

Understanding Sexual Harassment amongst students at a selected University of KwaZulu-Natal campus

By

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Declaration

I, **Sibonile Kabaya**, declare that:

The research reported in this dissertation is my original work except where otherwise acknowledged and referenced.

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Abstract

Sexual harassment is a matter of concern both in the workplace and in educational institutions. This study explores the meanings that university students attach to sexual harassment and their suggestions for ways to reduce sexual harassment. The study was conducted at a selected University of KwaZulu-Natal campus. Lorber's (1994) social construction of gender contention was used as a theoretical approach for this study. This theory holds that gender is constantly created and recreated out of human interaction (Lorber, 1994). Literature reviewed showed that gender was seen as the main factor contributing to sexual harassment.

The study employs the interpretive paradigm and the qualitative approach. The two methodological approaches share the philosophical view that the truth is subjective. Combining these two approaches enabled me to generate data based on the participants' interpretation of the phenomenon under study. Data was generated using focus group discussions and individual interviews. Sixteen students participated in focus group discussions and 12 in individual interviews.

Data was analysed using the thematic analysis. Eight themes emerged and these include: What and Who of Sexual Harassment; Dressing and Sexuality; Power and Sexuality; Masculinity, Femininity and Sexuality; Internet, Social Networks and Sexual Harassment; Stigmatisation, Fear and Myths; Increasing Awareness leads to Reduction; and Student Support Structures and Services.

Data generated from this study indicated that students hold a diverse range of understandings of sexual harassment. It was also found that sexual harassment was prevalent on campus. Female students face sexual harassment from men who are perceived to have more power than them. On the other hand, some men face sexual harassment from both men and women. Some gays and lesbians were found to be vulnerable to sexual harassment mainly because of their sexual orientation. Men were found to be the main perpetrators of sexual harassment while victims were both men and women. The outcome of this study indicates the need to create better awareness in the University community of behaviours that constitute sexual harassment. The majority of participants suggested that education and sexual harassment awareness was crucial in reducing sexual harassment on campus.

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Chapter 1: Introduction to the study

1.1 Introduction

The study seeks to explore students' understandings of sexual harassment and their suggestions of ways to reduce it. The rationale for conducting this study, and the background and focus of the study, are outlined in this chapter. The chapter includes a brief overview of related literature, the theoretical framework to be utilised, the methodological approach as well as the objectives of the study. Finally, an outline of the organisation of chapters and a conclusion completes this chapter.

1.2 Background and Rationale

Although sexual harassment is now a great concern, it only became a legal concept, with legal action taken against perpetrators in the 18th century (Gelfand, Fitzgerald & Dragow, 1995). A survey published by Redbook in 1976 both reflected and shaped public recognition of the issue as a social problem (Benson & Thompson, 1982). Early studies done on sexual harassment were mainly concerned with sexual harassment of women in the workplace, for example, studies done by Farley (1978) and MacKinnon (1979). Later, research was expanded to schools and institutions where it emerged that sexual harassment incidents were common ``in students' lives and it often began in elementary school (Fineran & Bennett, 1999).

The South African Parliament passed legislation which is meant to protect students and others from acts of violence. These include the enacted Constitution of South Africa of 1996, the Sexual Offences Act, Amendment Act 32 of 2007 and the Protection from Harassment Act of 2011. These laws seem to be ineffective and insufficient, as they do not protect victims from sexual harassment in learning institutions (Smit & du Plessis, 2011). Although the laws exist, they are not implemented because the victims and perpetrators are not aware of these laws. Furthermore, sexual harassment is regarded as the most prevalent form of violence especially against women (Cortina, 2002). It is also considered discriminatory because it interferes with the right to equal education (Stein, 1993).

My motivation for this study emanates from reading media reports on sexual harassment both in South Africa and in foreign countries. This included an article titled "Fourth Wits lecturer resigns after sexual harassment case". A lecturer from the University of Witwatersrand had resigned due to allegations of sexual harassment. Prior to the resignation of this lecturer, three more lecturers had been dismissed from work on account of sexual harassment and

investigations were underway (City Press, November 1, 2013). Another report on the extent of sexual harassment at United Kingdom (UK) universities had been published (The Guardian, September 15, 2014). According to the article, an online survey conducted by the National Union of Students in 2013 revealed that 37% of female and 12% of male students were facing sexual harassment in UK universities. These reports prompted me to conduct a study on sexual harassment at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. In addition to this, studies done decades ago in US colleges found that sexual harassment was a severe and commonly concealed issue on campuses (Benson & Thompson, 1982). Furthermore, sexual harassment has been found to be a common incident among students in United States (US) educational institutions (Litchy & Campbell, 2012). Smit and du Plessis (2011) concur with this when they say tertiary institutions have become a breeding ground for discrimination and sexual exploitation. This urged me to conduct research among students at a selected campus of the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN).

1.3 Focus and Purpose of the Study

Students in higher institutions have different views as to what constitutes sexual harassment. This study focuses on both male and female students' accounts of their understanding of sexual harassment. Research done by Collins, Loots, Meyiwa and Mistrey (2009), and Gordon (2009) found that students face many challenges, including sexual harassment. Furthermore, studies have shown that both male and female students are vulnerable to sexual harassment in educational institutions (Bursik & Geftter, 2011; Ekore, 2012). The purpose of this study is to explore the meanings that students at a selected UKZN campus attach to sexual harassment and their suggestions for reducing sexual harassment on campus. I hope that a study of this nature will add to the existing body of knowledge in the realm of sexual harassment.

1.4 Research Site

The research was conducted in the KwaZulu-Natal province at a selected UKZN campus. The campus is situated in Pinetown, approximately 20 kilometres from the Durban Central Business District (CBD). There are nine residences at the campus, three of which are for male undergraduate students, four for female undergraduate students, one for both female and male post graduate and undergraduate students, and one for both male and female post graduate students only.

1.5 Objectives

The objectives of the study are:

- 1) To explore what UKZN students understand as sexual harassment;
- 2) To examine UKZN students' views on the prevalence of sexual harassment on campus
- 3) To explore what UKZN students suggest as ways of reducing sexual harassment on campus.

1.6 Research Questions

The study employs the interpretive paradigm together with the qualitative approach to generate data which answered the following questions:

1. What do students at a selected UKZN campus understand as sexual harassment?
2. What are the views of students at a selected UKZN campus on sexual harassment?
3. What do students, at a selected UKZN campus, suggest as ways to reduce sexual harassment on campus?

1.7 A Brief Review of Related Literature

Universally, sexual harassment is of great concern in educational institutions. It cannot be separated from issues of educational equity. Research done in the US indicates that sexual harassment is the most prevalent form of violence against women (Cortina, 2002). It is still widespread in the US even though it was one of the first countries to define and address it as illegal behaviour (Stop Violence against Women, 2010). Research done in the US indicates that approximately two thirds of college students encountered sexual harassment during their education and victims were primarily female students (Smit & du Plessis, 2011). In an article entitled 'Sexual harassment rife at United Kingdom' (UK) universities" by Weale, it was revealed that sexual harassment was widespread at UK universities (The Guardian, September, 2014). This is, indeed, a cause for concern. Furthermore, research done in Canada found that women in Canadian universities inhabit an aggressive, chauvinist and misogynist environment. The study also shows that sexual harassment is a frequent problem in Canadian universities (Osborne, 1992).

1.7.1 Definition of Sexual Harassment

Sexual harassment is defined in various ways. However, the key words in the definition are that the forbidden behaviour is unwelcome and affects the victim (Stop violence against women, 2010). In order to inform the community and encourage dialogue and careful evaluation of behaviour among students the term sexual harassment needs to be defined. The University management defines sexual harassment as unsolicited behaviour of a sexual nature which is unwelcome, unsolicited and unreciprocated (UKZN Sexual harassment policy &

procedures, 2004). Students need to know that sexual harassment is formally acknowledged as wrong and punishable (Crocker, 1983). Sexual harassment is defined as undesirable sexually determined behaviour which includes physical contact and advances, inviting someone to view pornography, and demands for sex whether by actions or words (Stop violence against women, 2010).

In 1986 the Supreme Court of the United States described two categories of sexual harassment which are *quid pro quo*, and hostile environment (US Equal employment opportunity commission, 1993). *Quid pro quo* applies when a person who holds a position of power, for example, an educator, makes decisions that affect a student's grade based on whether the student obeys his/her sexual demands (Fineran & Bennett, 1999). Hostile behaviour is when a harasser causes an environment to become aggressive, frightening, or unpleasant, and unreasonably affects a student's work (Fineran & Bennett, 1999). Undesirable sexual advances, demands for sexual favours and other verbal or non-verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature by another student or by a third party constitutes hostile environment. The behaviour is serious, insistent and pervasive enough to limit the student's ability to partake in or benefit from an education programme or activity or to create an unfriendly learning environment (Fineran & Bennett, 1999).

The UKZN management concurs with this when they state that there are three forms of sexual harassment: physical, verbal and non-verbal (UKZN Sexual harassment policy & procedures, 2004). In agreement with this position, the University of Michigan Sexual Assault Prevention Awareness Program (2014) gave various examples of sexual harassment. These include unwelcome sexual statements such as dirty or sexual jokes, remarks on physical features, disseminating rumours about or ranking others as to their sexual skills, chatting about one's sexual activity in front of others, and exhibiting or distributing obscene sketches, images and/or written material. Undesirable sexual comments can be made in person, in writing, electronically (email, instant messaging, blogs, web pages, Instagram, etc.) and otherwise. Unwelcome personal attention includes letters, telephone calls, visits, pressure for sexual favours, pressure for unnecessary personal interaction, and pressure for dates where a sexual/romantic intention is unwanted. Unsolicited physical or sexual advances include kissing, hugging, touching, stroking, touching oneself sexually for others to view, sexual assault, intercourse, or other sexual activity. However, types of sexual harassment such as sexual assault, rape, pornography, slander or defamation of character require serious legal action to be taken (Stein, 1993).

For the purpose of the study, all unwanted physical, verbal and non-verbal behaviour of a sexual nature will constitute sexual harassment. Unwanted physical behaviour will include sexual assault, rape, fondling of breasts, pinching of buttocks, touching, hugging and other sexual activities. Unwelcome sexual statements such as dirty or sexual jokes, remarks on physical features, disseminating rumours about or rating others as to their sexual activity or performance, displaying and issuing obscene drawings, pictures, and other verbal or non-verbal unwelcome sexual behaviour will constitute sexual harassment.

1.7.2 Gender and Power

According to Cortina (2002), violence against women emanates from socio-cultural constructions of gender and power which can happen in various ways. Fineran and Bennett (1999) agree with the statement when they say that gender is a key explanatory variable in sexual harassment studies. The key dynamics in adult sexual harassment are power and power imbalances. In a secondary analysis of American Association of University Women data it was suggested that exploitation of societal power and the privileging of men over women was exhibited in peer to peer adolescent sexual harassment (Renzetti, Curran & Maier, 2012). According to research done by the International Labour Organisation (1992), sexual harassment is intricately related to power and it usually happens in societies which view women as sex objects and inferior to men (Stop Violence Against women, 2010). Most perpetrators of sexual harassment are male (Mendelson & Purdy, 2003) whose power dominates in society. In addition to this, Fineran and Bennett (1999) say peer sexual harassment is a tool that constructs and sustains gender hierarchy. However, we cannot accept that preservation of male gender hierarchy is completely attributable to the effort of men and boys; girls and women may also sustain male supremacy (Fineran & Bennett, 1999).

1.7.3 Gender Norms

Renzetti et al. (2012) argue that certain sexual behaviours in society can be credited to gender roles and norms. Barker and Ricardo (2005) concur when they say gender roles and norms are among the strongest fundamental social factors that impact sexual behaviours. Norms associated with sexuality and masculinity, for example, those which accept male sexuality as irrepressible and having many partners as an indication of sexual ability and control over women, may worsen sexual harassment (Barker & Ricardo, 2005). Furthermore, dominant norms about sexuality and manhood propose that males should be aware, hostile and skilled in sexual issues (Renzetti et al., 2012). Young men often have an unequal share of power and opinion in sexual and innermost relationships with women (Barker & Ricardo, 2005). For

young men in Sub-Saharan Africa sexual experience is associated with initiation into manhood and attaining a socially recognisable manhood (Backer & Ricardo, 2005).

Backer and Ricardo (2005) note that there is a variety of opinions and meanings of what qualifies as violence against women. In addition to this, they state that relationships among young people are usually characterised by forced sex and verbal intimidation. This internalisation of violence against women as a norm also occurs among women who sometimes construe violence as a sign that a male partner is passionately devoted in a relationship (Backer & Ricardo, 2005). Furthermore, some women consider sexual harassment as a practice based on simple sexual charm and a form of flattering sexual attention for women, which is sometimes vulgar but fundamentally an innocent romantic game well within the range of typical, tolerable behaviour between males and females (Stop Violence against Women, 2010). This misperception about the dynamics of sexuality and power in sexual harassment hinders females from reacting to perpetrators with robust efficient measures (Stop Violence against Women, 2010). Furthermore, young men are socialised into versions that increase sexual hostility towards girls. A study done by Leach (2000) in South Africa among 30 000 young people revealed that one in every four young men said they had coerced a girl to have sexual intercourse at least once. In another survey done in South Africa by Pettifor, Measham, Rees and Padian (2004) of nearly 12 000 youths, 98% of young men mentioned having desired their initial sexual encounters unlike 71% of women. These signs of aggressive masculinity show that women forced to engage in sex have no power and are not in a position to negotiate a non-sexual relationship (Barker & Ricardo, 2005).

1.7.4 Reporting Sexual Harassment

Cortina (2002) asserts that in some societies women who are sexually harassed may not report the case because of conservative gender roles, honour and shame codes that indicate different principles for women's and men's sexual behaviour. Renzetti et al. (2012) concur with this as they say most cases of sexual harassment on campus are not reported because students are ashamed or scared and they often question their own behaviour on the matter. In addition, students may be hesitant to report sexual harassment because of cultural norms that discourage telling others about such behaviour by men. Cortina (2002) further reveals that Hispanic and Turkish cultures regard premarital and adulterous behaviour as extremely improper for women, while sex is regarded as a physiological need for men. She further says that in traditional Machista culture, men are remunerated for early initiation into sexual life, control over sexual activities, sexual satisfaction, encounters with several sex partners and adulterous relationships.

In addition, women are belittled and stigmatised as ‘indecent women’ for similar behaviour. Cortina (2002) further points out that traditional Hispanic family members, mainly males, view teenage daughters’ virtue as important, confining them to the home or escorting them to avoid sexual abuse while teenage boys are urged to grow, demonstrate and explore their strong sexual drive and sexual skill. In addition to this, the conquest of females is a tolerable topic in young boys’ chats. Because of these different sexual norms, Turkish Hispanic women may be more likely to accept men’s sexual hostility as formal and thus less worthy of reporting (Cortina, 2002).

1.8 Theoretical Framework

This study draws on Judith Lorber’s theory of social construction of gender, which holds that gender is continuously constructed and reconstructed out of human interaction, out of social life, and is the texture and order of that social life (Lorber, 1994). This theory explains that gender, as a social institution is a process of constructing different social statuses for the assignments of rights and responsibilities i.e. it creates social differences that define woman and man (Lorber, 1994). Gender is part of a stratification system that positions these statuses unevenly such that men are above women of the same race and class. Furthermore, gender is regarded as a major building block in the social structures built on this unequal status (Lorber, 1994). This means that sexual status plays a fundamental role in reflecting gender statuses: different behaviour is expected for boys and girls and for women and men. This theory is a useful lens through which the phenomena under study were scrutinised and, as the literature above suggests, understanding constructions of gender is key to understanding sexual harassment.

1.9 Methodology

To acquire a profound insight of the phenomenon under study the interpretive paradigm has been adopted. The interpretive paradigm acknowledges the view that there are many truths and, since reality is subjective, it is constructed from an individual’s life experiences, background and social relations (Check & Schutte, 2012). Its focus on the holistic view of the individual and environment is more compatible with the phenomenon under study (Weave & Olson, 2006). The research also employs the qualitative approach which shares some of its philosophical views with the interpretive paradigm. According to Patton (2002), qualitative research is the kind of research that produces findings arrived from real world settings where the phenomenon of interest unfolds naturally. This approach focuses on the importance of listening and the

world is viewed from the participants' perspectives. The social and educational world is studied in total rather than in pieces to acquire a true understanding (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011). Combining the interpretive paradigm and the qualitative approach for this study assists in obtaining an understanding of the world from the individual's point of view.

1.9.1 Sampling

The study adopts two different sampling methods which are purposive and snowball sampling. Purposive sampling focuses on choosing data rich participants whose study illuminates the question under scrutiny (Patton, 2002). Maxwell (1997) agrees with this as he defines purposive sampling as selecting units (for example individual, groups of persons and/or organisations) based on specific purposes associated with answering research study questions. It is purposive because students at a selected UKZN campus were selected. My initial sample was 16. However, I ended up with 12 participants because some participants decided to drop out after having participated in focus group discussions. I worked with 16 students because there are no rules for a sample size in qualitative research (Patton, 1980). My focus was on generating rich data from a small sample. Participants who volunteered to participate in this study were African. Since this is a sensitive topic, access to participants is not easy hence snowball sampling was adopted. This method involves identifying a number of individuals from campus as informants to get in touch with others who are eligible for addition (Cohen et al., 2011).

1.9.2 Methods

The interpretive paradigm relies on naturalistic methods when gathering data. The study employed intensive interviews and focus group discussions for data generation. One to one interviews were conducted with both male and female students. I used open-ended, semi-structured questions in approximately 30-minute interview sessions with individual participants. These interviews were conducted in the Research Commons. All individual interviews were audio recorded. Conducting interviews was crucial in generating data on the interviewees' feelings, experiences and perceptions of students (Check & Schutte, 2012). However, the logistics of arranging long periods of interviews was complicated (Check & Schutte, 2012). To address this limitation, I established a rapport with students, considering in advance how they would react to the interview arrangements, and developed an approach that did not violate their standard of social behaviour (Check & Schutte, 2012).

This study also utilised focus group discussions for generating data. According to Hyden and Bulow (2003), focus groups are contrived settings, bringing together a precisely selected part of the population, previously known to each other, to discuss a specific topic or theme where the interaction with the group leads to data outcomes. I formulated two single sex groups with eight students each. Group discussions were held in the Research Commons building. Having been granted permission to record the group discussions with participants, I managed to do so. I did some focus group discussions because they save time as they produce a lot of data within a short period (Cohen et al., 2011). They are also well known for producing honest answers if they are conducted in a good manner (Check & Schutte, 2012).

I used a video from YouTube showing a sexual harassment scene titled ‘School is hard and so is your math teacher’ to stimulate discussion. It was played on my laptop. (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yllmLq0Whvg>.)

