhana & Pillay, 2018; Jagessar & Msibi, 2015; Matabeni & Msibi, 2015; Clowes et al., 2009; De Klerk, Klazinga & McNeill, 2007), lead to many universities, not only in South Africa but also globally to initiate and to address gender-based violence at Higher Education Institutions (HEI) (Association of American Universities, 2017; National Union of Students NUS, 2010; European Union Commissions Projects, 2011).

In South Africa, the recent Daily News (2018) media report of a Mangosuthu University of Technology first year student shot dead, allegedly by her ex-boyfriend, has added to the statistics of gender-based violence at university residences. Other more recent incidents include one highlighted by Fengu, in City Press newspaper (2018), where a female Rhodes University student committed suicide after being raped by a fellow student, is proof of the fatal impact of gender-based violence on the victim. There have been similar incidents at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, where a foreign female student was sexually assaulted, at the University of Witwatersrand in 2013 and 2017, and at Rhodes University, where it was reported that repeated rape incidents occurred in 2015 and 2016 by known male perpetrators, as well as documented incidents at four other universities, where four female students were all murdered allegedly by their boyfriends (Gordon, 2017; Singh et al., 2016; Sexual Violence Response Team, 2016; Hames, 2009; Ziehl, 2006; Ben-David & Schneider, 2005). These sexualised gender-based

violence attacks and murder attest to the socialisation of males and the inherent belief that it is their right to be aggressive and to resort to violence when things do not go their way in their relationships (Gordon, 2017; Gqola, 2015; Hames, 2009).

2.6. Disrupting the premise that females are not violent

This study, like other research (Straus & Ramirez, 2007; Straus, 2004) rejects the assumption that only males perpetrate violence and that all victims are female. The concept of sexual symmetry contends that males and females can both be equally violent and this is in line with empirical research where both male and female students perpetrated similar rates of physical and psychological aggression (Cercone, Beach & Arias, 2005). This is consistent with the findings of Straus' (2004) interactive study of dating violence of students that found that 12% - 42% of male students and 17% - 48% of female students committed an act of gender-based violence. A subsequent study by Straus and Ramirez (2007) supported the concept of gender symmetry in incidents of gender-based violence among university dating students where females students more often initiated the gender-based violence against their partners at a younger age. However, Johnson (2008) found that gender-based violence perpetrated against males by females was more likely to be retaliatory. This alludes to the social learning theory (Botha, 2014, Bandura, 1986) where children observe the violent altercations between adults and they then model their behaviour by emulating the actions of violent adults. Straus and Ramirez (2007) found that younger female students are more likely to perpetrate gender-based violence against their partners. This speaks to unequal power relations that are central to gender-based violence and empirical research has shown that not all females are powerless, neither are all females in unequal relationships (Shefer, 2016; Bhana & Anderson, 2013; Mantell, 2009; Schippers, 2007). Not all females shy away from violently asserting their power and influence and in doing so, they challenge patriarchal legacies of female subordination and exercise their agency (Bhana & Pillay, 2018; Bhana & Anderson, 2013; Williams, 2000). They demonstrate agency but is not an ideal situation as they too react and respond by being violent. This resonates with research by Bhana (2008) and Morojele (2009), that females are not just victims of gender-based, but are agents too. Female violence challenges archaic assumptions that violence is solely a masculine activity. Female violence represents a shift in social expectations and cultural norms that have sanctioned male on female violence and male on male violence, where gay males and female lesbians are victims. These are forms of domination and subordination of those who do not fall into the heteronormative society norm.

In a patriarchal society, it is considered non-normative and not in keeping with their gender-norms when females resort to gender-based violence against males (Addis & Mihalik, 2003; Babcock, Miller & Siard, 2003). These acts of gender-based violence perpetrated by females against males contradicts gendered norms of male dominance and aggression and female subordination and passivity (Bhana & Pillay, 2018; Bhana & Anderson, 2013; Addis & Mihalik, 2003). Females who use violence are considered to have strong masculine gender characteristics that imbibe dominance and control (Babcock, Miller & Siard, 2003). When females commit violence they are seen to be benefitting from masculine privilege (Babcock, Miller & Siard, 2003).

Johnson (2006) posits that females use intimate terrorism as a form of coercive control to intimidate and threaten their partners. Research shows that in homosexual relationships, where partners are not males, females also commit violence. This is in line with studies that reveal that females involved in same-sex relationships threaten to expose the sexual orientation of their partners to relatives and friends and that they may go a step further by telling their partners that gay people are not important and therefore the authorities will not assist them (Babcock, Miller & Siard, 2003). This vindictive attitude and behaviour not only perpetuates the silence around gender-based violence, but it also bears evidence of the internalised homophobia that so many homosexual students experience (Msibi, 2014; Yost & Gilmore, 2011; Taulke-Johnson, 2010; Ellis, 2009).

Whereas males use more physical aggression, females tend to be more verbally aggressive by committing relational forms of gender-based violence like gossiping, hurling insults and exclusion (Anderson & Huesmann, 2007). This is consistent with a study by Kruttschmitt & Carbon-Lopez (2006) that female motives for gender-based violence include insults, jealousy, perceived humiliation, self-defence and control. However, females who assert their power and who challenge gender norms and stereotypes, may sometimes experience corrective punishment and risk being stigmatised, especially in the light of culture being both gendered and sexualised (Jagessar & Msibi, 2015; Bhana, 2014; Msibi, 2012; Kim & Motsei, 2002).

Social stigma is attached to both female perpetrators and male victims of gender-based violence, in the sense that males who are attacked by females are considered to be weak; females, who firstly attack males and other females are considered too masculine and secondly, as victims, they are blamed for encouraging the gender-based violence attack (Kim & Motsei, 2002). However, we must remain cognisant of the fact that gender-based violence is a social deviant act and that regardless of the gender and sexual orientation of the victim and perpetrator, it is a crime against humanity (WHO, 2002).

It is evident that there remains a paucity in research on female student gender-based violence against male and other female students. This therefore presents an opportunity to explore and investigate this field of research.

2.7. Gender-based violence within heterosexual relationships

Despite the burgeoning literature on resistance and resilience to gender-based violence, it continues to operate at systemic levels, emanating from the patriarchal norms that normalise it (Bhana & Pillay, 2018; Moletsane & Theron, 2017; Gordon, 2017; Bhana & Anderson, 2013). Gender-based violence is a primordial form of power inherent in a patriarchal culture that relegates females to being second class citizens (Moletsane & Theron, 2017; Singh et al., 2016; Gordon & Collins, 2013; Bhana & Anderson, 2013). Gender-based violence against females is a form of structural oppression against women and it is in this context that female students are at a greater risk of sexual risk and HIV infection (Moletsane & Theron, 2017; Gordon, 2017; Gqola, 2015; Bhana & Anderson, 2013). This structural violence inhibits and constrains females at university campuses, signifying a hostile environment (Gordon, 2017; Singh, Mudaly & Singh-Pillay, 2016; Hames, 2009).

Violence within heterosexual relationships is a systematic problem where males model the aggressive and negative behaviours of other males, as in social learning theory (Botha, 2014; Bandura, 1986). Males observe other males using violence to control females and they emulate this in their relationships (Botha, 2014; Bandura, 1986). This is indicative of toxic masculinities that converge at universities, rendering females vulnerable to gender-based violence. Campuses steeped in patriarchal ethos are structured along gender power inequalities that legitimise the use of violence within heterosexual relationships (Msibi, 2009; Graziano, 2004). A number of qualitative studies show that males exercise their power and control over female sexualities in ways that may sometimes lead to violence (Shefer, 2009; Shefer & Foster, 2001; Shefer, Strebel & Foster, 2000). However empirical research shows that not all females are powerless (Bhana & Pillay, 2018; Campbell & Mannell, 2016; Bhana & Anderson, 2013; Mantell, 2009). Contrary to feminist perspectives, not all females are under the power and control of males; many females do practise their agency, they are not all in unequal relationships and they are not all passive (Shefer, 2016; Campbell & Mannell, 2016; Bhana & Anderson, 2013). Constitutional gender transformation has led to the empowerment of women who do not shy away from expressing their agency (Shefer, 2016; Bhana, 2014). This

empowerment may be perceived as a challenge to some males who may resort to violence to reassert their patriarchal position (Shefer, 2016; Bhana, 2014).

Empirical research has shown that females who are involved in unequal, coercive relationships are eight times more likely to be infected with HIV (Shisana et al., 2014; Mosavel, Ahmed & Simon, 2012). The most vulnerable students are the first year university female students according to a study by Clowes et al. (2009). This resonates with other research that indicates that, for 14% of first year female students, sex is mediated through the currency of exchange as payment for wants and needs, thus exposing them to the 'blesser' and 'sugar daddy' phenomenon (Moletsane & Theron, 2017; Gordon, 2017; Varjavandi, 2017). Extensive research shows that while males can have more than one sexual partner in certain cultures, similar practices are strictly prohibited for females (Duma, 2016; Adams, Mabasela & Dlamini, 2013; Leclerc-Madlala, 2004). This practice not only exposes gender power imbalances, but it also results in gender-based violence when females challenge this (Duma, 2016; Adams, Mabasela & Dlamini, 2013; Leclerc-Madlala, 2004).

Heterosexual dating relationships are characterised by gender power inequalities where vulnerable females construct their lives around male domination (Bhana & Anderson, 2013; Clowes et al., 2009). Research shows that females fear leaving an abusive relationship because they may often experience 'separation assault' (Fleury, 2000). Males may attempt to re-establish control over their female partners and this then precipitates more violence. (Fleury, 2000). The incident at Mangosuthu University of Technology (Daily News, 2018), where a first year student was shot dead allegedly by her ex-boyfriend, is proof of this 'separation assault'. This gender-based violence is perpetrated against females for the sole reason of their being a female. Perhaps if the roles were reversed, in the case of the above incident, the female may not have killed her ex-boyfriend. In a patriarchal society, males are socialised to reproduce gender divisions and hence gender inequalities are perpetuated in the manner in which they exercise their power over females.

A continuum of violence against females involves the continuous series of physical, verbal and sexual assaults committed by males. This gender-based violence against females is a direct consequence of the socialisation of males, social and cultural transmission of gender roles, expectations and entitlement (Adam & Mutungi, 2007; Selikow, Zulu & Cedras, 2002). This speaks to the social learning process, where males imitate harmful practices that they have observed, culminating in gender-based violence against females (Botha, 2014; Shefer, Ratele & Strebel, 2007; Bandura, 1986). Females are socialised to internalise their abuse and remain the 'good wife' and this in turn leads to the culture of silence around gender-based violence in

heterosexual relationships (Moletsane & Theron, 2017; Gqola, 2015; Mosavel, Ahmed & Simon, 2012). Femininity is emphasised as tolerant, subordinate and passive, and it is this cultural indoctrination that normalises, silences and ultimately perpetuates the shameful gender-based violence at Higher Education Institutions (Chauke, Dlamini, Kiguwa, Mthombeni, Ndume, Selebano, 2015; Mosavel, Ahmed & Simon, 2012; MacKay & Magwaza, 2008).

Males appear to carry out their gender-based violence against females with an attitude of impunity and this was clearly evident when the students at Rhodes University released the names of eleven alleged perpetrators of rape on social media (Gordon, 2017; End Rape Culture Task Team at SU, 2016/2017). This both resulted from and raised the ire of students who felt that nothing was being done to those perpetrators.

A study of American male students found that of the 120 students who reported perpetrators of sexual violence, 63% were reported to have done so more than once (Lisak & Miller, 2002). This points to the socialisation of males who believe that they are not just superior to females, but that they have absolute rights to a female's body (Duma, 2016; Chauke et al., 2015; Gqola, 2015; Leclerc-Madlala, 2004). Male students are not the only perpetrators of gender-based violence against female students; male lecturers have also been found guilty. These acts have been perpetrated in the context of transactional sex which will be discussed later in this chapter.

The life of a female student on campus is akin to navigating a minefield of intimate partner violence, abuse and sexual assault as they negotiate their lives around a 'rape-schedule' (Singh, Mudaly & Singh-Pillay, 2015; Gqola, 2015; Hames, 2009).

2.8. Gender-based violence: Homophobic attacks –homosexual relationships

Religious and cultural antagonism towards homosexual relationships originates from the belief that two people from the same sex do not have the capacity to love each other (seen as unnatural) in the manner in which two people from the opposite sex do (natural) (Arrayo, 2011). This belief is in line with Butler's (1990) heterosexual matrix that suggests that same sex relationships are 'abnormal'. Heterosexuality is regarded as the compulsory norm. Butler (1990) posits that heterosexuality is regarded as the normal and natural way along which our gender and sexuality are sculpted. Religious and cultural norms further compel us to behave in

a way that is in keeping with our sex. According to Butler (1990), heterosexuality is maintained through the 'policing' or denigration 'othering' of 'abnormal' ('unintelligible') genders by 'normal' ('intelligible') genders. It is in this context that homosexuals are denied cultural recognition and are subject to shame and harassment and violence. (Msibi, 2009; Nell & Judge, 2008). Gender-based violence against homosexuals is as a result of their 'disruptions' to the 'echo-chains' (Butler, 1990). This gender-based violence attack against homosexuals is carried out by those who espouse hegemonic masculinity, not only to control gender identities, but to also maintain gender norms (Msibi, 2012; Bhana, 2012; Jackson, 2006; Connell, 1995). Cultural practices like compulsory heterosexuality and the fear of deviation from gender norms is what cultivates homophobia (Jagessar & Msibi, 2016; Bhana, 2012; Francis & Msibi, 2011).

At universities there exists a heterosexual ethos that threatens and overshadows the lives of homosexual students. Despite the common perception that universities are liberal spaces, there remains a lack of respect and tolerance of diversity (Bhana & Pillay, 2018; Jagessar & Msibi, 2015; Hames, 2009). The endemic homophobia at universities is symbolic of patriarchal cultures where heterosexual male students hold the belief that their male identity entitles them to regulate and dictate all other students' sexuality often through violent means (Bhana, 2014; Mkhize, Bennet, Reddy & Moletsane, 2010; Msibi, 2009). Homophobic violence was not only evident when a group of male students beat a homosexual male student and threatened a lesbian female student with corrective rape, but also when they escorted homosexual students out of the University of Zululand residences (Msibi, 2009; Soudien, 2008). Other homophobic attacks occurred at the University of the Western Cape (UWC), when male heterosexual students physically attacked a homosexual student in full view of security staff who did not intervene (De Vos, 2012; Msibi, 2012). This indifference of the security staff echoes the pervasive homophobia not only in society, but also in Higher Education Institutions where homosexual students are discriminated against.

According to Kimmel (2008), males exert their authority through violence, and this resonates with research by Bhana (2014) and Msibi (2009) that effeminate males and masculine lesbian females who betray the normative notions of masculinity and femininity are perceived as a threat to the natural gender order (Wells, 2006) and are therefore violently policed. This concurs with Connell's theory of masculinity (1995) that hegemonic masculinity is powered by gender-based violence. This gender-based violence against homosexual females was evident in the rape and murder of a Banyana Banyana lesbian female soccer captain (Msibi, 2009). Corrective rape is a patriarchal 'weapon' used to control the sexualities of all non-conforming genders and females (Msibi, 2009). Empirical research shows that gender-based

violence against homosexual students has been rife as these ostracised students were seen as soft targets (Collin, Loots, Meyiwa & Mistrey, 2009; Mama & Barnes, 2007). According to the World Health Organisation (WHO, 2001), this is a Human Rights issue that needs to be condemned in the strongest terms as it is an obstacle to gender justice and gender equality.

A case study by Gouws and Kritzing (2007) shows a widespread tolerance and acceptance of gender-based violence at universities and this mirrors South African society (Hames, 2009). Bhana (2014) reports that male students assert their 'parliamentary' power and pass judgement over homosexual and female students who pass by the male university residence.

Derogatory language is also used to victimise and ostracise homosexual students. Homophobic violence is explicit in hate speech, where homosexuality is denigrated in the form of gay-bashing (Matabeni & Msibi, 2009). This concurs with the study by Panoyioutou (2010), who asserts that heterosexist language is used to discipline and regulate homosexual males by using terms like "faggots". This resonates with the research by Graziano (2004), which reports that nasty graffiti and death threats were painted on dormitory doors. Matabeni & Msibi (2015) assert that hegemonic collusion is evident in the term 'isitabane' and this not only dehumanises homosexuality but that it also instils fear into them and they therefore suffer in silence. Internalised homophobia is where homosexual students develop negative self-images; as they observe their homosexual peers being brutalised by fellow heterosexual students, they internalise their homophobia and the inherent loneliness and isolation (Msibi, 2014; Yost & Gilmore, 2011; Taulke-Johnson, 2010; Ellis, 2009).

Hegemonic masculinity disciplines and regulates non-hegemonic masculinities in ways that oppress their gender and sexuality. Empirical studies show that homosexual students experience a continuum of gender-based violence, discrimination and isolation and are therefore subjected to gender social distress (Jagessar & Msibi, 2015; Bhana, 2014; Russel, Franz & Driscoll, 2001).

2.9. Rape culture

Extensive research exposes university rape culture and its contribution to the normalisation of gender-based violence against female students and non-conforming genders (Singh, Mudaly & Singh-Pillay, 2015; Msibi, 2009; Hames, 2009; MacKay & Magwaza, 2008). Research findings indicate that male students not only believe that rape is a crime of passion, but that it is also not rape if it falls within the ambit of a heterosexual relationship (Gordon, 2017; Gordon & Collins, 2013; De Klerk, Klazinga & McNeill, 2007). This myth was evident in the reported repeated rapes of female students at Rhodes University in 2015 and 2016 by known male

perpetrators (Singh et al., 2016; Sexual Violence Response Team, 2016; Ziehl, 2006; Ben-David & Schneider, 2005).

According to Gqola (2015), rape is a serious social crime. She relates this to patriarchy, gender inequality and the societal belief that the function of a female's body is to sexually please a male and it is for these reasons that rape and a culture of violence is pervasive. This resonates with research by Dosekun (2013) and Du Toit (2005) that the prevalence of rape in South Africa relegates females to second class citizenship. This systematic violence against females has created a culture of fear in which gender-based violence is normalised as part of a socially approved activity to control females (Gqola, 2015; Dosekun, 2013; Du Toit, 2005). HEI mirror society and it is here that gender-based violence is structurally embedded within the education system (Gordon & Collins, 2013; Hames, 2009; MacKay & Magwaza, 2008). Females are therefore forced to construct their lives, relationships, and movements in the context of gender-based violence as they remain vulnerable to male violence and aggression (Moletsane & Theron, 2017; Bhana & Anderson, 2013; Clowes et al., 2009). Females are subjective to patriarchal laws that render them powerless, vulnerable to the iniquitous scourge of gender-based violence. Rape is perceived as an acceptable behaviour of heterosexual masculinity in some subcultures, and this is evident in incidents of 'jackrolling' (gang rape) in South African townships where young men ride around, attacking and gang-raping young females (Mokwena, 1991). Rape is used as a weapon to police the sexuality of females (WHO, 2001). Feminist theories support this belief that rape is a result of gender inequality inherent in patriarchal cultures (Dosekun, 2005).

Understanding the problem of gender-based violence and rape is strongly associated with the construction of gender and gender identity (Connell, 1995). Hegemonic masculinity is regarded as the culturally idealised form of masculinity and as such has absolute power and control over all females and non-hegemonic masculinities (Connell, 1995). A gender-inclusive framework emphasises the heterogeneity of victim and perpetrator and this is in line with research that males can be victims of rape and other forms of gender-based violence perpetrated in both heterosexual and homosexual relationships. Pattman's (2010) research on social cohesion posits that violence is rife in patriarchal society and this is supported by homophobia and misogyny.

Homophobic violence as well as the rape of male students is largely unreported and is not well researched, therefore many victims may fall through the cracks (Bhana, 2012; Tati, 2009). An increase in research in this area will only strengthen the belief that rape is a crime of power and not an expression of sexual needs or urges (Mama & Barnes, 2007; Ben-David & Schneider,

2005). This will dispel the rape myths that ‘only females can get raped’ or that ‘males cannot be sexually assaulted or raped’ (Banyard, 2011). Empirical research shows that this is a common myth in society as well as at HEI and it is for this reason that male victims do not report their rape or seek assistance (Banyard, 2011; Mama & Barnes, 2007).

The recent emergence of this field of research is as a result of the increasing recognition of the endemic homophobic culture that is driven by the heteronormative ethos that discriminates against non-hegemonic forms of masculinity (Bhana & Pillay, 2018; Jagessar & Msibi, 2015; Taulke-Johnson, 2010).

A study by Porter and Williams (2011) found that homosexual students were four times more likely to experience rape, twice more likely to experience psychological violence in dating relationships and three times more likely to experience physical violence. The study also indicated that homosexual students were more likely to report threats and experience of gender-based violence than their heterosexual peers. Other studies found that homosexual students felt less safe at campus than their heterosexual peers (Porter & Williams, 2011; Reed, Matsumoto & Amaro, 2010). This resonates with research by Hames (2009), Bhana (2014) and Jagessar and Msibi (2015) that homosexual students face threats of corrective rape as well as violent intolerance of their sexual preferences.

It is for this reason that many homosexual students remain silent in fear of discrimination and victimisation (Graziano, 2004). Female students may also internalise their abuse and they therefore remain silent about their rape experiences as a result of cultural practices that condone gender-based violence against them (Leach, 2003; Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002).

Through a gender lens, we become aware of the harmful cultural practices that perpetuate violence against females and other non-conforming genders. Rape is a culturally sanctioned crime carried out by heterosexual males who dehumanise females and other non-hegemonic masculinity in order to control and regulate their sexuality (Bhana & Pillay, 2018; Jagessar & Msibi, 2015; Shepherd, 2008). Regardless of gender expression and sexual orientation all victims of rape experience psychological and physical trauma that if left unchecked, may result in mental health issues like depression, and it is therefore important that they are assisted.

In line with our South African Constitution (1996), HEI have adopted more gender-inclusive sexual harassment and gender-based violence policies that set out to protect all students, regardless of their sexual orientation and gender identity. However, universities remain colonised by some homophobic males who continue to discriminate against homosexual students, and unless the university authorities create ‘campus citizenship for all’ with the

involvement of relevant role players, a climate of homophobia will continue to pervade campus (Hames, 2009).

My interpretation of the research findings is that ‘rape culture’ overshadows females and other gender non-conforming students’ university life and fills them with a sense of foreboding. This is disturbing, as universities should be associated with positive growth and development and not fear of assault.

2.10. Transactional and coercive sexual practices at university campuses

The links between gender-based violence and poverty intersect with patriarchy in ways that renders female and some homosexual male students vulnerable to coercive sexual practices (Mosavel, Ahmed & Simon, 2012). Empirical research indicates that South African females are eight times more likely to experience non-consensual sex and as well as to have sex with older partners (Stoebenau, Heise, Wamoyi & Bobrova, 2016; Shisana et al., 2014).

Research shows that many struggling students are involved in transactional sexual practices in exchange for wants and needs, thus exposing them to the prevalence of the ‘sugar daddy’ and ‘blesser’ phenomenon (Moletsane & Theron, 2017; Gordon, 2017; Varjavandi, 2017). However, through a gender lens, we also become aware of the ‘Ben Ten’ phenomenon, where younger male students also engage in practices with older female students as well as older male students in homosexual contexts, and coercion from either party may be a factor. Empirical studies suggest that students submit to peer pressure and engage in the risky sexual activities for material gain (Shefer, 2009; Adams & Mutungi, 2007; Selikow, Zulu & Cedras, 2005). This transactional sex places students at risk of unsafe sexual practices and gender-based violence (Gordon & Collins, 2013; Clowes et al., 2009; Hames, 2009). The practice of ‘friends with benefits’ leads to risky conditions for those who are motivated by personal gain and pleasure to engage in risky coercive practices and thus render themselves vulnerable to sexual attack and HIV infection (Bhana & Anderson, 2013; Reddy & Dunne, 2007). Morrell (2002) argues that males demonstrate power towards females by sexual coercion and it is here that females are often also physically attacked when they do not submit to male advances.