1.9.3 Data Analysis

In qualitative methods data analysis is on-going from the beginning of data generation (Thomas & Harden, 2008). In this study data was analysed from the day of the first interview. Qualitative data analysis encompasses arranging, accounting for and enlightening the information in terms of the participants’ definitions of the situation, and observing patterns, themes, classes and irregularities (Cohen et al., 2011). To accomplish this, I adopted the thematic analysis which is a process of recognising, examining and reporting patterns (themes) within data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). It is considered a suitable method to scrutinise qualitative data and provide rich, comprehensive and complex accounts of data (Cassell, Bishop, Syman, Johnson & Buehring, 2006). Information is sorted to find common themes, patterns, differences and similarities when presenting results (Thomas & Harden, 2008).

1.10 Ethical Considerations

It is important to observe ethics when conducting research. Informed consent was acquired at the commencement of the research. The whole process of the study was explained in clear and simple language. To protect the participants’ rights, needs, values and anonymity, confidentiality of their responses was ensured. Participants were informed that they have a right to withdraw from participating in this study at any time without any questions being asked. Permission to audio record the interviews was acquired from participants. Pseudonyms were used to protect the identities of the participants and the places from where they would be drawn.

1.11 Organisation of chapters

Chapter 1: The background and rationale of the study is explained in this chapter. The chapter further explains the objectives and the significance of this research. In addition, the research questions to be answered by this study are spelled out and the site of the research is revealed.

Chapter 2: A critical account of the prevailing literature from both local and international sources on the definition of sexual harassment, gender and power issues, effects of sexual harassment, reporting sexual harassment and the prevalence of sexual harassment in universities is provided in this chapter. Measures taken by the South African government and other international organisations to reduce sexual harassment both in educational institutions and in places of work are discussed in the literature. In addition, the chapter explains the social construction of gender theory which the study adopts.

Chapter 3: The methodology employed for this study as well as reasons for utilising such methods is justified in this chapter. The study employs the interpretive paradigm and qualitative approach and these two methodological approaches share the same ideological views. Data generated is analysed using the thematic analysis which is a qualitative method of data analysis. Individual interviews and focus group discussions are used as tools for generating data which is utilised to answer the critical research questions of this study. Purposive and snowball sampling methods are employed to get participants for this study. The chapter explains in detail the trustworthiness and validity of the research, ethical issues and limitations of the study.

Chapter 4: In order to answer the three important research questions, a detailed analysis of the results of the study is presented in this chapter. Lorber's social construction of gender theory is used to interpret the data.

Chapter 5: This chapter gives a summation of the findings and some recommendations on ways to reduce sexual harassment in universities.

1.12 Conclusion

The intention of this chapter is to present a general overview of the study. The chapter highlights the significant concepts of the study which are expounded and discussed in the next chapters. The next chapter focuses on reviewing related literature on sexual harassment from both local and international sources.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

Literature on sexual harassment is thoroughly reviewed in this chapter. The review seeks to explain the definition, categories and forms of sexual harassment. It will also look at existing literature on gender and power differences, sexuality and masculinity, effects of sexual harassment, victims and perpetrators of sexual harassment, normalisation of violence and prevalence of sexual harassment in universities. The social construction of gender theory is also discussed in detail in this chapter.

Studies on sexual harassment both in the workplace and education are increasing all over the world. A lot of attention is focused on sexual harassment in schools. Studies on sexual harassment have been done at some South African university campuses and some focused on students' experiences of sexual harassment (Braine, Bless & Fox, 1995; Mayekiso & Bhana, 1997) while others focused on comparing sexual harassment policies of universities (Wilken & Badenhost, 2003) which is not the intention of this study. This study seeks to explore the meaning attached to sexual harassment by students using naturalist methods.

2.2 Background

Universally, sexual harassment is of great concern in educational institutions. It cannot be separated from issues of educational equity. Evidence from the US indicates that the most prevalent form of violence, especially against women, is sexual harassment (Cortina, 2002). It is still widespread in the US even though it was one of the first countries to define and address it as an illegal behaviour (Stop violence against women, 2010). Research done in the US found that approximately two thirds of university students encounter sexual harassment during their time at university and victims are mainly female students (Smit & du Plessis, 2011). In a newspaper article by Weale, titled "Sexual harassment rife at UK universities", it was revealed that sexual harassment was rife in the United Kingdom (UK) universities (The Guardian, September 15, 2014). An online survey revealed that 37% of female and 12% of male students at university campuses in the UK had experienced sexual harassment. This is, indeed, cause for concern. Furthermore, a research study done in Canada stated that women in Canadian universities inhabit a hostile, sexist and misogynist environment where sexual harassment is common. (Osborne, 1992).

Prior to 1974, in the USA, women were vulnerable to unwelcome sexual advances but there was no appropriate term to define such behaviour (Benson & Thompson, 1982). It is believed

that the term sexual harassment rose from a feminist movement dialogue session on women and work facilitated by Lin Farley in 1974 at Cornell University (Siegel, 2004). However, for the United States legal system to observe sexual harassment within the legal framework a lot of work was to be done by the feminist movement. Later, in 1979, there was a remarkable breakthrough with regard to the use of the term 'sexual harassment'. A well-known feminist and legal academic, Catherine Mackinnon, proposed the concept 'sexual harassment' in her book entitled "Sexual Harassment of Working Women". In an attempt to establish that sexual harassment was discriminatory, she explained that an employer was considered to have violated the terms and conditions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 when he/she allowed a female employee to be persistently subjected to unwelcome sexual behaviour or a hostile environment (The Schuster Institute of Investigative Journalism, 2009). Following the publication of her book, 'sexual harassment' was recognised as a proper term to use for unwanted sexual advances and it was considered both a legal and social problem.

The US Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) applied MacKinnon's views in their new employment rules in 1980 and the term 'sexual harassment' was written in their regulations. The general rules issued stipulated that discrimination on a sexual basis was forbidden. This resulted in the recognition of quid pro quo and hostile environment harassment as discriminatory on the basis of sex. Furthermore, the EEOC specified that behaviour was considered sexual harassment when the sexual behaviour substantially tampered with an employee's execution of his/her duties or created an unfavourable work setting.

Later, as a result of numerous sexual harassment cases the Federal judges and courts began to recognise sexual harassment, mainly quid pro quo, as discriminatory behaviour which requires legal action to be deliberated (Siegel, 2004). For example, a ruling, which identified sexual harassment as a form of unfair treatment was made by the US Supreme Court in Meritor v Vinson (1986). Sidney Taylor was found guilty of forcing Michelle Vinson into a sexual relationship which she agreed to because she was afraid of losing her job. In addition, Taylor used to touch Vinson's breasts in front of her colleagues, follow her into the rest room and often threatened to kill her if she refused his requests (The Schuster Institute of Investigative Journalism, 2009). The US Supreme Court made another verdict in Franklin v Gwinnett County Public Schools (1992) which states that private citizens can be compensated when teachers sexually harass their pupils (The Schuster Institute of Investigative Journalism, 2009).

In a newspaper article written by Muwanigwa (2015), she indicated that sexual harassment as a form of violence was also known to be prevalent in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region and it presented a big barrier in achieving gender equity and equality (Herald, 26 February 2015). Although 13 of the 15 SADC countries have legislation in place against sexual harassment, the presence of these regulations does not automatically mean that no sexual harassment crimes are being committed (Herald, 26 February 2015). However, in an attempt to curb issues of sexual harassment both in places of work and in educational institutions, the Constitution of South Africa forbids unfair treatment, especially on sexual grounds. In addition, it specifies that every human being is entitled to a violence free environment, to have his or her dignity respected and protected, and to privacy (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, enacted 1996).

In order to protect people from sexual harassment in places of work a number of laws were passed in South Africa. These include the Protection from Harassment Act of 2011, which is regarded as the first legislation to address sexual harassment in Southern Africa (Gender links for equity and justice, 2012). In terms of this legislation, a person who is being sexually harassed can apply for a protection order from the Magistrate's Court closest to the area where he/she resides and it can be granted based on the complainant's side of the story (Gender links for equity and justice, 2012). The Labour Relations Act of 1995 also aims to eradicate sexual harassment in the work place. This is done through the implementation of the code of good practice, section 203. The code of good practice provides suitable measures to deal with sexual harassment and ways of preventing it from happening again. It also urges and supports the development of policies and procedures that create a workplace free of sexual harassment (South Africa Code of Good Practice Labour Guide, 2015).

The Employment Equity Act of 1998 seeks to eradicate sexual harassment in places of work by encouraging equal opportunities and just treatment, and to achieve equality and true democracy in employment. The Act clearly stipulates that no person may unfairly discriminate, directly or indirectly, against an employee in any employment policy or practice on the basis of sex, etc. (Employment Equity Act, 1998). The Amended Sexual Offences Act of 2007 No.32 was a true reflection of the South African government's effort to deal with sexual crimes in the country. The legislation was amended to fight all sexual crimes committed against all people, especially the vulnerable, for example, women, children and the disabled. With regards to crimes such as rape the Act forbids any form of sexual penetration without consent. This therefore means rape of a man or woman by another man or woman is a criminal offence. The

law of indecent assault was repealed and replaced by sexual assault and the definition contains a variety of unlawful acts of sexual violation which include fondling of breasts and attempted rape. These laws are meant to protect citizens and foreign employees from sexual harassment in the workplace.

In South Africa, there are some reports of sexual harassment which are documented. In a paper that was presented by Sutherland, C (1992) titled 'Paying for stolen kisses' at the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, it was established that the first case of sexual harassment in South Africa was heard in the Industrial Court in 1989 (*J v M Ltd*). In this case the applicant, who had been found guilty of sexual harassment and fired from work after an internal disciplinary hearing, applied to the Court for reinstatement. He was alleged to have sexually harassed a complainant by touching her breasts, stroking her and slapping her buttocks. The Court ruled that the applicant had not been unfairly dismissed and further acknowledged that in South Africa, sexual harassment was a critical issue which required employers' full attention (Sutherland, 1992). In another case, before the Labour Court of South Africa in Johannesburg, in the matter between Gaga (appellant) and Anglo Platinum Ltd (respondent), Commission for Conciliation Mediation and Arbitration (respondent), and Commissioner Mbelengwa (respondent), it was found that Gaga was guilty of sexually harassing his personal assistant by persistently subjecting her to unwelcome sexual advances. It was also found that the dismissal of Gaga from his employment was fair (Labour Court Judgement, 2010).

A report from South Africa Expat Cape Town (2015) on crime in South Africa points out that the country has high crime rates compared to other countries in the world. Sexual assault and rape were found to be topping the list of crimes perpetrated, followed by murder. Britton (2006) says that South Africa continues to top global ranks of reported sexual violence and rape. People Opposing Women Abuse (POWA) (2010) agrees, saying that in South Africa violence perpetrated against women is regarded the highest in the world among countries which generate data of such nature and it has reached epidemic proportions. According to the crime statistics, a total of 62 649 sexual crimes were committed in South Africa between 2013 and 2014. It must also be noted that these are only reported crimes (SAPS, 2014) which probably means that the figure is higher. The South African Medical Research Council findings have suggested that actual levels of violence are higher than the national figures published by SAPS.

2.3 Definitions of Sexual Harassment

Sexual harassment is defined in various ways. In order to teach the community and encourage conversation and thorough evaluation of behaviour and experience among students, the term sexual harassment needs to be defined (Crocker, 1983). This will also equip the community with knowledge that certain behaviours are formally recognised as wrong and punishable (Crocker, 1983). In addition, a definition of sexual harassment can set the tone for the university community's response to the phenomenon.

While there is a general absence of a shared meaning of sexual harassment, the key words in the definition are that the forbidden behaviour is unwelcome and causes harm to the target (Stop violence against women, 2010). The term is generally defined as unwelcome and undesirable sexual behaviour in a work or learning environment which affects both the physical and psychological health of an individual (Mamaru, Getachew & Mohamed, 2015). Bursik and Geftter (2011) agree as they say sexual harassment is broadly defined as sexual advances that are not welcome, demands for sexual favours and other physical or verbal behaviour of a sexual nature. They further explain that the behaviour is considered sexual harassment when the behaviour directly or indirectly affects a person's work, unreasonably affects an individual's execution of duties or creates an intimidating, aggressive or even terrifying work place. Similarly, Crocker (1983) argues that sexual harassment is an attempt to subject or punish a person who refuses to submit, or an attempt to pressure someone into a relationship when it's clear that he/she is not interested. This includes a variety of behaviours, from forcing of sexual attentions, whether physical or verbal, to actual physical coercion of sexual relations on an unwilling recipient.

Sexual harassment in the workplace has been defined and addressed at international level and it was established that it is a form of violence and discrimination on gender basis (Petersen & Hyde, 2013). The European Commission was the first body to seriously acknowledge the problem of sexual harassment. It initially expressed its worry about sexual harassment in places of work in 1986 at the European Parliament's resolution on violence against women (Petersen & Hyde, 2013). Later, in 1991, the Commission recommended that the protection of the dignity of women and men at work should be ensured. Member States were encouraged to participate in promoting awareness of sexual harassment and to bring to fruition measures listed in the code of practice (Petersen & Hyde, 2013). The Commission further defined sexual harassment in the workplace as unwelcome behaviour of a sexual nature that violated the dignity of men

and women in the workplace. The European Commission (Stop violence against women, 2010) further says that conduct is considered sexual harassment if:

- it is unwelcome, unwanted or offensive;
- the victim 's rejection or tolerance of behaviour impacts decisions regarding her job; and
- the behaviour creates a threatening, humiliating or hostile environment for an individual.

The United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women described sexual harassment as a form of violence against women and as discrimination on a sexual basis. (Petersen & Hyde, 2013) The United Nations defines sexual harassment as including such unwanted sexually determined conduct as physical contact and advances, screening pornography, and sexual requests whether by actions or words (Stop violence against women, 2010). The International Labour Organisation (ILO) has been working tirelessly to address the problem of sexual harassment. This was done through research, discussions at tripartite meetings and the issuing of advice and information to its constituencies. Furthermore, the organisation suggested that eliminating sexual harassment in places of work was important in creating a decent work environment for women (Petersen & Hyde, 2013).

In an effort to deal with the problem of sexual harassment in the work environment, the South African government defined it for the first time through the Labour Relations Act of 1995, section 203. Through this Act a code of good practice on sexual harassment was introduced. In this code sexual harassment is defined as unwanted behaviour of a sexual nature that infringes the rights of a worker. In addition, sexual attention is considered sexual harassment if the conduct is continued and the recipient has clearly stated that the behaviour is unpleasant (SA Code of Good Practice, Labour Guide, 2015). These definitions are in agreement with the University of KwaZulu-Natal's definition adopted from the legislation of South Africa. The University management defines sexual harassment as behaviour of a sexual nature which is unsolicited by the receiver. The behaviour has a distinct characteristic of being conduct with a sexual component which is unwelcome, unsolicited and unreciprocated (UKZN Sexual harassment policy & procedures, 2004).

2.4 Categories of Sexual Harassment

In 1986, the United States Supreme Court described two categories of sexual harassment; quid pro quo and hostile environment (US Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 1993).

Quid pro quo is a Latin word for ‘this for that’ (Stop violence against women, 2010). It usually applies when a person with authority, for example, an educator, can make decisions that affect a student’s grade based on whether the student agrees to his/her sexual requests (Fineran & Bennett, 1999). Conroy (2013) concurs, as she says that quid pro quo harassment comprises the promise of benefits in exchange for a sexual activity i.e. sexual bribery and, if a sexual activity is not consented to, the recipient may be threatened or harmed. Such behaviour needs to happen only once, especially if it is very serious, for it to be defined as quid pro quo sexual harassment. She further says that quid pro quo harassment takes place between teachers and those with less power (students) when either a student’s involvement in an educational activity or an educational decision is based upon his/her willingness to grant sexual favours.

A study done by Bakari and Leach (2008) in Nigeria on sexual violence in a Nigerian college of education, revealed high levels of quid pro quo sexual harassment. Female students faced sexual harassment from lecturers who forcefully asked for sexual favours and approximately 45 to 65% of lecturers engaged in such behaviour. One lecturer gave an estimate that two out of every three women had been visited by at least one lecturer. The study further reveals that it was normally accepted that some female students had to select between agreeing to the lecturer’s advances or giving up their studies and leaving the college. In addition, the penalties for a woman refusing a lecturer’s advances were severe. He could opt to lower her grades, fail her in exams or reject her final year project.

The University of Michigan Sexual Assault Prevention Awareness Program (2014) says a hostile environment occurs when an intimidating, threatening and abusive learning environment is created by a severe or pervasive behaviour of a sexual nature such that it hinders a student’s capacity to partake or gain from a University programme. Fineran and Bennett (1999) agree, as they say hostile behaviour is when the behaviour of a harasser causes an educational setting to become offensive, aggressive or hostile and unreasonably affects an employee’s or student’s work (Fineran & Bennett, 1999). It is characterised by unwanted sexual advances, demands for sexual favours and other physical, non-verbal or verbal conduct of a sexual nature by a worker, by another student or by a third party. The behaviour is adequately serious, pervasive and persistent to limit the student’s capability to participate in or

gain from an educational programme or activity or to create an intimidating educational environment (Gruber & Fineran, 2007).

Ekore (2012) says that the term 'hostile environment' seems to be less clear to individuals due to its subjectivity. People have different views as to what creates a hostile educational setting. For example, some individuals find jokes of a sexual nature sexually harassing, while others see sexual jokes as a normal part of socialising in the work or learning environment. According to the American Association of University Women (AAUW) study of sexual harassment in US schools, 80% of students in the US are affected by hostile environment sexual harassment and 5% to 10% of students are affected by quid pro quo (Conroy, 2013).

Renzetti et al. (2012) mentioned another type of harassment which does not involve peers or a perpetrator who holds some formal authority or power over the victim. This type of harassment is called contra power sexual harassment. With this type of harassment, the target of sexual harassment possesses greater formal organisational power than the perpetrator, for example, when a student harasses a lecturer it cannot be called quid pro quo because the harasser is not in a position to offer or reject a benefit. Though contra power has received less attention it has been found that it occurs at an alarming rate (Renzetti et al., 2012).

2.5 Forms of Sexual Harassment

According to the South African Labour Guide (2014), the various forms of sexual harassment are physical (unwanted physical contact, such as strip searches by or in the company of the opposite sex, touching, and rape, among others), verbal (unwelcome sexual advances, jests or explicit remarks about a person's body in their presence, etc.) and non-verbal (unwelcome gestures, indecent exposure, unwelcome display of obscene pictures, etc.). The University Of KwaZulu-Natal management also recognises these three forms of sexual harassment (physical, verbal and non-verbal) (UKZN Sexual harassment policy & procedures, 2004).

There is a broad continuum of behaviours that can be labelled sexual harassment and the University of Michigan Sexual Assault Prevention Awareness Program (2014) gave various examples of these. Verbal sexual harassment includes undesirable sexual remarks such as sexual or dirty jests, remarks on physical qualities, disseminating rumours about or rating others on their sexual activity or performance, and chatting about one's sexual activity in front of others.

Non-verbal sexual harassment may include, among other things, improper eye contact, improper gestures that indicate someone's sexual objective, and showing or handing out obscene drawings, pictures and/or written material. Unwelcome sexual statements can be made in person, in writing, electronically (Facebook, email, instant messaging, Instagram, blogs, web pages and others) and otherwise. Telephone calls, letters, visits, pressure for sexual favours, pressure for unnecessary personal interaction and unsolicited or unwelcome pressure for sexual/romantic dates constitute sexual harassment (University of Michigan Sexual Awareness Prevention Program, 2014).

According to Stein (1993), unsolicited physical or sexual advances include kissing, touching, hugging, caressing, touching oneself sexually for people to see, sexual intercourse, assault or other sexual activity. However, types of sexual harassment such as sexual assault, rape, pornography, slander or defamation of character require serious legal action to be taken (Stein, 1993).

Bennett (2002) defines sexual harassment as a range of various forms of sexual violence. In addition, the term is practically embedded into a specific context (for example, work environment or learning institutions) to establish an analytic or practical focus and explore exactly what is within that context that constitute sexual harassment. For the purpose of the study, all unwanted physical, verbal and non-verbal behaviour of sexual nature will constitute sexual harassment. Unwanted physical behaviour will include sexual assault, rape, fondling of breasts, pinching of buttocks, touching, hugging and other sexual activities. Unwelcome sexual or dirty jests, remarks on physical features, disseminating rumours about or rating others as to their sexual activity or performance, displaying and distributing sexually explicit pictures, drawings and other verbal or non-verbal unwelcome sexual behaviour will constitute sexual harassment.

2.6 Gender and Power Differences

Bell, Turchik and Karpenko (2014) assert that gender is a social construct and there are various masculine and feminine behaviours, roles and activities that are usually associated with male and female sex. They further say that society teaches males and females behaviours and characteristics that are considered suitable for their sex. Barker and Ricardo (2005) argue that through both informal and formal means, for example, social mockery, jokes and unpleasant suggestions, a man is cognisant of what is expected of him by society. Furthermore, for those who diverge from socially recognised roles, society puts more pressure on them, making a man

aware of his failures with regard to being a man. Similarly, Renzetti et al. (2012) assert that gender is socially constructed rather than genetically controlled thus through social interaction a set of beliefs is reproduced and created. As a result, these expectations become important components of our personalities (Renzetti et al., 2012). In addition, gender rotates around the themes, 'interaction, identity and institution' in the production of gender difference and reproduction of gender inequality. Gender has important cultural messages and meanings related to it and is a significant part of male and female identity, shaping their inner experiences and day-to-day lives (Bell et al., 2014).

According to Cortina (2002), violence against women emanates from socio-cultural constructions of gender and power, among others. Wood (2009) says that sexual harassment can occur if there are power differences so that one person may be reluctant to say 'no'. Bursik and Gefer (2011) agree to this as they state that in consenting relationships that involve power imbalances women who experience sexual harassment often fail to label the unwanted behaviour as sexual harassment and there is a propensity of minimising the accountability of a perpetrator and blaming the victim. Similarly, Fineran and Bennett (1999) point out that in studies of sexual harassment gender is the key explanatory variable. Narcisa (2014) contends that sexual harassment is an expression of the need for authority and aggression, as a result of continuation of certain traditional sexual stereotypes.

According to Fineran and Bennett (1999), the abuse of power and power disparities are key dynamics in adult sexual harassment. Jewkes, Dunkle, Koss, Levin, Nduna, Jama & Sikweyiya (2006) agree with this as they say that men perpetrate crimes such as rape as a tactic of declaring their authority over and control of women. Furthermore, it is a vehicle for self-communication by males about their power. In a secondary analysis of American Association of University Women data, it was suggested that the privileging of men over women and abuse of societal power were revealed in teenage peer sexual harassment (Renzetti et al. 2012). Fineran and Bennett (1999) argue that peer sexual harassment is an instrument that produces and upholds gender hierarchy. Arnett and Hughes (2013) agree with this and state that sexual teasing and romantic joking is common in teenagers' interactions and that teenagers do not know where to draw the line between sexual harassment and enjoyable and harmless joking. Furthermore, such interactions reflect power differences between male and female students and sexual harassment reinforces a privileging dominant masculinity and demeaning and/or objectifying of women.

Conroy (2013) points out that sexual harassment is used by male students to declare power and dominance over their female peers. However, we cannot presume that preservation of male gender hierarchy is totally attributed to men and boys; girls and women also may reinforce male authority (Bennett, 1999). Ricardo and Barker (2008) agree as they say women and girls also help to create and reinforce norms about what it means to be a man as well as those which encourage unbalanced power relations between males and females. Petersen and Hyde (2013) argue that sexual harassment is exercised to sustain male authority within male groups, to declare power over women in front of other male members, and to challenge heterosexual men who do not adhere to expected masculine rules. In addition, sexual harassment can be regarded as a behaviour meant to strengthen proper ways of being a male. According to Hunt and Gonsalkorale (2013), a threat to masculinity by women or through questioning a man's individual status may result in sexual harassment. This was reflected in studies done on undergraduate students in different western cultures such as Italy by Maass et al. (as cited in Hunt & Gonsalkorale, 2013), Germany by Siebler et al. (as cited in Hunt & Gonsalkorale, 2013) and the US by Hitlan et al. (as cited in Hunt & Gonsalkorale, 2013). These studies revealed that men who are subjected to non-traditional women who intimidate men's advantaged status are likely to engage in sexual harassment (Hunt & Gonsalkorale, 2013).

A study done by the International Labour Organisation in 1992 revealed that sexual harassment is linked with power and it usually happens in societies which treat females as sex objects (Stop Violence against Women, 2010). Cinnamon, Theresa and Kelly (2014) concur with this as they say viewing women as sexual objects is defined as a way for men to conceptualise their dominance over women. Wood (2009) asserts that sex object stereotyping contributes to sexual harassment which 50% of working women have experienced. In some schools and higher institutions females are usually treated as sex objects which often leads to sexual harassment and such actions suggest that women are not taken seriously in academic issues (Wood, 2009). The commodification of women's bodies strengthens the perception that female bodies are things to be adored and devoured by males (Ricardo & Barker, 2008). According to a study on sexual harassment and discrimination done by Wood (2009), girls have reported that some male students constantly taunt them, make lecherous suggestions and touch them without invitation or agreement. In addition to this, some higher education institutions treat female students in gender stereotyped ways, ranging from compliments on looks instead of on academic work to offering higher grades in exchange for sexual favours. As a result, these actions make female students' sex more important than their intellectual abilities and aspirations. All this is a

reflection that power differences strongly impact the perception of sexual harassment (Bursik & Geftter, 2011).

2.7 Victims of Sexual Harassment

Historically, females have always been thought to be victims of sexual harassment. This is confirmed in various studies which show that females are more likely than males to be victims of sexual harassment and harassers are more likely to be males (Cortina, 2002; Osborne, 1992). Studies done on sexual harassment (AAUW, 2001, 2002; Hill & Silva, 2005) revealed that women are largely affected (Cortina, 2002). For example, a survey done in the US educational institutions revealed that more than a third of female students in college have been victims of sexual harassment in their first year of higher learning while 80% of women had encountered sexual harassment (Cortina, 2002). Furthermore, a study of 385 female respondents by Mamaru et al. (2015) at Jimma University in Ethiopia on the prevalence of sexual harassment showed that 78.2 % were physically harassed, 90.4% were verbally harassed and 80.0% experienced non-verbal harassment.

According to Arnett and Hughes (2012), girls and women are often sexually harassed by men they know. In addition, a study done in the US suggests that only 12% of rapes recorded by the police are categorised as stranger rapes. A study done on Nigerian students at a college of education by Bakari and Leach (2008) found that male students and lecturers were perpetrators of sexual violence.

Although some studies have revealed that more female students experience recurrent and serious sexual harassment than males other studies have shown no gender difference in victimisation prevalence, for example, studies done in Canadian schools and on US adolescents (Peterson & Hyde, 2009). Research in the US has shown that sexual harassment is common among male and female students in secondary schools (Gruber & Fineran, 2007). These studies found that 79% of male and 81% of female pupils in secondary schools reported experiences of peer to peer sexual harassment. Similarly, Ormerod, Collinworth and Perry (2008) found that 88.4% of boys in their sample had experienced sexual harassment. A study done by Sears et al. (2011) on sexual harassment victimisation of US young adults revealed that men do not only encounter harassment but that such victimisation can influence their adjustment and adulthood outcomes. Narcia (2014) asserts that both men and women can become victims of sexual harassment just as perpetrators can be both genders. In addition, a man can sexually

harass both males and females and a woman can harass a male or a female but the vast majority of cases involve females as victims.

According to Barker and Ricardo (2005), men are also victims of sexual abuse and sexual coercion. Petersen and Hyde (2013) add that there is an increase in reported cases of men being targets for sexual harassment. The most affected in the workplace are young men, gay men, members of ethnic or racial minorities and men who work in women-controlled work groups. It is believed that those who challenge or diverge from masculine norms that dominate in a particular context can be targeted for sexual harassment (Jones, Boocock & Under-hill, 2013). Wei and Chen (2012) assert that sexual harassment is considered to be related to boys' attempts to acquire their manhood and competition for power status, which makes them vulnerable to victimisation as well. In their race for masculinity some male students may face sexual harassment from their peers (Wei & Chen, 2012). A study done in Canada on high school learners revealed that boys recounted getting more homosexual smears or unwelcome sexual comments than girls (Chiodo, Wolfe, Crooks, Hughes & Jaffe, 2009).

Various studies have revealed a possible high risk of male to male sexual harassment. For example, Petersen and Hyde's (2009) study on US students revealed that more male than female students suffered same gender sexual harassment than females. Similarly, a study on Taiwanese adolescents revealed that more boys than girls were sexually harassed and the perpetrators were male classmates or friends. A study done by Patterson, Weaver and Crawford (as cited in Petersen & Hyde, 2013) on US young adults revealed that men not only recognise manhood as a temporary state but they also endorse hostility as a means of demonstrating or restoring threatened manhood. In addition, some studies, including a study done on Israeli public schools by Zeira et al. (as cited in Petersen & Hyde, 2013) and one on US adolescents by Peterson and Hyde (as cited in Petersen & Hyde, 2013), have found higher incidences of victimisation in boys.

A study done by Bell, et al. (2014) revealed that men who work in the military in the US experience similar levels of sexual harassment as women given the greater percentage of men in the army. A study done by Chesir-Teran & Hughes (2009) on lesbian, gay, bisexual and questioning (LGBQ) adolescents from US high schools showed the presence of homophobia and heterosexism as well as harassment of LGBQ students. Wood (2009) argues that the sex object stereotype is used to define and harass lesbians and gay men since they are often perceived primarily in terms of sexuality and their conformity or lack of conformity to

conventional gender norms. Goodemann, Zammitt and Hagedon (2012) conclude that harassing someone for not complying with gender norms is sexual harassment. Ekore (2012) adds that male college students who do not conform to gender norms are frequent victims of sexual harassment. A study done by Mazer and Percival (1989) in Nigeria found that 89% of female students and 85.5% of male students in college acknowledge that they had experienced at least one incident of sexual harassment. However, only 5.6% cases of sexual harassment had been reported to the college authorities by male students while females reported an average of 6.2% incidents.

2.8 Perpetrators of Sexual Harassment

Arnette and Hughes (2012) argue that sexual harassers are more likely to be males than females. A study done on Taiwanese adolescent victims, for example, reported male friends or peers as culprits of sexual harassment. Nevertheless, both girls and boys can be perpetrators of sexual harassment. Arnette and Hughes (2012) assert that targets of harassment are more likely to be early maturing girls and perpetrators can be both girls and boys. Some studies have also established that females or males do not only face harassment from the opposite gender but they also face it from members of the same gender. A study by Waldo, Berdahl and Fitzgerald (1998) in the US army, for example, found that some men were perpetrators of same sex harassment (Bell et al., 2014). Stockdale, Visio and Batra (1999) assert that same sex sexual harassment is likely to affect 33% of males in the army while only 2% of females in the army are likely to be victims of same sex sexual harassment. Studies done in schools have also found the prevalence of male to male harassment. A study on US students, for example, found that same sex harassment affected more boys than girls (Petersen & Hyde, 2009). Similarly, Jones et al. (2013) say males are 20 times more likely to face same-sex sexual harassment than females and it is generally perpetrated by heterosexual men on heterosexual or homosexual men. Men are usually harassed for engaging in non-masculine behaviour, for example, a man can be harassed by being called 'gay' or a 'fag' (Jones et al., 2006).

2.9 Sexuality and Masculinity

According to Ricardo and Barker, (2008) masculinity refers to various ways that manhood is socially defined across historical, social settings and the power disparities present between different forms of manhood. Renzetti et al. (2012) argue that certain sexual behaviours in society can be attributed to gender roles and norms. Ricardo and Barker (2005) agree with this when they say the strongest fundamental social issues that influence sexual behaviours are

gender roles and norms. Norms linked to sexuality and masculinity, such as those which adopt male sexuality as irrepressible and many partners as an indication of sexual skill and power over women, may exacerbate sexual harassment (Barker & Ricardo, 2005). Jewkes et al. (2006) contend that having a number of girlfriends and controlling women is considered a masculine norm. In addition, masculinity is created and assessed in ongoing acts of competition among male peers and sexual victory is an indication of status regardless of how it was achieved, whether it was persuading, deception, pleading or the use of force. Barker and Ricardo (2008) add that a lot of men create their identities and understand and uphold their manliness through their sexuality and sexual experience.

According to Ouzgone and Morell (2005), a man's self-confidence, identity and social value are related to his sexuality. In addition, men engage in extra-marital sexual activities with casual partners in an attempt to compensate for their feelings of insufficiency and despair. This perception is drawn from values and norms that give positive meanings to male sexual activity and such action is regarded as an appropriate way for men to improve their self-worth and masculinity, precisely because it contributes to the definition of a status that is dissimilar to that of women (Ouzgone & Morell, 2005). This is reflected in a study on men in Kisii and Dares Salaam who regard the control of women as a vital social index for their masculine status and many appear to have selected a life of violent sexual behaviour with various partners (Ouzgone & Morell, 2005). They engage in this behaviour in an attempt to acquire self-worth, authority and control over women and it is regarded as an acceptable way of demonstrating masculinity (Ouzgone & Morell, 2005).

Gender hierarchy and status disparities are enforced by humiliating victims through sexual harassment (Wei & Chen, 2012). A study done by Messerschmitt (as cited in Wei & Chen, 2012) reveals that the dominant masculinity philosophy requires young adults to be hostile, tough, controlling and to depreciate effeminacy and this increases their risk of perpetrating sexual harassment. According to Klos (2013), main masculinity versions propose a range of behaviours that should be presented by males as they adopt gender roles that have been internalised through lived experiences. A study done in the US of African American youths revealed that male teenagers often use verbal and physical harassment to show their superiority and power over female peers. As a result, such practices signify a general environment of power and a lack of respect towards women in societies in which educational institutions are embedded (Wei & Chen, 2012). Since masculinity is regarded as something to be achieved many adolescent boys are constantly competing with each other to achieve this status.

Adolescent boys in the Pacific, for example, constantly use violence to enhance their masculine status (Wei & Chen, 2012).

Pressure to conform to ideas of masculinity may lead to sexual harassment whether as perpetrator or victim. Collins et al., (2009) argue that men who reject dominant stereotypes of aggressive masculinity often face attacks from other male students. According to Wood (2009), teenage boys learn that in order for them to fit in with their friends, they have to be tough, aggressive and strong, and those who do not conform are likely to be insulted by other boys. They may, for example, label you as 'sissy'. Furthermore, as they grow into adolescence male bonding reinforces masculinity identification and this is seen through their engagement in sexual activities to demonstrate masculinity and they often encourage peers to do the same (Wood, 2009). In some cases, male peers encourage each other to embody dangerous forms of masculinity that involve having sex with multiple women and discussing women in belittling ways. As a result, some peers may be forced to say and do things as part of a group that they would never contemplate doing as individuals. The need to be recognised and respected by their male peers overshadows their decency and values (Wood, 2009).

A study done on life histories of US adolescent male delinquents found that the common masculine philosophy encourages young men to be tough, controlling and aggressive and this increases their risk of sexually harassing their peers (Wei & Chen, 2012). In some societies the main way of demonstrating sexuality and masculinity is heterosexuality and men outside it often face the challenge of being stigmatised and discriminated against. They are seen as not fitting into a defined male or female class and they are perceived abnormal and deviant (Tadele, 2011). Cinnamon et al. (2014) argue that in some societies to be masculine means to reject activities, traits, behaviours and emotions typical of feminine roles or stereotypical gay men. This, therefore, means manhood is achieved through repeated performance of actions that prove that one is powerful, tough and rejects all that is womanly, gay or otherwise non-masculine.

According to Barker and Ricardo (2005), manhood versions are socially created and sustained over time in different settings and multiple forms. Men are usually brought up to believe that a real man should be tough and in control, especially in their sexual and intimate relationships (Ricardo & Barker, 2008). In addition, to be initiated into a socially recognised manhood, young adults have been socialised into believing that they need to be sexually experienced. This encourages an opinion of sex as a performance, particularly as a way masculine skill is

demonstrated. Young adult males in various cultures feel pressure from their peers to be sexually active with many partners for them to be recognised as men. As a result, peers may view sexual experiences as displays of sexual achievement or competence. The status they acquire from their peers is more important to young men than the intimacy resulting from a sexual relationship. This trend often continues into manhood. This shows that sexual behaviour, among other things, is associated with a sense of self and need to attain a socially recognised variant of manhood (Ricardo & Barker, 2008).

Existing norms about sexuality and manhood indicate that males ought to be hostile, conversant and skilled in sexual issues (Renzetti et al., 2012). These signs of aggressive masculinity show that women who are coerced into sex have no power and seldom in a position to negotiate a non-sexual relationship (Barker & Ricardo, 2005). Through social interaction males are socialised into manhood variants which promote sexual aggression towards women. Research done by Leach in 2003 in South Africa among 30 000 youths established that one in every four young men had coerced a girl into having sex at least once. Furthermore, competition over girls, having a girlfriend and bragging about triumphs were some of the features of dominant male peer culture (Barker & Ricardo). To young men universally, sexual skill is often associated with maturity (Barker & Ricardo, 2005). Young men often have an unequal share of power and voice in sexual and intimate relationships with women (Barker & Ricardo, 2005).

2.10 Normalisation of Violence

Wood (2009) argues that there is an increasing agreement that many of the basic structures and institutional practices of western culture tolerate or maintain violence, including violence against women. This is reflected in various ways which include praising men for aggressive behaviour, encouraging women to fulfil social prescriptions for femininity by standing by their men and, in families where violence exists, children may grow up thinking that violence is part of a normal marriage. In addition, institutions may perpetuate violence by suggesting that women are wrong to object to brutality and harassment. A study done by Clair in 1994 on women who had been sexually harassed revealed that victims' protests were often dismissed (Wood, 2009). They were told that they had 'misunderstood', instructed 'not to make a mountain out of a molehill' or their objections were defined as inappropriate ('all the guys around here do that') (Wood, 2009). As a result, the victims, not the perpetrators, were seen as wrong or at fault. Wood (2009) concludes that institutions, by regularly treating sexual harassment and other forms of violence as insignificant, sustain a cultural ideology that condones violence. A study done by Bakari and Leach (2008) on sexual violence in a Nigerian

college of education, reveals normalisation of violence at the institution. It was found that male lecturers and students justified violence by blaming female students for 'inviting' sexual advances from male students. In addition, male students thought that "indecent" dressing from female students was inviting sexual interest thus making female students the perpetrators of sexual harassment and men the innocent victims. This resulted in some men and women blaming victims of rape and other forms of sexual harassment for having "brought it on themselves".