Empirical research shows that female first year students are socialised to accept gender-based violence in exchange for money and food (Twinamasiko, 2008; Leach, Fiscian, Kadzamide, Lenani & Machankia, 2003; Jewkes, Levin, Mbananga & Bradshaw, 2002). This culture has sometimes been perpetuated throughout their schooling, from the time when poverty-stricken learners resorted to transactional sex in order to survive (Abrahams, Mathews & Ramela, 2006;

WHO, 2001) and is reproduced at Higher Education Institutions (HEI) (Jewkes & Morrell, 2010).

Research findings highlight that female students are also prone to gender-based violence perpetrated by male university staff who demand sexual favours in exchange for marks (Adams, Mabusela & Dlamini, 2013; Steenkamp, 2010; Ziehl, 2006). Confirmed media reports by the Eye Witness News (2017) and the Mail & Guardian (2013) exposed three male lecturers who were found guilty of sexually assaulting female student at the University of Witwatersrand. These reports highlight the systemic gender-based violence and the normalisation of this scourge that is inherent in patriarchal society.

Empirical research indicates that students' experience of university campuses is one of a liberating, sexually charged zone, free from the disciplinary and judgemental tone of adults (Clowes et al., 2009; Collins, Loots-Meyiwa & Mistrey, 2009; Adams & Mutungi, 2007). It is in this context that student hangouts at university campuses like the Barn & Condom Square at the University of Cape Town have become infamous and synonymous with both consensual and non-consensual sexual activity, alcohol and drug abuse and it is in this context, that the vulnerability of both females and male students to coercive practices and transactional sex thrives (Gordon & Collins, 2013; Clowes et al., 2009; Hames, 2009).

2.11. Risk factors for gender-based violence at university campuses

Empirical research has linked numerous risk factors for gender-based violence at university campuses and these include toxic and unhealthy masculinities such as coercive sex practices and fantasies; inappropriate social norms and hostility towards females and non-hegemonic students; patriarchal laws with the inherent power inequalities and male entitlement as well as the use of alcohol and drugs and the pervasive 'party rape culture' that exists at Higher Education Institution (HEI) (Weinzimmer & Twill, 2015; Gordon & Collins, 2013; Clowes et al., 2009; Hames, 2009; MacKay & Magwaza, 2008).

Females and non-hegemonic masculinities are at greater risk of experiencing gender-based violence as a result of the gender inequalities embedded in patriarchy (Matabeni & Msibi, 2011). This includes unequal power based on biological sex, gender identity and sexual orientation (Bhana & Pillay, 2018; Matabeni & Msibi, 2011). Inappropriate societal norms that tolerate and normalise hegemonic masculine violence against females and non-conforming genders are destructive to say the least. The heteronormative campus culture, where heterosexuality is idealised, becomes a site where gender power inequalities are reproduced

and where females and non-conforming genders have to negotiate their safety (Bhana & Anderson, 2013). Toxic masculinities violently 'police', brutalise and sanction females and non-hegemonic masculinities (Bhana & Pillay, 2018; Jagessar & Msibi, 2015; Shefer & Foster, 2001).

Social norms theory refers to people's perceptions about behaviour that seems 'normal' simply because of their peers' influence, thus these actions are based on misperceptions which are perceived as real (Baumgartner, Valkenburgh & Peter, 2011; Berkowitz, 2010). Relating to this social norms theory, male students are peer pressurised to engage in the drinking of alcohol and perpetrating sexual and physical assault in order to become popular with their friends (Harper, Harris & Mmeje, 2004). They then proceed to objectify and denigrate females and other non-hegemonic masculinity to re-affirm their manhood (Harris & Edwards, 2010). This negative behaviour appears 'normal' and they continue to pose a threat to females and gender transgressive males and females. A study by the Association of American Universities (2015) revealed that 23% of female students and 25% of homosexual students experienced some sort of gender-based violence while incapacitated by alcohol and/or drugs. Another study by the United Kingdom National Union of Students (NUS) (2010) found that one in ten female students were given alcohol and drugs against their will prior to the attack. First year students are exposed to a 'party rape culture' where they are pressurised to consume alcohol and drugs and engage in unprotected sex. and this makes them vulnerable to gender-based violence (Armstrong, 2006; Moreton, 2002). The vulnerability to sexual attack is exacerbated by those social conditions as well as the cultural norms that perpetuate gender inequality (Jewkes & Morrell, 2012).

Another dynamic that has contributed to the high levels of gender-based violence was highlighted by Willoughby and Carrol (2009), where it was found that students who lived in co-ed residences were more likely to take behavioural risks at sex and alcohol parties than their peers who lived in single sex residences. Their permissive attitudes rendered them vulnerable to gender-based violence and HIV infection. This resonates with a study by Sax (2008) who examined longitudinal survey data of over ten thousand females and seven thousand male students in the United States and found that males spent more time partying, drinking and distributing pornographic material than their female peers. This same study highlights the male initiation as well as the coming of age of all students who see campus life as a socially liberating experience (Harris, 2010; Clowes et al., 2009; Adams-Curtis & Forbes, 2004).

Homosexual students experience numerous challenges at university campuses. The fear of physical and verbal attack as a result of their sexuality, renders homosexuality invisible (Msibi,

2012; Taulke-Johnson, 2008; Morrell, 2002). Hegemonic masculinities drive the heteronormative culture that discriminates against homosexuality and as a result, homosexuals live in constant fear (Msibi, 2012; Yost & Gillmore, 2011; Connell, 1995; Butler, 1990). Deviance from the normative constructions of masculinity and femininity is therefore a risk factor of gender-based violence (Bhana, 2014; Msibi, 2012; Butler, 2009; Connell, 2005).

Male students are socialised to assert their power over females and those with other non-hegemonic masculinities, and this very often is carried out in a violent manner. Therefore gender-based violence has to be understood in the ways in which unequal power relations are maintained (Anderson, 2006) and in the context of alcohol, drugs and sex parties at campus residence, this unequal power relations plays out in ways that leads to violence (Gordon & Collins, 2013; Clowes et al., 2009). Entrenched in patriarchy is the unequal gender power relation that renders all females as well as non-hegemonic masculinity vulnerable to gender-based violence; passive cultural acceptance of this scourge contributes to the normalisation of violence (Bhana, 2014; Msibi, 2012; Shefer, Ratele & Strebel, 2007; Anderson, 2006).

2.12. The impact of gender-based violence on male and female students

Gender-based violence was historically regarded as an issue that affects females only; however recent empirical research shows that it is an issue that also affects males (Bhana & Pillay, 2018; Gordon, 2017; Sexual Violence Response Task Team, 2016; Jagessar & Msibi, 2015). Non-hegemonic students (homosexual students) are victims as a result of their deviation from the normative conceptualisation of masculinity and femininity (Gordon, 2017; Matabeni & Msibi, 2015; Jagessar & Msibi, 2015; Bhana & Anderson, 2013).

Studies show that gender-based violence on university campuses ranges from stalking, verbal and physical abuse, intimate partner violence and sexualised violence in the form of rape, to murder (Bhana & Pillay, 2018; Jagessar & Msibi, 2015; Adams, Mabusela & Dlamini, 2013; Steenkamp, 2010; Hames, 2009). Extensive research shows that, regardless of the gender identity and sexual orientation, gender-based violence has a disturbing and detrimental impact on those who have been intimately affected by it or who have perhaps witnessed it (Moletsane & Theron, 2017; Chauke et al., 2015; Collins et al., 2009; Dastile, 2008). Gender-based violence poses a health and safety concern as students experience physical and psychological damage that can impact negatively on their academics (Bhana & Pillay, 2018; Adams, Mabusela & Dlamini, 2013; Steenkamp, 2010; Clowes et al., 2009).

Both male and female victims experience shame and self-blame; have an inability to concentrate, may experience depression and anxiety, de-motivation and a drop in grades; may experiment in alcohol, drugs and risky sexual behaviour; may experience post-traumatic stress; while some may even leave university, resulting in unfulfilled dreams (Gordon, 2017; Chauke et al., 2015; Adams, Mabusela & Dlamini, 2013; Steenkamp, 2010). A recent incident highlighted by Fengu, in the City Press newspaper (2018) of a Rhodes University student, committing suicide after being raped by a fellow student is proof that gender-based violence can have a fatal impact on the victim.

Patriarchy and gender role expectations play a pivotal role in gender-based violence against females; congruent with hegemonic masculinity, male aggression and violence are expected and accepted in heterosexual relationships (Connell, 1995, 2005; Bhana, 2014; Adams, Mabusela & Dlamini, 2013). Female students perceive themselves as soft targets for violent attacks by peers, staff, male visitors and outsiders and therefore their movement on campus is dictated by fear and violence (Bhana & Pillay, 2018; Singh et al., 2016; Gordon & Collins, 2013; Hames, 2009).

Research indicates that sometimes bystanders may not want to intervene because of the high personal risk involved and it is for this reason that female students move around campus in large groups in order to stay safe (Gordon, 2017; Chauke et al., 2015; Steenkamp, 2010). Females are socialised to ultimately accept the inevitability of violence within heterosexual relationships and it is this tolerance that perpetuates the culture of silence at university residences where hegemonic masculinities violently police and attack not only female students but also non-conforming genders (Jagessar & Mbisi, 2015; Bhana, 2014; Yost & Gilmore, 2011; Jackson, 2006; Connell, 2005).

Empirical research shows that the heteronormative culture at HEI discriminates and brutalises non-conforming genders and, instead of symbolising beacons of tolerance of diversity, HEI have become breeding grounds for gender-based violence (Bhana & Pillay, 2018; Gordon, 2017; Singh, Mudaly & Singh-Pillay, 2015; Jagessar & Msibi, 2015; Bhana, 2014). Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersexed and queer (LGBTIQ) students are subjected to gender social stress and discrimination as a result of their challenging gender norms and expectations, more especially in the heteronormative climate that pervades campus life (Bhana & Pillay, 2018; Msibi & Jagessar, 2015; Bhana, 2014; Russell, Franz & Driscoll, 2011). Homosexual students experience stigmatisation, verbal and physical abuse, rejection, ostracism and even rape (Bhana & Pillay, 2018; Jagessar & Msibi, 2015; Bhana, 2014; Russell, Franz & Driscoll, 2011). Research indicates that many male homosexual students do not report their assault and

rape because they fear victimisation and retaliation as a result of their sexual orientation and they therefore suffer in silence (Jagessar & Msibi, 2015; Russell, Franz & Driscoll, 2011; Yost & Gilmore, 2011; Taulke-Johnson, 2010). Empirical research found further that they felt fear, shame and embarrassment and they did not want to jeopardise their masculine identity by revealing their sexual assault (Yost & Gilmore, 2011; Russell, Franz & Driscoll, 2011; Taulke-Johnson, 2010; Eskin et al., 2005). This resonates with research by Graziano (2004) that many students, despite their activism in creating networks for transformation, remained silent on their sexual orientation out of fear of homophobic attacks.

Males are also victims of gender-based violence at the hands of females, which contradicts the widespread notion that all females are passive. Males face socio-cultural pressure pertaining to hegemonic masculinities that assert domination and aggression over females. As a result of gender-based violence perpetrated by females, males may not only feel emasculated but may also feel that their pride has been threatened (Eskin et al., 2005; Marriot & Byrd, 2003). As a result of cultural norms and expectations, many male victims rarely report gender-based violence, not only out of fear of being seen as weak and subordinate to females but also out of fear of having their manhood being questioned by judgemental peers (Marriot & Byrd, 2013). Their eroded sense of manhood may precipitate retaliatory violence, resulting in more gender-based violence at the hands of their female partners. Males can therefore suffer gender-based violence in both heterosexual as well as homosexual relationships. This holds true for females as well.

According to Puri (2010), gender-based violence constitutes a breach of both male and female fundamental rights to life, dignity, liberty and equality that has dire consequences on their physical and mental integrity. Gender-based violence can be damaging, debilitating and deadly. The failure to address gender-based violence at HEI will result in the ethos of the institution becoming compromised and this will have far reaching consequences for society at large (Hames, 2009; Soudien, 2008; MacKay & Magwaza, 2008).

However, research findings indicate that not all female students respond to gender-based violence in the same way. There is a growing trend towards female students' resistance and resilience to gender-based violence at university campuses (Moletsane & Theron, 2017; Gordon, 2017; Masten, 2014; Theron & Malindi, 2010; Gouws & Kritzinger, 2007). Extant research illustrates that female student victims of gender-based violence are beginning to speak about their experiences at universities. The Girls Against Sexual Violence and Abuse (GASVA) and the Networks for Change and Well-being (Durban University of Technology), the Silent Protests, Facebook revelations of perpetrators and the Disrupt

documentary (Rhodes University); the University of Cape Town Survivors blog, allsupport and encourage females to break the silence (Moletsane & Theron, 2017; Gordon, 2017; Duma, 2016; Chauke et al., 2015; De Lange, Mitchell & Moletsane, 2015; Theron & Malindi, 2010; Hames, 2009; Mackay & Magwaza, 2008).

These noteworthy signs of resistance and resilience by female students challenge unequal gender norms that emanate from patriarchy, thus indicating their attempts to transform their stereotyped passive status and shed their oppressed and victim status (Moletsane & Theron, 2017; Gordon, 2017; Duma, 2016; De Lange et al., 2015). Female students' efforts to assert their basic rights against gender-based violence re-affirm the belief that gender-based violence is a human rights crime (Singh, Mudaly & Singh-Pillay, 2017; Gordon, 2017; Duma, 2016; De Lange et al., 2015; Chauke et al., 2015). However, other studies conducted shows that not all males are perpetrators of gender-based violence. The Amajita, a group of young male students added their voices in support of non-violence against females as well as healthy gender relations, as have other groupings of men (Chauke et al., 2015; Gordon & Collins, 2013; Theron & Malindi, 2010). These advocates for peace deserve our praise as they re-affirm our faith in humanity.

The outcry from students, both male and female, against gender-based violence at universities has prompted university authorities to urgently address this issue and to re-evaluate their sexual harassment policy and implementation (Moletsane & Theron, 2017; Gordon, 2017; Singh et al., 2016; Cheng & Yang, 2015; Bedera & Nordmeyer, 2015; De Lange et al., 2015).

2.13. Under reporting, non-reporting and reporting of gender-based violence at universities.

The under-reporting of gender-based violence at universities is an inherent problem, regardless of gender identity and sexual orientation and could also be attributed to the inappropriate societal norms that blame the victim (Gordon & Collins, 2013; Kim & Motsei, 2002). This insidious victim-blaming, which normalises gender-based violence and perpetuates the cycle of underreporting or not reporting, results in the victims feeling mistrust of the university authorities' commitment to assist them, and they therefore remain silent (Gordon & Collins, 2013; Du Toit, 2005; Kim & Motsei, 2002).

According to Connell (1995), the complex gender order inherent in hegemonic masculinity is what drives gender-based violence against females and non-conforming genders. Students may sometimes struggle in silence against violent and aggressive males and against patriarchal

gender norms that disempower them, rendering their suffering and abuse invisible (Moletsane & Theron, 2017; Harris, Hemson & Kaye, 2014; Masten & Wright, 2010). Research indicates that numerous factors contribute to the under-reporting of gender-based violence at universities.

Students may be unclear about what constitutes gender-based violence because some may perceive the touching of a female body to be culturally acceptable while others may not (Chauke et al 2015; Mosavel, Ahmed & Simon, 2012; Gouws & Kritzing, 2007). This resonates with research that found that 76% of female university students in the United States did not report the attempted rape as being serious enough to report, as well as their being unsure about whether a crime was actually committed (Fisher, Cullen & Turner, 2000). Female victims may sometimes not report gender-based violence, they remain silent as they hail from cultural backgrounds where gender-based violence, especially in heterosexual relationships, is normalised (Moletsane & Theron, 2017, Gordon, 2017; Gqola, 2015). Other studies revealed that female students do not report gender-based violence because they fear reprisal from the perpetrator; they fear they may not be believed as the traumatic incident may have caused them to block out details to minimise the impact; they fear being accused of being complicit or, worse, they blame themselves or they are accused of provoking the attack (Singh, Mudaly & Singh-Pillay, 2015; Gordon & Collins, 2013; Clowes et al., 2009; Hames, 2009). This resonates with other research that victims do not report acts of gender-based violence as verbalising their dehumanising experience may add to their trauma and stigma (Leach, 2003; Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002). Although both male and female victims experience fear, self-blame and embarrassment, their reasons for this response has a gendered context, in the sense that males fear they may jeopardize their masculine identity while females fear victimisation should they report the incident (Sable, Danis, Mauzy & Gallagher, 2006). The under-reporting of gender-based violence in same sex relationships or with homosexual males is higher as a result of stigmatisation and secondary victimisation based on their sexual experience (Sable, Danis, Mauzy & Gallagher, 2006).

Male victims may not report gender-based violence because they may feel ridiculed and the burden of proof is much greater because of gender norms and expectations of male dominance and aggression (Bhana, 2014; Jewkes & Morrell, 2012; Francis & Msibi, 2011; Msibi, 2009). Culturally defined roles of masculine characteristics may erode the male victim's dignity and manhood, and out of fear of being perceived as weak and gay, they will not report their abuse (Bhana, 2012; Francis & Msibi, 2011). As a result of the heteronormative climate that exists at HEI, homosexual relationships are not only considered deviant, but they also create a challenge

to hegemonic masculinity and it therefore warrants attack by heterosexual males (Bhana & Pillay, 2015; Jagessar & Msibi, 2015; Jackson, 2006; Connell, 1995). The fear of homophobic attack is what leads to many homosexual students not reporting their gender-based violence attack and they therefore internalise this homophobia (Msibi, 2009; Wells, 2006). This resonates with the study by Porter and Williams (2011), reported above.

Males are normally associated with physical and mental strength and power, which does not align to the image of an abused victim; hence many males who experience gender-based violence at the hands of females will not report this. Passive, non-violent males contradict the widespread notion that all males are violent, while abusive females similarly contradict gender norms that all females are subordinate and non-aggressive. The discrepancy between the traditional gender norms and expectations and male victimisation creates a conundrum for male victims who wish to report their abuse. If they speak out, they are judged to be weak and, if they retaliate with violence, they are judged to be aggressive. Social denigration of their masculinity and the risk of stigma leads to the under-reporting or not reporting of male gender-based violence attacks (Matabeni & Msibi, 2015; Francis & Msibi, 2011).

Empirical research highlights additional reasons for the under-reporting or the not reporting of gender-based violence and these include the lack of trust of university structures, students lack of knowledge of university gender-based violence and harassment policy; students fear of victimisation and stigmatisation (Moletsane & Theron, 2017; Gordon, 2017; Gordon & Collins, 2013).

Stigmatisation is most common amongst homosexual students where perpetrators may chide the victim and say that the university authorities “will not help gay students or faggots” (Matabeni & Msibi, 2015; Russell, Franz & Driscoll, 2011). Also, research shows that vindictive perpetrators of gender-based violence against homosexual students may threaten to tell family and friends about the sexual orientation of the victim and, because the victim values their privacy, they may not report the attack (Russell, Franz & Driscoll, 2011; Graziano, 2004). This presents a barrier to reporting gender-based violence and so the real figures of the incidents of gender-based violence against homosexual students may not be known.

Of great concern is that some studies revealed that when some female students sought retributive justice they were not only re-traumatised by inept campus efforts, but some were even exploited as the university authorities wanted to use their trauma to indicate that they were proactive in preventing gender-based violence (Collin, Loots, Meyiwa & Mistrey, 2009; Hames, 2009; Magwaza, 2008). Some universities lack the proper supportive, effective

response to ensure that the victim was provided with a range of services that they need. Research shows that male victims of gender-based violence are reluctant to report their experience as they feel that the university crisis centre only serves female victims and they fear that their personal dignity may be impaired in an environment that reinforces and celebrates heterosexuality (Jagessar & Msibi, 2015; Bhana, 2014; Jackson, 2006; Fischer, Cullen & Turner, 2000). Victims were often frustrated by the universities' empty promises that the matter was being dealt with by shifting responsibility and by referring the incident to different offices (Collin, Loots, Meyiwa & Mistrey, 2009; Hames, 2009; MacKay & Magwaza, 2008). In this way, the victims may disengage with university processes and the perpetrators are then let off the hook. Repeated incidents of gender-based violence may cause the victim to become despondent and they may therefore not report their experience (Hames, 2009; MacKay & Magwaza, 2008).

The danger of under-reporting or not reporting gender-based violence is that it empowers the perpetrators who continue to commit these criminal acts with impunity, thereby perpetuating social systemic problems at university residence (Gordon, 2017; Duma, 2016; Singh, Mudaly & Singh-Pillay, 2015; Hames, 2009). Systemic forms of discrimination, based on gender and sexual orientation, continue to plague society as well as universities and it is in this context that incidents of gender-based violence are often under reported.

2.14. Gender-based violence – The role of the university in combating the scourge

Universities are progressive institutions that should disrupt patriarchal norms that harm, challenging archaic perceptions that violence against females is acceptable (Cheng & Yang, 2015; Gordon & Collins, 2013; Collin, Loots, Meyiwa & Mistrey, 2009; Gouws & Kritzing, 2007). Existing research indicates that gaps between policy making and implementation in university policies urgently need to be assessed, as this is a fundamental failing to ensure safe campuses for male and female students as well as other vulnerable groups (Wilkinson, 2017; Gordon, 2017; Bedera & Nordmeyer, 2015; De Lange et al., 2015; Hames, 2009). Research findings indicate that, while some university sexual harassment and gender-based violence policies are still in their embryonic stages, many others are reactive rather than preventative (Gordon, 2017; Wilkinson, 2017; Joubert, Rothman & Van Wyk, 2011; Gouws & Kritzing, 2007). The avalanche of incidents of gender-based violence against female students as well as homosexual students at universities has not only prompted university management to work together with all relevant stakeholders to dismantle culturally embedded structures that exploit

female students, discriminate against other gender non-conforming students and perpetuate gender-based violence; but it has also resulted in the Department of Higher Education and Training preparing a policy framework guide for tertiary institutions in the implementation of policies and strategies to combat this scourge (Gordon, 2017; Sexual Violence Task Team, Rhodes, 2016; Chauke et al., 2015; De Lange et al., 2015).

Research findings indicate that while some universities have made concerted efforts to prevent and reduce the rates of gender-based violence and to end the Rape Culture, not all have adequately implemented their policies (Gordon, 2017; Moletsane & Theron, 2017; Singh et al., 2016; De Lange et al., 2015; Joubert, Rothman & Van Wyk, 2011).

In addition, some universities' intervention mechanisms are ineffective and are aimed at protecting the institution's reputation rather than investigating the incident (Collins, 2013; Gordon & Collins, 2013; Joubert, Rothman & Van Wyk, 2011; MacKay & Magwaza, 2008). This is alarming, as the focus should be on creating safe campuses and assisting the victim, not shielding the perpetrator. Empirical research indicates that a lack of knowledge and awareness of university sexual harassment and gender-based violence policies as well as lack of visible information regarding this issue is part of the problem (Gordon, 2017; Moletsane & Theron, 2017; De Lange et al., 2015; Joubert, Rothman & Van Wyk, 2011).

It is in this context that research findings suggest that universities adopt a comprehensive multifaceted approach involving all relevant stakeholders as part of a specialised unit that deals solely with issues related to sexual harassment and gender-based violence (Gordon, 2017; Moletsane & Theron, 2017; Sexual Violence Task Team, 2016; Singh et al., 2016; De Lange et al., 2015; Mackay & Magwaza, 2008). Further research suggests that universities include a compulsory gender-based violence module in the curriculum, with a bystander intervention programme in orientation week (Gordon, 2017; Moletsane & Theron, 2017; Sexual Violence Task Team, 2016; De Lange et al., 2015).

This will not only create awareness of gender-based issues, guidelines and protocol reinforcing the institution's zero tolerance approach to gender-based violence against all students, but it will also strengthen mechanisms, thereby creating safe campuses for all (Gordon, 2017; Moletsane & Theron, 2017; Sexual Violence Task Team, 2016; Singh et al., 2016; De Lange et al., 2015).