Backer and Ricardo (2005) note that there is a variety of opinions and meanings of what constitutes violence against women. In addition to this they state that relationships among young people are usually characterised by forced sex and verbal threats. Furthermore, many young adult males may interpret violence against women as a socially authorised expansion of male power in the private domain. Similarly, Wood (2009) says that one reason for the prevalence of rape is that a large number of men regard forced sex as acceptable and they believe that friends and dates cannot rape as rape is a violent act only imposed by strangers. This internalisation of violence against women as a norm also happens among women who at times perceive violence as a sign that a man is passionately devoted in a relationship (Backer & Ricardo, 2005). A Stop Violence against Women (2010) document states that some females believe that sexual harassment is a practice based on simple sexual attraction and a form of flattering sexual attention for women, sometimes vulgar, but essentially a harmless romantic game, well within the range of normal, acceptable behaviour between women and men. This shows that women downplay the issue of sexual harassment. This misperception about dynamics of sexuality and power in sexual harassment inhibits women from reacting to perpetrators with strong measures that are effective (Stop Violence against Women, 2010).

Sexual violence against women is often normalised in educational institutions because it happens every day and it complies with gender norms (Ricardo & Barker, 2008). A study done by Ekore (2012) found that males and females have different views on behaviours that constitute sexual harassment. The study suggests that females are more likely to classify several behaviours as sexual harassment than males. Behaviours such as mocking, looks and sexual jokes as well as comments from lecturers or male students, for example, are likely to be classified as sexual harassment by females than male students. Men may feel that it is part of normal life as they will be expressing their sexual interest in women.

According to Kwenaithe and Van Heerden (2011) in some of South Africa's conservative communities women are violated because of the way they choose to dress. It is believed that women encourage their sexual harassment. As a result, this feeds the opinion that women who wear revealing clothes are responsible for violence against them. Violence against women is socially constructed to reflect women's role in women being sexually harassed hence women share the responsibility of the attack with the perpetrator (Kwenaithe & Van Heerden, 2011). Because violence is normalised in such South African societies women do not seem to acknowledge violence perpetrated against them (Kwenaithe & Van Heerden, 2011).

2.11 Reporting Sexual Harassment

Cortina (2002) asserts that in some societies women who are sexually harassed may not report the case because of conservative gender roles, honour and shame codes that reflect different values for females' and males' sexual behaviour. Cultural norms that discourage telling others about such behaviour by men may further deter students from reporting sexual harassment. According to Ekore (2012), in Nigeria reported cases of sexual harassment are trivialised. They are frequently responded to with humour and without respect because of social customs across Sub-Saharan Africa which support subtle hostility in negotiating sexual decisions. He further says that this circumstance favours perpetrators who are perceived to be more powerful than victims. As a result, these cultural practices may prevent the victim from complaining about and reporting sexual harassment. Renzetti et al. (2012) assert that most incidents of sexual harassment on campus are not reported because students are ashamed or afraid and they often question their own roles in the matter.

A study done by Norman, Aikins and Binka (2012) on traditional and contra power sexual harassment in public universities of Ghana found that many students who are sexually harassed do not report the incidents because they do not consider the incidents important. Some students do not know where to report to and others think they will not be taken seriously. About 9% of the students felt embarrassed and 5% were afraid to report the incident. Mamaru et al.'s study (2015) on the prevalence of physical, verbal and non-verbal sexual harassment among female students at Jimma University in Ghana revealed that students who experience sexual harassment rarely reported their experiences to authorities because they were ashamed and they were also not aware of where exactly they should go to report the incident. As a result, perpetrators are left unpunished and they will continue to harass others. The National Sexual Violence Resource Centre of Pennsylvania (2004) revealed that victims of sexual violence do not report the incidents because they fear being let down by weak or absent social sanctions

and services. In addition, evidence provided by the victim is often considered insufficient for a conviction.

Other research reveals that males and females do not report sexual harassment because of beliefs that the unpleasant incident was not very serious, the need to avoid causing problems, fear of damaging effects on their career, and an opinion that nothing will be done to resolve their case (Bell et al., 2014). A study done by Collins et al. (2009) at a South African university revealed that students did not trust the university system. They were reluctant to use the security services because they lacked confidence in the guards. Furthermore, students revealed that their efforts to report were frequently discouraged by empty promises that the matter was being dealt with or their cases were continuously referred to other offices. A study done by Miller (2008) found that school administrators did not take peer sexual harassment seriously and teachers were not troubled about it and frequently failed to intervene (Renzetti et al., 2012). Renzetti et al. (2012) argue that some victims may not want to disclose to others because they fear being stigmatised and other negative responses. Victims are often blamed for the crime committed.

Jewkes (2002) argues that some people do not want to report sexual harassment such as rape because they fear that they will not be believed. These worries are often substantiated by police claims that a lot of women do not tell the truth about rape. Renzetti et al. (2012) point out that some students may fear losing educational rewards. A study done by Bakari and Leach (2008) on sexual violence at a Nigerian college found that lecturers often fail students who reject their sexual advances or report them to higher authorities. Furthermore, the management at the institution tends to discredit reported incidents as gossip or uncommon incidents and those in positions of authority had a free rein. Jewkes (2002) agrees with this, stating that sexual violence crimes are under-reported to the authorities because victims fear that the perpetrator will not be punished.

Renzetti et al. (2012) say acquaintance rape is common on college campuses. In this case the victim knows or is familiar with her assailant. Women and girls raped by acquaintances are less likely to report the crime than women raped by strangers. They are more likely to excuse the perpetrator's behaviour. A study done by Koss in 1985 in the US found that 62% of women raped by acquaintances did not view their experiences as a form of violence (Renzetti et al., 2012). Instead they call it miscommunication. Jewkes (2002) asserts that women who experience sexual violence such as rape may not report because they do not want to recall and

discuss experiences which were unpleasant and humiliating or shameful to them. In addition, women may not report because they fear that the perpetrator may retaliate if he is reported.

Cortina (2002) reveals that extramarital sex and premarital sex is viewed as highly inappropriate for women among the Hispanic and Turkish cultures, while sex is regarded as a physiological need for males. She further says that in conservative Machista culture, males are rewarded for enjoying sex, dominating in sexual activities, having many partners, adulterous relationships and early initiation into sexual life. In addition, females are frequently degraded and stigmatised as 'indecent' for similar behaviour. Cortina (2002) further points out that traditional Hispanic family members, mainly males, regard teenage girls' virtue as important. They are often confined to home and constantly watched to avoid sexual harassment while teenage boys are urged to exhibit, grow and discover their sexual skill and strong sexual drive. In addition to this, acceptable topics in teenage boys' chats include conquest of women. As a result, women may be more likely to accept men's sexual aggressive behaviour as normal and not something that is worthy of reporting (Cortina, 2002). Renzetti et al. (2012) add that in some societies young men are allowed to engage in sexual activities and there is a tendency to ignore, overlook and forgive their sexual escapades. This reflects maintenance of sexual double standards: women are condemned and punished if they engage in the same behaviour (Renzetti et al., 2012).

Renzetti et al. (2012) assert that men may not report sexual harassment because of certain myths in some societies, for example, that men cannot be raped. Men who are raped by women are simply dismissed as not being abused. Males who are raped by other males are perceived to be gay hence are not considered victims. Bell et al. (2014) concur as they say men do not want to divulge their experiences because they fear the reactions they are likely to receive when they do so. They are as likely to be blamed for the harassment as female victims, to be labelled gay and people may think they liked the harassment (Bell et al., 2014). Furthermore, Renzetti et al. (2012) argue that men appear to be less likely than women to report that they experienced sexual harassment because they are believed to be able to protect themselves when faced by a threat. This masculinity belief often closes down any chances for men to express hidden feelings because of gender expectations (Klos, 2013). If male victims are gay, reporting sexual harassment may do more harm than good. Renzetti et al. (2012) add that gays are rarely considered 'worthy' sexual harassment victims because of their choice of a 'deviant' lifestyle and reporting could lead to more harassment by authorities and others.

2.12 Effects of Sexual Harassment

According to Mamaru et al. (2015), the World Health Organization reported that the problem of sexual harassment has intensified over the past 25 years and this affects victims' psychological and physical health severely. Gelfand, Fitzgerald and Drasgow (1995) found that victims of extreme and frequent sexual harassment may feel depressed and anxious and experience physical problems. Similarly, a study done by Willness, Steel and Lee in 2007 revealed that sexual harassment was a danger to victims' mental and physical health. These health problems include irritability, anxiety, anger, depression, alcohol drinking and irrepressible crying (Norman et al., 2012). Some research revealed that similar levels of stress can be experienced by both women and men after encountering sexual harassment (Bell et al., 2014). Research by Kimmerling et al. (as cited in Bell et al., 2014) on the relationship between gender and physical health after military sexual assault found that sexual harassment is associated with liver and chronic pulmonary disease for both males and females, and is associated with HIV/Aids for men as well as obesity, hypothyroidism and weight loss for women.

According to Bell et al. (2014), some victims, especially men, postpone seeking treatment or do not seek treatment at all after a severe harassment such as sexual assault. This may be due to issues related to masculinity and pride in men. They may feel that it's not crucial for them to receive sexual trauma counselling and also fear being stigmatised. This may continue to cause stress (Bell et al., 2014).

One of the effects of sexual harassment is that it interferes with a student's performance or creates a threatening, aggressive or unpleasant study environment (Renzetti, et al., 2012). Dansky and Kilpatrick (1997) assessed the severity of health effects of sexual harassment and other harmful behaviours on the victim. Some victims reported experiencing health problems, including physical injury, weakened learning ability, psychological distress, disturbing memories, regular nightmares, grumpiness and emotional unsettledness. Another important result is the fear of the general public (Norman et al., 2012). A study done by Ekore (2012) in Nigeria on gender differences in perception of sexual harassment revealed that female students are known to give up university education because they want to free themselves from sexual harassment. Female professors have reported feeling troubled and distressed by contra power sexual harassment (Renzetti et al., 2012).

Litchy and Campbell (2012) argue that early encounters of sexual harassment are linked indirectly to increased shame about one's body in boys and girls. Some youths reported negative psychological effects such as feeling sad, inadequate and desperate. Jones, Boocock and Underhill-Sem (2013) concur as they say sexual harassment can cause serious harm such as headaches, eating disorders, fatigue, weight loss, dental, gastrointestinal and Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder. With regards to eating disorders it was clinically found that some men and women who experience sexual harassment may feel detached from their bodies. Men who respond physiologically during an assault or who had an erection and ejaculate when being sexually harassed may feel deceived by their bodies. Women may feel that their body shape or appearance caused the harassment. As a result, they may engage in eating related behaviours (such as gaining weight or losing weight) in order to gain control of their bodies (Bell et al., 2014). It can also lead to decreased morale and lower grades. These studies indicate that sexual harassment has potentially severe negative results.

A study done by Glomb, Richman, Hulin, Drasgow, Schneider and Fitzgerald (1997) suggests that witnesses or bystanders of violence such as sexual harassment may experience negative outcomes similar to those faced by victims in work or educational settings. Men and women who learn of or witness a co-worker facing sexual harassment may experience stress and fear that they too will become a target of sexual harassment. They may further feel stressed if they observe a negative or unsupportive response from the victim's co-workers or organisation or they may feel helpless in stopping the co-worker from being sexually harassed. (Glomb et al., 1997). Litchy and Campbell (2012) concur, stating that students who directly experience sexual harassment and those who witness sexual harassment of others report similar psychological distress.

2.13 Risk factors for Sexual Harassment

According to Barker and Ricardo (2008), another issue which is seen as a marker of manhood is alcohol use and research has found that alcohol may be a precipitant and a justification by men for sexually aggressive behaviour. Cinnamon et al. (2014) concur as they say men's masculine role norm views are also related to alcohol consumption which is a prominent feature in sexual encounters for young adults. The National Sexual Violence Resource Centre of Pennsylvania (NSVRC) (2004) reported that the risk of an individual committing crimes such as rape can be increased by alcohol abuse. According to Narcia (2014), alcohol consumption is associated with high sexual risk behaviour. In addition, drinking alcohol reduces sexual inhibitions which may result in drastic consequences. Wechsberg et al. (2013) concur as they

say men engage women in alcohol and drug use so that they become less resistant to having sex. According to Wechsberg et al. (2013), alcohol and drug use in women is associated with their being victims of gender based violence and in men it is associated with their being the perpetrators of such violence. In a study of 99 university men in the US, 15% admitted to using some form of alcohol related to forced sex, 35% stated that their friends acknowledged getting a woman drunk so that they can have sex, and 20% admitted that they used alcohol to get a woman drunk so that it becomes easier for them to have sexual intercourse (Barker & Ricardo, 2008).

According to the National Sexual Violence Resource Centre of Pennsylvania (2004), sexual violence is likely to occur in societies which hold traditional gender roles and norms. In societies where the belief of male authority is deep, laying emphasis on dominance, male honour and physical strength, crimes such as rape are more common. In addition, individuals are likely to commit sexual harassment because they hold values and attitudes that support hostility and sexual violence towards women. This may further exacerbate sexual violence crimes as perpetrators tend to believe that they can commit such crimes with impunity and may further believe that their acts are neither anti-social nor criminal but rather a mildly transgressive matter of individual preference which does not warrant any grave consequences (Collins et al., 2009).

Social network sites are known for providing an excellent tool for communication among peers (Wegge, Vanderbosch, Eggerment & Walruses, 2015). However, these sites also give rise to undesirable experiences that are a result of hostile behaviour such as harassment (Wegge et al., 2015). Henry and Powell (2015) point out that the use of technology for the facilitation of sexual violence is increasing. People use technologies such as social networking sites, personal blogs or video posting websites to express their attitudes, beliefs, needs and desires without any limits. As a result, this may exacerbate the perpetration of sexual harassment.

2.14 Sexual Harassment on University Campuses

According to Singh, Mudaly and Singh-Pillay (2015), university campuses have an obligation to provide and maintain a safe environment for all who study and work on campus. However, it has been established that sexual violence on university campuses is pervasive worldwide (Singh et al., 2015). Ekore (2012) says that the college environment is a rich ground for sexual harassment. He further says higher educational institutions are as conducive to sexual harassment as work settings. Mamaru et al. (2015) concur, stating that sexual harassment is

widespread in educational institutions. According to Gordon and Collins (2013), there are higher levels of gender based violence in South Africa and universities are generally affected by this violence and/or gender disparities. Arnett and Hughes (2012) argue that sexual harassment is rife in universities. A study by Roberts in 2005 of female university students, for example, reveals that two-thirds reported sexual harassment after ending a relationship. Of these, half were classified as mild harassment, such as constant unwanted telephone calls, and half as stalking (being followed and threatened by ex-partner).

A report published by the American Association of University Women revealed that nearly two-thirds of university students experience some form of sexual harassment and in most cases it is perpetrated by peers (Renzetti et al., 2012). Studies reveal various forms of harassment in universities ranging from mild to serious cases. A survey of US college campuses by Crown and Roberts (2007), for example, found that a third of undergraduate women had experienced unwanted sexual interactions ranging from kissing to sexual intercourse in their first year. By senior year half of female students had experienced unwanted sexual interactions (Wood, 2009). In another study on perceptions of sexual harassment in an academic context by Bursik and Geftter (2011) it was found that sexual harassment was prevalent in US universities because students have different perceptions of what constitutes sexual harassment. Some participants, for example, did not view a student or professor's repeated unwanted requests for dates as sexual harassment.

An online survey in the UK by the National Union of Students (2014) found that sexual harassment was rampant in UK universities. The study found that 37% of female and 12% of male students have experienced unwanted sexual advances such as groping and touching. A culture of 'laddism' which promotes sexual harassment was found to be present on campuses. This culture seems to condone sexual assault, rape and any form of verbal and non-verbal sexual violence (The Guardian, September 15, 2014).

According to Hunt and Gonsalkorale (2013), sexual harassment has been found to be a pervasive problem in Australian universities. Their study on the relationship between masculinity in group bonding and gender harassment revealed that harassment is widespread partly because some male students engage in harassment when they feel that their masculinity is being threatened. Research conducted on undergraduate students in other western countries such as Germany (Siebler et al., 2008), and Italy (Maass et al., 2003) also found that students who encounter non-conservative women who threaten men's advantaged status are more likely

to perpetrate sexual harassment (Hunt & Gonsalkorale, 2013). These studies show that a threat to masculinity, whether by female students who question males' traditional status or a prototypical threat in which an individual status as a man is questioned, may end in sexually harassing behaviour (Hunt & Gonsalkorale, 2013).

Studies have also revealed that sexual harassment was common in some African countries. A study done by Mamaru et al. (2015) on the prevalence of verbal, physical and non-verbal sexual harassment and their association with psychological distress among 385 female students at Jimma University in Ethiopia found that 78,2% experienced physical harassment, 90,4% verbal harassment and 80,0% non-verbal harassment. The participants also divulged that three-quarters of sexual harassment was perpetrated by on-campus male students while a quarter was perpetrated by off-campus students.

A study by Bakari and Leach (2008) on sexual violence in a Nigerian College of Education, found that sexual harassment, particularly quid pro quo, was rife at the college. Female students were largely harassed by lecturers and approximately 45-65% of male lecturers asked for sexual favours in exchange for good grades. Some female students had to choose between accepting a lecturer's advances and withdrawing from the college. Some lecturers, in retaliation for not being granted sexual favours, gave students a fail mark so that the student had to repeat that module. Female students were often verbally and physically harassed by male students. Male students, for example, often used derogatory language about female sexuality and women were pushed, blocked or touched in a sexual manner.

Another study was done in Nigeria by Ekore (2012) on gender differences in perception of sexual harassment among students at Ibadan University, Nigeria. A sample of 420 respondents was used. Data generated in the study revealed the occurrence of sexual harassment at the University, for example, 18.8% female students reported that those who refused sexual advances from male lecturers were often failed in their exams. In addition, there were reports of regular and unwelcome visits to female students by university male workers and female students regarded this as sexual harassment. Some gender differences in male and female's overall rating of behaviours that constitute sexual harassment were found. Forty-eight percent of female students agreed that sexual jokes, teasing and gestures constituted sexual harassment and 78.6% of male students did not think this constituted any harassment at all.

A study done by Norman et al. (2012) on traditional and contra power sexual harassment in public universities and training in Ghana found that sexual harassment occurs in academic

institutions. Among 598 male and 302 female students, there were 55 victims of sexual harassment; 19.34% male and 36.66% females were sexual harassed. Students experienced more verbal harassment than any other form of harassment.