2.15. Government responses to gender-based violence

Gender-based violence is a human rights violation (WHO, 2001) that ultimately threatens the progressive laws of not only South Africa, but many other countries as well. The South African Constitution (1996) guarantees gender equality for all and yet, sadly, females and non-confirming genders remain marginalised. The South African Government's fight to end gender-based violence is evidenced in the specialised units such as the Sexual Offences and Community Affairs (SOCA) within the Department of Justice and Constitutional Development. More recently, the Department of Social development has set up a twenty four hour call centre for the reporting of incidents of gender-based violence. However, with all the legislation in place, gender-based violence continues unabated, more especially at university campus residences where this current research is undertaken.

If we are serious about eliminating gender-based violence, which is deeply embedded in patriarchal practices, then we need to adopt a gender norms transformation approach that promotes human rights and equality for all, as it is firmly entrenched in the Bill of Rights, the cornerstone of the South African Constitution (1996). It is evident from the high rates of gender-based violence in South Africa that the law alone is limited in its application of these rights. It requires firm commitment from the relevant stakeholders, especially at Higher Education Institutions (HEI) to eradicate the scourge.

2.16. Theoretical frameworks of the study

A theoretical framework is a well-developed, coherent explanation that helps us to understand phenomena (Vithal & Jansen, 2006). A theoretical framework plays a pivotal role in research by providing a context for examining a problem (Henning, van Rensburg and Smith, 2004).

This section deals with the theoretical frameworks that are employed in the study. Connell's gender power (1995; 2005) and Butler's theory of heteronormativity (1990; 1993). Connell and Butler's theories complement each other to provide a nuanced and in-depth understanding in their use as gender lenses in the analysis of the data in this study.

A gender-inclusive framework provides a more comprehensive understanding of gender-based violence as it affects both male and female students as well as sexual minority students. These theories will provide an analytical lens with which to interpret the data generated and address the objectives and research questions of this study.

Connell's Theory of Gender Power

Connell's theory of masculinity is based on the hierarchal structure of masculinities. Connell (1995; 2005) offers four categories of masculinities to help understand the multiplicity of masculinities and these include dominant (hegemonic masculinity), subordinate, complicit, and marginalised. However, while there are many more forms of masculinities that research has included, for the purpose of this study the focus will be largely on hegemonic and subordinate masculine forms.

Connell's theory of masculinity (1995) posits that gender-based violence includes all acts of violence simply because it occurs between male and female, female and male and members of the same sexual orientation. Adopting Connell's theory of masculinity (1995; 2005) as one of the frameworks for this study assists us to comprehend why violence is perpetrated on the basis of gender. According to Connell (1995, p.56), gender is constructed through the interaction between our material and social processes:

"The bodily process, entering into the social process, becomes part of the history (both personal and collective) and a possible object of politics."

This theory alludes to violence not as a part of a direct consequence of the biological and psychological make-up of the perpetrator, but rather as an important facet of a larger network of dominant and subordinate cultures that have the potential to be instrumental and complicit in maintaining patriarchal domination over females. Unequal power relations are important to this theory and therefore gender-based violence must be understood in the ways in which this unequal power dynamics are maintained (Anderson, 2006; Vetten, 2000; Bhana, 2000). Shefer, Ratele and Strebel (2007) posit that boys who witness violence against female will perceive violence as an acceptable form of behaviour.

Masculinity is associated with issues of male power over females and often non-hegemonic masculinities (Connell, 1995). Power relations are exhibited at all levels of social interaction and, therefore, this social learning theory will help the study to analyse how unequal gender power relations inform the students' understandings and experiences of gender-based violence.

According to Connell (1995) and Morrell (1998), gendered practices that legitimise male hegemonic violence are the affirmation of manhood and it is through these gender practices that we become aware of the harm that is caused by the normalisation of heterosexuality and the marginalisation of homosexuality. Using a gender lens as a central theoretical framework, we research how gender-based violence against both male and female university students is rife. The theory of masculinity (Connell, 1995) therefore suggests that all violence is gender-

based and this is inextricably linked to gender power relations, regardless of whether it occurs between males and females or male and male (Bhana, 2014; Morrell, 2012; Vetten & Bhana, 2001). According to Connell (1995), hegemonic masculinity is the key driver of gender-based violence that is legitimised by gendered practices and unequal power relations.

Connell's (1995) theory of masculinity asserts that hegemonic masculinity is the dominant form of masculinity and as such assumes the alpha role for all other forms of masculinity to emulate. Hegemonic masculinity expects males to be dominant and aggressive in their interactions with females as well as with non-hegemonic forms of masculinity who they perceive as disloyal to the male hegemonic code (Connell, 2000; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). It is within hegemonic masculinity that males are imbued with preponderant power and influence over all females and those of other non-hegemonic masculinities, which ultimately leads to the perpetuation of gender-based violence, including misogyny, homophobia, compulsory heterosexuality and racism (Jewkes, Dunkle, Koss, Levin, Nduna, Jama-Shai & Sikweyiya, 2006; Connell, 2005).

Connell (1995) asserts that multiple forms of masculinity do co-exist and that these are constructed in line with gender practices, through which males exert their patriarchal power over all females and 'others' (Messerschmidt, 2005; Connell, 2005). Hegemonic masculinity is widely regarded as the dominant, cultural embodiment of masculinity wherein males are bestowed with power and influence over females and other forms of masculinity (Connell, 1995; 2005). Connell's theory of masculinity (1995; 2005) is premised on a hierarchical understanding of gender that not only places males at the apex but also provides a guide on the normative performance of masculinity for all males. It also places all females and those of non-hegemonic forms of masculinity at the base of the hierarchy, firmly in harm's way of experiencing gender-based violence (Jewkes et al., 2006; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Connell, 1995; 2005). Other less dominant forms of gay masculinity are sometimes violently 'policed' by those who typify hegemonic masculinity and who interpret their powerful apical status and male identity as a licence to regulate and dictate other non-normative sexualities (Jagessar & Msibi, 2015; Bhana, 2014; Mkhize, Bennet, Reddy & Moletsane, 2010). Females and homosexuals form part of Connell's subordinate masculinities. This subordinate masculinity is largely oppressed on the basis of their sexual orientation and gender identity. This violent intolerance of views and behaviour different from their own is what motivates Connell (1995) to suggest a degendering strategy to dismantle hegemonic masculinity and to pursue social justice for all.

Empirical studies show that, in heterosexual relationships, gender-based violence occurs as a result of polarised gender constructions, by which females are categorised as subordinate to all categories of masculinity (hegemonic and non-hegemonic). Although not all males display violent and aggressive tendencies, they all benefit from the 'patriarchal dividend' (Connell, 1995). This implies that, by remaining complicit in the marginalisation of females, they do indeed benefit from the subordination of females (Connell, 1995). This complicit masculinity is the third in Connell's hierarchy of masculinity who benefit from being males but do not reach hegemonic status and are not change agents. This notion is supported by prominent gender theories that assert that patriarchy is the driving force behind the systemic undermining and domination of females. Connell's theory of masculinity deals with gender power where hegemonic masculinities wield power over all other forms of masculinity and females. Encouraged by patriarchal norms of male dominance and female subordination, hegemonic males may sometimes violently oppress females and non-conforming genders. These theories are not only crucial to our understanding of the power relations that manifest at universities, but they also assist in analysing how these unequal power relations renders females and non-conforming genders vulnerable to gender-based violence at university campuses.

Empirical research shows that factors that may act as a catalyst for acts of gender-based violence includes toxic and unhealthy masculinities that include coercive and sexual fantasies; hostility towards females and other non-hegemonic masculinities; social norms that tolerate and normalise gender-based violence; male superiority and male entitlement as well as the use of alcohol and drugs. In our context, what makes these issues more complex is that the masculinity of black males is regarded as a marginalised form of masculinity on the basis of their race (Connell, 1995; 2005).

According to Connell (1995; 2005), hegemonic masculinity is the very embodiment of power and expression of violence and it is this gendered continuum of violence that not only renders all females and non-hegemonic masculinities powerless, but also intimidates and dehumanises them. This is evident in the high rates of gender-based violence that is perpetuated against them (Bhana, 2014; Msibi, 2012). Student experience at university is shaped by patriarchal cultures that sanction and marginalise females and non-confirming genders. Hegemonic masculinities epitomise notions of 'real manhood', idealised notions that preclude all 'others' (Kimmel, 2008; Connell, 2005; Butler, 1990).

Butler's heteronormativity / heterosexual matrix

Butler's conceptualisation of the heterosexual matrix posits that typical expressions of masculinity and femininity are rooted within hegemonic heterosexuality (Butler, 1990). Butler argues that compulsory heterosexuality is created through the normative conflation of gender, sex and sexuality. Heteronormativity presumes that only two sexes exist and that it is only these two opposite sexes that can be attracted to each other, thus rendering homosexual relationships as 'abnormal' (unintelligible) and heterosexual relationships as 'normal' (intelligible). Non-conforming genders are violently policed by powerful male hegemonies (Butler, 1990; 1993).

According to Butler (1993) these non-conforming genders or 'others' or 'unintelligible genders' rank low on the hierarchy of normativemasculinities and femininities, where 'intelligible genders' or 'normal' gender manifestations reign supreme. This heteronormativity theory of Butler (1990) conceptualises the heterosexual matrix that is a strong driver of hegemonic masculinities (Connell, 1995). Heteronormativity presumes that only two sexes exist and therefore it is only these binaries that can be attracted to each other. (Connell, 1995; Butler, 1990).

Butler (1993) asserts that the heterosexual matrix, wherein the normative conflation of gender, sex and sexuality exists, is what leads to the normalisation of heterosexuality, which in turn has become the compulsory enactment of masculinity and femininity. It is in this context that all 'other' non-confirming genders or 'disruptions' as Butler defines it, are discriminated against (Taulke-Johnson, 2010). This 'policing' by powerful male hegemonies is evident in the homophobic attacks at the University of the Western Cape where a homosexual student was violently beaten in full view of dismissive security staff (Jagessar & Msibi, 2012). This also happened at the University of Zululand where a group of heterosexual students escorted a group of homosexual males out of the university residence (Msibi, 2009; Soudien, 2008).

All females and non-hegemonic genders live in the shadows of stereotypical gender norms that hinder the progress of gender equality and freedom in society. In fact, it was Connell (1995) who recognised the many disadvantages in this narrow and dominant hegemonic masculinity, predicting many problems for a society that adheres to it. In the light of the pervasive homophobic violence at universities, Connell (1995) was visionary.

2.17. Conclusion

In this chapter I have reviewed literature that is relevant to my study on male and female students' understandings and experiences of gender-based violence at university residences. Despite government legislation and university policies that aim to eliminate the scourge of gender-based violence, it continues to plague students' university experience.

The literature also focused on gender-based violence within heterosexual and homosexual relationships and discussed the impact that gender-based violence has on all students. Further, it highlighted the issue of under-reporting by some students and discussed some of the reasons for this trend. In addition, it highlighted the role and responsibilities of the university with regard to gender-based violence, suggesting ways in which these institutions can reduce the high levels of this scourge. Finally, the theoretical frameworks that underpin this study were also discussed.

The next chapter deals with the research design and methodology.

Chapter Three

Research Design and Methodology

3.1. Introduction

This chapter focuses on the research design and methodology of the study. The methodology not only reflects the theoretical angle that the research should take but it also provides a logical description and explanation of the selection of the research design, which is typical of qualitative research that is located within the interpretivist paradigm, such as the present study (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007).

This study set out to explore, to understand and to analyse male and female students' understandings and experiences of gender-based violence at a university campus residence in KwaZulu-Natal. A qualitative approach is appropriate for gaining a greater and deeper understanding of social phenomenon like gender-based violence from the participants' perspectives (Cresswell, 2012; 2014).

This chapter provides a detailed description of the research design, the research site, sampling procedures and data collection methods. This chapter also explains the inductive analysis of data that emerged as well as the ethical considerations and it concludes with the limitations of the study.

3.2. Research design and methodology

This study employed a qualitative approach. This qualitative approach was necessary in order to gain a comprehensive and holistic perspective on both male and female students' understandings and experiences of gender-based violence at a university campus residence. This qualitative approach was effective as it allowed the participants to articulate their lived experiences and understandings of the phenomenon through the semi-structured, open-ended, individual interviews (Braun & Clark, 2013; Silverman, 2013; Cresswell, 2012). This qualitative approach was therefore appropriate as it afforded the researcher the opportunity to formulate a comprehensive understanding and analysis of gender-based violence at a university campus residence (Cresswell, 2012).

In order to answer the critical questions guiding this study, I worked within the interpretivist paradigm (Bertram & Christiansen, 2014). The rationale behind using this interpretivist paradigm is that this study focused on male and female students' observations, understandings and where possible, experiences of gender-based violence at a university campus residence. Therefore, the interpretivist paradigm, which seeks to understand the individual's interpretations of the world and their lived experiences, was most suitable for this study (Bertram & Christiansen, 2014). Through a close interpretation and in-depth analysis of the qualitative data generated through the semi-structured, open-ended, individual interviews, I was able to achieve a deeper insight and understanding into the way in which the participants in the study make sense of gender-based violence as it occurs at a university campus residence (Henning, Van Rensburg & Smit, 2004).

3.3 Research site

This research was conducted at a university campus residence in KwaZulu-Natal in 2019. Permission was granted to conduct this research into gender-based violence at the university campus residence as the relevant authorities are committed to eradicate this social phenomenon at higher education institutions. It made sense to choose this research site as it is close to my place of residence and therefore it was easy to meet my participants as soon as they were available to be interviewed. I am also a student at this campus and have been working with students during my Honours and Masters degrees, thus it was relatively easy to access participants.

This campus has a diverse student population. Students come from far and wide to study at this university as it is ranked number one in Africa according to the Young University Rankings (UKZN DABA online, 2019). This campus comprises of twelve residences that accommodate

over 600 undergraduate as well as post-graduate students. Students have an option to live in single sex residences or to cohabit. There are other options like single or double rooms that are made available to students. However, there are only communal ablution and kitchen facilities, which may not suit students who value their privacy. Despite the campus being multi-racial, the majority of students residing in the campus residences are Black (i.e. of African descent).

Many students who study at this university are recipients of bursaries and grants. A large number of those who reside in the campus residences are dependent on monthly food allowances that may not be sufficient to support their basic needs. However, there are also some students who are not recipients of bursary schemes who live in the campus residence. Many students face social and economic challenges that may contribute to the high rate of gender-based violence that is so prevalent at university residences.

3.4. Sampling

A sample represents a smaller group of a larger group of persons that will form part of a study (Cohen et al., 2007). Sampling decisions are critical if the researcher wants to obtain rich information in order to answer the research questions (Cohen et al., 2007).

Purposive sampling targets a specific group of people to be included in the research; in this case it was 15 males and 15 females undergraduate as well as post-graduate students. The sampling criteria was that the students had to reside in the university campus residences. This deliberate choice of participants meant that I included students who were potentially exposed to gender-based violence that occurred in the university campus residences. This inclusion of both male and female students in the research study added to a nuanced understanding of gender-based violence as it occurs at university campus residences; there is very little research on the males who are considered perpetrators - males could be victims (homosexuals) and perpetrators (hegemonic and heterosexual) that is why this study is important.

I visited fellow students at the residences and explained the focus and purpose of my study. I also enquired whether they were willing to participate in my study. I provided them with my contact details, while some students had already agreed to being part of my research and they supplied me with their contact details. Some of these students were more than willing to be interviewed as they felt that they needed to break the silence surrounding this scourge.

Where I was unable to get sufficient participants on my own, I employed the snowballing technique (Braun & Clark, 2013). While pursuing my Honours Degree in Gender Education (Specialisation), I became acquainted with many students who lived on the campus residence. We had many robust debates and discussions on the issue of gender-based violence at the

university campus residences. My fellow students were eager to assist me and they enquired from their friends at campus whether they were willing to participate in my study.

This proved fruitful as several participants both from the heterosexual as well as the LGBTIQ (self-identified) community came forward and expressed their willingness to be interviewed. Both sampling methods, the purposive as well as the snowballing technique, yielded rich data about the phenomenon of gender-based violence as it occurs at university campus residences.

3.5. Data collection

This study draws on a qualitative research method. Due to the sensitivity of the nature of the research, the data collection method utilised 30 semi-structured, open-ended interviews (Bertram & Christiansen, 2013; Silverman, 2013; MacKenzie & Knipe, 2006). These interviews were audio-recorded with the permission of all the participants. This method was most suitable and it worked well as it allowed the participants to speak freely about their observations and experiences of gender-based violence. According to Cohen et al. (2001) this type of semi-structured, open-ended interview is useful as it generates rich data that participants would not necessarily supply when responding to a structured interview. I cannot agree more with this as, during the interviews, many participants self-identified as belonging to the LGBTIQ community and they spoke openly about their observations and experiences.

The 15 male and 15 female interviews took place in students' residence rooms and in other secluded areas on campus, wherever they were comfortable. These interviews were conducted in the evenings after lectures and on weekends over a period of two months. The duration of each interview was an hour. All the recorded interviews were transcribed. Fitness for purpose was guaranteed as the data collection method, which provided rich qualitative data, matched the kind of data that was required to answer the research questions (Bertram & Christiansen, 2014). With this qualitative inductive approach, patterns and themes emerged from the data (Bertram & Christiansen, 2014). The theoretical frameworks that underpin this study were used for analysing this data that was generated through the semi-structured open-ended interviews.

3.6. The actual interview process

After receiving permission from the University of KwaZulu-Natal Ethics Committee and the Registrar of the University, I proceeded to conduct the interviews with the 30 male and female participants. Before the actual interview started, I asked the participants to fill in the informed consent forms and to sign it. The participants were also informed that all interviews would be recorded, that their identities would not be revealed and they would be given pseudonyms. In fact, all the participants were named as M1 to M15 and F1 to F15. The participants were satisfied that their identities would be kept confidential and they became focused, relaxed and comfortable enough to articulate their personal experiences, observations as well as relate the experiences of others.

Asking the participants questions about their backgrounds and family life helped to establish a comfortable relaxed atmosphere. Initially, a few participants were reluctant to speak about their own experience of gender-based violence, but as the interview progressed and they became more comfortable, they were able to articulate their personal experience. Due to the sensitive nature of the research, I watched for non-verbal clues that suggested that the participants were uncomfortable. The interviews went extremely well and the participants were eager to speak from the outset. During the interviews a few students self-identified as being part of the LGBTIQ community. These students spoke openly about their experiences and observations of gender-based violence at campus residences. They also felt that the university needs to acknowledge that they exist and they spoke openly about their suffering at the hands of their fellow students. Many of the participants were quite outspoken when asked about the role of the university in creating a safe campus for all.

The individual semi-structured open-ended interviews proved to be successful in gaining rich data as well as comprehensive knowledge on the magnitude of the problems related to gender-based violence that students experience in on-campus residences.

Reflexivity

As the researcher my own perceptions regarding gender violence had to be sanitised so I could listen to the students' perceptions and experiences with an open mind. I believe that gender-based violence is a horrific crime against humanity; it erodes the dignity and constitutional rights of all citizens. Each act of GBV diminishes our humanity. The perpetrators of GBV need to be condemned in the harshest possible term, regardless of gender or status. This was difficult at times because I am a student at this university and having to listen to my fellow students speak about their experiences of this phenomenon filled me with despair as I felt helpless to remedy the situation. However, I believe that my research gave them a voice to speak about their experiences as well as the hope that the relevant stakeholders will take the necessary steps

to eliminate all forms of gender-based violence at the university campus. I always knew that I was going home to my safe haven after lectures whereas my peers and participants were unsure of their fate and what forms of violence to which they may be exposed. This left me with a sense of helplessness. The irony of my study is that it is these very same students who were engaging in modules on Gender Based Violence of which they were either victims or perpetrators.

3.7. Ethical considerations

Before any research is undertaken, all ethical principles and rules must be strictly adhered to. To this end, an ethical application was made for this study to be conducted through the University of KwaZulu-Natal Ethics committee. The study was granted an ethical clearance certificate number **HSS / 0347 / 019M** (see Appendix one).

The participants signed informed consent forms detailing their voluntary participation as well informing them of their right to withdraw at any point from the interview and they were not obliged to answer any questions they were not comfortable with. The participants were informed that their names would not be used and, in order to guarantee their confidentiality, pseudonyms were used.

An audio-recorder was used in order to enhance the credibility of the generated data. The audio-recorded verbatim responses ensured that no misinterpretation occurred of the participants' responses. Confirmability demands that an audit trail is undertaken (Cresswell, 2012), and in this regard I returned the transcripts to the participants for verification (Cresswell, 2007). The students were allowed to clarify, add or remove any data that they felt either needed changing or additions. All audio-recordings and transcripts will be kept safe for the stipulated period of five years. By staying true to the data, the transferability of the research will be applicable to other similar research in the field of gender-based violence at university campus residences (Cresswell, 2007; Lietz, Langer & Furman, 2006).

3.8. Limitations of the study

The limitations refer to the constraints that are imposed on the study and the context in which the research claims are set (Vithal & Jansen, 2006). The time was not sufficient to interview participants more than once. As students were busy with their academic programme, I had to schedule the interviews in the evenings and on weekends. In some cases, I had to re-schedule

as students were preparing for tests, so I had to work around their schedule. In some cases, the noise level was disturbing in the residences, but I worked around this by repeating questions and asking participants to repeat any responses that I thought would not be clear on the audio-recorder.

3.9. Conclusion

This chapter has identified, explained and justified the research design and methodology that was used in the study. The choice of research design was in accordance with the purpose and research questions. This augurs well for the interpretivist qualitative research study, that sets out to understand and make interpretations with the purpose of understanding human agency, behaviour, beliefs and attitudes as well as perceptions (Bertram & Christiansen, 2014). This chapter has also discussed sampling procedures as well as data collection methods. In addition, the chapter has also discussed the inductive method used for the data analysis employed. The chapter concluded with a discussion on the ethical considerations and highlighted some limitations of the study.

The next chapter analyses the findings and discussion of generated data.

Chapter Four

Data Analysis

4.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I provide an in-depth analysis and discussion of the data that was generated from the 30 individual semi-structured open-ended interviews. The study set out to explore male and female university students' understandings and experiences of gender-based violence at a university campus residence. By working within the interpretivist paradigm, I was able to gain a deeper insight into the students' understandings and experiences of this social phenomenon as it occurs at university campus residences. The use of a gender lens (gender relational theory and gender power) as a central framework, as well as an eclectic theoretical approach that included the works of Connell's Theory of Gender and Masculinity (1995; 2000) and Butler's Heteronormativity / Heterosexual Matrix (1990; 1993) was effective in creating a more nuanced and sophisticated inductive analysis of the data generated. In the analysis and discussion, several themes emerged from the data. The first part of this chapter presents the biographical details of the participants whilst the second part deals with the analysis of the data generated by the individual semi-structured interviews with the participants. The following themes emerged from the individual interviews:

- Students' understandings of gender-based violence.
- "licking her vagina ... slaps ... and rape": students' experiences of gender-based violence at university campus residences.
- "I'm a male ... I will possess my power over any partner": Patriarchy and its impact on gender-based violence.

- “Zulus ... we have power over women ...”: Culture and patriarchy.
- “Their parents abuse one another”: The reproduction of home and community violence at university residences.
- Female violence: “I do hit back” – female agency reacting and responding with violence.
- “They say they will take this lesbian thing out of me”: homophobia – understanding lesbianism as something that can be undone.
- Male entitlement to female bodies: transactional sex and rape.
- Campus culture temptations.
- Alcohol and drug parties on campus exacerbating gender-based violence.
- Mind your business: “In the university labyrinth abuse, becomes the norm.”
- “I’m the only person you are allowed to be with”: double standards in heterosexual relationships and the threat of male violence.
- The impact of gender-based violence on the victims and bystanders.
- The under-reporting or not reporting of gender-based violence at university campus residence.
- The role of the university.

4.2. A biographical summary of the 30 participants

The participants included 15 female and 15 male university students who live in the on-campus residences. Their ages ranged between 19 and 29 years. Their levels of study ranged between first to fourth year and consisted of both undergraduates and postgraduates. While some lived in the single sex residence, others cohabited. There were 29 Black participants and one Indian participant. The majority of students who live in the residences are Black. There are a very few other students of other race groups who reside in the residences which make it difficult to access them. The participants hailed from rural, suburban and urban areas. Two participants, one male and one female self-identified as gay and lesbian. A few participants indicated that they were peer educators, resident assistants as well as members of the various student organisations on campus.