A South African study of the University of Natal (since renamed the University of KwaZulu-Natal) in Pietermaritzburg by Braine, Bless and Fox (1995) on students' perceptions, prevalence of and reactions to sexual harassment revealed that there were some cultural and gender differences in perceptions of what constituted sexual harassment. A study by Shefer, Clawes and Vergnan (2012), which examined the accounts of transactional sex among male and female students at a university in South Africa, revealed that forced sexual practices were rampant in intimate heterosexual affairs and these relationships were often characterised by violence and hostility (Gordon & Collins, 2013). Claws, Shefer, Often, Virginian and Jacobs's study (2009) of female and male students at the University of the Western Cape also found that heterosexual relationships were characterised by forced sex and unequal sexual practices (Gordon & Collin, 2013).

According to Singh et al. (2015), policies meant to prevent violence against women that focus mainly on women result in reinforcement of patriarchal social norms and impact on women's ability to see themselves as strong, capable and independent (Singh et al., 2015). Singh et al. (2015) argue that awareness programmes are useful in making university campuses a safe environment but that male and female students need to be educated about what gender based violence is to enable them to identify it and understand it. Collins et al. (2009) noted the importance of increasing support for students and the expansion of existing support services and running campaigns and diversity and sensitivity training courses. In addition, students need a 24-hour efficient, accessible and trusted crisis response service.

Having synthesised some existing literature related to sexual harassment at university campuses, the next session discusses the theoretical approach that has been chosen for this study.

2.15 Theoretical Framework

The study is guided by the perspective that gender is socially constructed. Gender as a social construction is about power. Who has power? Who is marginalised or excluded from it? Who has the legitimacy or the privilege to define social rules? Sexual harassment prevails where there are some power differences (Wood, 2009). According to Arnett and Hughes (2014),

social construction is a system, structure or category that is produced through social interactions and institutions rather than something that exists naturally or inevitably. Gender as a social construction has implications for the organisation of social power. Similarly, Strong et al (1999) assert that social construction is the development of social categories such as masculinity, femininity, heterosexuality and homosexuality.

This study will draw on Judith Lorber's social construction of gender theory which holds that gender is continuously constructed and reconstructed out of people interactions, out of communal life and is the order and texture of that communal life (Lorber, 1994). This, therefore, means becoming male or female is a social process that is learned through culture: in the family, school and in social interactions more generally (Kehily, 2001). In support of this view Renzetti et al. (2012) assert that gender is socially constructed rather than genetically determined. In addition, they say gender is viewed as a set of social expectations that is reproduced and transmitted through interaction with one another and these expectations become fundamental components of our personalities.

According to Lorber (1994), gender is a human construction that relies on every person constantly 'doing gender'. Lorber's theory is built on West and Zimmerman's work (1987) which acknowledges that gender is 'done' or performed by individuals who achieve gender status by performing gender in compliance with the social norms. This idea of performative gender lays the foundation in understanding how gender is socially constructed. This is witnessed in some African societies which have defined norms for men and women and where there are roles which are considered masculine or feminine. In addition, gender performances are undergirded by interactional processes embedded within everyday life and these processes give rise to social categories such as gender. Through these processes individuals do gender which further reinforces the legitimacy of these social constructions. Butler (2002) agrees with this as she says the social construction of gender is produced through one's reiterated acting in compliance with gender norms. Thus gender is something that is done, not something that just exists.

Central to the understanding of gender as a social construct is the concept of biological differences or sex categories. Gender as a social construction differs from biological sex category. Bell et al. (2014) argue that human beings are, in most cases, born male and female, but through social interaction they learn characteristics and behaviours suitable for their sex. Lorber (1994) asserts that gender construction begins with allocation of a sex category

depending on how the external reproductive organ of the baby looks. Babies are not born knowing rules of societies. Instead they learn through socialisation. When a baby is born he/she is generally dressed in a way that displays sex category and that becomes a gender status. When a child's gender is established, he/she is treated differently by those in the other gender and as a result they react to the different treatment by behaving and feeling differently. As they grow and start talking they begin to refer to themselves as members of their gender. By the time they reach adolescence their sexual desires, feelings and practices will have been influenced by gendered expectations and norms. Teenage boys and girls, for example, approach and avoid each other in an elaborately scripted gendered mating dance. According to Arnett and Hughes (2012), teenage girls and boys learn different sexual scripts for them to comprehend how a sexual experience is supposed to proceed and how it should be understood. Girls, for example, generally expect a boy to make the moves (i.e. to be the sexual initiator) and girls are supposed to set boundaries on how far a sexual episode should go. In some societies young men learn that sexual experience is crucial in achieving manhood. As a result, this encourages a concept of sex as performance, particularly a way in which a masculine skill is confirmed (Barker & Ricardo, 2005). Butler (2002) adds that individuals' compliance with social norms ascribed by gender further reinforces the legitimacy of these constructions, rendering them invisible and thus seemingly inevitable and difficult to challenge. In other words, these constructions are seen as natural regardless of the ways that people act.

According to Lorber (1994), parents have different expectations for their children thus parenting is gendered. It reinforces gender norms as children are taught how to be men and women. Men's and women's life encounters are shaped by the work they do in life. As a result, these encounters create various feelings, relationships and skills (that is ways of being a man and a woman). Various institutions, such as church and school, socialise us and each institution exerts its influence via official and unofficial discourses. Wood (2009) agrees, as she says family is a significant institution which shapes our cultural awareness, including our views on violence. Similarly, Kehily, (2001) says becoming a male or female is a social process that is acquired through culture in social interactions, in school and in the family. In some cultures, to be a 'man' means to be hostile, strong and tough and those who do not measure up are prone to sexual harassment (Wood, 2009).

Looking at gender as a social institution helps us explore why gendering is done from birth, continuously and by every person (Lorber, 1994). It also helps to understand gendered performances in sexual harassment. The theory explains that one of the major ways that people

organise their lives is through gender which is viewed as a social institution. Lorber (1994) argues that every society categorises human beings as 'boy and girl' children, young male and female adults prepared to enter marital life as full adults and they create similarities and differences between them and assign them to different responsibilities and roles. Personality, characteristics, feelings, motivations and ambitions flow from these different life experiences so that the members of these different groups become different kind of people. Religion, science, law and the society's entire set of values legitimise the process of gender and its result. As a result, men and women may act in ways which they think is crucial to their gender despite the consequences.

Gender is a process of constructing recognisable different social statuses for the assignments of responsibilities and rights i.e. it creates social differences that define man and woman (Lorber, 1994). Through socialisation individuals grasp what is required, act and react in expected ways and thus concurrently create and maintain the gender order. Similarly, Connell (1987) says individuals' compliance with gender norms and social institutions' reflection of these norms lead to the production of a gender 'regime' i.e. patterns of gender arrangements that order individual behaviour and institutional functioning. Thus, in doing gender, people are reinforcing a social order that institutionalises disparities between men and women.

Pascoe (2012) highlights some of the day to day social practices that construct and reinforce the gender regime, such as hazing. A US study on sexuality and masculinity (Pascoe, 2012) asserts that boys are not punished for hazing each other. Instead, the common response is that 'boys will be boys'. As a result, masculine dominance is communicated through sexuality and through institutions. The ways in which everyday practices, such as hazing, reinforce the idea that the right way to be manly and to have social power is to embody this dominating, physically oppressive type of masculinity devalues anything related to femininity. Arnett and Hughes (2012) assert that in the remotest part of central Brazil, among the Mehinaku males, particularly adolescent boys, sex is the most popular topic of conversation and they joke and brag about it. They are also under considerable pressure to show they can perform sexually and when they fail to perform they are ridiculed and ostracised. They are required to gain some degree of sexual experience for them to achieve manhood. According to Arnett and Hughes, all this can inspire harassment. These practices reinforce the gender regime.

Gender takes place through discursive routes, for example, to be a good mother and to be a heterosexually desirable object, which signify a multiplicity of guarantees in response to a

variety of different demands all at once (Lorber, 1994). In support of this view, Butler (2002) states that gender is constructed discursively and she further argues that the linguistic frames available to discuss and thus construct gender constrain the ways individuals may embody and perform gender. Lorber (1994) further says that people create gender in the ways that they learned were suitable for their gender status or they fight or defy these norms.

According to Lorber (1994), gender is part of a stratification system that ranks social statuses unfairly so that men are above women of the same race and class. Similarly, Connell (1987) points out that the gender regime stratifies power along gender binaries and gender inequality is reproduced through acts that reinforce ethnically elite men's social power and women's and ethnic minorities' subjugated statuses. As a result, this gives rise to the 'gender order' of a society which arranges social power disparately among men and women and privileges men. Lorber (1994) says that women and men are not equal and from a society's perspective there is one gender which is powerful, influential and normal while another is inferior and deviant. What men do is usually more important than what women do in a gender stratified society. In these unequal societies the marginalised people usually have less power and economic rewards.

Furthermore, gender is viewed as a major building block in the social structures built on this unequal status (Lorber, 1994). This means that sexual status plays a fundamental role in reflecting gender statuses, for example, different behaviour is expected for boys and girls, and for women and men. Female behaviour is sexualised (Bakari & Leach, 2008). This has sexual consequences as everything a woman does is viewed in terms of sexuality (how she wears clothes, how she walks) regardless of whether she is thinking of sex or not, or whether she is trying to attract sexual attention/attraction from a particular gender. If a woman does not conform to societal definitions of gender she is at higher risk for sexual consequences such as sexual harassment; if she conforms to societal definitions of gender she still faces consequences because of sex (Butler, 2002).

In support of Lorber's theory, Bourdieu (2002) highlights the implication of gender constructions on social power, making it possible to begin to analyse the power dynamics that make gendered violence such as sexual harassment so effective. Bourdieu's concept of symbolic violence gives an understanding of how individuals who are constrained and subjugated within the gender order actually buy into their own oppression. According to Bourdieu (2002), symbolic violence is a process by which dominated social groups and individuals 'buy into' ways of being and thinking that reinforce the arbitrariness of social order

so that it is viewed as natural, further justifying the legitimacy of social structures, such as policies and measures purportedly aimed at reducing violence, that focus on potential victims' behaviours (for example, don't wear a miniskirt or you might get raped), as opposed to potential aggressors' behaviours (for example, don't rape women, even if they are wearing miniskirts). Focusing on the victim reinforces the idea that it is the victim's responsibility not to be raped opposed to the aggressor's responsibility not to rape and in constructing rape prevention discursively the dominated group is conscribed to apply categories constructed from the point of view of the dominant. This therefore means that the dominant social group or institutions reinforce the idea that women need to be compliant and protect themselves as opposed to men needing to prevent themselves from becoming rapists.

This theory will be a useful lens through which the phenomena under study will be scrutinised and as the literature above suggested, understanding constructions of gender is key to understanding sexual harassment.

2.15 Conclusion

In this chapter, I synthesised the existing literature relevant to my study on sexual harassment on a university campus. I have also discussed the use of social construction of gender as a suitable theoretical approach for the study. In the next chapter, the methodology and the methods used in the enquiry are detailed.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This study explores students' understanding of sexual harassment at a selected University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) campus. The research design and methodology used to carry out this research will be presented in this chapter. Comprehensive information on the research paradigm, research approach, sampling methods adopted, data analysis method and the research site will be provided. Since the study is of a sensitive nature, ethically related issues will also be discussed in this chapter

3.2 Research Methods

3.2.1 Research Paradigm

Punch (2009) defines a paradigm as a set of beliefs about the world and what constitutes proper methods and topics for inquiring into that world. Blanche, Durham and Painter (2009) further define a paradigm as a structure of related epistemological, ontological and methodological assumptions. It is important to include a paradigm in a research design because it influences the nature of the research question (i.e. what is to be studied) and the way in which the question is to be studied (Blanche et al., 2009). To acquire a deeper understanding of the phenomenon under study the interpretive paradigm, which is subjective in nature, was adopted. The interpretive paradigm acknowledges the view that there are many truths and since reality is subjective it is constructed from a person's life experiences, background and social interactions (Check & Schutte, 2012). A single event or situation can be interpreted in various ways. With this paradigm, reality is regarded as complex and multi-layered (Cohen et al., 2011).

This paradigm recognises that the best way of understanding the social world is through the individual's point of view. The participants define the social reality which the researcher will attempt to understand, explain and clarify (Cohen et al., 2011). It is important to analyse situations through the eyes of the participants. According to Cohen et al., (2011) the social world is actively constructed by people and situations are not fixed and static but fluid and changing over time. With this paradigm, the social world is examined in its pure state without being manipulated by the person doing the research. Its focus on the holistic viewpoint of an individual and setting is more congruent with the phenomenon under study (Weave & Olson, 2006). The researcher used this paradigm to try to understand students' interpretation of the phenomenon under study.

In this research I engaged the qualitative approach which shares some of its philosophical views with the interpretive paradigm. Blanche et al. (2009) argue that the qualitative approach is holistic, naturalistic and inductive. I utilised the qualitative approach because my intention was to study the phenomenon as it unfolds in the real world settings without manipulation (Blanche et al., 2009). In addition, Patton (2002) stresses the importance of the researcher's commitment and deep involvement in the study. He argues that the real world is subject to change hence it is important for the researcher to be present to record an event before and after the changes. According to Patton (2002), qualitative research is a type of study that generates findings derived from real world settings where the phenomenon of interest unfolds naturally. This approach focuses on the importance of listening and the world is viewed from the participants' perspectives. The social and educational world is studied in total rather than in fragments to acquire a true understanding (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011). The interpretive paradigm and the qualitative approach assisted me in obtaining an understanding of the world from the individual's point of view. Furthermore, the interpretive paradigm and the qualitative approach use methods of generating data that provide an opportunity for the voice, concerns and practices of research participants to be heard (Knowles & Cole, 2006).

3.3 Context and Research Site

The research was conducted in KwaZulu-Natal province at a selected campus of the University of KwaZulu-Natal. The campus is situated in Pinetown, approximately 20 kilometres from the Durban Central Business District (CBD). There are nine residences at the campus, three of which are for male undergraduate students, four for female undergraduate students, one for both female and male post graduate and undergraduate students, and one for both male and female post graduate students only. In this study I worked with both on campus and off campus students. I chose to conduct my study at this particular campus because it was a convenient place to meet with the participants since I am also a student at this institution. The university enrolls students from different cultural backgrounds. My intention was to have a sample which consists of multi-racial participants but students of other races were reluctant to participate in this study hence ending with participants who were African.

3.4 Sampling Methods

Cohen et al. (2011) argue that exceptional research not only relies on the suitability of method and instrumentation but also on the appropriateness of the sampling approach that has been used. According to Blanche et al., (2009) sampling involves the selection of research

participants from a whole population. But there are various factors such as time, willingness of different groups to participate and cost that inhibit researchers from gathering data from the total population hence the need to acquire data from a less representative sample group.

3.4.1 Purposive sampling

In this study purposive sampling was adopted. This method of sampling targets information rich participants whose study will enlighten the question under scrutiny (Patton, 2002). Maxwell (1997) agrees with this as he further defines purposive sampling as selecting units (for example individual, sample group or organisations) based on clearly defined objectives designed to answer research study questions. In this study selection of participants was purposive because I selected students from one of the campuses. My intention was to work with residence students only, however, many of them were not keen to participate in the study hence off campus students were included.

My ideal sample size was 12 but 16 undergraduate students from a selected UKZN campus were selected in case some dropped out during the study. I decided to work with 16 students because there is no precise answer for a right sample size in qualitative research (Cohen et al., 2011). My focus was on generating rich data from a small sample and doing a detailed analysis on their understanding of sexual harassment (Blanche et al., 2009). My hope was to work with students of diverse race groups as this was going to assist in generating data from students with different socio-cultural backgrounds. Unfortunately, students of other races were not willing to take part in the study. The initial sample consisted of 16 African students; eight male and eight female participants. Having participated in the focus group discussions, four participants (one female and three males) decided to withdraw from participating in this study. I did not pursue this further since I had given them an assurance that they could withdraw at any time.

3.4.2 Snowball sampling

I employed the snowball sampling in this study mainly because the topic is of a sensitive nature. According to Cohen et al., (2011) the more sensitive the research the more difficult it is to gain access to a sample. In addition, snowball sampling has been found to be valuable in qualitative research as it uses participants' social networks or contacts to gain access to people. In this research I identified a number of individuals from residences whom I used as informants to identify other willing eligible participants and they further identified others (Cohen et al., 2011). Accessing participants was quite unexpectedly challenging. I contacted one male student and explained my research to him. Although he was not willing to be part of my

research due to personal reasons, he agreed to identify other students. He introduced me to three female undergraduate students and one male undergraduate student. Two female students were not interested in participating in this study partly because of its sensitive nature.

As I continued with the search for participants I came to realise that some on-campus students were reluctant to participate in this study so I decided to include off-campus students, many of whom were willing to participate. One male student agreed to participate in this research and he further agreed to identify other willing students. He managed to identify five more male participants, three of whom were off campus students. I also consulted the Residence Assistant (RA) and he agreed to help me. He managed to identify six female students who were keen to take part in this study. Three of these six were off-campus students. Two of the female students managed to identify four more students who agreed to participate in this research. My target was to work with eight male and eight female students in this study. The snowball sampling is crucial in this study because it is regarded as social since it relies on strong interpersonal relations (Blanche et al., 2009).

3.5 Biography of Participants

Name	Age	Sex	Year of Study	Residence	Home
Mpume	21	Female	3 rd	Yes	New Germany, Pinetown.
Mbali	21	Female	3 rd	Yes	KwaMashu
Sthandwa	21	Female	2 nd	Yes	Ladysmith
Lungi	24	Female	2 nd	Yes	Pietermaritzburg
Betty	21	Female	3 rd	No	Pinetown
Charity	22	Female	2 nd	No	Margate, Port Shepstone
Sthembile	21	Female	3 rd	Yes	Port Shepstone

Pretty	24	Female	2 nd	No	Pinetown
Sabelo	19	Male	2 nd	Yes	Ladysmith
Mondie	21	Male	2 nd	No	Pongola
Zola	20	Male	2 nd	No	Jolivet
Shotie	23	Male	4 th	Yes	Mtubatuba
Nhlanhla	24	Male	4 th	Yes	Ladysmith
Scelo	22	Male	3 rd	Yes	Estcourt
James	23	Male	3 rd	No	Umlazi
Lundi	20	Male	2 nd	Yes	Port Shepstone

3.6 Ethical Considerations

Ethics are important in all research. It was particularly important for me to observe ethics during the course of this research because the phenomenon under study is of a sensitive nature. It is an ethical obligation to seek approval to conduct a study from gatekeepers (Cohen et al., 2011). Authorisation to do the study was acquired from the university registrar. According to Cohen et al., (2011) the registrar has a very responsible position and he/she must not be overlooked. In addition, they have much more at stake to lose than the researcher as they have to live with the daily consequence of the research and its effects on participants. Having gained permission from the university registrar, I further applied for ethical clearance from the university ethical committee and it was approved.

Informed consent was acquired at the beginning of the research. It was crucial for participants to be informed of avoiding any chance of them being exposed to stress. According to Cohen et al., (2011) informed consent is the keystone of ethical behaviour as it respects the rights of

individuals to exercise control over their lives and to decide as individuals. According to Check and Schutte (2012), individuals who are competent to consent must give consent, it must be voluntary, the people must be aware of what the research is about, and they must understand what they have been told. Full information about the possible dangers and consequences were explained to participants. The whole process of the study was explained in clear and simple language. I was transparent and explicit to the participants when explaining the contents of the study (Check & Schutte, 2012).

Cohen et al. (2011) assert that informed consent protects and acknowledges the independence of participants and assigns some responsibility on the participants if anything goes wrong during the study. To protect the participants' rights, and respect their needs and values, anonymity and confidentiality of their responses was ensured. To protect their identities participants were given the opportunity to choose pseudonyms of their choice. Only willing participants took part in this study. They were advised that they had a right to end their participation in this study at any time without any questions being asked. Permission to audio record the interviews was obtained from participants. Furthermore, to protect participants' privacy all data records would be locked in a safe place, preferably in my supervisor's office, to which unauthorised people would not have access and all data would be destroyed after five years.

3.7 Data Generation Methods

To aid coherence, methods of data generation were designed to fit logically within the interpretive paradigm (Blanche et al., 2009). The interpretive paradigm relies on naturalistic methods when gathering data. To achieve coherence, I used interviews and this enabled me to understand meanings attached to sexual harassment by students through shared interaction (Blanche et al., 2009). Cohen et al. (2011) define an interview as an exchange of viewpoints between two or more people on a subject of mutual interest. Knowledge is acquired through human interaction. According to Punch (2009), interviews are the most important tool for data generation in qualitative research. They are the main tools used in the interpretive paradigm (Golofshani, 2003). They allowed me to build a comprehensive picture of how students understand sexual harassment on campus. In this study intensive interviews and focus group discussions were used for data generation.

3.7.1 Focus group discussion

Focus group discussions were used for generating data. According to Hayden and Bulow (2003), focus groups are contrived settings, bringing together a specifically chosen sector of the population, previously known to each other, to discuss a particular topic or theme where the interaction with the group leads to data outcomes. Cohen et al. (2011) assert that through focus group discussions participating members engage among themselves rather than the interviewer, and this permits their views to surface. In addition, data arises through this interaction. With this type of interview, I was more of a facilitator and less an interviewer (Punch, 2009).

All 16 participants took part in the focus group discussions. I formulated two single sex groups with eight students each. I preferred single sex groups because homogenous groups were friendlier and participants were willing to share information (Check & Schutte, 2012). Group discussions were held in the Research Commons' conference room. Semi-structured questions were used during the discussions. After obtaining participants' permission focus group discussions were recorded in order to keep a full record of what transpired. I facilitated and monitored the discussion. To help keep the participants at ease and stimulate discussion I started the focus group discussion by showing them a video of a sexual harassment scene titled 'School is hard and so is your math teacher'. I retrieved the video from YouTube and it was shown on my laptop. (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yllmLq0Whvg>). When the participants finished watching the five-minute video I asked them a non-threatening open-ended question to get them to talk and participants, female participants in particular, were eager to talk.

Focus group discussion with female participants was interesting as they were calm and they could spontaneously share their views regarding the topic. Male participants at first were a bit reserved and not keen to talk but as time passed they began to interact freely. However, they did not take the discussion seriously. They were joking and laughing about important things. I did some focus group discussions because they save time and produce a lot of data within a short period (Cohen et al., 2011). They are not expensive to conduct and they produce rich data. Cohen et al. (2011) also say focus group discussions are time-saving, generating a lot of data within a short time-frame. They are flexible, exciting and elaborative (Punch, 2009). Focus group discussions are well-known for producing honest answers if they are conducted well (Check & Schutte, 2012). Punch (2009) agrees as he says that focus group discussions can stimulate students in making explicit their views, motives, perceptions and reasons. In addition,

he says, good focus group discussions can bring to the surface aspects of a situation that might not otherwise be uncovered.

3.7.2 Individual interviews

Individual or one-on-one interviews were conducted with both male and female students using open-ended, semi-structured questions. With these questions participants were able to answer the same questions that they had been asked in the focus group discussions and their responses could be compared. Semi-structured interviews are crucial in reducing interviewer effects and bias. Use of semi-structured questions made it easier for me to organise and analyse data (Check & Schutte, 2012). In addition, semi-structured interviews will assist decision makers when they are reviewing the instruments used when evaluating my study (Check & Schutte, 2012). Individual interviews allowed me to understand how participants felt and thought about the phenomenon under study (Babbie, 2014). Only 12 participants, seven females and five males, took part in the individual interviews. Four of the original 16 (three male students and one female student) decided to withdraw from participating in this study after having scheduled and rescheduled meetings several times. When the participants did not arrive for meetings, I would phone, we would reschedule but they would not keep the appointments. This recurred until they decided to withdraw.

The interview time ranged from 30 minutes to one hour. The interviews were conducted in the Research Commons and participants were comfortable with the venue. With participants' permission, all interviews were audio recorded. It was crucial for me to record so that I would keep a full record of the interview and also to show the participants that whatever they were going to say would be taken seriously (Blanche et al., 2009). I used individual interviews because they enabled me to interact with students and they gave me a chance to get to know the participants well. Conducting these interviews was crucial in generating data on the interviewee's views and perceptions on sexual harassment (Check & Schutte, 2012). Punch (2009) agrees, saying that an interview is crucial in accessing human beings' views, meanings, definition of situations and the way reality is created. In addition, interviews are considered influential in understanding individuals. Cohen et al. (2011) agree with this as they say interviews enable participants to talk about their understandings of the world they live in and to voice their views on how they regard situations.

I did some individual interviews because they are regarded as a tool which is flexible for gathering data enabling multi-sensory channels to be utilised i.e. non-verbal, spoken and heard

(Cohen et al., 2011). This makes them a powerful tool for researchers. To establish a good relationship with participants I explained to them what the interview was about i.e. the purpose of my research. This was followed by an open-ended question which was meant to put them at ease and to get them to talk (Blanche et al., 2009). Check & Schutte (2012) argue that if the interviewer does her job well, i.e. establishes a good relationship and asks questions in a suitable way, and the participant is honest and inspired, accurate data may be produced. However, the logistics of organising long periods of interviews can be difficult. As students were on strike it was difficult to organise individual interviews. However, some participants were willing to do the interviews despite the strike.

I did seven individual interviews during the strike period. With others, I had to consider their plight and we postponed until the end of the strike. All interviews were completed by 20 September 2015. Cohen et al. (2011) add that individual interviews are time-consuming and may be inconvenient for participants. To address this limitation, I managed to establish a good relationship with students, considering in advance how they were likely to react to the interview arrangements and I developed an approach which did not disrupt their day to day standard of social behaviour (Check & Schutte, 2012). Participants were given the opportunity to choose a suitable day and time for them. Individual interviews were conducted during the day from approximately 9am to 2pm.

3.8 Trustworthiness and Credibility

Validity and reliability are treated separately in quantitative research whereas in qualitative research they are not viewed separately. Reliability is a term used by the positivist to evaluate quality in quantitative research. However, interpretivists share a different view that quality in a qualitative study has a purpose of generating understanding (Golafshani, 2003). Eisner (1997) says a good qualitative study helps us unpack and comprehend an otherwise confusing situation. To ensure quality in qualitative research naturalistic researchers prefer to use a different terminology in order to distance themselves from the positivist paradigm (Shenton, 2004). In qualitative paradigms the terms credibility, confirmability, dependability and transferability are essential criteria for quality or a trustworthy study (Lincoln & Guba cited in Shenton, 2004).

Cohen et al. (2011) define reliability as an alternative word for dependability, consistency and replicability over tools, time and groups of participants. The term dependability closely corresponds to the concept of reliability in qualitative research and, for research to be

dependable, findings must be consistent and replicable (Shenton, 2004). An enquiry audit can be done to enhance dependability in qualitative research. This allows for the process and product of the research to be investigated for consistency. I made available all the raw data, data reduction products and process notes for verification (Shenton, 2004). In addition, in the semi-structured interviews, the same format and sequence of words were used for each participant in order to enhance reliability. I also used verbatim accounts of conversations and direct quotes from the data to illustrate participants' meaning when analysing data.

Credibility is enhanced through various ways. Using effective research methods in qualitative research is one way of ensuring credibility. Shenton (2004) suggests that the line of questioning pursued in data generating sessions and methods of data analysis should be derived from those that have been effectively utilised previously in similar projects. In this study I used semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions. Thematic analysis of data was adopted. I was transparent and explicit in my interactions with the participants. The whole process was explained in simple and clear language. Participation in the research was voluntary. This assisted in employing only those who were genuinely willing to take part and offer data freely. Participating students were also advised that they had a right to withdraw from the study at any point without giving any explanation as to why they were withdrawing (Shenton, 2004). Frequent checks on the accuracy of the data were done on the spot, in the course, and at the end of the data collection dialogues. Some participants were asked to read the transcripts of dialogues in which they had participated. The purpose was to determine whether the participants considered that their words actually matched what they actually intended, since, if a tape recorder has been used, the articulations themselves should at least have been accurately captured (Shenton, 2004).

In this study steps were taken to ensure that the findings were a result of the participants' understandings rather than my preferences (Shenton, 2004). Documenting procedures for checking and rechecking data throughout the study is crucial in sustaining confirmability. A data audit can be done to ensure confirmability. This entails examining the data collection and analysis procedures to check for bias or distortions (Shenton, 2004). All the data gathered during the study would be made available for collaboration or confirmation.

Transferability involves demonstrating the applicability of findings of a study to other contexts or settings. It involves providing in-depth description to the reader so that he/she can decide whether the results are transferable to his/her own context. Transferability is the responsibility

of the reader. I can only provide detailed data to the one doing the generalising (Brown, 2004). In this study the findings are specific to a smaller population thus it is difficult to demonstrate that they can be applied to other settings (Shenton, 2004).

3.9 Data analysis

Qualitative data analysis includes arranging, giving reasons for and enlightening the data in terms of the participants' definitions of the situation, and observing themes, patterns, classifications and anomalies (Cohen et al., 2011). Blanche et al. (2009) concur as they say qualitative researchers analyse data by identifying and placing themes into categories. In qualitative methods data analysis is on-going from the beginning of data generation (Thomas & Harden, 2008). It is worthwhile to start data analysis early rather than to leave all the writing and analysis until the data generation is over (Cohen et al., 2011). I started analysing data from the day I conducted the first focus group discussion. Early analysis of data allows progressive focusing as key issues for further investigation can be identified. Cohen et al. (2011) argue that qualitative research involves gathering huge amounts of data thus early analysis is important in reducing the problem of data overload. The qualitative method of analysing data enabled me to study a number of issues comprehensively and honestly. In addition, I was able to identify and attempt to understand the categories of information that arose from the data (Blanche et al., 2009).

According to Cohen et al., (2011) there are various ways of analysing and presenting data; whichever way one does it should be appropriate for the purpose of the study. With this in mind, the study adopted thematic analysis of data, which is a widely used method in qualitative research (Braun & Clarke, 2006). It involves recognising, examining and reporting patterns (themes) within data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The researcher is required to search across a data set to find recurrent patterns of meaning. It is considered a suitable way to analyse qualitative data as it provides rich, detailed and complex accounts of data (Cassell et al., 2006). In this study data was organised to identify common themes, patterns, differences and similarities which I used to present the findings (Thomas & Harden, 2008).

Braun and Clarke (2006) identified six phases of doing thematic analysis which guided me when I was analysing data. I started by familiarising myself with data. Since I generated the data myself, it was helpful to me because I gained some knowledge about the data. As I was working with verbal data (data generated through individual interviews and focus group discussions), it was crucial for thematic data analysis to transcribe the data verbatim. It is

crucial to give a verbatim account of all spoken words for data analysis. I made sure that the transcript had all the information required and was true to its original nature (Brine & Clarke, 2006). Transcription of data enabled me to further familiarise myself with data though it was frustrating and time-consuming. However, time spent on data transcription was not time lost as it informed the first stage of analysing data and it enabled me to formulate a clear understanding of the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In addition, in transcribing data I paid close attention to detail and this enhanced my interpretive and reading skills which are required when analysing data (Braune & Clarke, 2006). Transcription of data is considered a significant phase of data analysis in a qualitative study since it allows for creation of meanings (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

According to Braun & Clarke (2006), phase two involves generating initial codes. When I finished transcribing, I studied my transcripts to familiarise myself with the data. After reading and familiarising myself with the data, I listed some ideas about the contents of my data and some interesting aspects of the data. I began the process of coding which involved arranging data into meaningful groups. When coding data, one has to analytically work through the whole data set, paying appropriate attention to each data item and identifying noteworthy features within the data that may form the basis of recurring patterns (Braun & Clarke, 2006). I coded manually and highlighted as many potential patterns as possible.

Phase three requires a researcher to search for themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). When all the data has been coded and organised phase three begins. In this stage I had to organise all the various codes into prospective themes and arrange all the appropriate data excerpts within the formulated themes. I had to analyse the codes and see how various codes could be combined to make a theme. As a result, I managed to form some themes and subthemes. I created miscellaneous themes for some codes which did not appear to fit in my major themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Phase four requires a researcher to review the themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). After formulating some main themes, I had to refine them. This was done through studying all the collated excerpts for each theme and considering if they formed a sound and consistent pattern. For those that seemed to be incoherent I had to re-work them and formulate new themes. I had to revisit my whole data set to establish whether the themes worked in relation to data set and to code any extra data within themes that had been overlooked in earlier coding stages (Braun & Clarke, 2012).

According to Braun & Clarke (2006), phase five involves defining and naming themes. After acquiring a proper thematic map of my data, I had to further define and refine the themes that I had to present for my analysis and further analyse the data within them. In doing this I had to identify the essence of what each theme was about and define the aspect of data each theme captured. This was done by returning to look at organised data excerpts for each theme and arranging them into an account which was logical and consistent. The following themes were identified:

- ‘What and Who’ of Sexual Harassment;
- Dressing and Sexual Harassment;
- Power and Sexuality;
- Masculinity, Femininity and Sexuality;
- Internet Social Networks and Sexual Harassment;
- Stigmatisation, Fear and Myths;
- Increasing Awareness leads to Reduction; and
- Student Support Structures and Services

A detailed analysis was given for each theme in relation to my research questions.

Phase six involves producing the report. After identifying and naming my themes, I had to analyse and write up my findings. The essential thing was to present the complex tale of my data in such a way as to persuade a reader that my research is trustworthy. It is vital that the analysis provides a clear, consistent, plausible, non-repetitive and fascinating narrative of the story which the data is telling (Braun & Clarke, 2009).

3.10 Limitations

Findings of the study were based on a small sample hence they cannot be generalised to other contexts or settings. Findings are a reflection of what is happening on this particular university campus only. It was not my intention to generalise but to present in-depth understandings generated from a small sample.

Time constraints were a major limitation. The study was to be conducted within one year and I did not have time to generate a lot of data from a large sample. There was also some time wasted during student protests as some participants cancelled meetings because they were scared of what might happen to them if they were seen by other striking students. After the strike four participants agreed to meet but did not arrive for the interviews. They decided to

withdraw from participating in this study after postponing the scheduled interviews a number of times.

Given the sensitivity of the topic some students were not keen to participate in the study. They were not interested in divulging information related to sexual harassment. To alleviate this problem, I observed issues of confidentiality. Students were assured that their names would not be mentioned and were given an opportunity to choose pseudonyms of their choice.

3.11 Conclusion

This chapter presented the extensive methodology utilised to conduct this study. The interpretive paradigm and the qualitative approach were utilised in answering the three pivotal research questions and also to acquire a broad understanding of the meanings attached to sexual harassment by students. The methods of sampling used in this study were purposive and snowball sampling. The thematic analysis was employed to analyse data which was generated through the individual interviews and focus group discussions. Limitations of the study were presented in this chapter. Adherence to ethical issues was also presented in this chapter. A detailed analysis of data generated will be presented in the next chapter.

Chapter 4: Data Analysis

4.1 Introduction

Having detailed the methodology and methods of data generation for this study in the preceding chapter, in this chapter I present and analyse the data. This chapter will provide a detailed analysis of data that was generated through focus group discussions and individual interviews to answer the three pivotal research questions. The three research questions are:

- What do students at a selected UKZN campus understand as sexual harassment?
- What are the views of students at a selected UKZN campus, on sexual harassment on campus?
- What do students at a selected UKZN campus suggest as ways to reduce sexual harassment on campus?

The analysis draws on Lorber's social construction of gender theory. As discussed in the previous chapter, the thematic analysis is used to analyse generated data and the following themes were identified.

- 'What and Who' of Sexual Harassment;
- Dressing and Sexual Harassment;
- Power and Sexuality;
- Masculinity, Femininity and Sexuality;
- Internet Social Networks and Sexual Harassment;
- Stigmatisation, Fear and Myths;
- Increasing Awareness leads to Reduction; and
- Student Support Structures and Services.

The three research questions are simultaneously responded to in each of the themes. Although there is some overlap in the themes, I have presented them separately for organisation purposes. Although there is no particular order in which the themes are presented, I have attempted to arrange those most frequently articulated first. To protect the identities of those who participated in the study pseudonyms are used.

4.2 ‘What and Who’ of Sexual Harassment

This theme seeks to elaborate some aspects of what students understand by sexual harassment. It will also highlight who the participants see as the perpetrators and victims of sexual harassment and where and to whom they can report issues of sexual harassment. At the outset of individual interviews participants were asked the question: What do you think sexual harassment is? Participants showed varying degrees of understanding what sexual harassment is.

Some participants, in particular male participants, showed a limited understanding of what sexual harassment is, as reflected in Nhlanhla’s response below:

“I think sexual harassment is forcefully touching a person’s body parts she is not comfortable with....”

The above extract shows that Nhlanhla’s understanding is limited to physical sexual harassment.

Sabelo expressed similar views, as reflected below:

“Sexual harassment is when a person of another gender touches in an inappropriate manner. Maybe a boy touches a girl’s boobs without her permission.”

Sabelo’s understanding is limited to physical sexual harassment. Sabelo further thinks that sexual harassment occurs only between people of different genders. He does not mention same-sex sexual harassment.

However, some participants showed a good understanding of what sexual harassment was. One female participant (Sthembile) felt that sexual harassment was any behaviour that makes a person feel uncomfortable, as shown in an extract below:

“Sexual harassment is ...I think when you are being harassed you tend to not feel comfortable. Anything that involves someone being sexually interested in you or touching you or just being verbal towards you in a point that you are not comfortable.”

Lungi felt the same way, as reflected below, and she goes further to highlight that even someone’s look, touch or comments about body structure is a form of harassment:

“ I think it’s any kind of behaviour that will make you feel uncomfortable, maybe it can be verbal or it can be physical...for instance when somebody touches you in the...in the body parts where you are not comfortable with... and when boys or even girls give silly comments.”