In seeking to understand the participants’ understandings and exposure to gender-based violence, it was evident that all 30 of them were able to articulate their perceptions of this social ill in a succinct manner. All the participants indicated that they had either been exposed to or had experienced different types of gender-based violence in the university campus residence.

4.3. Data presentation and analysis

This section deals with the data generated from the individual interviews, leading to the analysis from which several themes emerged. The discussion of the generated data also includes the relevant literature that supports or refutes my findings. The theoretical frameworks are instrumental in the data discussion as they are used as analytical tools used to interpret the data.

4.3.1. Students' understanding of gender-based violence

The literature shows that the high levels of gender-based violence at university residences have heightened students' understandings and awareness of this scourge. Empirical research shows that violence is a problem of both sexes and therefore both males and females are capable of inflicting violence (Johnson, 2006; Babcock, Miller & Siard, 2003; Swan & Snow, 2003). The data shows that the students are exposed to a continuum of violence as they navigate their way around campus and this is consistent with the literature that gender-based violence is highly prevalent at universities (Collins et al., 2009; Mama & Barnes, 2007). The following responses indicate that the participants are fully aware of what constitutes gender-based violence.

- M1: *... not considering gays and lesbians as human. Considering them as not part of society, just discriminating them.*
- M3: *... when one gender or sex oppresses the other because they think they are superior to them.*
- M7: *... gender means it can be either male or female ... but it's different kinds of violence.*
- M8: *... whereby one gender if not both genders are abused ... could be physical, emotional, mental. Rape is also a form of gender-based violence.*
- M13: *... is usually sexual harassment*
- F1: *... when males or different genders, one abuses the other ... emotionally, physically or domestically, you can say rape Human trafficking.*
- F3: *Can be violent ... emotionally ... physically ... economically*
- F6: *... rape ... simply because she came out ... lesbian*
- F14: *Like a man beating a woman, vice versa.*

F10: ... *using sign language ... commenting on her boobies. Maybe her butt and stuff.*

The participants articulated that perpetrators as well as victims of gender-based violence are both male and female. This corresponds with the concept of victim symmetry that states that both sexes are equally capable of inflicting violence (Johnson, 2006). The participants were able to point out that gender-based violence is not only a physical violation but that it also includes verbal and non-verbal gestures, physical, emotional, psychological as well as economic abuse. This alludes to the fact that gender-based violence has become ingrained within the social context and, at universities, violence is reflective of the socio-economic conditions in society (Ngakane, Muthukrishna & Ngcobo, 2012). The utterances of the participants crystallise the apparent inevitability and high prevalence of gender-based violence at this university residence. This is supported by the literature that gender-based violence on campuses has reached endemic proportions (Moletsane & Theron, 2017). One of the participants alludes to the treatment of non-normative sexualities (gay and lesbian) as sub-human, which often results in the abusive and cruel treatment of students from the LGBTIQ communities. The extreme form of gender-based violence, rape, has been cited by students and this occurs in these campus residences.

4.3.2. “Licking her vagina ... slaps and ... rape”: Students’ experiences of gender-based violence at a university on-campus residence

Despite the burgeoning literature on resistance and resilience to gender-based violence, it continues to operate at systemic levels emanating from patriarchal norms that normalise it (Bhana & Pillay, 2018; Moletsane & Theron, 2017; Gordon, 2017; Bhana & Anderson, 2013).

What is clearly evident in the data below is that the female participants’ experiences of student life are shaped by gender-based violence. The data also illustrated that male students used their gender privilege to resort to violence and aggression when things did not go their way in their relationships. The data below therefore correlates with the literature that males are socialised with the inherent belief that it is their right to use violence against females and non-conforming genders (Gqola, 2015). This is evident in the following excerpts by some females and two non-conforming gender participants, one male and one female (gay and lesbian). Threats, intimidation, sexual and physical abuse are quotidian in this context of a university campus residence. It was evident that there has been serious harm that has resulted in students having been hospitalised, in a space that is designed for education. This clearly shows that students, particularly female and homosexual students, are at risk of serious harm.

F1: ... *I just received a slap hard ...*

F2: ... *he started hurting me ...*

F12: ... *they threaten us, they want to have sex without our consent*

F9: *I was taking a shower ... I saw a shadow.*

F8: ... *they pushed me, I got bruised on my leg ... I was rushed to hospital. (Self-identified lesbian)*

M13: ... *he touched my behind, I was not comfortable. (Self-identified gay)*

In keeping with the gender-inclusive framework of the study, it was found that females are just as capable of inflicting violence on their partners. The data shows that there are female perpetrators who also physically and verbally abuse their male partners.

M9: ... *when you ask a girl to talk ... they expecting something, they say you are weak, you supposed to do this.*

F10: ... *she started hitting her boyfriend.*

F6: *I know this one lady she used to shout at her boyfriend and beat him up when the guy was cheating.*

F9: ... *her boyfriend dated another girl ... they (the two girls) were literally fist fighting.*

M8: ... *she slapped him in front of her.*

... *the two girls in the male residence ... the boy came in with one girlfriend, and the other one came to visit ... it was very bad, there was blood everywhere, they were beating him.*

What is evident in the above responses is that females' behaviour is incongruent with their passive, submissive stereotypical status. They are prepared to challenge the status quo and they do use violence against their cheating partners. This resonates with research findings that 17% - 48% of females do commit dating violence (Straus, 2004). While it is evident that female students also use violence, whether in their attempts to reclaim their power or agency, it is still unacceptable and not the ideal way of resolving any conflict with their partners. Ganging up on male students in serious acts of violence shows the propensity for females to engage in violent acts.

What also emerged from the data was that the participants became aware of numerous other incidents of gender-based violence through eye-witness accounts and during their interactions

with fellow students. The following data reveals that, although (as indicated above) that some females are violent, nevertheless, the majority of the victims of gender-based violence are females and non-conforming genders at the hands of heterosexual and homophobic males. This correlates with empirical research that males are largely the perpetrators of this scourge (Singh, Mudaly & Singh-Pillay, 2015; Hames, 2009).

F2: *I was told about ... one girl was raped.*

F3: *... they cheat ... end up fighting. This guy was knocking on every door at 12 midnight ... this guy tried to rape me.*

F4: *... yes it was physical abuse, my friend ... he beat her up.*

F8: *He's gay (my friend) ... so every time they pass him (my gay friend), they just insult him, they homophobic.*

F9: *... she was bleeding ... bruised ... he beat her up. She was sleeping at night ... there was this guy he was licking her vagina.*

F12: *... some of their friends have been raped.*

F10: *She had been sexually harassed. She told me that a student was raped by her boyfriend. The LGBTIQ guy ... they beat him up ... used bottles.*

F3: *I witnessed one incident ... they had a fight ... he was about to throw the girl down the stairs.*

F6: *The RA raped the lady ... a first year student.*

F14: *... there was a guy, just waiting ... and he just pounced and raped her.*

M11: *... he pushed me (the gay student), he slapped me and then he slept with me by force.*

M15: *My friend ... he's gay. Recently there was a party, he got raped, he got raped and he's a first year.*

F5: *A group of boys raped a girl ... simply because she came out and specified that she was a lesbian.*

M13: *... a lot of guys said sexual remarks ... some would even touch the lady or the ladies will be touching the guys.*

M7: *... posting on social media ... using vulgar words ... shut, bitch*

M12: *... there was a guy raping girls here on campus.*

Participant F9 reveals that females are unsafe even when they are asleep; males are able to access their rooms. This is an extreme violation of the females' body and it highlights the vulnerable position of female students at university residences. Ironically, the students should be safe in their rooms, but this is where they are most violated. What is evident is that the safety and security of the students is not of paramount importance as a lone male student was able to access a female student's room, undetected by security. What is also evident is that the students are subjected to extreme forms of violence in the residence. Participant F10 states that male perpetrators used bottles as a weapon to attack their gay victim. This points to the brutality that many females, and more especially lesbian and gay students experience at the hands of the homophobic males.

This correlates with the literature that non-conforming genders and females experience a continuum of gender-based violence at the hands of their peers (Msibi, 2014; Yost & Gilmore, 2011). Participants M11 and F5 touched on the curative rape of a lesbian and a gay student by homophobic male students who believe that it is their right to dictate the sexualities of others. This resonates with the literature that illustrates the ways in which males attempt to not only 'cure' females (lesbians) of the 'sickness' of lesbianism but also to 'cure' gay males of the unAfricaness of homosexuality (Msibi, 2009). Curative rape is used as a patriarchal 'weapon' to control and brutalise non-conforming genders, even at an institution of higher learning where diversity should be embraced and respected (Francis & Msibi, 2011; Msibi, 2009). Participant F6 highlighted the vulnerability of first year students to gender-based violence when she stated that a first year student had been raped by a Resident Assistant (RA). Resident assistants are people hired by the university to assist students with a range of issues at the residence. These residence assistants can also be older students who are peer mentors (two participants in this study indicated that they are resident assistants). This sexual attack on the first year student by a known RA is a clear violation of trust and points to a form of criminal behaviour that has no place in society, yet alone at a university. Participant M12 mentioned that a male was committing several rapes at campus, in a brazen criminal attack, which signals a hostile environment for young female students. It also highlights the power and control that males have over females in the manner in which they violate a female's body.

The participants' responses clearly illustrates that gender-based violence at university campus residence manifests in various ways and this is consistent with the literature that violence has reached endemic proportions at HEI (Moletsane & Theron, 2017; Gordon, 2017; Singh et al., 2016). In light of the fact that universities are institutions that should be associated with

progress and excellence, the current situation regarding gender-based violence is deeply disturbing and warrants urgent and drastic attention from the relevant stakeholders.

4.3.3 “I’m a male ... I will possess my power over my partner”: Patriarchy and its impact on gender-based violence

At the very heart of patriarchy is the deep-rooted structure of male domination and female subordination. Patriarchy is a structural system of power wherein masculinity is endowed with supreme social power and dominance while femininity is perceived as weak, powerless and subservient (Duma, 2016; Gqola, 2015). This perception is further elaborated in Connells’ Theory of Masculinity (1995; 2000) which is based on the hierarchical structure of masculinities. Hegemonic masculinity is regarded as the idealised form of masculinity that epitomises strength, power and aggression (Connell, 1995; 2000). Hegemonic masculinity is the key element of patriarchy, whereby all females and non-conforming genders are subordinate (Connell, 1995; 2000). According to Connell (1995; 2000), hegemonic masculinity is the key driver of gender-based violence that is legitimised by gendered practices and unequal power relations. This is evident in the following individual interview excerpts with females:

F6: *It’s happening mostly from the male side to the females coz they kind of ... we are powerless ... they are powerful than us. Like they always show their power ...*

F9: *It also happens when you are walking by and somebody (male) just wants to touch you ... without your approval.*

F14: *... it happens like with your boyfriend ... then you don’t agree to have sex and then he forces you into it.*

F10: *... because he thinks that he has power, he is able to convince them to drop the charges.*

F13: *I think it is because males think they are superior to females and they can do anything they like ...*

F7: *... and the guys feel they have more power than the females, they demand respect but they are not giving the other female respect ... so you (guy) start demanding it and then they beating them up so they(girl) fear you (guy).*

F11: *... she was raped by this boy. She opened a case but we all know, they always win, boys.*

M1: *... I'm in a relationship with a female and then because I'm a male and we are living in a male dominated world, I will possess my powers over my partner because I think I'm superior than her ... I will make decisions for her.*

Participant F14 touches on intimate partner violence where males force their female partners to have sex with them. Forcing a female to have sex with you is a form of rape within intimate partner relationships. The notion of male entitlement to a female's body, simply because they are in a relationship, is clearly evident here. The male therefore compels the female to submit to his sexual demands. This highlights the power imbalances in heterosexual relationships where young females are powerless in safe sex negotiation (Bhana & Anderson, 2013). Participant F10 states that some female students do report their gender-based violence attack but are later coerced to 'drop the charges' for fear of subsequent violence and the power that males wield over them.

It is evident from the above excerpts that gender-based violence against females and non-conforming genders is a structural form of violence that has its roots in patriarchy ideology.

In keeping with the central gender lens framework, a more comprehensive understanding of gender-based violence and power relations was achieved. The females were able to clearly articulate their observations and experiences of student life that is shaped by patriarchal cultures that sanction male domination and marginalise and subordinate females. Participant M1's response reveals that patriarchy is alive and well and that males believe that they can use their power to dictate to females. Connell's theory of Masculinity (1995; 2000) is regarded as the epitome of patriarchal authority which plays a pivotal role in the maintenance of patriarchy. Although not all males are violent, aggressive and domineering, they nevertheless all benefit from the patriarchal dividend (Connell, 1995).

M7: *We were electing our HM for our organisation ... and then the female won ... then some people (males) complained that they can't be run by a female ... how can a female be our chairperson ... but the voting was fair ... that lady that was voted deserved to be there, they were against her because she was a female. I supported that girl but then I did not go straight to her and say that ... there is a belief that males are males and females are females. When males say that males cannot be ruled by females, then we must all have in one world.*

The above response illustrates that males believe that females are not considered fit for leadership positions. Despite M7 believing that the female elected has the qualities, he is not prepared to challenge his male counterparts. He therefore benefits from the patriarchal dividend

(Connell, 1995). This clearly shows that the hierarchy of males exists and that challenging this election will place this male in a compromised position. He will be considered an outcast and possibly subordinate for siding with females.

M3: *We were electing the house committee chair, we wanted males or they wanted males to be in power because they felt like women can't make decisions ... they take what they see at home when the father is the provider ... take to res and then say no ... I can't hear from a woman.*

Patriarchy, according to M3, stems from the home environment. By remaining complicit in the marginalisation and keeping females from leadership, these males illustrated that they do indeed benefit from the subordination of females. Males have a vested interest in maintaining patriarchal structures of male domination and female subordination. This provides a deeper understanding of the impact of patriarchy on gender power relations, where social relations between male and females are power related and constructed along masculine dominance and subordination. The data clearly shows that even at universities, students use their patriarchal privilege to escape sanctions for their abuse and sexual assault of females (Duma, 2016; Singh, Mudaly & Singh-Pillay, 2015).

The following excerpts are proof of their privileged hierarchical status as they continue to commit acts of gender-based violence with impunity:

M8: *... friends of the SRC beat up girls and they are not excluded, friends of the SRC beat up girls and they are not arrested, friends of the SRC rape girls but they are not arrested ...Also you find that if I (male) rape a girl ... and I know that my friend maybe is a secretary, is the head of sport ... or he is the president, I know when the case is reported I'll go to my friend and within two days the whole thing vanishes, done.*

F2: *... because you go and report someone what's a friend of an SRC, they will make sure that the case disappears, no action will be taken.*

F10: *... the SRC members, they took the victim (LGBTIQA) to his room ... Nothing happened, they sent the perpetrator to their res.*

Participant M8 was unequivocal in his utterances that gender oppression is pervasive in all structures of society, including the Student Representative Council (SRC) at universities. The above responses allude to the socialisation of males that violence against females is normal and an accepted aspect of heterosexual relationships (Anderson, 2006). Participant M8 highlights

the power of the SRC which allows males to abuse females with impunity because they have the power to “make the violent charges disappear”. The SRC is supposed to be a student body that ensures students are equally represented and that the best interests of all students are protected. This forms part of section 6, the objectives of the SRC. However, in this instance, the SRC is implicated in perpetuating and condoning violence that targets females. Participant F10 also pointed out that the gay students are not protected either. She stated that the gay student was taken to his room and the perpetrators were sent to their residence. This is shocking and alludes to the SRC being homophobic as they protect perpetrators who violate gay students. In actual fact this is bold evidence that the SRC has failed in their mandate, Section 64 “to promote, by example are leadership, a culture of democracy and tolerance within the university community.” What is blatantly obvious is that powerful male hegemonies stand united in their elevated patriarchal positions. The fact that the SRC, which is largely male dominated at this campus, used their powerful positions to coerce and oppress female victims of gender-based violence, is proof that we have a long way to go in our attempts to dismantle the harmful patriarchy laws that perpetrate gender-based violence.

In exploring the impact of patriarchy on gender-based violence, it becomes clear that patriarchy is sustained by hegemonic masculinity and the key driver of this male hegemony is gender-based violence (Connell, 2000). Inherent in a patriarchal society are the unequal gender relations that place males at the helm of society while consigning females and non-conforming genders to eternal subordination, regardless of the global gender transformations. Gender-based violence lays bare the edifice of patriarchy in the manner by which it violates the human rights of its victims (Walby, 2005).

The struggle to dismantle patriarchy in all facets of society and, more especially, at HEI demands a firm commitment by all relevant role-players; it is only then that we, as a society can stem the rising levels of gender-based violence.

4.3.4. “... Zulus ... we have power over women: ...” Culture and patriarchy

Universities are microcosm of society where students converge with their different cultural beliefs, attitudes and behaviours that may sometimes tolerate, justify and normalise gender-based violence against female students and non-conforming genders (Gordon, 2017; Clowes et al., 2009; Dastile, 2008). In the African Zulu culture males are perceived as the epitome of power, strength and control and as such they command respect, while females are perceived as powerless, weak and submissive (Duma, 2016; LeClerc-Madlala, 2004; Selikow, Zulu &

Cedras, 2002). In the following excerpts we see how the Zulu culture can sometimes oppress females, relegating them to subservience.

M14: *Abuse or violation ... if maybe the females is wearing a short skirt, as a Zulu man, I will be offended and then I will tend to put my own opinion first ...*

M13: *... women can't make decisions ... we can't be 50-50, women are not dominant enough to compete with us ... there are some people who are deep in this culture thing ... they take what they see at home where a father is a provider ... to res ... I can't hear from this woman.*

M7: *... how can a female be elected to be our chairperson, in our culture females can't be rulers.*

M8: *... a lot of cases cannot be reported because of culture. ... we are Zulus and Zulus have men who are powerful and who fight ...*

M3: *...we focus on how women should treat themselves or how they should behave in order to be wives of someone.*

M6: *I generally feel like in our society we still have men who hold this position of superiority; they think they are the ones who have power ... they still deem some women as inferior.*

M7: *We do this thing where males should be respected in our culture than females. So always look to the males, in our culture the males are allowed to do almost anything they want to do but the females are always guided by the culture and the males that we follow in our home ... if you are a male you can do whatever you please, when you are a female, you have to respect males.*

M10: *... because the Zulus, we are so sexist, we believe we have power over the women and so sometimes we want to show that we have control of the girls we engage with.*

It is evident in the data above that males are fully aware of their cultural dominant status and they believe that they have the right to dictate what females should not be wearing. M14 clearly conveys that he will not only be offended but that he will also feel compelled to pass judgement on the female who was wearing a short skirt. M3 states that the focus is on females being taught how to be a wife while M13 states that women are not capable of making decisions or competing with them. The participants' responses also show that cultural factors and values

imbibe patriarchal notions that perpetuate gender inequalities and gender power relations. This alludes to Connell's (1995; 2000) hegemonic masculinity, wherein females are subordinated.

The excerpts below indicate the fact that females are fully aware of their social standing, especially where their culture may sometimes condone and normalise gender-based violence against them.

F4: *I told my mother (about the abuse) and she said no, if you still love him, stay.*

F5: *... they were in a relationship ... so they probably had a misunderstanding and the guy felt entitled to hit the girl.*

F7: *... the guys feel they got more power than the females.*

F10: *I think the guy is not going to stop anytime soon. He is going to continue doing this (rape) ... because he thinks that he has power, he is able to convince them to drop the charges.*

F10: *They wear bum shorts ... so automatically men have stereotypes of a woman ... they believe that a Zulu woman needs to be represented at all times. So when they are opposite of that ... that leads to gender-based violence.*

F11: *She used to get beaten ... why doesn't she leave, leave?*

F7: *The guy feels they got more power than the females, they demand respect, but they are not giving the other female respect ... so if you are not giving the other person the respect they deserve, they can't give you the same respect, so you start demanding it and beating them up so they fear you.*

What was interesting was that participant F10 touched on a similar issue as participant M14 regarding the stereotypical belief that a Zulu woman must dress in cultural appropriate attire. This shows that females do sometimes submit to cultural expectations. The data revealed that cultural norms accept and tolerate gender-based violence, "I told my mother (about the abuse) and she said no, if you love him stay" – F4. The advice given to the participants by her parent is indicative of the cultural normalisation of gender-based violence against females. This is also echoed in the utterances of F11, who did not understand why her friend did not leave her abusive partner. This internalisation of the abuse also points to the issue of fear. In order to maintain their control over females, males use their physical strength to subdue, terrorise and regulate females. The fact that participant F7 states that males demand respect, even though they do not reciprocate, alludes to patriarchal privilege. This is at the heart of the problem,

where males imbued with the notions of superiority believe that they “can’t be 50-50” (M13) with females.

Encouraged by cultural structures, male students use the power that is bestowed upon them by society to subordinate females (Bhana, 2012; Jewkes & Morrell, 2012). A more incisive analysis on cultural influences in the construction of gender identities reveals that the Zulu culture is not only patriarchal in nature but that it also sanctions gender-based violence against females.

4.3.5. “Their parents abused one another”: The reproduction of home and community violence at university residences.

Many students converge at universities, having witnessed or experienced gender-based violence in their homes and communities, and therefore it has become normalised (Moletsane & Theron, 2017; Adams, Mabusela & Dlamini, 2013). Bandura’s Social Learning Theory (Bandura, 1986) speaks to the socialisation process, whereby males emulate destructive behaviours and females internalise their abuse.

This impacts on student violence at university campuses, where male and female students model their learned behaviour and normalise this violence in heterosexual relationships. This is evident in the excerpts below:

M9: *... it begins at home, maybe they had a bad environment and they taking that and passing into other people ... they experience each and everyday.*

F6: *... I was socialised by being said that males are more powerful than us, they can beat us up anyhow, you know.*

F9: *... after two days, she said we okay... who am I to judge?*

F11: *... and like even in the community you know that a woman is being abused by her husband, but she never talks about it ... like you don’t even dare. It’s almost like a taboo ... because the father supports the family.*

F11: *... insecurity, being socialised like that. Like I said, maybe you grew up seeing your mother or your father hitting your mother and then you grow up thinking that is the life, that’s how it supposed to be.*

- F13: *I think it's because males think they are superior to females, they can do anything they like. Maybe of their backgrounds, maybe they come from abusive families, but that is not an excuse.*
- F15: *They grow up in a family where their parents abused one another ...think abusing your partner is a way of showing you love them.*
- M3: *... so I see my father does something bad to my mother and then I will take that and then think it's a way of living.*
- M8: *a lot of cases (GBV) are reported, but you find the university cannot address it because of culture, because of religion, because of what you call interpretation, because when these girls come to the university, they are taught at home that a woman without a man, so they believe that they get their identity from having males. You know, they have seen this happen at home, they've seen their fathers beating up their mothers ... not leaving so now that when it's their turn, they think that it happens to them because it happens to their parents so you find they continue with something which is not right, but it seems right because the victims experience taking place at home.*

The socialisation process is deeply embedded in cultural practices that normalise gender-based violence in heterosexual relationships. Young females also witness their mothers tolerating their abuse, they also internalise it and later accept and normalise acts of gender-based violence at university campus residences. What is clearly evident in the data is that the cycle of violence is perpetuated by the belief that “that is life, that how it supposed to be” – F11. This continuous gender-based violence at home and then at universities highlights the moral decay in our society that cuts deep, where people “think abusing your partner is a way of showing you love them”- M3. Using violence to demonstrate love highlights the patriarchal notion that males are in powerful controlling positions. Students come to universities with this justifiable notion that abuse shows love, as is clearly evident in the utterances of the participants. These beliefs not only lead to the increase of gender-based violence at universities, but it also perpetuates gender power imbalances.

The response by participant F11 – “... you don't even dare, It's almost like a taboo” touches on an important issue and that is the perception that violence in families and at universities, is a private matter between two people. This issue is discussed later on in this chapter. Participant M8 states that females' identity comes from having a male. This correlates with research that social relation between males and females are constructed along dominance and subordination, making them vulnerable to gender-based violence (Bhana & Anderson, 2013).

4.3.6. Female violence: Female agency reacting and responding with violence.

Using a gender-inclusive lens, we become aware of sexual symmetry where both males and females can be equally violent. The participants' response correlates with literature that violent females contradict the gendered norms of male dominance and aggression and female subordination and passivity (Bhana & Anderson, 2013; Babcock, Miller & Siard, 2003).

M8: ... because now at first all of us think that the males are ones that abuse the females ... she slapped him in front of her, now you see as much as we as the society have placed this GBV as a thing that was done by males ... females abuse men you know.

When I get to the room, I find two girls beating up the boy ... it was very bad, there was blood everywhere ... we had to call an ambulance. It was reported ... only to find the guy had withdrawn ... because of the society because of how people see men and he did not want to pursue a case whereby he as a man would be seen as a victim ... remember we are Zulus and Zulus have strong men ... now being the one to cry in the whole situation was so bad.

The participants' response reveals that it is commonplace for society to believe that all perpetrators of gender-based violence are males. He further adds that the attack on the male was bad and bloody. This debunks widespread perceptions that females only use verbal threats and verbal abuse. It also supports the literature that not all females are afraid to use violence and aggression to assert themselves.

M4: ... females come to visit(in residence). At times some of us are not able to say no ... when they offer ... and you refuse ... then pressure comes in ... you get called names. Females also do this (GBV) not just males. Females tend to hit on boys ... in terms of like flirt with them and then if a boy rejects you or ignores their advances then at times they can become violent, they push you around, ask you to leave the party and they swear at you. (Postgraduate student).

M9: ... you get oppressed by the girls ... they say you are weak, you supposed to do this and that.

F7: ... I'm not really afraid, I was gonna beat him up."

F1: ... "I do hit back ... I did."

F10: ... *they do not accept the fact that the guys don't approach them and they end up being violent towards them ... men also face gender-based violence.*

F6: ... *also there are women who beat up men ... I know one lady ... used to shout at her boyfriend and also beat him up when the guy is cheating.*

M13 ... *or the lady will be touching the guys.*

The postgraduate participant, M4, revealed that females become verbally abusive and also physically aggressive when a male rejects their advances. A similar response was reiterated by another participant, M9 that females verbally abuse and insult males who ignore them. It is clearly evident from the above two participants that some females are prepared to challenge patriarchal stereotypes. This correlates with research that not all females are submissive or are models of peace or in unequal relationships (Shefer, 2016; Bhana & Anderson, 2013). The response from participants F1 and F7 highlights the fact that many females commit retaliatory assault where they “hit back” at their abusers. This connects with social learning theory (Botha, 2014; Bandura, 1986), where children observe violent altercations at home and then model their destructive behaviour at university campuses.

4.3.7. “They say they will take this lesbian thing out of me”: Homophobia – Understanding lesbianism as something that can be undone.

Butler's Heteronormative theory (1990; 1993) and Connell's Theory of Gender and Masculinity (1995; 2000) are inextricably linked in that they both address the way in which hegemonic masculinities display their violent intolerance of non-normative oppositional sexualities. The heteronormative ethos at university campuses results in high levels of homophobic violence, where non-conforming genders experience a range of abuse (Bhana & Pillay, 2018; Jagessar & Msibi, 2015; Matabeni & Msibi, 2015). This includes ‘corrective’ rape, sexual harassment, physical and verbal abuse.

4.3.7.1. ‘Corrective’ rape (and threats)

F8: *I'm a tomboy ... I was attacked by some guys because they believe I take their girlfriends. I was walking alone, they started pushing me, I got bruised on my leg. They say they will take this lesbian thing out of me. They say they hate what I'm doing that*

I'm supposed to be a woman, they gonna sleep with me and make me straight. Maybe I don't know if they wanted to rape me. (Self-identified lesbian).

F5: *... a group of boys raped a girl ... simply because she came out and said she was a lesbian.*

M15: *... there's my friend ... he's a gay person, recently there was a small party ... he got raped ... he got raped.*

M11: *... this guy ... he came to me and he was crying ... someone invited him to his room and then he wanted to have sex (friend)... I (victim) said I was not ready ... he pushed me, he slapped me and then he slept with me, like he forced me to sleep with him.*

From the participants' excerpts above, it is clearly evident that non-confirming genders are threatened with 'curative' rape where the homophobic perpetrators believe that this will "correct" or regulate their sexuality. This correlates with the literature that corrective rape is a patriarchal 'weapon' used to control the sexualities of non-confirming genders (Msibi, 2009).

4.3.7.2 "After nines": Sexual harassment by heterosexual males

In keeping with the gender-inclusive lens as a central framework of this study, it is important that I highlight the fact that homosexual males were also approached by heterosexual males for sexual pleasures as indicated by the following participant:

F11: *... the same people go to them at night and ask for sexual pleasures ... when that comes out they get physical violence, abuse ... we call them the after nines. It means during the day you portray a straight person, you believe in heterosexual relationships but at night you come to me as a female ... seeking sexual pleasures ... this is what our traditional men or male figures in this campus do.*

M13: *... he touched my bum and I was not comfortable (self-identified gay)*

What the data illustrates is that non-confirming genders are also vulnerable to coercive sexual practices as is clearly evident in the above excerpt. It is obvious that the 'after nines' are bisexual or homosexual and are too afraid to reveal their sexuality for fear of being judged or discriminated against. Coercive and transactional sex perpetuates gender inequalities, in ways that render the females as well as non-confirming genders vulnerable to gender-based violence and they are therefore at greater risk of HIV infection.

4.3.7.3 Physical and verbal attacks

Non-conforming genders are subjected to other forms of abuse and violence, as illustrated in the excerpts below:

M6: *... a group of men physically attacked him and called him names.*

M7: *When he's walking past, his neighbour (in res) is always spitting on the floor.*

M8: *... mostly abused ... isolated in classrooms (lecture rooms).*

M12: *They put stuff on social media and the people attack you (gay people)*

F10: *... they say you know you are not female stop making yourself female. They were beating him up using sticks. The LGBT guy ... they beat him up ... used bottles.*

F5: *They threw a bottle at him ... shouted at him, they told him that he has to be straight ... it's an embarrassment to them and the community ... not to mention Blacks.*

F6: *They threw alcohol ... shout at them ... call them isistabane and ngqingile.*

F8: *... every time they pass him, they insult him.*

The above homophobic excerpts show that powerful male hegemonies 'police' non-conforming genders or 'disruptions to the echo-chains' as Butler (1990; 1993) defines it. From the comments above, it is evident that heterosexual homophobic males feel that it is their right to dictate and to take the moral high ground in their interaction with non-conforming gender students.

The data correlates with research that homosexual students face violent intolerance of their sexual preferences (Jagessar & Msibi, 2015; Bhana, 2014). In keeping with the gender-inclusive framework, we see members of the LGBTIQ community are also prone to gender-based violence within their relationships. This was evident in the utterances of participant M8; "... these two guys were arguing ... they are partners and the other one believes that the other one is cheating with another guy".

M14: *... he or she says he's gay ... in our tribe or our culture, that is against the will of God.*

F5: *... threw bottles ... told him he has to be straight ... it (his sexuality) is an embarrassment to them and the community, not to mention to Black people.*

F9: *... yes I'm saying that when she was not at home, she becomes a boy and when she's at home she becomes a girl.*

M11: *My father taught me you either a man or a female. You can't be either gay or bisexual.*

The above excerpts reveal that the Zulu culture prides itself on hegemonic masculinity and regard homosexuality as unAfrican. Connell (1995; 2000) posits that hegemonic masculinity is the key element of patriarchal cultures. The Zulu culture is steeped in patriarchal norms and values and it is totally against those cultural norms and values to be homosexual.

4.3.7.4. "You are disobeying the word of God ... go to hell": Religious intolerance.

Non-conforming students' suffering is further compounded by certain religious views that are openly homophobic in nature. Religious and cultural antagonism towards homosexual relationships originates from the belief that two people from the same sex do not have the capacity to love each other in the manner in which two people from the opposite sex do (Arrayo, 2011). This religious intolerance for non-conforming genders and homosexual relationships is echoed in the following excerpts:

M8: *... nobody wants to sit in a group with gay people because now religion, culture plays a role and people are indoctrinated that gay people are the demons and should you engage yourself, then you will go to hell.*

... gay people should be closed away ... that gay people in this institution cannot involve themselves in any of the religions that are there because when they get to church even the preacher will change to how gay people will go to hell here on campus. Ja ... even the preacher has done that ...

M9: *... during church service (on campus), when they are talking about gays, when there's a sermon, they end up being oppressed ... they are told that their status they must go to hell.*

M11: *... even when you enter the bathroom, you'll see words written ... people talking badly about people who are bisexual and gay. Gay people ... they belong to hell. Christians say nasty words about these kinds of people ... they say they are not supposed to be living and if you are gay, you are disobeying the word of God.*

M14: *According to them it says that people who are gay are possessed with demon things. They use religion to support their stance.*

... he or she says he's gay ... in our tribe or our culture, that is against the will of God.

The data reveals a sad reality that religion is used to crucify and consign those involved in same sex relationships to eternal damnation. This resonates with Butler's (1990) heteronormative matrix, which suggests that same sex relationships are abnormal. It is clearly evident in the data that religious intolerance of diversity is partly to blame for acts of gender-based violence against non-conforming genders. Homophobic violence, rape and hate speech dehumanises non-conforming genders, rendering their suffering silent. However, not all non-conforming genders passively accept violence perpetuated against them, as illustrated in the excerpt below:

F7: *... this guy tried abusing the other guy ... then the other guy said, I'm a man if I'm not in the sheets, I'm only female in the sheets and then the other guy (gay) beat the hell out of the other guy and then it stopped, they started fearing gays.*

The participants' response shows that not all homosexual males are effeminate or soft targets for attack. Some are prepared to challenge homophobic males and in doing so, they shatter their vulnerable victim status.

4.3.8. Male entitlement to female bodies: Transactional sex and rape

Inherent in patriarchal ideology is male entitlement. There is a perception amongst males that female bodies are there to satisfy them sexually and that makes it possible for gender-based violence to occur, where females negotiate their lives around fears of gender-based violence. According to a study by Dunne, Humphreys and Leach (2006) males carry the perception that they are entitled to have forced sex with as many partners as they so choose. The attitude of male entitlement is clearly indicated in the participants' responses below.

F5: *... they were in a relationship ... they probably had a misunderstanding...and the guy felt entitled to hit the girl.*

F9: *It (GBV) also happens when you are walking by and somebody (male) just wants to touch you ... without your approval.*

F4: *If someone buys you a drink for free, then you refuse to sleep with them, they start insulting you, calling you names ..."*

F14: *When a guy buys you alcohol and when you guys are done and get back to the res ... he expects you to give him like sex as payment for those drinks.*

F11: *... so she's been in this abusive relationship. The man doesn't want her to use contraception. The same man has multiple partners on campus ... forcing her to have sex.*

M8: *... males are dominant and tend to abuse females in many ways. As a resident life assistant ... I was called to call off a fight ... when I got to the room ... the guy was beating up the girl ... he was saying I've been paying for her, I've been buying her food and now she is refusing to give me sex.*

M13: *... a lot of guys ... send sex remarks to ladies ... even touch the ladies (self-identified gay).*

The above responses demonstrate that males feel entitled to female bodies simply because they have provided them with alcohol and food and this is crudely stated by participant M8 “I’ve been paying for her.” The data illustrates that sex in exchange for alcohol and sex is the precursor to more violent forms of gender-based violence such as rape, which will also be discussed in this chapter. What also became clear was that females have no say over their bodies; participant F11 states one case in support of this. Despite the male being involved in multiple concurrent relationships that potentially exposed these females to STI and HIV as well as unplanned pregnancy, he denied the female her right to use contraception. This concurs with research that coercive sex is an aspect of toxic masculinities that renders females vulnerable to sexual risk, HIV infection and sexual assault. What is also evident is that females are indebted to males who provide for them transactionally and, hence, they cannot refuse sex. Another form of male entitlement that was highlighted in the participants’ response was the notion that males are allowed to touch a female’s body whenever they felt the need to. While this may be culturally acceptable (Duma, 2016; Le Clerc-Madlala, 2004) in some instances, it still falls under the ambit of gender-based violence, in the form of sexual harassment.

4.3.8.1. “... if you need the money you going to let it happen”: Transactional sex

Research shows that socio-economic factors like poverty render many students vulnerable to coercive practices and transactional sex (Gordon & Collins, 2013; Clowes & Vergnani, 2012; Hames, 2009; Twinamansiko, 2008). Most vulnerable to coercive transactional sex are the first year students who sometimes struggle to get funding, this is clearly evident in the excerpts below.

M8: ... they buy the girls drinks ... in return the girls must give the sex and when it's not the case, hell breaks loose. Especially with the first year females ... in most cases there is no funding ... the best way to make life go on is to find a partner ... now partners will be 2nd, 3rd, 4th year or postgrads. When I got to the room ... the guy was beating up the girl ... he's saying I've been paying for her ... buying food and now she is refusing to give me sex.

M3: ... I bought you something, now you have to repay me.

The data shows that first year students are coerced into having sex with senior students and even postgraduates. This posits to gender power relations where females are subordinate and sometimes financially destitute and where males are dominant and may be financially 'sound'. This highlights the gender construction of society where gender power imbalances are evident (Clowes et al., 2009).

F3: ... we live in the days of blessers, so these old men come to make our female students victims because they want money ... remember the incident at MUT. They don't have money ... they target them ... whenever they want to pull out ... that's when the fight starts. They are stalking them, they want to beat them.

F14: ... guy buys you alcohol ... he expects you to give him sex as payment.

F11: It's the social media, nice pictures, taking pictures in robes, hotel robes. Getting fancy things, I-phones. ... so if I want to fit in, I don't have money ... I turn to blessers or sugar daddies, if it is not that I go and sell my body. I hear there is even a site for selling ... a girl told me ... it's not a dating site, it's a sex site ... some of these older men ... demand unprotected sex ... so if you need the money you going to let it happen.

The above responses expose the "friends with benefits" scenario where young naïve students are lured by fancy cars, money and expensive hotels. It is evident that peer pressure and material aspirations contribute to and reinforce coercive sex practices. This type of reckless behaviour by the female students, despite the dastardly consequences, is described by the Social Norms Theory (Baumgartner, Valkenburg & Peter, 2011). Female students know that granting sexual favours in return for material gain is wrong, but they do it anyway. The data shows that destitute students are targeted by sexual predators in the form of blessers and sugar daddies and this very often puts them in the way of experiencing gender-based violence.

At the heart of the matter lies the issue of male entitlement to female bodies. Due to patriarchal norms, there remains a sense of collective privilege on the part of males and where females,

more especially first year students, as the data shows, are rendered vulnerable. The data also shows that some female students resort to prostitution. Socio-economic factors force some students to enter into dangerous transactions where they are powerless in the negotiation for safe sex.

Participant F11 reveals that a female student prostitute was severely beaten by an older male from outside campus. Similarly, participant F3 also touches on the dangers involved in transactional and coercive sex practices where females are stalked and beaten for wanting to end the relationship. This highlights the unequal gender relations inherent in heterosexual relationships where gender inequalities legitimise the use of violence.

4.3.8.2. “I’d say 15 (2019)...”: Rape

The social belief that the function of a female body is to sexually please a male contributes to the pervasive rape culture in society. Rape is an abhorrent act where males exercise their absolute power and control over females and non-conforming genders. The data below corresponds with research findings that male students not only believe that rape is a crime of passion, but that it is not rape if it falls within the ambit of heterosexual relationships (Gordon & Collins, 2013; De Klerk, Klazinga & McNeill, 2007).

F11: *... unfortunately, the first year was raped by her boyfriend ... she was a virgin ... she opened the case, they always win, boys.*

F14: *... he has sex with his girlfriend and without her consent ... he doesn't think that's rape.*

F12: *... some of their friends had been raped, some believed by boyfriends.*

F10: *She was raped by her boyfriend ... she was pregnant.*

F6: *I heard of one student where the RA raped the lady ... a first year student.*

M13: *... the girl was dating the guy, so the guy wanted to have sex ... the girl was not like ready ... he forced himself, the girl reported the matter.*

Yet again the data highlights the vulnerability of first year students who experience social distress and poverty. The data supports that they are soft targets for gender-based violence attack in the form of rape by fellow students and support staff. An important issue that emerges from the data is the rape of females by their partners.

There is a suggestion that males are entitled to have forced sex with their partners and that this type of behaviour is culturally acceptable. Further, “he doesn’t think that’s rape” compounds the trauma of the victim.

F10: *I think the guy is not going to stop anytime soon. He is going to continue doing this thing (rape) to other people ... because he is able to convince them to drop the charges.*

M12: *... I think the year 2017, but there was a guy who was raping girls here on campus in the residences.*

F14: *... the guy waited and he just pounced on her and raped her.*

M11: *... people have been reporting a lot of rape cases to RMS and security.*

The above excerpts demonstrate a form of recidivism where perpetrators of rape continue to commit these repugnant acts simply because they can get away with it. Participant F10 points out that the perpetrator is a repeat offender who is able to convince victims to withdraw the charges. This emphasises the gender power imbalances inherent in a patriarchal society and is in keeping with research that, at the heart of gender-based violence, are the burning issues of unequal power relations and male domination that are maintained in heterosexual relationships (Anderson, 2006). Added to this is the subtle suggestion that the perpetrator is excused for his crime and this may be seen as a form of support for the perpetrator and hence is essentially a form of support of male entitlement to female bodies.

M3: *... there were allegations of rape where the woman reported she was sexually harassed ... you see if we are living together ... that’s violating the rights of women.*

Participant M3 indicates that not all males are violent and that there are some who ascribe to gender equality and respect for females and their bodies. His statement contradicts the widespread belief by males that they have the power and control over female sexuality.

F2: *... there is a party ... there would be a case of rape.*

F2: *... when the boys are drunk ... one girl was raped.*

M8: *During bashes a lot of rape takes place ... I’d say 15 (in 2019). I think about 7 (last year).*

F4: *The males come over to our residences and cause trouble like giving us drugs and alcohol just to abuse us ... to sleep with you ... even rape you.*

The excerpts above demonstrate the link between alcohol usage and gender-based violence. This will be discussed in detail in 4.3.10. However, what needs to be highlighted here is that alcohol is used as a contributing factor to rape. The suggestion is that males use alcohol as an excuse to rape vulnerable females, who may also be under the influence of alcohol. This is consistent with research that males use their inebriation to rationalise and excuse their crime of rape and this perpetuates male entitlement over female bodies (Moletsane & Theron, 2017; Clowes et al., 2009). It is inferred by participant F4 that males deliberately ply their intended victim with alcohol and drugs in order to subdue and then violate their victims. This correlates with the literature, that the high levels of rape at university campus are directly linked to alcohol and drug abuse as well as the belief that rape is a culturally acceptable behaviour of heterosexual males; aggressive hegemonic masculinities also assume power and control over female bodies (Connell, 1995; Mokwena, 1991) Participant M8 points out that he is aware of at least 15 cases of rape this year. This is alarming by any standards, as this is an institution that should mould and educate future leaders. What these statistics point to is the fact that male students emulate the destructive behaviour of their male role models at university campuses (Bandura, 1986). Armoured by patriarchal norms that sanction the use of violence against females, these males feel entitled to become sexually aggressive and to rape their female student peers (Duma, 2016; Gqola, 2015). Rape is perceived as the ultimate weapon of power to brutalise females (and non-conforming genders) which was discussed in 4.3.7.1 (Mama & Barnes, 2007).

The participants' responses brought to the fore the important issue of male entitlement to female bodies. The data concurs with the literature that females are forced to construct their lives, relationships and movements in the context of gender-based violence and aggression (Bhana & Anderson, 2013; Clowes et al., 2009). The nature of gender power relations is evident at campus residences. Patriarchy grants males a collective gender privilege, wherein males feel entitled to sexual gratification from females through coercion or force.

It is this male entitlement to female bodies that increases the rates of gender-based violence at university residences that, very often, mirror the broader society. Gender-based violence is a primordial form of power inherent in a patriarchal culture that destines females to second-class citizens (Moletsane & Theron, 2017; Singh et al., 2016; Gordon & Collins, 2013; Bhana & Anderson, 2013).

4.3.9. Campus culture – temptations

The participants' responses correlate with the literature that university campuses are 'liberating', sexually charged zones, free from the disciplinarian and judgemental tone of adults (Clowes et al., 2009). While some students have ambivalent feelings about their experience of campus life, a few experiences are positive. However, the majority of students in this study experience campus life as a "hand grenade" being thrown at you.

F14: *... sometimes fun, but also it has its moments when you do think like hand grenades and stuff, sometimes we have conflicts.*

F5: *... they always fight.*

F7: *... like exposure, learn to stand on your own, be independent.*

F8: *It's good, but not much because some of the students they don't wanna get close to me because of my sexuality. They not accepting, but most of them understand. ((Self-identified lesbian))*

F11: *There are no strict rules. You do whatever you want whenever ... you can have your boyfriend whenever ... there is going to be substance abuse.*

F13: *But what I see most is most people are misusing the opportunity for education. The fact that your parents are not here doesn't mean you must behave the way you want ... like smoking, going to parties.*

M4: *... can become easily distracted ... no control, no parents ... facing some challenges as well, like temptations, drugs and alcohol abuse ... laziness ... females come to visit. At times some of us are not able to say no ... when they offer you ... and you refuse ... then pressure comes in ... you get called names. (postgraduate)*

M5: *... people do alcohol, sleeping around.*

M6: *It's good, there's a lot of freedom, you can do whatever ... unlike home.*

M9: *... unusual, to have males and females just bathing together ... they do their stuff,*

M11: *... it hasn't been a nice experience ... hadn't been that pleasant, we've got a lot of people who are bisexual, homosexual ... being mistreated.*

M15: *New things coming into my life, I've adapted new lifestyle ... I started doing things I've never done before, for example sex, personally I never done sex. There is a lot of pain going on here in res. A student committed suicide, they don't know if it was homicide or suicide. As a first year student ... they are busy influencing us with other stuff we*

didn't know ... I'm a smoker now, I've never smoked before ... You must mix with a certain group, if they are doing things, then you must do it too. Even I didn't like smoking, but I'm addicted.

The participants' utterances support evidence in the literature that many students are peer pressured into experimenting with alcohol, drugs and sex (Gordon & Collins, 2013; Clowes et al., 2009). The response from the postgraduate student highlights the immense pressure and challenges that the students face at campus residences and it also suggests that younger, undergraduate students may grapple to adapt to this new lifestyle. This is supported by a first year student, participant M15, who reveals that he has been influenced to engage in substance abuse and unprotected sex. Similarly, another first year student participant M5 states that people do abuse alcohol and sleep around. It is in this climate that students are prone to sexual assault and HIV infection (Bhana & Anderson, 2013; Hames, 2009). It is evident in the data that students "are busy influencing" their peers to engage in activities which they know is morally wrong. This concurs with Baumgartner, Valkenburg & Peter's (2011) Social Norms Theory, which describes how people may act based on the misperception that their peers' behaviour is normal.

Participant F8, of a non-conforming gender, touches on the sad reality that many homosexual students face at the hands of their homophobic peers. "They not accepting ... don't wanna get close" this points to ignorance and intolerance of diversity in a heteronormative campus space that discriminates against non-conforming genders (Bhana, 2014; Msibi, 2009; Connell, 1995, 2000; Butler, 1990; 1993).

The data generated illustrates that the prevailing campus culture exacerbates gender-based violence, as students are tempted and peer-pressured into conforming to risky behaviours, regardless of the consequences. The perception that "there's a lot of freedom, you can do whatever ... unlike home" (M6) attests to students' vulnerability to gender-based violence.