Some male participants expressed similar views but in different words. Shotie felt that sexual harassment was any touch or look that was not proper and was unwelcome by the person subjected to it, as shown in an extract below:

“.... being harassed in many different things like even the eye contact can harass, even touching someone parts that he is not suitable or she is not suitable... when you touch someone in a place whereby he doesn't like you to touch him like in the bums and those places that are sensitive.”

It was noticed that while women mainly spoke in general terms about physical harassment, some men were more explicit about body parts. This is evident in Shotie's reference to 'bums' in the excerpt above.

Zola's explanation was broader than physical contact, as shown below:

“I think sexual harassment is any kind of sexual behaviour that may affect a person... I'm talking about physical and emotional then when you come to emotional sometimes there are ways that we speak to people, maybe you say to the girl that... ...you are sexy, that can affect a person... When it comes to physically maybe I think it is when we are talking about physical contact, touching someone, the private parts...”

The responses above indicate that, to a certain extent, some participants seem to understand sexual harassment. Participants view sexual harassment as behaviour which is unwelcome and makes a person who is exposed to it feel uncomfortable. Similarly, Mamaru et al. (2015) argue that sexual harassment is unsolicited and undesirable sexual conduct in educational settings that affect the well-being of a person. The University of KwaZulu-Natal management also agree with this as they define sexual harassment as behaviour of a sexual nature which is unwelcome by the person who is being subjected to it (Sexual Harassment Policy and Procedures, 2004).

However, even though there seems to be some degree of awareness about sexual harassment among students, underreporting continues to be a concern. Collins et al. (2009) contend that many sexual violence cases in universities go unreported. The following section looks at responses given by participants on why students do not report sexual harassment on campus and their views indicate that some students have been socialised into accepting certain sexual behaviours as normal. This is reflected in an extract below from a focus group discussion with female participants.

To the question about why those who are sexually harassed do not report sexual harassment, the following responses were received:

Charity: "Maybe they don't know sexual harassment."

Sthembile: "It's a minor thing, they don't take it seriously."

Charity: "They don't think it would go to that extent that it's called sexual harassment."

Charity's statements indicate that some students have a limited understanding of sexual harassment and they trivialise some sexual behaviours. Sthembile further said that students considered it a minor thing and they did not take it seriously. Charity mentioned that students did not always recognise sexual harassment. These responses suggest that students have different views and opinions regarding which behaviours should be classified as harassment. These behaviours constitute sexual harassment as defined by the university policy and more widely accepted definitions. Students' differing views can be attributed to the way men and women were socialised to believe that certain sexual behaviours are appropriate for men.

Continuing with the issue of not reporting sexual harassment, similar views were expressed during individual interviews. The majority of female participants indicated that some students were not well-informed about sexual harassment. Some of the views are quoted below:

Betty: "...The person perpetuating this doesn't know that the things that they are doing is sexual harassment or it could be the victims themselves have no knowledge of what sexual harassment is that's why it keeps happening... because they think that the things being done to them are perfectly normal."

Charity experienced quid pro quo harassment but she did not initially regard it as sexual harassment. This comes out clearly in her statement below:

"...I didn't think that because he didn't do anything to me that it would be a problem but as the time went by I saw that was wrong. Because I was still a first year student I didn't know anything about varsity so I just thought, no, it's fine, if I didn't get a room at least I didn't agree to do that."

The above responses suggest that both the perpetrators and the victims might not understand the full continuum of behaviours that constitute sexual harassment and that is why it is perpetuated because the behaviour is considered to be a normal part of their lives. Betty's views show how sexual harassment is normalised on the campus. Her views suggest that students

believe that what is happening to them is part of normal life. Charity mentioned that she experienced sexual harassment but she did not do anything about it because she did not know that such behaviour constituted sexual harassment. She thought that because the perpetrator 'did not do' anything to her it was not sexual harassment. This suggests that students have a limited understanding of behaviours that constitute sexual harassment. This supports the view that individuals who are constrained and subjugated within a gender order buy into their oppression such that violence such as sexual harassment is regarded as normal (Bourdieu, 2002).

During individual interviews with female participants, the majority mentioned that students did not take sexual harassment seriously unless it was rape. Below are just two examples from the five female participants who stated that students did not take sexual harassment seriously.

Sthandwa felt that no-one takes it to a point where it's labelled sexual harassment unless it is rape, as shown below:

"... I think no one actually takes it to that point, unless they actually just rape you...I think that's the only thing they will actually report and small things like touching you or just talking to you in a manner that you feel you are uncomfortable they will actually won't report it."

Mpume echoes the same sentiments. *"... It's not like a serious case. I think if someone actually rapes you, I think that's the only time they would go and report it."*

Sthandwa and Mpume's responses indicate that some students consider rape as the only form of sexual harassment that should be reported. This suggests that other sexual behaviours perpetrated by male students are considered normal gendered performances. This supports the view that gender is a human construction that relies on everyone continuously doing gender, hence female students maintain and reinforce the legitimacy of these social constructions (Lorber, 1994). Their understanding of behaviour that constitutes sexual harassment is restricted to rape. This supports Barker and Ricardo's (2005) view that there is a variety of definitions and views of what constitutes violence against women. Some female students have a belief that sexual harassment is a practice based on simple sex attraction and a form of flattering sexual attention for women, sometimes vulgar, but a fundamentally harmless game, well within the range of acceptable normal behaviour between women and men (Stop violence against women, 2010).

This is linked to one female participant who mentioned that she experienced sexual harassment but it was not something serious that she could report. When asked: “Have you ever experienced any unwelcome sexual advances?”, one female participant mentioned that she experienced an unwelcome hug and kiss, as reflected in the extract below:

Mpume: “...it wasn’t something major I can go report it, no. It was just hug and kiss... when we hugged he gave a kiss, a very uncomfortable one. I asked him why are you doing this because it doesn’t feel right. ...He said: ‘We are just friends, there is nothing wrong with that.’ It was hard for me to just continue, telling him that I felt uncomfortable with it. I thought he will think I’m thinking of other things like he is ... I don’t know. It was just wrong for me but for him he didn’t see anything wrong with it.”

Mpume’s narrative suggests that one of the reasons why students do not report sexual harassment is because the perpetrators are known to the victims. According to Arnett and Hughes (2012), women are often sexually harassed by men they know. Mpume experienced an unwelcome hug and kiss and she said it was not something major that she could report. She could not continue telling her friend that she did not like such behaviour because she was afraid that he would think that she was thinking of something more than their friendship. She decided to accept and tolerate such behaviour. According to Ricardo and Barker, (2008) sexual violence in educational institutions is normalised by students because it happens every day and it conforms to gender norms. This supports a study done by Norman et al. (2012) on traditional and contra power which reveals that sexual harassment is not reported by many students because they do not consider the incident important.

Focus group discussions reinforced the finding that sexual harassment has been normalised on campus, as reflected in an excerpt below:

Mpume: “Because seriously... some lecturers do that and you tell a friend like, hey, this lecturer did this and that and he is like, oh, he is like that. I know him...”

Sthandwa: “We take it lightly like the story I just shared about a lecturer.”

Mpume: “Yes, we take it lightly and he continues doing that, he does that... he is always like that.”

The above extract shows that sexual harassment among students and lecturers has not only been accepted but considered to be a norm on the campus. Sthandwa mentioned that students took sexual harassment lightly. Mpume’s statement indicates that some students often advise

others to ignore the harassment by passing comments like, 'he is like that,' suggesting that the situation must be accepted and nothing can be done about it. As a result, the perpetrator will continue perpetrating sexual harassment. According to Bell et al. (2014), students take it lightly because of societal norms that accept such behaviour from men.

Similar views were expressed during the individual interviews with female participants. Mbali, for example, indicated that students were not keen to report sexual harassment on campus because it was regarded as something not worth reporting, as reflected in an extract below:

"No, I have never heard of anyone reporting sexual harassment. All they do is talk about it. It's just a conversation and then it ends like that... Like a student would come to you and tell you this lecturer did this to me and then she would be saying, 'I know him, he is like that, he does that to other students'. Okay, and then you just forget about it."

Mbali's statement suggests that some female students accept the sexual harassment of lecturers and it becomes part of their normal life. They don't see anything wrong with it. This supports a study done by Norman et al. (2012) on traditional and contra power sexual harassment in public universities of Ghana which found that many students who were sexually harassed did not report the incident because they did not consider the incident important.

From the above discussion it is therefore imperative to look at who the perpetrators of sexual harassment are on campus. During individual interviews the majority of participants mentioned that male students were the main perpetrators of sexual harassment. The extract below shows some of the responses given by participants when asked: "Who are perpetrators of sexual harassment on campus?"

Sabelo, a male participant, expressed that boys were the perpetrators of sexual harassment, as shown below:

"Boys, I can say boys are the harassers."

Mbali, a female participant, expressed a similar view, as indicated in the extract below.

"... the perpetrators are male students."

Eight participants, both male and female, had similar statements like the ones above whereby they indicated that boys were the main perpetrators. This supports Arnett and Hughes' (2012) argument that the majority of harassers are men. This can be attributed to some gender norms and roles which condone certain sexual behaviours for men. According to Ouzgone and Morell

(2005), a man's self-confidence, identity, and social value are related to his sexuality. In addition, this perception of engaging in undesirable sexual behaviours such as sexual harassment is drawn from values and norms that validate male sexual activity and such action is regarded as an appropriate means for males to improve their self-worth and manliness, specifically because it adds to the definition of a status that is different to that of women.

While the majority of the male participants mentioned that men were the perpetrators during the individual interviews, the sentiments expressed during the focus group interviews were different. They were claiming that as men they were the victims. During a focus group discussion with male participants, their responses indicated that there were some female students who perpetrated sexual harassment on campus, as shown below:

Mondie: "Most first year students...I am talking about girls, they know that if they are coming from high school they are called freshers like every senior student wants to date a first-year student... even the one who never got a girlfriend he will try by all means to get and a first year student knows that very well."

Sabelo: "Yes."

Mondie: "... and they use that against guys. They just throw themselves around guys. For instance, if you are a guy and you have like some sort of power on the campus, you are an SRC member, girls will throw themselves at you. If you are an RA girls will throw themselves. Even if you are a tutor, lecturer. They even throw themselves at lecturers who are old enough to be their parents but girls do throw themselves at lecturers."

The above responses indicate that there are some female students who sexually harass those with power or who are perceived to be in a position of power. Mondie states that girls throw themselves at men with some authority like Student Representative Council (SRC) members, Residence Assistance (RA) members, and tutors or lecturers who are old enough to be their parents. Renzetti et al. (2012) refer to this type of harassment as contra power sexual harassment as it does not involve peers or a perpetrator with formal authority or power over the victim. With this form of harassment the target possesses greater formal organisational power than the perpetrator. When a student harasses a lecturer, for example, it cannot be called quid pro quo because the harasser is not in a position to offer or reject a benefit. Although contra power has received less attention it has been found that it occurs at an alarming rate (Renzetti et al., 2012).

During a focus group discussion with female participants, they stated that some female students made sexually suggestive gestures which may lead to sex in exchange for funding. Sthandwa mentioned that there were some ‘chicks’ who lead ‘guys’ on even though they know the man has had sex with many girls. Charity mentioned that they were desperate and they had nothing, as reflected in the extracts below:

Sthandwa: “Let’s not blame it on the guys. Only some chicks, we act stupidly...We lead the guys on coz it’s like some of the girls you would know this person is doing this but then knowing that you want this, you would know that this guy has slept with so many chicks and you will lead the guy on. Obviously there is going to be harassment going on and then it’s up to you to say no and stand up for the right thing...but some chicks just think it’s okay for you to do that just because you want some favours back in return.”

Charity: “... because you will get something in return.”

Betty: “... just because we know who it is we just try our luck also in order to get the funding.”

Mpume: “Oh, yes.”

Charity: “...because we are desperate.”

Charity: “We have nothing else.”

The above extract indicates that there are some female students who use their femininity to seduce men into a relationship with the intention of benefitting from that relationship. According to the NSVRC of Pennsylvania’s world report on violence and health (2004), poor people are more vulnerable to sexual exploitation in educational institutions. This is reflected and supported by the above extract where the female students deliberately expose themselves to exploitation because of poverty.

In light of the above discussion of perpetrators it is imperative to note the attitude that participants portrayed towards sexual harassment. In a focus group discussion with male participants they appeared to trivialise issues related to sexual harassment. The entire discussion was characterised by laughter, as reflected below:

Nhlanhla: “... I am working as an RA so there is this girl who accidentally, as she says, (laughter) locked herself out of her room. She was coming from the bathroom and this girl is staying in other residence but here on campus. Then she came with a towel, then she came into my room and says ‘no, listen I locked myself out so if I need to access my room, if you can

assist' and I said no I am not your RA what I can do is just call your RA and then she said no but my body is getting dry I need to lotion my body then she proceeded to my bedroom then she took my lotion and she started to lotion."

Mondie: "In front of you?"

Nhlanhla: "Can you imagine, she is lotioning and putting her leg on the chair."

Laughter....

Shotie: "What is that?"

Nhlanhla: "The second remark she made was you know what? You are not a gentleman. You were supposed to lotion me."

Shotie: "You see, what is that?"

Nhlanhla: "That person is harassing me but because she is a beautiful girl no I ..."

Laughter....

In the above extract Nhlanhla narrated his experience but it seemed as if he enjoyed what happened which then indicated that the experience was not sexual harassment. Other participants were laughing. From my point of view, the laughter was difficult to interpret confidently. It could show that they were nervous or they were not fully comfortable to discuss this issue or that they trivialised the matter and did not take the discussion seriously. The laughter could reflect an attitude that they took this lightly and they viewed women as perpetrators and men as victims. It could be that male students were embarrassed by such women taking the lead in sex matters. They take it as affirmation of how attractive they are but also denigrate a woman who went to such extreme lengths to offer herself that she embarrassed herself.

The following section looks at whether students know who to report to or where to report sexual harassment when they experience it, especially considering the sentiments shared above which reflects that some male participants trivialise issues related to sexual harassment. Six out of seven female students asserted that students are ignorant of where to report cases of sexual harassment when asked: "What makes students not report sexual harassment?" A response from Charity is cited below:

“Maybe it’s because they do not know who to report to like, I didn’t know which steps to take when reporting such things.”

Charity’s statement suggests that students are not aware of the available support structures provided by the university to report sexual harassment cases. They are also not aware of the procedures to follow when they face sexual harassment on campus. This supports a study done by Mamaru et al. (2015) on the prevalence of physical, verbal and non-verbal sexual harassment among female students at Jimma University. The study found that students who experienced sexual harassment rarely reported their experiences because they were not aware of where exactly they should go to report the incident.

In order for any development regarding the issue of sexual harassment on campus there is a need for education. This is highlighted by one male participant, Nhlanhla, who suggested that students needed to be educated about it, as shown in the excerpt below:

“... lack of education. People are not well-educated about this sexual harassment thing because at times you can get a person who can harass another person without knowing that now I’m harassing that person.”

Nhlanhla’s narrative suggests that some students may unknowingly perpetrate sexual harassment. He suggested that students needed to be educated about what sexual harassment was so that they could be able to identify it if it happened to them, or to others, or if they were inclined to perpetrate it themselves.

In this theme I have highlighted what students understand as sexual harassment and who sexually harasses them. It has clearly come out that the sexual harassment can be perpetrated by male or female depending on circumstances. Students have different views of what constitutes sexual harassment but generally they agree that anything that makes a person uncomfortable is considered as sexual harassment. Students are not familiar with structures and services offered by the University to report sexual harassment. This leads to the next theme which focuses on dressing and sexuality.

4.3 Dressing and Sexuality

Students’ views on the way in which women dress is the focus of the discussions in this theme. In most South African conservative communities, especially rural, the way women dress is regarded as a crucial matter and many women are often harassed or violated for their choice of dress (Kwenaita & Van Heerden, 2011). Broadly speaking, women who wear revealing clothes,

mini-skirts and tight clothes are often labelled as “loose” and “seeking men’s attention”. Many participants in this study, men in particular, have a traditional background hence through socialisation they have been taught that there are certain ways that a woman should dress in order to be acceptable as a woman.

During a focus group discussion with male students, they suggested that female students were sexually harassing them with the way they dressed. This is reflected in extracts below:

Zola: “ ... the foundation of the sexual harassment is women. Women are not dressing properly even in churches they are not dressing properly...They are not protecting their bodies...when a man sees a woman...you know that something.... ”

Sabelo: “We are also sexually harassed by the way they dress... ”

Group chants: “Yah. ”

Mondie: “Sexual harassment exists in our campus because without even saying a word but if you are wearing a mini-skirt and you are showing curves, I can barely see your underwear, you are harassing me. ”

Zola: “You can’t concentrate. Even in lecture rooms if you are not wearing properly, you lose concentration and it forms part of harassment. ”

The above extract seems to indicate that some male students feel harassed by the female students’ dress code. They appoint themselves as judges and state that clothing such as mini-skirts are provocative and inappropriate for women at a learning institution. They conform to the understandings of Bell et al. (2014) who state that through social interaction men and women are taught behaviours and characteristics that are considered appropriate for their sex.

Zola, Sabelo and Mondie shared the sentiments that women were not dressing properly or protecting their bodies. They said this in different words but their meaning was clear: some male students feel that under-dressing or wearing revealing clothes by women constitutes harassment because they believe that men, by their nature, will be stimulated sexually at the sight of scantily covered female anatomy. According to Kwenaithe and Van Heerden (2011), some societies believe that certain body parts like breasts, legs and thighs are highly sexual and cannot be revealed and when a woman wears clothes that are revealing, it is considered offensive.

Similar thoughts were voiced by the majority of male participants during individual interviews, as shown below:

Nhlanhla: "The way women dress can harass other people of the opposite gender. If you are wearing something that is too revealing I think that is harassing a person who is seeing you but though you have a right to wear whatever you feel like wearing but I can say unintentionally you harass other people, yes."

Shotie: "Ladies usually wear short skirts that one also affect us as guys because if you see them you will think for other things, our mind go fast and we think a lot of things..."

The above excerpts further reinforce the perception men feel that women who wear revealing clothes arouse men's sexual feeling and that this is natural. Male students justify their harassing behaviour by claiming that they feel sexually harassed by women who wear revealing clothes and mini-skirts. This further shows that the way female students dress is viewed in terms of sexuality despite the fact that female students might not be thinking of sex or want to attract sexual attention from male students. Nhlanhla felt that women unintentionally sexually harass men if they wore revealing clothes. Shotie mentioned that, as a man, if he saw a woman wearing revealing clothes he would think of 'other things', and this refers to sex. This suggests that it is normal for a man to be sexually aroused if he sees a woman wearing revealing clothes.

One female participant emphasised that it was not their intention to attract a male's attention when they wore such clothes.

Lungi: "... I wouldn't say that if we are wearing our shorts, our vest which shows our boobs and all, it doesn't mean that we want guys or we want boys to catch our attention. No! We do not want that. It's hot, like for instance summer time is coming. We have beautiful bodies, we want to show them off but then we do not want to portray the mentality to the guys that I want you but then the guys got it the wrong way. Guys will say, 'why do you keep on wearing that small thing? You know that we are weak'..."