4.3.10. Alcohol and drug abuse on campus exacerbating gender-based violence

Campus parties or bashes provide students with the opportunity to further experiment with drugs, alcohol and unprotected sex. Research shows that it is at these campus bashes where students are vulnerable to HIV infection, sexual attack and gender-based violence (Clowes &

Vergnani, 2012; Clowes et al., 2009). Away from the security and discipline of their parents many students are influenced and peer-pressured to:

F11: *... to lose their virginity ... have unprotected sex.*

F12: *... people normally do one night stands.*

F15: *... have sex in public.*

Many students witness their peers do things at bashes that they would not normally do. Many participants spoke about some of the things they heard about or experienced. These include:

F11: *I even witnessed sexual intercourse happening in a boot (car) ... older men come from outside campus. A lot of people leave ... with people they don't know... come back raped.*

F14: *... the thing you witness is really bad, like people having sex in public.*

F15: *Students get drunk and boys take advantage especially first years ... cases of rape.*

F9: *Usual fighting ...guys and girls too.*

M8: *During bashes a lot of rape takes place ... cold drinks are or alcohol ... drinks are spiked and the girl doesn't remember who she is, who is her neighbour ... the guy takes her to his res ... they have sex, he takes her back, then takes another girl ... they buy girls drinks, in return they want sex.*

M9: *... the women are drunk, they get dragged ... aggressively.*

M15: *... he got raped.*

M3: *Students get exposed to life of drugs, alcohol.*

M12: *... they get drunk and they started violating another person's rights.*

F6: *... the gay guys and also straight guys ... they shouted at them, they throw alcohol on them, they beat them up.*

What is clearly evident in the data is that alcohol and drug use and sexual violence are clearly intertwined. The vulnerability of first year students is once again highlighted by participant F15. The frightening scenario of spiked drinks places the issue of rape firmly into the limelight. Females are given alcohol and drugs that will render them vulnerable to sexual assault as they engage in “unprotected sex and one night stands” with other students and “older men from outside campus”. When participant M8 reveals “they have sex, he takes her back, then takes

another girl”, it highlights the dangerous prospect of females contracting STI and HIV from males who engage in reckless sexual activity. The comment is that males can and do exercise their male privilege in ways that show that they “are violating another person’s rights” (M12). They violate and discriminate against females as well as non-conforming gender students simply because they are males in a patriarchal society.

4.3.11. Mind your own business: “In the University Labyrinth, abuse becomes the norm: ...”.

The participants’ notion that gender-based violence is a private matter between two people is consistent with the literature that gender-based violence is culturally acceptable and sometimes is treated as justified against females and non-conforming genders (Gordon, 2017; Msibi, 2015; Dastile, 2008). Connell’s theory of gender and masculinity alludes to the powerful positioning of hegemonic masculinity that subordinates females and non-conforming genders. This subordination is very often through violent means and this is normalised and acceptable in certain cultures (Duma, 2016, Chauke et al., 2015). This is evident in the excerpts below.

F11: *... and like even in the community, you know that a woman is being abused by her husband, but she never talks about it in the community. Like you don’t even dare, it’s almost like a taboo thing because the father supports the family.*

She further goes on to illustrate that, at campus:

F11: *... and these boys on campus are very strategic, they make sure they don’t touch your face, but they give you the beating of your life on your body. Some I’ve seen bruises ... like you’ve been hit by a mob.*

F1: *Some people don’t wanna come out and just talk ... nobody pays attention ... it’s my business and no-one should get into my business.*

F3: *... you just mind your own business ... the other day they are fighting and the next day they are together ... holding hands.*

... and it’s just perfectly normal that a male or a boy must hit a girl or girlfriend ... so it becomes the norm... no-one reports it.

F4: *I thought it was personal, so I should deal with it on my own. I told my mum ... she said if you still love him, stay ...*

- F9: *I don't want to ... when maybe they okay, it will come to me, mind your own business. After two days, she said we okay ... who am I to judge.*
- F11: *... they still with the boys. In order to help someone, they first need to ask, okay I want out because you can't force it on a person because you become the enemy.*
- M9: *... to report an incident you will get is that ... it is none of your business, you shouldn't make it your business, when they work things out, you look like a fool.*
- M12: *... I can't intervene. It happened in her room, I got no business ...*
- M4: *as an outsider if you intervene ... the boyfriends ... maybe beat you up as well.*
- M8: *...I think in the university labyrinth it becomes a norm, it becomes something people understand and they are fine with it, it's like it's okay for a male to beat a female ... most people believe that when something happens between two partners, it should stay between two partners. People don't say anything ... it's his girlfriend, it's their business, so don't mind it.*

Participant F4 touches on the very pertinent issue of gender-based violence being culturally permissive, especially when she is told by her mother to stay in her abusive relationship. It reinforces the fact that many students are socialised in their homes to accept, tolerate and therefore normalise violence (Mosavel, Ahmed & Simon, 2012). The suggestion is that F4 should internalise her abuse and accept that this is normal behaviour for a male is what lies at the heart of the matter, the gender power inequalities that sanction male violence against females in heterosexual relationships (Chauke et al., 2015). This cultural acceptance permeates universities and is clearly evident in the utterances of participants F3 who states “that it is perfectly normal that a male or a boy must hit a girl or girlfriend ... the norm ... they are fighting and the next day they are together ... holding hands”. This shows that gender-based violence is considered a normal occurrence in heterosexual relationships. There also exists a cultural silence around gender-based violence and we see it also permeates at universities. This is evident in the responses of participants F3 that “it was personal” and M8 that “ ... it should stay between two partners.” What is interesting to note is that both male and female participants felt that they “can't intervene” in a “private matter”. These responses highlight the key issue that emerged from the data, that gender-based violence is largely under-reported at university campuses. The data also revealed that bystanders do not want to intervene in gender-based violence attacks, because of the high personal risk involved – they fear being beaten up too. The following participants' response is evidence of the personal risk involved.

M8: ... *the girl came running into our room and she was half-naked, only the bra and panties and when you try to establish what is happening, you find the guy is chasing her, so now we try to resolve this, but the guy is hurting us.*

Bystanders also feel that they are intruding on an issue that “some people don’t wanna come out and talk about” (F3). The following excerpts are typical reasons given by the participants for not intervening.

F9: ... *who am I to judge.*

F11: ... *you become the enemy.*

F3: ... *no-one reports it.*

M9: ... *you look like a fool.*

M12: ... *I got no business.*

M8: ... *it’s their business ... don’t mind it.*

These responses echo the veil of silence surrounding gender-based violence in their communities, as well as the normalisations of this scourge. It spells out the extent to which gender-based violence has become so firmly entrenched in society that people develop an almost dismissive attitude to it.

The continued silence around this scourge perpetuates those harmful gender norms that marginalise females and non-conforming genders.

4.3.12. “I’m the only person you are allowed to be with”: Double standards in heterosexual relationships and the threat of male violence.

From the participants’ responses, several reasons are provided as to why students commit acts of gender-based violence at university residences. What became clear is that male and female students shared similar perceptions on this issue. These included culture and socialisation; cheating; jealousy; transactional sex; religion; homophobic violence and separation assault.

Below are some of these responses. The first set of responses illustrates culture and socialisation as a reason for gender-based violence.

F7: ... *guys feel they got more power than the females, they demand respect.*

M9: ... the girl begging to hit her, if you don't want her ... at least hit me, don't break up with me. They experience violence ... they growing up with it.

M10: ... the Zulus ... we believe we have power over women.

M3: I see my father does something bad to my mother ... and then think it's a way of living.

M6: ...in our society, we still have men who hold the position of superiority.

M7: ... in our culture the males are allowed to do almost anything.

The participants articulate clearly that culture and socialisation are deeply embedded in patriarchal notions of male superiority. The responses highlight the inherent gender inequalities of a patriarchal society that marginalises and subordinates females to second class citizens (Moletsane & Theron, 2017). The suggestion here is that “males are allowed to do almost anything” (M7) and this includes perpetrating acts of gender-based violence against females. The utterances by participant M9 that the girl asked to “at least hit me, don't break up with me” affirms the unbalanced nature of gendered power relations where males are imbued with power and control (Duma, 2016; Selikow, Zulu & Cedras, 2002).

Three participants also cited jealousy and cheating as a reason for gender-based violence at campus residences. This is indicated in the excerpts below:

F15: ... the boyfriend was jealous and hit her.
... if the girl cheats; then the boy abuses her.

F1: ... he assumed I was having an affair.

M8: ... apparently the girl was cheating ... he called her a slut, a bitch.

Transactional sex was also stated as a reason for gender-based violence. Below are a few excerpts because this issue was discussed at length in 4.3.8.1.

M8: ... I've been paying for her ... buying her food and now she refuses to give me sex.

M3: ... I bought you drinks ... we communicated ... why can't you give it (sex) to me now.

F4: ... if someone gives you a drink for free, then you refuse to sleep with them ... they will insult you... even rape you.

The female victims in these incidences experienced verbal, physical and sexual abuse at the hands of the male perpetrators who demand sex in return for food and alcohol. Male entitlement is clearly evident in the above excerpts. At least four participants revealed that religious

intolerance and homophobia were also reasons for gender-based violence occurring at university campus residences. This was also discussed in detail in 4.3.7. The following excerpts illustrates homophobia and religious intolerance of diversity.

F5: *... a group of boys raped a girl ... simply because she came out, specified that she was a lesbian.*

F8: *... they pushed me. They say they will take this lesbian thing out of me. (Self-identified non-conforming gender).*

M8: *... that people who are gay are possessed with demon things. They use religion to support their stance ... they say that should you engage yourself with them, then you will go to hell.*

M11: *Gay people ... belong in hell; Christians say nasty words about these kinds of people.*

When females tried to end a relationship, they experienced gender-based violence in the form of separation assault. Thus, terminating a relationship was also given as a reason for gender-based violence.

F6: *... he beat her up ... the girl came with her boyfriend ... the girl has moved on ... she doesn't want this guy anymore ... so the guy beat her up.*

F3: *...so whenever they want to pull out, remember MUT, that's when the fight starts. They are stalking them ... beat them.*

M8: *... she gets beaten up for saying I want out, she'll be abused for saying enough is enough. ... for the girl to understand, that I'm the only person you are allowed to be with and should I not be the person, you will not live to tell the tale.*

The above responses provide evidence that males feel that they have control over when the relationship will end. When females terminate a relationship, it not only challenges the gendered relational power, but it may embarrass the scorned male. This is clearly evident in the utterances of participant M8 where the rejected male threatened that the female “will not live to tell the tale”. There is a suggestion that, in an attempt to reclaim his wounded masculinity, he threatened to resort to committing the ultimate act of murder. Participant F3 touches on another highlighted case, allegedly where this separation assault did lead to murder. There are other risk factors that lead to gender-based violence; these include alcohol and drug abuse. These have been discussed in 4.3.9 and 4.3.10.

This section focused on some of the reasons for gender-based violence from the participants' perspectives. The participants articulated several reasons for gender-based violence; however, none of the reasons justify the use of violence against another individual. People are socialised to justify, accept and tolerate violence and therefore we have become so desensitised to it that it becomes the norm (Bhana, 2009; Bancroft, 2004; Berger, 2003; Morrell, 2002; Bandura, 1986).

4.3.13. The impact of gender-based violence on the victims and bystanders

Extensive research shows that, regardless of the gender identity and sexual orientation, gender-based violence has a disturbing and detrimental impact on those who have been intimately affected by it or who also may have perhaps witnessed it (Moletsane & Theron, 2017; Gordon, 2017; Collin, Loots, Meyiwa & Mistrey, 2009). Both male and female students were able to observe and describe the impact of gender-based violence on the victim.

- F2: *She did go for counselling ... maybe 4-5 weeks she didn't leave her room... always indoors, crying.*
- F3: *Sometimes they drop out of school and sometimes they suffer depression.*
- F4: *... It had an impact on my studies, my records went down.*
- F5: *This (gay) friend of mine ... man had to do a cross-transfer.*
- F6: *... but I can see that one is a homosexual, but he's drinking alcohol ... he's trying to release stress.*
- F8: *He was traumatised. He wanted to move out of the res.*
- F9: *She is not coping on campus, she is not going to class (lectures) ... she lost weight ... it affected her bad ... academically, her health.*
- F11: *... apparently she fell into depression ... her parents came to fetch her.*
- M8: *... I've seen a girl who said, I don't wanna ever have a man near me ... I don't wanna get married ... I hate men.. I'll never forgive men ... crying ... isolating themselves ... failing academically ... being excluded from university*
- M11: *... he did change ... the way he perceived straight people ... that straight people are trash ... dogs.*
- M13: *... affected his self-esteem.*

The participants' responses illustrate that they are fully aware of the impact of gender-based violence has on its victims. This correlates with research that both male and female victims experience shame and self-blame; have an inability to concentrate, they may become depressed, experience a drop in grades, experiment in drugs and alcohol while some may even leave university, resulting in unfulfilled dreams (Gordon, 2017; Adams, Mabusela & Dlamini, 2013; Steenkamp, 2010).

The participants responses demonstrated that while some of them may heal physically, the emotional scars and the ramification of their ordeal may be felt for a lifetime. This is clearly illustrated in the utterances of participant M8, where the female in question has adopted an attitude of misandry. A similar attitude is revealed by participant M11 where his gay friend believes that "straight people (men) are trash ... dogs.

Gender-based violence also causes psychological trauma to those who witness it (Moletsane & Theron, 2017, Collins et al., 2009; Dastile, 2008). This is evident in the following excerpts:

F2: *I felt my life threatened.*

F4: *I was hurt and I told her to leave the guy.*

F5: *I was upset.*

F9: *... this is a very scary thing ... it was terrifying.*

F11: *... I was traumatised.*

F15: *I felt unsafe.*

M6: *Shocked ... also angry for the fact that he was being attacked for simply who he is, his lifestyle.*

M9: *I always feel uncomfortable. Sometimes ... I have to put on a strong face ... most of the time I be like scared.*

M11: *I cried.*

M12: *I felt bad.*

M15: *I feel bad ... every time that I look at him, I know how he feels inside but he won't show it.*

The participants' responses show that both male and female students are deeply disturbed and traumatised by what they have observed. It also points to the socialisation process, that not all males are socialised to be violent and aggressive. This is incongruent with patriarchal norms and gender expectations, where hegemonic masculinities are expected to be aggressive and prone to violence (Bhana, 2014; Adams, Mabusela & Dlamini, 2013; Connell, 1995). This is especially evident in the response from participants M9 and M11, where they expressed fear and they felt unsafe. In higher education institutions where future leaders are borne, this type of violent, criminal behaviour is deeply disturbing, to say the least.

Research indicates that not all victims of gender-based violence respond in the same way, there is a growing trend towards females as well as non-conforming genders resistance and resilience to gender-based violence at university campuses (Moletsane & Theron, 2017; Gordon, 2017; Masten, 2014; Theron & Malindi, 2010; Collins et al., 2009). The following excerpts is evidence of this 'fight back'.

F1: *... I do know how to defend myself ... if you do that to me, I'm gonna do it back. I did hit him.*

F2: *After the incident, I decided to join women's groups.*

F7: *... this guy tried abusing the other guy ... then the other guy said, I'm a man if I'm not in the sheets, I'm only female in the sheets and then the other guy (gay) beat the hell out of the other guy and then it stopped, they started fearing gays.*

The participants' responses reveal that they are prepared to shed their victim status and to fight back against gender-based violence. Participant F1 responded with equal violence to the attacker. Culturally defined norms of male power and control over females and non-conforming genders was clearly challenged by these participants who chose to 'fight back' and to not let the impact of gender-based violence deter them from exercising their right to gender equality. Participant F2 decided to fight back in a less physical manner when she opted to join women's groups. The literature correlates with the data that female students as well as non-conforming genders are prepared to challenge unequal gender norms that emanate from patriarchy, thus indicating their attempts to transform their stereotyped passive status and shed their oppressed and victim status (Moletsane & Theron, 2017; Gordon, 2017; Duma, 2016; De Lange et al., 2015). This is clearly evident in the response of participant F7, where the gay student hit another male student back. The suggestion is that not all non-conforming male students are afraid to exercise their rights to gender equality. The participants' responses indicate that gender-based violence does not impact on the victims and bystanders in a similar way.

4.3.14. Under-reporting or not reporting: Gender-based violence at university campus residences

The under-reporting of gender-based violence at universities is an inherent problem, regardless of gender identity and sexual orientation, and could be attributed to several factors (Gordon & Collins, 2013; Kim & Motsei, 2002). The overarching one, according to Connell (1995), is the complex gender order inherent in hegemonic masculinity that subordinates and suppresses all non-hegemonic masculinities and females. Butler (1990; 1993) posits that the heteronormative nature of university campuses catapults and privileges heterosexual relationships while rendering all homosexual relationships as unacceptable. A deeper analysis of both Connell's gender order (1995; 2000) as well as Butler's (1990; 1993) heterosexual matrix presents the intimate connection between the two. We see that these work in tandem, in ways that elevate male supremacy, legitimising gender-based violence against all females and non-conforming genders. This permeates university life, as we see that students do not always come forward to report gender-based violence. The data below is congruent with the literature that there exists an insidious, societal victim-blaming discourse that normalises gender-based violence and that perpetuates the under-reporting and silence around the issue (Gordon & Collins, 2013; Du Toit, 2002; Kim & Motsei, 2002).

F4: ... *If the girls didn't go there (to the party) and she stayed indoors, all of this wouldn't have happened.*

F4: *The way they behave, like wearing bum shorts, throwing yourself at the boys ... and not respecting yourself and drinking with them. They (boys) take advantage of you and they see this one, I can do whatever I like with her.*

F10: *They wear inappropriate manner, they wear bum shorts, they wear lace tops that are revealing their underwears. I think the way we dress as women...*

F14: ... *because they are wearing short skirts.*

M8: ... *and what I've seen in most cases the victims believe it's their fault, I don't know for what reason but they have this thing that you know it's my fault. I shouldn't have gone to the bash, I shouldn't have drank alcohol, I shouldn't have worn that short skirt ... the person saying I deserved this for my action.*

M13: *... some face cyberbullying ... people will say no you were wearing this, it's like they are opposing the whole incident ... it's like the victims fault on the first place, he or she was there at that point of the incident.*

M14: *... if maybe the female is wearing a short skirt. She is under the influence ... your body language tells me something and then I relate to what your body tells me and not what your mouth says.*

M3: *... she wanted it ... she was all over me.*

The participants' responses highlight the fact that both male and female students share similar victim-blaming attitudes. The participants point out that the victims' clothing was inappropriate "bum shorts/revealing underwear"; that their consumption of alcohol was problematic "under the influence" and that their presence at a particular place was questionable "if she didn't go there." All these place the blame squarely on the victim. Participant F4 suggests that females are safer indoors; the self-blaming approach is evident, that is, 'if you go out there' and 'you only have yourself to blame'. The students' movements around campus are restricted by the fear of becoming the latest statistic of gender-based violence. The literature shows that gender-based violence against females is a structural form of female oppression (Gordon, 2017; Gqola, 2015). The females' movements, attitudes, dress and behaviour are curtailed. It is not the victim who attacks herself, it is the predatory elements of hegemonic masculinity that attack innocent females. Males are encouraged by their hegemonic masculinity status and they use this power to subordinate females through violence (Kim & Motsei, 2002; Connell, 2000). The utterances of participant M8 "... it's my fault ... I shouldn't have ... I deserve this ..." summarises the self blame that many victims experience and this is sometimes why gender-based violence is not reported. The data correlates with literature that female students may sometimes feel that they have provoked the attack and therefore they do not report it, this victim-blaming discourse underpins gender inequality (Varjarvandi, 2017; Duma, 2016). Participant M3 touches on a sensitive issue, that of consent. He perceived that the females' amorous behaviour suggested that she deserved to be attacked. This is a disturbing trend where the male tries to rationalise his sexual assault on the victim by claiming that "she wanted it". This highlights the issue of male entitlement over female bodies that perpetuates gender-based violence (Moletsane & Theron, 2017; MacKay & Magwaza, 2008).

Another participant also mentioned the naming and shaming victims on social media. Cyberbullying victims of gender-based violence not only adds to the trauma of the victim, but it also shows support for the perpetrator. This support of the perpetrator is essentially

supporting the entitlement of the males to females bodies, further perpetuating gender-based violence against females.

In keeping with the gender-inclusive framework of the study, the next excerpts deal with non-conforming genders whose sexuality is used as a form of victim-blaming discourse. The participants' responses illustrate that patriarchal norms that favour heterosexuality also sanction homosexuality and, at university campuses, gender-based violence is perpetrated against non-conforming genders.

M6: ... *being attacked for simply who he is, his lifestyle.*

M13: ... *beating my friend for being gay, ja ... (self-identified gay)*

F8: *They say they hate me, that I'm supposed to be a woman. They gonna sleep with me to make me straight (self-identified lesbian).*

F5: ... *a group of boys raped a girl simply because she came out and said she was a lesbian.*

The data show that the non-conforming gender victims of gender-based violence were attacked because of their sexual orientation. This violent intolerance of diversity is carried by hegemonic masculinity, not only to control gender identities but to also maintain the gender order (Msibi, 2012; Bhana, 2012; Jackson, 2006; Connell, 1995). Participant F8's response, "that I'm supposed to be a woman" speaks to the gender normative notion of femininity. The homophobic males stated that they "hate her" simply because they feel that she has betrayed the gender order. This is supported by the literature that masculine females are violently 'policed' by hegemonic masculinities who perceive that their sexual orientation and identity is incongruent to the natural gender order (Wells, 2006). This concurs with Connell's theory of masculinity (1995) that hegemonic masculinity is powered by gender-based violence. Participant F8 further reveals that she was threatened with 'corrective' rape in order to make her 'straight'. This suggests that heterosexual males believe that it is their right to control the sexualities of non-conforming genders.

This concurs with the literature that men with hegemonic masculinities use 'corrective' rape as a patriarchal 'weapon' against homosexual students (Msibi, 2009; Connell, 1995). While participant F8 was threatened with 'corrective' rape, participant F5 states that another girl was not so lucky and that she was raped 'simply because she came out and said he was a lesbian'. The fear of homophobic attacks is what leads to many homosexual students not reporting their gender-based violence and they therefore internalise this homophobia (Msibi, 2009, Wells, 2006). This results in the under-reporting of gender-based violence in same-sex

relationships or with non-conforming genders as a result of stigmatisation and secondary victimisation based on their sexuality (Sable, Davis, Mauzy & Gallagher, 2006).

Culturally defined roles of masculine characteristics may erode the male victim's dignity and manhood and out of fear of being perceived as weak and gay, they will not report their abuse (Bhana, 2012; Francis & Msibi, 2011; Nell & Judge, 2008). The following excerpts illustrates this fear of emasculation.

M8: *... the case was withdrawn because the guy had forgiven, what should I say because of the society, because of how people see man and he doesn't want to pursue a case whereby he as a man would be seen as the victim ... we are Zulus ... now being the man to cry in this whole situation is bad.*

M15: *No, I'm not supposed to say it but I'm telling you now that because he's afraid ... I think for him its fear plays a part and he will keep quiet and remain quiet.*

M12: *... even if it happens to a male ... we just don't disclose things like that, even though you are abused.. we find it difficult as males.*

F11: *... it happens, but they don't speak up when the victim is a man.*

Participant F11 re-affirms the belief that males are also victims of gender-based violence, "but they don't speak up". This suggests that males are fully aware of the embarrassment that is associated with having been abused by a female. In keeping with normalised masculine expectations, society expects males to exercise power and control over females. It is for this reason that participant M12 acknowledges that "even though you are abused ... we find it difficult as males." The fear of being humiliated by other males is too great.

This is supported by participant M15, who states "it's fear ... he will remain quiet". The literature shows that the fear of social denigration of their masculinity and the risk of the stigma lead to the under-reporting or non-reporting of male gender-based violence attacks (Matabeni & Msibi, 2015; Francis & Msibi, 2011).

The claims by the participant M8, "now being the man to cry in this whole situation is bad", supports findings in the literature that males are normally associated with physical and mental strength and power, which does not align to the image of an abused victim; hence many male students will not report their gender-based violence attacks. Similarly, it can be inferred by the data that females contradict the gender norms that all females are passive and subordinate.

Another reason why females may sometimes not report gender-based violence is because they hail from cultural backgrounds where gender-based violence, especially in heterosexual relationships is normalised. This resonates with Moletsane & Theron (2017), Gordon, (2017) and Gqola, (2015) who state that gender-based violence, especially in heterosexual relationships, is normalised. This normalisation of gender-based violence was discussed in sections 4.3.1, 4.3.4 and 4.3.3. The following few excerpts support the literature that gender-based violence is sometimes accepted and tolerated in heterosexual relationships.

F3: *... it's perfectly normal that a male or a boy must hit a girl or girlfriend. It becomes a norm around campus, that happens and no one reports it.*

F4: *Culture and tradition that males are raised with ... they are more powerful than us, they can beat us ...*

F9: *... it's not the first time, you are actually tired of hearing the same thing.*

F11: *... a woman is being abused by her husband, but she never talks about it ... like you don't even dare ...*

She used to get beaten ... but why doesn't she leave?

They still with the boys (abusive) ...

M8: *It becomes the norm ... it becomes something people are fine with ... people don't say anything, because they feel ... it's their business.*

... most people believe that when it happens between two, it should stay between two partners.

I overheard them say, they post on Facebook that if a man beats a woman, it shows that the man loves the woman ... it's a wrong impression of what is love ... we cannot blame them ... back home ... I see there is what you call indoctrination, it's poor education that is passed on ... people have no obligation but to conform to those standards that the society has made.

The above responses touch on cultural influences, patriarchy and subordination as reasons why gender-based violence is normalised. These issues have been discussed earlier on. However what needs to be highlighted here is the fact that participant M8 acknowledges that beating a female shows that you love her is “a wrong impression of what love is”. The suggestion is that not all males are violent. He recognises the fact that “it's poor education that is passed on”.

This alludes to the socialisation of males who emulate destructive harmful behaviour even though they know that it is wrong (Baumgartner, Valkenburg & Peter, 2011; Bandura, 1986) “but have no obligation to conform to the standards society has made.” In fact, what the participant is suggesting is that society condones this negative indoctrination despite the fact that it is a violation of human rights. It is important to note that the participant agrees that it is “poor education that is passed on”. When participant F9 states that “you are actually tired of hearing the same thing” she alludes to the fact that gender-based violence has become a common feature and this is supported by the literature that gender-based violence is a common occurrence and this leads to the normalisation of the scourge, hence it is largely under-reported (Moletsane & Theron, 2017; Hames, 2009).

Another pattern that emerged from the data and which correlates with literature, was that out of fear of reprisal from the perpetrator, many victims do not report their gender-based violence attacks (Clowes et al., 2009; Hames, 2009). This fear is evident in the excerpts below:

F6: *No, I never report anything because I’m scared of the guys because you know they are powerful.*

F7: *... they fear to open it ...*

F8: *No, I didn’t ... because I fear for my ... danger, maybe I was scared they gonna come back for me (self-identified lesbian)*

F10: *she reported the issue ... his friends went to court to pay his bail ... he came back just like that.*

M8: *... we are first years now and ...you are scared (to report).*

... and she will even be beaten up for even reporting the incident

The data reveals the unmistakable fear that “they gonna come back for me” – F8. The vulnerability of first years to gender-based violence is once again highlighted by participant M8 who further adds that “she will even be beaten up for even reporting the incident”. This concurs with another participant’s response earlier that the reporting of gender-based violence within heterosexual relationships is a “taboo”. Participant F10 mentions that when a victim did report the abuse, “his friends went to court to pay his bail ... he came back just like that”. This suggests that some males are united in their perpetuation of gender-based violence against females and this notion strengthens their dominance but it also maintains gender power imbalances. The fact that the perpetrator was granted bail for committing such a repugnant act speaks to the inability of the law enforcement authorities to maintain the law, as well as the

lack of seriousness by the justice system to protect females. What is glaring from the above participants' response is that the victims' fear of reprisal from the perpetrators is real and this is one of the reasons why they do not report their experience.

Of great concern, and one that needs to be highlighted, was the collusion of some members of the Student Representative Council (SRC) in covering up incidents of gender-based violence, especially when these incidents involved their friends. The SRC has a powerful influence on varsity culture and they should impact positively on student life in general. They have a responsibility to act on reports of gender-based violence. Their power to convince the university to install "access control" as participant F3 mentions is proof of their influential position.

M8: *... Friends of the SRC beat up girls and they are not excluded ... not arrested, friends of the SRC rape girls but they are not arrested, friends of the SRC publicly beat up girls, shout at them ... also you find that if I rape a girl in a female residence and I know that my friend maybe is the secretary, is the head of sport in the whole college or he's a president ... or whatever, I know when the case is reported I'll go to my friend and within two days the whole thing vanishes, done.*

F2: *Sometimes like the SRC ... some of them are corrupt because you go and report someone what's a friend of an SRC, they will make sure that the case is disappeared, no action will be taken.*

F9: *I thought that maybe we should not trust people on campus coz he is a very respecting guy ... he used to lead us.*

F10: *The security and the SRC members. They took him (LGBTIQ victim) to his room and that's how he escaped. Nothing happened, they sent him (the perpetrator) to their residence because they thought that they were drunk.*

F11: *I went to the student bash ... I was standing next to a group of boys, these groups of boys unfortunately some of them was in the SRC, unfortunately for us and they were discussing and pointing at a few girls. Unfortunately for them, they were first years and unfortunately for them they were under the influence. These boys made a bet that each of them would leave the dance floor with each of the ladies. So I was curious, I stay a little longer ... these boys are older, they are in the SRC which probably they promised them a lot of things ... when they wake up the next day ... they had sex with someone they don't even know, had to be unprotected sex.*

The response by participant F11 “which probably they promised them a lot of things ...” highlights the abuse of power by some members of the SRC and this is supported by participant F2 who states “someone who’s a friend of the an SRC, they will make sure that the case is disappeared.” Participant F11 also touches on the vulnerability of first year students to gender-based violence attacks as well as HIV infection “... they had sex with someone they don’t even know, had to be unprotected sex ...”. She further elaborates “that these boys (SRC) made a bet that each of them would leave the dance floor with each of the ladies.”

This highlights the power imbalance and is indicative of male supremacy and entitlement to female bodies. The above participants’ responses are deeply disturbing, as the SRC is considered to be a powerful student body that should create awareness around issues like gender-based violence. The members should play a pivotal role in exposing the perpetrators as well as protecting and defending the rights of all law abiding students, regardless of their gender identity and sexual orientation. The claims made by the above participants suggest that the collusion of corrupt SRC members with known perpetrators is a reason for the under-reporting or non-reporting of gender-based violence.

A deeper analysis of the data reveals that another reason for the under-reporting or not reporting of gender-based violence is the students’ lack of faith in the security and Risk Management Services (RMS). Apart from the students’ perceptions of the security and RMS as being ineffective, weak and not trained to deal with issues of gender-based violence, is the claim that they are also corrupt and easily bribed to turn a blind eye to incidents of gender-based violence. This is evident in the following excerpts:

F5: *... these are boys ... we don’t know how they got in, we have no idea how the security will let them in.*

F9: *... at the entrance, at the gates, no student cards, they do not check student cards. Anyone can come in and do whatever.*

F10: *... the security is not tight ... find the security not in their positions ... the security staying in the TV room watching TV.*

F11: *Like I said our security is pathetic ... she was beaten by the man ... not a student ... it was four o’clock in the morning ... when the security lady supposed to be helping and asking for backup ... she said, leave him, go to RMS and open the case ... she folded her arms, she didn’t even call for backup.*

- F6: ... try to employ tough security ... the security we have, they are young ... so they (perpetrators) are not intimidated by anything.
- F2: ... they can buy the security so that they will let them in.
- F11: ... and how did that alcohol pass the gate, a main gate ... the security in the main gate got bribed by students to bring in some alcohol.
- M12: They are sleeping. So they don't care in fact who enters.
- M11: ... someone gets raped ... abused, they go the RMS ... they just takes your statement and forget about what is really happening psychologically to that person ... they are not trained ... they don't have the skills to deal with my issue ... you can scream ... some of them who are always on their cellphones ... always putting their headsets, not paying attention.
- M8: ... they can't even fill out an incident or report.
- M9: ... that to report an incident ... the answer you will get is that it is none of your business, you shouldn't make it your business. Security are not doing their jobs.
- M11: We have people reporting a lot of rape cases ... to RMS ... and the security ... but when you listen to the process of reporting such cases ... they won't even attend to such cases ... you write a report ... they will tell you to come back next week.
- M7: ... everyone has free access to this campus, there are no rules and regulations where you have to sign anything when coming in.
- M15: Drugs ... are being sold at res, alcohol ...

The response by participant F9 “anyone can come in and do whatever...” sums up the harsh reality of the poor state of security at the university. The fact that the security “do not check student cards” (F9); “security staying in TV room watching TV” (F10); “on cellphones ... putting their headsets on” (M11) and “they are sleeping” (M11) is indicative that the security is not serious about doing their jobs. Watching television, listening to music and sleeping are all activities that should take place at home, not at work. This suggests that the security is not properly monitored and supervised. Another disturbing issue that is highlighted by the participants is the fact that the security staff are easily bribed by the students to “bring in some alcohol” (F11); allow “drugs ... being sold” (M15) and to allow outsiders onto the campus

“they can buy the security so that they will let them in” (F2). The evidence is that the security staff not only disregard the university policy but are also party to the crimes.

If a security officer can fold her arms, as participant F11 points out, when a male outsider is beating a female student, then this warrants a serious overhaul by the university authorities in terms of service providers who cannot even “fill out an incident or report” (M8). The participants point out that RMS is equally incompetent in carrying out their duties and responsibilities. This is echoed in the following participant’s (M11) response “... they just take your statement and forget about what is really happening psychologically to that person... they won’t attend to that person ... they will tell you to come back next week.” What is also revealed in the lack of training on the part of the RMS to deal with issues of gender-based violence. Finally, when a student does report an incident they are told “that it is none of your business, you shouldn’t make it your business” (M9). This not only typifies the attitude of RMS and security to gender-based violence, but it also perpetuates cultural perceptions that gender-based violence is normal and acceptable. Thus, gender-based violence is largely under-reported or not reported at university campuses.

The data suggests that the University is failing the students in terms of safety and security. Risk management services are ill-equipped to deal with the incidents of gender-based violence that occurs at the university campus. The security staff lack training, they are weak and easily bribed and therefore, they are grossly ineffective in dealing with the gender-based violence that is rampant at the university residences.

This section focused on the under-reporting and non-reporting of gender-based violence at the university residences. From the participants’ responses, it becomes obvious that gender-based violence is prevalent at university residences. The data generated is consistent with empirical research findings that gender-based violence is largely under-reported, due to reasons ranging from cultural norms; victim-blaming discourses; fear of reprisal from the perpetrator; collusion of the SRC as well as weak and ineffective RMS and security.

4.3.15. The role of the University in reducing the rates of gender-based violence at the university campus residences.

Universities are progressive institutions that should disrupt patriarchal norms that harm, challenging archaic perceptions that violence against females and non-conforming genders is acceptable (Cheng & Yang, 2015; Gordon & Collins, 201; Collins et al., 2009). The avalanche of incidents of gender-based violence is a cause for concern and this has not only highlighted

students' fears, but it has also placed the scourge of gender-based violence and its eradication at the top of the universities list of priorities (Singh, Mudaly & Singh-Pillay, 2016). In this section I will discuss the participants' views, integrated with the literature, on the role that the university together with the students can play in reducing the incidents of gender-based violence in the university campus residences.

In many respects gender-based violence is regarded as the “invisible” curriculum because it happens and is often ignored and under-reported (Harris, Hemson & Kaye, 2014; Masten & Wright, 2010). The under-reporting or not reporting, which was discussed in 4.3.7., is a major concern as it alludes to fear and the lack of faith students have in the university to adequately address their basic needs (Moletsane & Theron, 2017; Singh et al., 2016; Collins et al., 2009). The data generated shows that gender-based violence is an everyday occurrence and it warrants urgent attention and action from the university authorities.

M15: *Education, people must be educated, that's the only key, education. That's why there are small movements on campus like which we are promoting the issues and showing the students that gender-based violence, drugs and alcohol and peer pressure. The university has done enough, but it's not enough, I still fear ...*

M7: *I think this thing of education ... there is one where you learn about these things, but it's not a compulsory module. It's Diversity and Learning. So I think it should be compulsory ... and I think having campaigns ... I did not like these people (homosexuals) but after studying these modules and after seeing these people (homosexuals), they are also part of us ... human ... I realised it after I studied that module.*

M3: *campaigns ... taught me how to respect, how to behave in a certain way that we are not violating anyone's rights. We are being taught about gender-based violence ... I think it should be continuous.*

M14: *... Run informative campaigns ... before getting to implement somethings ... programmes that will first educate people to embrace each other from different sexes.*

M8: *I think it all falls upon the stake-holders pulling it together and saying enough is enough ... we should actually pay heed to our constitution which states that people are equal and they should be treated equally ... and do our best to get rid of gender-based violence.*

- M13: *... they should make the LGBT aware of their rights in terms of how we should be treated firstly, they should strengthen their laws and even though there are laws protecting us here in the university ... if you act in an inappropriate manner, these steps will be taken (self-identified gay).*
- M11: *I think the university can put structures in place ... if someone is been abused, you don't report to RMS, RMS deals with different cases ... there should be a structure in each and every campus ...if someone is being raped there is no need to go to RMS ... they take your statement and forget what is really happening psychological to you ... they don't have the skills to deal with my issue ... the systems that are put in place to deal with that issues, they are not doing justice to the students to ensure that we as students are safe.*
- F5: *... they still need to educate more students, especially male students, about gender-based violence ... because most of them are clueless when it comes to gays and lesbians.*
- F7: *Start a campaign that will educate the abused about how to go about reporting the abuse incidents because they fear to open it (cases).*
- F8: *... introduce the topic (GBV) more on the modules. In education ... do more concerts, improve awareness about these things more, because they don't concentrate on gender-based violence issues. It hasn't been up there enough. I would like to plead with them, they must know that we (homosexuals) exist, even though we run the workshop about it, they don't support us that much, they don't pay attention, but I would like for them to give us more support, give us platforms in terms of being able to give us a chance to share our stories and to tell people how we (homosexuals) feel about the things they do ... And also maybe provide us with workshops, training for how people should learn to stop this (abuse), it's not nice. (Self-identified lesbian).*
- F10: *I think the University, Dean or the management should first send awareness and then encourage the clubs and societies ... send awareness of gender-based violence ... if you have done maybe one of the gender-based violence actions, you are going to be charged for it.*
- F11: *... they must enforce their rules. The rules must not be on paper they must be implemented.*
- F2: *... make sure the victims have someone to talk to.*

F3: *... students must be educated, they must speak up ... coz if they do not speak up, that's where the problem starts.*

F5: *The university needs to take seriously the reports that are being raised on campus.*

F15: *... must be programmes to teach, not only first year students – everyone; about gender-based violence and explain that being a victim of gender-based violence is not something that you must feel ashamed about, you must come out and speak about it.*

The data reveals that both male and female students have highlighted the same issues; all allude to education around gender-based violence. These include education in terms of policy implementation, awareness campaigns, the curriculum (modules) and reporting structures. From the participants' responses it emerges that although the university has policies for gender-based violence and sexual harassment in place, these policies are not adequately implemented, they are merely "on paper" (F11), "they must enforce their rules ... must be implemented". Similar views are expressed by participant M13 "they should strengthen their laws and even though there are laws protecting us here in university ... if you act in an inappropriate manner, these steps will be taken". Both participants F11 and M13 reveal that there are policies in place for gender-based violence, however, these are not properly implemented and as a result the students feel that the university is not serious about this issue.

The data correlates with the literature that there are gaps between policy making and implementation and this is a fundamental failing to ensure safe campuses (Wilkinson, 2017; Gordon, 2017; Bedera & Nordmeyer, 2015; De Lange et al., 2015). Several participants also indicated that an extensive awareness around the scourge of gender-based violence was urgently required to stem the tide, "run informative campaigns ... that will educate" (M4); "A campaign that will educate the abused". (F7) and "send awareness ... encourage clubs and societies of gender-based violence". What the participants are essentially alluding to is the fact that universities should raise our social consciousness around issues of human rights violations. However, as pointed out by the participant F5 that "they still need to educate ... especially male students about gender-based violence ... because most of them are clueless when it comes to gays and lesbians". Participant F5 touches on two issues, firstly the notion that males need more education around gender-based violence, as they are largely the perpetrators of this scourge, and secondly, that there is ignorance around homosexuality. The suggestion by participant M7 is that Diversity and Learning should be made compulsory because, "I did not like the people (homosexuals) but after studying these modules ... they are also part of us ... human ... I realised it after I studied that module". Will not only dispel the ignorance around

homosexuality, but it will also inculcate a tolerance and respect for diversity as well as educate the students to speak up because a participant F3 states, “if they do not speak-up, that’s where the problem starts”.

Universities have become breeding grounds for gender-based violence and homophobia (Bhana & Pillay, 2018; Jagessar & Msibi, 2015). It is evident from the participants’ responses that non-conforming students feel marginalised and discriminated against, as a result of the heteronormative culture that exists at universities (Bhana & Pillay, 2018; Jagessar & Msibi, 2015; Taulke-Johnson, 2010). The pleas made by participant F8, a self-identified lesbian, are particularly heart-wrenching and illustrate the pain, suffering and torment that many homosexual students experience at university campuses. The suggestion is that the university has not only not done enough to educate the students about homosexuality, but that it has also failed to protect gender non-conforming students from homophobic elements at campus.

The proposal made by participant M11 that “the university can put structures in place” alludes to poor reporting structures and this resonates with research that some universities lacked the proper supportive and effective reporting mechanisms that the victims needed (Gordon, 2017; Harris, Hemson & Kaye, 2014; Joubert, Rothman & Van Wyk, 2011). The participants felt that RMS lacked the skill to deal with issues of rape and that the systems that were put in place to ensure the safety of the students are weak and ineffective. The participants also suggested that there was a lack of consistency in how the university deals with certain cases. This inconsistency is illustrated below:

M8: *For one I say the university should be consistent, there is a lack of consistency in how the university deals with cases ... friends of the SRC beat girls and they are not excluded ... they rape girls and they are not arrested.*

F6: *... the RA raped a lady in residence ... ja so the RA got suspended. They (university) say that he should write a letter motivating why he should come back to work.*

The participants’ utterances reveal a shocking scenario where the university has failed to act on these criminal elements (both student and support staff). This highlights the incidents at Rhodes University, where known perpetrators of gender-based violence were allowed to remain on campus and which prompted the Silent Protests and Facebook revelations by students who felt that nothing was done by the university to resolve the issue. The university has a moral and ethical obligation to act within the constitution of the country as well as work within the framework of their own policy to ensure that gender justice is achieved for all students, regardless of their status, gender identity or sexual orientation. The failure on the part

of the university to act only serves to empower the perpetrators who continue to commit these criminal acts with impunity, thereby perpetuating social systematic problems at university residences (Gordon, 2017; Duma, 2016; Singh, Mudaly & Singh-Pillay, 2015; Hames, 2009).

The following excerpts deal with the issue around safety and security at university residences. The participants articulated several concerns about their safety on campus, suggesting several ways in which this can be improved.

F3: *Tighten security ... more upgraded, maybe ... cameras... reduce the number of bashes.*

F6: *... employ tough security ... improve on security.*

F15: *... cameras, we don't have cameras.*

F8: *... there are no cameras.*

F9: *... no student cards, they do not check ... IDs, cars. Anyone can come in.*

F10: *... security staying in TV room, watching TV.*

F11: *RMS ... folded her arms...*

M10: *They can put cameras.*

M12: *... install cameras in our residences.*

M11: *One security in each residence, in some residences there are no security. They should be trained thoroughly ... undergoing some training ... the university is failing us when it comes to security ... I've never heard of any perpetrator being arrested for committing abuse.*

M8: *... people who are said to be controllers.. Can't even fill out an incident form.*

M15: *... they should ... locate a number of students like first years alone and second years alone because first years, although we are not alike, but we have something in common ... than those guys because they are busy influencing us with other stuff we didn't know.*

The appeal made by the participants to improve security, install cameras and to have adequately trained RMS in order to tackle and reduce the risk of gender-based violence is a basic one and one that signals a fundamental failure on the part of the university to protect all students. This is clearly stated by participant M15, “the university is failing us when it comes to security”. Participants F3 also suggested that the university should “reduce the number of bashes.” In the light of several participants’ revelations that at bashes and parties a lot of rape takes place, alcohol and drug abuse is rife, the incidents of gender-based violence increases and open sexual

intercourse is common, this suggestion to reduce the number of bashes is not an unrealistic one. There were also further suggestions made by the participants that the residences should be restricted to accommodate only single sexes as well as placing first years and second year students alone in a separate residence because of their vulnerability. This response alludes to the vulnerability of first year students and it correlates with research that first year students are vulnerable to rape, sexual coercion, HIV infection and gender-based violence (Moletsane & Theron, 2017; Varjavandi, 2017; Clowes et al., 2009). When participant M15 states that “they are busy influencing us with other stuff we didn’t know” it highlights the transition from school learner to university student; the learner has come from a more or less controlled disciplined environment to a liberal space, free from the disciplinary eye of adults. It further highlights the vulnerability of first year students to negative peer pressure.

This theme focused on the role of university in reducing gender-based violence at campus residences as articulated by the participants. The students highlighted issues of education and safety and security and they suggested the ways in which the university can reduce the incidents of gender-based violence that occur here.

4.4. Conclusion

This chapter presented a comprehensive discussion of the findings emanating from the data that was generated from the 30 male and female students’ understandings and experiences of gender-based violence at an on-campus university residence. The data was analysed using the thematic approach. During the data analysis process, 15 broad themes emerged, which assisted me in gaining a deeper, comprehensive analysis of male and female university students’ understandings and experiences of gender-based violence at a university campus residence.

The next chapter concludes the study by presenting a brief synopsis of each chapter as well as the main findings and recommendations that emanate from the study.

Chapter Five

Conclusion

5.1. Introduction

This chapter concludes the dissertation, which set out to explore male and female students' understandings and experiences of gender-based violence at a university campus residence in KwaZulu-Natal. Drawing on qualitative research within the interpretivist paradigm, I was able to obtain a thick, rich and deep interpretation from the 30 individual semi-structured interviews. The chapter begins with a summary of the four preceding chapters, which provide a basis for the conclusion. Thereafter, the chapter presents a summary of the main findings of the study, concluding with recommendations intended to ensure that incidents of gender-based violence at university campus residences become few and far between.

5.2. Summary of the research

Chapter one provided the introduction and the background to the study; the focus and rationale of the study; the aims, objectives and the critical questions that guided the study as well as a brief description of the research site, research design, methodology, data analysis and ethical issues. This chapter concluded with a brief outline of the structure and organisation of the study, from chapter one to chapter five.

Chapter two presented a review of the relevant scholarly literature on gender-based violence at university campus residences. The literature used was both local and international, as gender-based violence at university residences is a global problem. The literature review was organised into 15 broad themes, which provide a more in-depth analysis of male and female students' understandings and experiences of gender-based violence at university campus residences. The theoretical frameworks that were used to underpin this study were also discussed.

Chapter three focused on the discussion and description of the research design and methodology that was utilised in this study. In order to explore male and female students' understandings and experiences of gender-based violence, the study adopted a qualitative interpretivist approach which was crucial in order to understand the students' interpretation of their experiences of this phenomenon. This chapter also provided a detailed description of the sampling procedure, data collection and analysis methods, as well as the ethical considerations and limitations.

Chapter four presented an in-depth analysis of the qualitative data that was generated from the 30 individual semi-structured interviews. The data was interpreted and inductively analysed using the theoretical frameworks that underpinned this study. Thereafter, the inductively analysed data was further organised accordingly into 15 broad themes, which were rigorously discussed.

Chapter five is a concluding chapter that summarises the dissertation. In addition, this chapter also provides a summary of the main findings of the study. This chapter further provides recommendations for future research on the phenomenon of gender-based violence at university campus residences.

5.3. Main findings

The clearly articulated responses revealed that the participants are fully aware of what constitutes gender-based violence. Consistent with previous research in the field of gender-based violence at university campus residences, the participants in this study stated that although males are largely the perpetrators and females the victims, males and females can be both victim and perpetrator. It was also pointed out by a number of participants that non-conforming gender students were most vulnerable to threats of 'corrective' rape, actual rape, physical attack and verbal denigration. The study revealed that homophobic violence is rife at university campuses and this is deeply disturbing, especially in light of the fact that universities are educational institutions of hope for a humanity free of gender-based violence and prejudice.

The study also found that overwhelming numbers of students are exposed to gender-based violence that manifests in various ways, ranging from economical, emotional and psychological abuse to physical and verbal abuse to sexual harassment and attack in the form of rape. The findings also reflect that gender-based violence is a common occurrence at university campus residences and that this is part of the reason why it is not only normalised, but that it is also largely under-reported.

In attempting to answer the research questions, several key issues emerged concerning the scourge of gender-based violence at university campus residence. One of the main findings was that archaic cultural notions of patriarchy serve to challenge gender equality. The practice of conforming to deeply embedded cultural notions of male domination and female subordination was emphasised by the participants as an important reason why gender-based violence is normalised, tolerated and justified at campus residences. The participants also pointed to the fact that the socialisation process of males and females results in unequal power

relations, in ways that rendered males powerful and females powerless. Consistent with the research findings was the oppressive nature of patriarchal norms that marginalises and silences females and non-conforming genders. Despite some of the male participants' utterances to this effect, they nevertheless continue to enjoy their elevated status. The study revealed that male students are fully aware of their powerful cultural status that sanction their use of gender-based violence against females and non-conforming genders. This notion, that males can beat females up whenever they want, to was highlighted by several participants. Given the fact that there is a seismic awareness of the iniquity gender-based violence, several participants still feel that it was a private, personal issue that should remain between two people.

Another key issue that was highlighted by the participants was the role of religion in the perpetuation of homophobic violence. There was significant emphasis placed on the intolerant views of certain Christian preachers who conduct church services at the campus residence. The participants not only recognised the divisive role that these types of preachers played in isolating members of the LGBTIQ community, but that they also played a role in condoning homophobic attacks. There are also suggestions by some participants that the lack of tolerance for diversity by some religious preachers only serves to fuel tensions in the narrow minds of some students who continue to spit at, use bottles to attack, pour alcohol over and to further torment an already culturally marginalised group in society. However, it was pointed out that not all the participants were homophobic, and that many benefited from the Diversity and Learning module, which taught them to understand and to respect all views different from their own. It can be inferred from the participants' responses that cultural practices like patriarchy as well as religious antagonism towards homosexuality are key drivers of the normalisation of gender-based violence.

What also emerged from the data was that the participants were able to provide several reasons for gender-based violence occurring at university campus residence. These include cultural norms and socialisation; cheating and jealousy; transactional sex and 'separation assault'; religious intolerance and homophobia. Apart from these, the study also revealed that alcohol and drugs are also linked to the high rates of gender-based violence at university campus residences. It was pointed out that students indulge in substance abuse and this directly or indirectly leads to the risk of gender-based violence.

Another issue emerging from the study was the vulnerability of first year students to transactional and coercive sexual practices, HIV infection, peer pressure and gender-based violence in the form of rape. This is not to say that other students are not vulnerable to these socio-economic challenges, it is just that first year students are particularly vulnerable due to

the lack of institutional support. In fact, it was pointed out that some students even engage in prostitution to fund their lifestyle at campus residences. The findings suggest that many first year students experience socio-economic challenges that render them vulnerable to sugar daddies and blessers, HIV infection and gender-based violence. The findings suggest that first year students are soft targets for gender-based violence attacks as they grapple with funding issues. Another alarming trend was the rape of first year students by fellow students as well as by a resident assistant, as reported by a participant. Evidence from the study clearly shows that both male and female first year students have become the latest rape statistics at university campus residences. The findings also suggest that peer pressure results in first year students engaging in risky sexual activity, consuming alcohol and drugs, smoking and excessive partying. As pointed out by the participants that the lack of parental supervision, control and guidance has a detrimental effect on students who are not disciplined in their behaviour. There was also a suggestion that first year students should live in their own residences away from the negative influences of other senior students. The findings reveal that first year students face many socio-economic challenges and this renders them vulnerable to HIV infection and gender-based violence.

Recognising that university life was very different to life back home, many students indicated that their experiences at campus residences was an eye-opener for them in terms of temptation and negative influences. Evidence from the study reveals that these include everything from not attending lectures to substance abuse, unprotected sex and excessive partying. It is also evident that while some students are able to resist these temptations and negative influences, others are not so strong and they hence become vulnerable to this destructive behaviour.

Another key issue that emerged from the study was the impact of gender-based violence on the victims and bystanders. The responses show that gender-based violence has a detrimental impact on the victims who struggle with emotional issues and trauma; substance abuse and they experience a drop in grades. Many bystanders admit to feeling fearful and state that they are not prepared to get involved in abusive relationships. Although in the minority, some participants indicated that they did “fight back” against gender-based violence, physically or by joining groups that discussed the issues. However, the findings also suggest that many participants, who were intimately affected by gender-based violence, were deeply disturbed by their experience.

A number of varied responses regarding the under-reporting of gender-based violence were highlighted by the participants. These include the cultural perception that gender-based violence is a private, ‘normal’ issue in inter-personal relationships; fear of victimisation and

reprisal from perpetrators; victim-blaming discourses, collusion of the SRC and RA with known perpetrators, and weak reporting mechanisms. What was deeply disturbing was the victim-blaming discourses, where victims were accused of provoking the attack. The rationale behind this victim-blaming discourse was that the victim deserved to be attacked because of what she wore, what she drank, where she was and where she went. In fact, many participants did not report their attack because they felt that they were to blame for the unwanted attack. It is evident that not all the participants possess these narrow-minded notions and there were a few who felt that females have the right of freedom of expression. The findings are clear about the role of the SRC in colluding with known perpetrators. The evidence points to the fact that, if you are a member of the SRC or you are closely connected to them, then you can literally escape punishment for your crimes against fellow students. Another key finding was that RMS and the security were poorly trained, weak and ineffective. The study highlighted the fact that RMS could not even fill out an incident report. In addition, the security guards were easily bribed, walked around with their headsets on or sat in the television lounge watching TV.

The crux of the matter of the under-reporting or not reporting of gender-based violence lies in the students' lack of faith in the university to implement policy. Clearly articulated responses indicate that the participants felt that the university is failing them as far as security is concerned. The findings suggest that there is a gap in policy and implementation because many perpetrators slip through the cracks while the victims suffer in silence. The study reveals that the lack of practical implementation demonstrates that the university is not concerned about the well-being of the students. However, as pointed out by some participants, the issue of safety and security relies on all relevant role-players, including the students. What was also highlighted was that the students flagrantly flout the rules of the university by consuming alcohol and drugs, bringing in outsiders into the residences and committing acts of gender-based violence against their fellow peers.

The findings reflect that reducing the rates of gender-based violence at university campus residences is a collective responsibility. To this end, the participants suggest that Diversity and Learning needs to be made a compulsory module. This will help the students to understand and respect the diverse backgrounds that students come from. Education and awareness campaigns highlighting these human rights violations are considered key to reducing the scourge at universities. The participants also suggest that installing more cameras will deter perpetrators of crime and gender-based violence. Furthermore, there was a suggestion that the university needs to have regular dialogues to create an awareness of the suffering and the plight of the non-conforming genders. In the light of the homophobic attacks at university campus

residences, this is not an unrealistic suggestion. These regular dialogues will strengthen and improve student harmony.

To sum up the main findings, the study has demonstrated that there was an unequivocal link between patriarchy, culture, religion and gender-based violence. Despite the tremendous strides in global gender transformation, gender-based violence continues to plague society at large and South African higher education institutions in particular.

5.4. Recommendations

The study has highlighted the prevalence of gender-based violence at university campus residences. The study points to an urgent need for universities to become proactive rather than reactive in their gender-based violence policy implementation. The following recommendations are based on the main findings of the study. These recommendations have taken into consideration the participants' suggestions as well as my own essential suggestions for creating safer university campuses, free from gender-based violence.

The university has an excellent sexual harassment policy that is regularly reviewed every three years, as well as a gender-based violence policy that seeks to create an awareness and prevention of gender-based violence. Despite the university establishing a gender-based violence committee to monitor policy implementation, there still exists a gap between policy and implementation. The university is duty bound to implement these policies and it is therefore recommended that all students are educated about these policies and the relevant structures. To this end, regular feedback of cases under investigation needs to be made available to all the students, because the overwhelming perception is that the policy is merely on paper. It is also important for the university to take appropriate action against perpetrators, especially where known rapists have been allowed to remain on campus. This will dispel the perception amongst the students that the university is inconsistent in dealing with incidents. My suggestion is that a gender-based policy handbook with the contact details of all gender-based violence committee members needs to be made available to all students.

It is apparent that a structured, multi-pronged unit is urgently required to deal with reports of gender-based violence, 24 hours a day, seven days a week. This structured multi-pronged unit should provide comprehensive response services as well as victim-friendly intervention strategies. This will assist victims to make informed decisions while simultaneously providing them with the necessary professional trauma counselling. It will also assist in strengthening and improving reporting mechanisms. It is critical that the university provides intensive

education drives to inform all students on a regular basis about policies and intervention structures that are put in place to deal with incidents of gender-based violence.

One of the biggest challenges is that the security and RMS are ineffective and incompetent. In order to improve campus security it is firstly suggested that the security staff are fully committed to undertaking to their duties and not “walking around with their headsets on” or “watching TV”. Secondly, staff need to undergo rigorous training in order to deal with issues of safety as well as incidents of gender-based violence at campus and not just “fold their arms”, as was pointed out by a participant. RMS also needs to be properly trained in order to deal with violence as well as to complete necessary reports because, as the study reveals, RMS staff could not even fill in an incident report. It is recommended that security and RMS undergo regular physical training as well as continuous competency assessments. Resident assistants also need to be trained on how to deal with issues of gender-based violence. This will ensure that they render the correct assistance to the victims. Enhancing these services will ensure that the safety and security of the entire university community are not compromised.

There exists an urgent need for stricter access control in the university campus residences. Presently, there are no security guards stationed at the entry and exit points. Strangers have easy access into the residences. Each residence needs a permanent security guard. Another suggestion was made to install cameras at residences and this will act as a deterrent for would-be perpetrators. A recommendation would be for each student to have a mobile panic button in their possession. This will enhance personal safety and ensure swift alert for assistance.

To improve the overall awareness of these human rights violations, it is suggested that the university conducts regular workshops, campaigns and seminars. This on-going dialogue will not only highlight this scourge, but it will also reduce the incidents of gender-based violence at the university campus residences. A self-identified non-conforming gender participant made a humble appeal to the university to give homosexual students a platform to tell their stories of pain and suffering at the hands of fellow students. A further suggestion was that the module, Diversity and Learning be made a compulsory model for all students. In light of all the homophobic attacks at campus residences, this is not an unrealistic suggestion. Providing the students with a formal education opportunity to challenge and to transform their harmful archaic cultural attitudes and beliefs, may result in the minimising of homophobic violence and attack.

Explicit mention was made of the fact that certain members of the SRC are not only amenable to corruption and collusion with known perpetrators, but they too are also guilty of coercion. It

is recommended that students who are nominated to stand for these positions should be above reproach. Members of the SRC should be at the forefront of gender-based violence awareness campaigns and this will prove vital in eliminating this scourge.

The vulnerability of first year students cannot be overstated. If first year students receive first priority for funding and financial aid services, this will deter many of them from resorting to coercive practices. Providing awareness, mentorship and self defence programmes for first year students will not only support them in their transition from school to university, but it will also boost their self-esteem and enhance their well-being and safety. There was also a suggestion to isolate first year students at residences and, in this way, they would be protected from the negative influences of their peers. However, isolating them could also place them at serious risk of attack by senior students.

A deeply disturbing issue was the antagonistic preaching of Christian preachers at university campus sermons. There can be no doubt that this homophobic preaching fuels tension and violence against an already marginalised community. It is recommended that speakers on campus are required to comply with University policy on harassment, which outlaws hate speech on the basis of gender or sexuality, in the interest of maintaining an atmosphere of tolerance of diversity.

A further suggestion was to limit the number of parties at campuses. In context of the alcohol and drug abuse, the open sexual intercourse, the presence of outsiders and transactional sexual activity as well as the numerous incidents of gender-based violence that occurs at these student bashes, reducing the number of parties will help to reduce the rates of gender-based violence. Recognising that this kind of atmosphere provides a breeding ground for gender-based violence, it is suggested that security is tightened at these parties and that cameras are also used to monitor students' activity. The emphasis should be on good, clean fun, minus the banned alcohol, drugs and older bidders.

In order to tackle gender-based violence at university campus residences, it requires a concerted, collaborative effort from all the relevant stakeholders and this includes the students. Creating a sustainable partnership between the external stakeholders, the university authorities and the general student body has the potential to eradicate all forms of gender-based violence at universities. Students need to become champions of gender justice, the university must raise the social consciousness of the students and the external community has to provide support at all levels – this is the ‘three-legged pot’, with its notion of combined energy and support. Plainly stated, it requires all three legs to stand; remove one, and gender-based violence will find a way to thrive. We owe it to ourselves and to humanity to fight from every corner, every village, every town, every country throughout the world to raise our hand and to unite against

this soul-destroying scourge of gender-based violence. We have come a long way in terms of constitutional democracy and yet cultural notions that prescribe harmful patriarchal notions continue to widen the chasm between males and females. For our society to be completely free of gender-based violence, we require a recalibration of our archaic mind-sets.

5.5. Conclusion

This final chapter has provided an overview of the research process. It has also presented a summary of the main findings of the study. It concludes with possible recommendations to reduce the rate of gender-based violence at university campus residences.

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Appendix 1



26 June 2019

Mrs Charnell R Naidu 216077026
School of Education
Edgewood Campus

Dear Mrs Naidu

Protocol reference number: HSS/0347/019M

Project title: Male and female students' understandings and experiences of gender-based violence on a university campus residence in KwaZulu-Natal.

Full Approval - Full Committee Reviewed Application

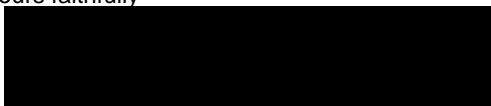
With regards to your response received 20 June 2019, to our letter of 03 June 2019, the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol have been granted FULL APPROVAL.

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 1 year 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 Rosemary Sibanda (Chair)

cc Supervisor: Dr BM Andershon

cc Academic Leader Research: Dr A Pillay

cc School Administrator: Ms S Jeenarain, Ms M Ngcobo, Ms N Dlamini and Mr SN Mthembu

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

Dr Rosemary Sibanda (Chair)

Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building

Postal Address private Bag X54001, Durban 4000

Telephone: +27 (0) 31 260 3587/8350/4557 Facsimile: +27 (0) 31 260 4609 Email: ximbap@ukzn.ac.za / snymanm@ukzn.ac.za / mohunp@ukzn.ac.za

Website: www.ukzn.ac.za

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Appendix 2

UNIVERSITY OF *
KWAZULU-NATAL
INYUVESI
YAKWAZULU-NATALI

23 May 2019

Mrs Charnell Ruby Naidu (SN 216077026)

School of Education

College of Humanities

Edgewood Campus

UKZN

Email: charnelln69@gmail.com

Dear Mrs Naidu

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 and female students' understandings and experiences of gender-based violence on a university campus residence in KwaZulu-Natal."

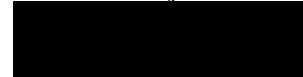
It is noted that you will be constituting your sample by conducting interviews and/or focus group discussions with undergraduate students who reside on the campus residences at UKZN.

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. Identity numbers and email addresses of individuals are not a matter of public record and are protected according to Section 14 of the South African Constitution, as well as the Protection of Public Information Act. For the release of such information over to yourself for research purposes, the University of KwaZulu-Natal will need express consent from the relevant data subjects. Data collected must be treated with due confidentiality and anonymity.

Yours sincerely



MR SS MOKOENA
REGISTRAR

Postal Address: Private Bag X54001, Durban 4000
Telephone: +27 (0) 31 260 8005/2206 Facsimile: +27 (0) 31 260 7824/2204 Email: registrar@ukzn.ac.za
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Appendix 3

Dear participant

INFORMED CONSENT LETTER

I am a Masters student in the School of Education at the University of KwaZulu Natal. I would like to invite you to participate in a study that I am undertaking as part of my degree specialising in Gender and Education.

The title of my study is:

Male and female students' understandings and experiences of gender-based violence at an on campus university residence in KwaZulu-Natal.

This research aims not only to explore male and female university students' perceptions and experiences of gender-based violence, but also gain a deeper insight into their understandings of this phenomenon. I would like firstly to speak to you individually and then in focus groups discussions of six participants so that I may gain information on the types of gender-based violence at university campuses against females in particular. This research forms part of my independent research project which is a requirement in the fulfilment of my Honours degree in Gender and Education. Ethical Clearance Number: **HSS / 0347 / 019M.**

The method of data collection is a semi-structured open-ended individual interview will be conducted at a venue that is suitable to you.

Please note that:

- Confidentiality and anonymity will be assured at all times. I will use a pseudonym in place of your real name so that your identity will be protected.
- The interviews will be 45 minutes to 60 minutes long and the interview sessions will be adapted to suit your availability.

- Transcripts will be stored in a secure storage space and will be destroyed after 5 years.
- You have a choice to participate, not participate or stop participating in the research at any time that you feel you no longer want to continue. You will not be penalized for choosing to withdraw.(Participation is purely voluntary).
- Your involvement is purely for academic purposes only, and there are no financial benefits involved.
- An audio recorder will be used (of which permission will be requested from you first) for both the focus group discussions and interviews sessions. An audio recorder is useful to capture your exact words, strengthening the trustworthiness of the study.
- After collection of the data recordings and transcriptions will be validated with you by sending through transcripts of the sessions.
- A report on the findings will be emailed to you.
- The study is not designed in to create any stress or anxiety but if your participation gives rise to any anxiety or stress then I will assist you to contact the psychologist who is based at the Edgewood campus: Ms Lindi Ngubane. Her telephone number is 031 260 3653 and email address is ngubanel@ukzn.ac.za or support services email studentservices@ukzn.ac.za
- For further information, you may contact my supervisor,
Dr. Bronwynne Anderson, Tel: 031 260 2371 E-mail: AndersonB1@ukzn.ac.za.
- You may contact the HSSREC Research Office for any complaints and/or concerns through:

Prem Mohun: Tel: 031 260 4557, E-mail: mohunp@ukzn.ac.za

Mariette Snyman: Tel: 031 260 8350, E-mail: Snymanm@ukzn.ac.za

Phumelele Ximba: Tel: 031 260 3587, E-mail: ximbap@ukza.ac.za

Report instances of sexual harassment through the university platform at
ukzn@tip-offs.com

Thank you for your contribution and co-operation in this research.

Charnell Ruby Naidu

E-Mail: Charnell69@gmail.com

Tel: 083 788 7493

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 to an audio recording of the interview sessions –
please mark with an X below

☐

I hereby do not consent to an audio recording of the interview sessions –
please mark with an X below

☐

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

INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

PARTICIPANT :

1. How old are you?
2. Where are you from (hometown)?
3. What year are you in regarding your degree?
4. Tell me about your life at home, about your culture, your religion, home language, parents, siblings and family.
5. How long have you been living at the student residence?
6. Do you live in the female section or the section for both male and female?
7. What has your experience been like so far at the residence?
8. What is your understanding of gender-based violence and what are the ways if any, do you know of how it occurs?
9. Does gender-based violence occur here in the residence? Tell me more.
10. Where does gender-based violence predominantly take place on campus?
11. Have you witnessed incidents of gender-based violence? Explain.
- 12.1. Please explain what you witnessed, who did it involve, who was the victim and the perpetrator (male or female)? What happened to the victim? (No names mentioned)
- 12.2. What was your reaction or response? Explain why you responded in that manner.
- 12.3. What effect did it have on you?

12.4. Did you report it? Who did you report it to? What did they do?

13. Have you personally experienced gender-based violence?

13.1. Would you like to tell me about it? If you choose to talk about it, you do not have to mention any names or if you would like to relate on incident/incidents that may have happened to someone you know of or a friend.

13.2. Was the perpetrator male or female? What is their position or year of study at campus, student/friend/partner/staff/outsider?

13.3. Where did it happen? Do you know why it happened?

13.4. Explain how you felt, what impact did it have on you?

13.5. Is the perpetrator still on campus, how does it make you feel when you see them? Elaborate.

13.6. Explain why you did/did not report it.

13.7. Who did you report it to? Explain why you chose to tell that particular person.

13.8. Explain what they did about it?

13.9. In what way did you or did you not assist?

13.10. Explain how you feel when you see the perpetrator?

14. Have you told anyone about it?

14.1 Please tell me about this (what happened, who did it involve, why did it happen)?

15. What do you think are some of the reasons for this gender-based violence?

16. Explain how this gender-based violence has affected the other victims that you are aware of?

17. Do you feel safe on campus? Explain.

18. Explain what you think the university can do to reduce incidents of gender-based violence.

19. In what ways, in your opinion, can the university be made a safer environment?

Appendix 5

Turnitin Report

M Ed dissertation			
ORIGINALITY REPORT			
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SIMILARITY INDEX	INTERNET SOURCES	PUBLICATIONS	STUDENT PAPERS
PRIMARY SOURCES			
1	"Engaging Men in the Fight against Gender Violence", Springer Nature, 2012 Publication	<1%	
2	Lidia Puigvert, Rosa Valls, Carme Garcia Yeste, Consol Aguilar, Barbara Merrill. "Resistance to and Transformations of Gender-Based Violence in Spanish Universities: A Communicative Evaluation of Social Impact", Journal of Mixed Methods Research, 2017 Publication	<1%	
3	researchspace.ukzn.ac.za Internet Source	<1%	
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10	S. Bott. "Addressing Gender-Based Violence: A Critical Review of Interventions", The World Bank Research Observer, 02/02/2007 Publication	<1%
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30	Leanne Levers. "Benedetta Faedi Duramy: Gender and Violence in Haiti: Women's Path from Victims to Agents", <i>Feminist Legal Studies</i> , 2016 Publication	<1 %
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Anette Agardh. "Giving or Receiving Something for Sex: A Cross-Sectional Study of Transactional Sex among Ugandan University Students", PLoS ONE, 2014

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Publication

-
- 33 Kika Hadjidakou, Vaso Polycarpou, Anna Hadjilia. "The Experiences of Students with Mobility Disabilities in Cypriot Higher Education Institutions: Listening to their voices", International Journal of Disability, Development and Education, 2010

Publication

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- 34 Fernando L. Vázquez, Angela Torres, Patricia Otero. "Gender-based violence and mental disorders in female college students", Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology, 2012

Publication

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- 35 Maria Luisa Mondolfi Miguel, Margarita Rosa Pino-Juste. "Psycho-social profile of battered women in Galicia, Spain: Distress as a result of

intimate partner violence and child abuse",
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Shakila Singh, Thembeke Myende. "Redefining love: Female university students developing resilience to intimate partner violence", Agenda, 2017

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Eileen V. Pitpitan, Seth C. Kalichman, Lisa A. Eaton, Demetria Cain et al. "Gender-based violence, alcohol use, and sexual risk among female patrons of drinking venues in Cape Town, South Africa", Journal of Behavioral Medicine, 2012

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Mark Beaulieu, Creag Dunton, LaVerne McQuiller Williams, Judy L. Porter. "The Impact of Sexual Orientation on College Student Victimization: An Examination of Sexual Minority and Non-Sexual Minority Student Populations", Psychology, 2017

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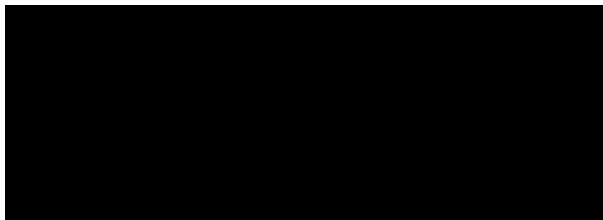
EDITOR

Crispin Hemson
15 Morris Place
Glenwood
Durban 4001

hemsonc@gmail.com
0829265333

This is to confirm that I have undertaken language editing of the Masters dissertation by Charnell Naidu, entitled:

Male and female students' understandings and experiences of gender-based violence on a university campus residence in KwaZulu-Natal.



16th November 2019