The above statement indicates a high degree of misunderstanding between men and women with regards to dressing. Men perceive women who wear revealing clothes as deliberately attracting their sexual attention while women wear such clothes to be comfortable and to express their sense of beauty. Lungi mentioned that if they wore vests which showed their breasts it did not mean that they wanted to attract boys' attention but it was to show off their bodies and be comfortable, especially during summer. According to Kwenaitse and Van

Heerden (2011), men believe that women who dress revealingly do so to attract their sexual attention while women dress to express their sense of beauty.

Women's dressing prompts comments as witnessed by one participant who saw male students passing comments on a female student who was wearing a miniskirt, as shown below:

Sabelo: "I saw that around the school, on the male residence. I saw a group of boys saying naughty things about a girl wearing a short skirt and then the girl try to pull the skirt down here, it was short. They were complimenting her like they said that they saw something which is private..."

The above extract indicates that some male students harass female students who wear mini-skirts on campus. They appoint themselves as judges of morality and consider such dressing as inappropriate. Sabelo mentions that the comments were 'naughty' but also says that male students were passing compliments to the female student. This further demonstrates a general belief in men's right to women's bodies. This supports the perception that women's bodies are objects to be adored and devoured by men (Ricardo & Barker, 2008). Sabelo's statement also indicates that different sexes have different views of what constitutes sexual harassment.

In response to the question: "In your opinion what are the causes of sexual harassment?" Zola clearly states that "we might not hide that there are clothes designed for prostitutes". He further alludes to the fact that *"if I see you wearing like that even if you are not a prostitute, if your agenda is not to attract me but I will be attracted then my reaction will be that which I use to the women that I see in the clubs, to the women that I see on the roads, the women who are prostitutes."*

Zola's conclusions suggest that women who wear revealing clothes are viewed as women with loose morals and men approach them the way they approach prostitutes. According to Kweinate and Van Heerden (2011), women who wear mini-skirts are regarded as indecent. In general, a woman is regarded as someone who is self-controlled or one who can positively influence others if her clothing reveals little of her body.

In light of the above discussion, some participants suggested that if women dressed properly sexual harassment would be reduced. This was said in response to the question: "In your opinion what can be done to prevent sexual harassment?" Shotie and Sabelo said that students should dress responsibly and wear clothes which covered their bodies. They said that a woman should dress the way they wanted to be addressed. Zola and Shotie were suggesting that it was

women's obligation to reduce sexual harassment which would happen if they wore clothes that did not reveal their bodies. Sabelo suggests that girls must cover their bodies as clothes are meant to cover the body. Lorber (1994) and Bordeau (2002) argue that focusing on the victim reinforces the idea that it is the victims' responsibility to protect themselves as opposed to the perpetrator not to perpetrate such violence.

Sthandwa, a female participant, shares the same view, as indicated below:

"I think if you are a lady...don't physically appeal to someone as that person who likes revealing yourself... Even if you know you've got a good body or something but then just don't reveal it all to people because the minute you show your body to people that's when they will strike, that's when they will think maybe you want them to look at you...you want them to notice you so rather stick to being simple and that will maybe decrease the level or something."

The above extract confirms the perception that men have a strong sexual desire and if they see a woman wearing revealing clothes they get sexually aroused. Sthandwa holds the perception that if a woman wears something revealing she is exposing herself to sexual violation. This supports a view that students internalise gender stereotypes which hold victims responsible if they are dressed provocatively (Renzetti et al., 2012). This further supports a study done by Bakari and Leach (2008) on sexual violence in a Nigerian college of education which reveals normalisation of violence at the institution. The study found that male lecturers and students justified violence by blaming women for sexually provoking them. Male students thought that female students who dressed in revealing clothes were inviting attention of a sexual nature, thus making the women the harassers of men, who were innocent victims. This steered some men and women to allege that rape and other forms of sexual harassment were self-induced.

However, an individual interview with Betty revealed two views, as reflected below:

"...what a woman wears or how she carries herself in the society is what invites all these things that happen such as rape or sexual harassment but I believe that a person must just distinguish what is right and wrong and do that. You can't just take advantage of a person because that person is wearing something she is feeling comfortable in so it's not right to actually say that you, you have to wear in a certain way in order not to be raped..."

In the above extract Betty is indicating that men and women have an obligation regarding the issue of sexual harassment. For the women she states that it is what the woman wears and how she carries herself in society which matters, even if what she wears might be looked at as being

improper by men, as long as she is comfortable with that. For the men they should distinguish between what is right and wrong and not take advantage of the person because they feel sexually aroused by what a woman is wearing.

In this section with theme dressing and sexuality, I have highlighted sentiments from both male and female participants regarding whether they view dressing as provoking sexual harassment. Male participants mainly felt that they were being sexually harassed by the way women dressed and they suggested that women should take responsibility for the way they dressed. Some female participants tended to agree with this assertion. The minority of female participants felt that men should learn to control their sexual desires and not blame their lack of control on women's dress.

4.4 Power and Sexuality

Data from both focus group discussions and some individual interviews with women show that female students face sexual harassment from those who hold power over them. This includes lecturers, Student Representative Council (SRC) members and male students. According to Lorber, (1994) women and men are not equal from a society's point of view. Lorber's theory view is that gender is continuously constructed out of human interactions. In addition, it is part of a stratification system that unfairly ranks men above women in social statuses. Most male and female participants suggest that victims of sexual harassment are female students, as reflected in the excerpts below when answering the question: "Who are the victims of sexual harassment?"

Mpume: "... it's girls because we are too soft, we are always laughing and when they touch you with that force, you can't fight back... They have power."

Mpume's statement clearly shows that she accepts that women are victims of sexual harassment because of their gentle female nature. According to Bell et al. (2014), there are various masculine and feminine behaviours that are usually associated with male and female sex. This is echoed by Mpume when she says that when girls are touched by force they cannot fight back, indicating that female students may not challenge men when they face sexual harassment because they perceive themselves as weak in stature. It was also highlighted in a document Stop Violence against Women, (2010) that this misperception about dynamics of power and sexuality in sexual harassment inhibits women from reacting to perpetrators with strong successful counter measures.

A male participant, Mondie, expressed similar views as shown in an extract below:

“Most of the time it’s females here on campus. We all know that as we are males we’ve got power over females so by taking that advantage that is where we end up harassing them because we clearly know that they will not do anything on top of that and even if we harass them they will never ever be able to report that particular harassment we did just because of power we have over them.”

The above excerpt indicates that female students are mainly the victims of sexual harassment because they are perceived to be powerless by men as well as by themselves. Mondie expressed that males had power over women and this perception allowed them to harass females knowing that they would not report the incident to anyone. By saying ‘we all know’, he states male power over female students as an unquestionable fact. His view is an indication of how perceived gender power inequalities perpetuate sexual harassment. Male students see themselves as having more power than female students and this influences their sexual behaviour. According to Oizgone and Morrell (2005), male students engage in such behaviour in order to assert their dominance, self-esteem and control over women.

It also became evident that it was not only female students who were targets of sexual harassment on the campus. This was highlighted by Mpume who mentioned this:

“...the things they say to the gays and lesbians they are just harassing them like, why are you like this, you are just acting up, come here let’s just test if you are a girl or a boy.”

The above extract suggests that gay men are also victims of sexual harassment. Bell et al. (2014) explain that gays and lesbians are regarded as people who deviate from socially recognised norms and they face sexual harassment for this reason.

Perpetrators are perceived to have more power when it comes to sexual harassment. Anyone who feels that they have more power will tend to take advantage of those who hold less power. Another angle interviewees discussed is the harassment of first-year male students by senior gay students. During a focus group discussion, male students suggested that senior gay students sexually harassed other male students, especially first-year students. This is reflected in an extract below when asked: “Have you ever experienced any harassment from gays?”

Mondie: “These young boys, maybe let’s say you are in first-year and there is a gay man, maybe he is in 3rd year or 4th year. He will tell his friends that have you seen this guy, he is hot. What is his name?”

The above excerpts suggest that male students, especially first-year students, face sexual harassment from gay students. Some participants further mentioned that gay students pass sexual comments like, 'you are hot, six pack, can I take the shirt off?' Male students feel harassed by such comments. This supports Wood's view that sexual harassment occurs where there are some power differences (Wood, 2009).

Mpume is the only participant who highlighted that lesbians also faced sexual harassment from male students. She stated that some lesbians are sexually harassed by men because of their sexual orientation. Male students who harass lesbians consider heterosexual relationships as the only acceptable sexual orientation. This supports Chesir-Teran and Hughes's study (2009) which reveals the presence of gay and lesbian harassment in educational institutions.

Mpume also mentioned that the majority of perpetrators of sexual harassment are men because they have power, when responding to the question: "Who are the perpetrators of sexual harassment?" She further suggested that lecturers may perpetrate sexual harassment because they held positions of power and they were aware of the power they have over female students. Male students, on the other hand, may be perpetrators because they think they are superior to female students. Mpume mentioned that in households, men were regarded as superior and they were treated with respect and when they went to college, they wanted female students to observe their superiority and treat them the way they were being treated at home. Mpume suggests that males have been socialised by their families and believe that men have more power than women and having learnt and internalised such norms they maintain them in university, thus perpetrating sexual harassment. This supports a view that gender is a set of societal expectations that are reproduced and spread through interaction and these expectations become fundamental components of our personalities (Lorber, 1994).

In light of the above discussion on perpetrators, during a focus group discussion with female participants it was highlighted that they faced sexual harassment from lecturers, as shown in an excerpt below:

Lungi: 'Even the lecturers, when you are submitting your assignment and maybe it's one on one, they say something like 'you can come to my room and I will teach you' and you simply smile.'

Sthembile: "They give you those compliments like 'you are smart, so I want to be your mentor but don't tell anyone.'

The women in the preceding excerpts mentioned that they just accepted the harassment from lecturers and kept it to themselves. Lecturers pass comments and such comments reflect how female students are treated as sex objects by those in authority. This was also found by Wood (2009) who contends that in some schools and higher institutions female students are usually treated as sex objects which often leads to sexual harassment. The discussion in the focus group showed similar patterns:

Sthandwa: "Also in terms of the lecturers... I would be like uncomfortable because you are my lecturer and you keep on calling me...you keep on calling me every single day asking where I am and I am in the T block or what are you doing? Can you come by my office or can you come by my residence even when you walk past them there is something going on here, but you don't know. You don't even know what it is exactly but then there is something going on so to the point that it becomes awkward to even greet your lecturer because it feels like he acts in a manner that either he is going to ask you out or he is sexually harassing you or interested in you and its very awkward. If he does take you for another module again it's very frustrating. It's very frustrating to the point that you sit in class and you just pay attention to your phone..."

Group chants: " Um, um (yes yes)."

Betty: "And you won't go to him and complain that sir I don't like it because you don't want to actually interact with him."

Sthandwa: "You just wanna avoid him and forget the whole thing."

Lungi: "They want a hug and it feels so uncomfortable, it's awkward and it's weird."

The above extract suggests that lecturers use their positions of power to sexually harass female students. Behaviour such as asking for a hug from a student, constant phoning asking to meet at residences, and behaving as if the student was a potential date, makes female students uncomfortable and further creates a hostile environment for them. Students do not complain; instead they opt to forget about the incident or they just smile and leave. This reaction from female students supports a notion that sexual harassment occurs where there are power differences that make one reluctant to say 'no' (Wood, 2009). Students feel that if they challenge a lecturer's sexual harassment it might affect their academic evaluation. This further supports Wood's study on sexual harassment and discrimination which found that some higher institutions treat female students in gender stereotyped ways ranging from complimenting

women on their appearance rather than their academic work, to offering higher grades in exchange for sexual favours (Wood, 2009).

Similar views were presented during individual interviews with female participants whereby some stated that lecturers sexually harassed female students.

Betty: "It happens with the lecturers and you find that the lecturers will ask students out and then as soon as a student shows some sense of disapproval to the courtship, that would be automatically used against the student in terms of marks... there is a lecturer that is said to have asked a girl out and the girl disapproved and the girl started failing her assignments that she had submitted to the lecturer. As a result of that she went to write an exam with a DP of 48 and then knowing what had happened earlier on between the lecturer and herself she just made sense of the fact that he is angry that I didn't approve of his courtship."

Betty's narrative suggests that students who refuse lecturers' sexual advances face the risk of being failed in their academic work and that female students tend to tolerate and maintain sexual harassment from lecturers, not only not reporting it but accepting an unfairly low mark for their due performance (DP). This is done in light of wanting to overlook the advances that the lecturer made.

Lungi, a female participant, also experienced sexual harassment, as shown in an extract from her interview below:

"... maybe you are submitting your assignment an hour later than other students, when you arrive at the office of the lecturer he will then want to take your number and then you feel, okay, I'm going to give him my numbers and when you arrive at home this lecturer keeps on phoning you, smsing you, WhatsApping you, why"

Further, Lungi says, the lecturer would continue sending messages inviting her for lunch, or sending goodnight messages even when she sent 'angry face' emoticons to him. Lungi felt she could not go out with him and that it would be unethical to go out for lunch. The above further suggests that lecturers utilise their power to harass female students sexually. Lungi's experience is a clear example of somebody who was sexually harassed by a lecturer. Both Betty and Lungi's views support a study done by Bakari and Leach (2008) on sexual violence in a Nigerian college of education. In this study it was found that sexual harassment, particularly quid pro quo, was rife at the college. Female students were largely harassed by lecturers and approximately 45-65% of male lecturers were using their authority to ask for sexual favours in

exchange for good grades. Some female students had to choose between accepting a lecturer's advances or withdrawing from the college, and some who refused to comply with their demands had their grades lowered so that they had to repeat that module, often more than once.

In a focus group discussion with female participants, it was mentioned that some male SRC students were asking female students for sex in exchange for funding. However, when I enquired and checked on the process of allocating funding I could not find evidence which supported their assertions. The SRC members are actually not responsible for allocating funds but possibly take advantage of, and perpetuate, the misconception that they do. Similarly, during the individual interviews with some female participants they stated that female students were facing sexual harassment from the male SRC members, as reflected in the extract below:

Sthembile: "The guys in school...the way the students who are unfortunate and don't have money for school fees but then they need money in order to further their studies. There is funding which is allocated to students to help with their studies. So since the SRC is in connection with that they will ask the students...they will like want something in return from the students. They will offer them things to give them funding and they will treat them in ways which they don't like but then the students...since they are scared...the girls they would offer to doing that because they know their situation at home and their financial statuses, so they will do that in order to get that funding."

Sthembile's narrative indicates that some female students who are financially disadvantaged face sexual harassment from SRC members who are perceived to be in a position to allocate funding. And since the female students are scared and also financially needy, they will do it in order to get funding.

In an interview with Charity she mentioned that she experienced quid pro quo harassment from an SRC student who requested sex in exchange for a room at the residence. She refused to comply and ended up not getting a room and the SRC member did not help in any way. This supports the view that power and power differences are key dynamics in sexual harassment (Fineran & Benette, 1999). Charity's experience suggests that female students are facing quid pro quo harassment from some who hold positions of power. Quid pro quo involves the promise of benefits in exchange for a sexual activity and if a sexual activity is not granted the recipient may suffer consequences (Conroy, 2013). The SRC male members use their perceived power to violate female students who are economically disadvantaged and desperate to access funding

for their studies. They promise students funding, especially first-year students, in exchange for sex.

It is not only SRC students who harass female students. There are also some senior male students who are not in SRC who sexually harass some first-year female students. Zola mentioned that first-year students face sexual harassment from senior students because they do not have any knowledge of what happens on campus. They do not know who to consult to get funding so the senior students will use that to their advantage and approach the female students claiming that they can assist with funding and accommodation if they agree to have sex.

In addition to Zola's views Mpume also says:

"...I think when you go to the residence, that's the only time, it's a private place when a boy comes inside a room, he just say, 'what's wrong with you if I'm touching you, let's kiss,' and you're like, 'no, why should we do that,' no, they wanna try and force themselves onto you."

The extract shows that some female students face sexual harassment from male students when in residences. Male students may engage in such behaviour to declare their power and dominance over female students (Conroy, 2013). This is consistent with other studies done which reflect that sexual harassment is prevalent in higher education institutions. A study done at US college campuses by Crown and Roberts (2007) found that a third of undergraduate women they surveyed had experienced unwanted sexual interactions ranging from kissing to sexual intercourse in their first year and half of female students in their senior year had experienced unwanted sexual interactions from male students (Wood, 2009).

Similar views were expressed by a male student during an individual interview. This is shown in the excerpt below.

Sabelo: "...boys like to look around and then they like to compliment when they see nice things and maybe the girl will receive that compliment negatively like if I say to a girl, 'nice ass' uyabona (you see) she will then feel like ah he is looking at my ass blah, blah, blah, like to compliment things?"

Sabelo's statement indicates that female students face sexual harassment from male students who pass unwelcome sexual comments to them. Sabelo views passing such comments as compliments to a woman while women may view it as inappropriate behaviour. Zafar and Inayat (2014) contend that people's views on sexual harassment are purely subjective; what one identifies as sexual harassment another may possibly view as an innocent flirtation. These

contrasting views about men's and women's sexuality create uneven power dynamics and frame the context of sexual exploitation (Barker & Ricardo, 2008). This further supports Ekore's study (2012) which revealed that there were some gender differences in male and females overall rating of behaviours that constitute sexual harassment. It was found, for example, that 48% of female students agreed that sexual jokes, teasing and gestures constituted sexual harassment compared to 78.6% of male students who did not think this constituted any harassment at all.

This section showed that females faced sexual harassment from lecturers, SRC male members and some male students who perceived themselves as having power and authority over their victims. Gays and lesbians are also targeted victims. There are also some senior gay students who harass first-year male students.

4.5 Masculinity, Femininity and Sexual Harassment

This theme focuses on behaviours that are viewed as appropriate for men and women by society (Bell et al., 2014) and its links to sexual harassment on campus. Participants from focus groups and during individual interviews expressed their views which showed differences in masculinity and femininity. According to Klos, (2013) powerful versions of masculinity accepted for men unveil as they perform gender roles that have been internalised through lived experiences. This is reflected in some of the participants' views.

During individual interviews the majority of female participants mentioned that they faced sexual harassment from male students who regarded the behaviour as normal for men, as shown in the excerpt below.

Lungi: "...when they want to hug you, they hug you and then they want to grab your bums. When you tell your friend who is a boy that you don't like that he becomes so shocked as in, 'ha, what's the problem coz we are friends' and I'm like, yes we are friends and it should end there, friends do not touch each other on such places or private parts."

The above extract suggests that male students consider certain sexual behaviours as appropriate for male students. Male and female students have different views of behaviours that constitute sexual harassment. When female students object to such behaviour male students are surprised because they regard such acts as normal. Charity expressed similar views when she mentioned that male students may touch female students' breasts and sometimes they slap their buttocks when they are passing and this makes them feel uncomfortable. This indicates that male

students regard such behaviour as normal for men. Such sexual behaviours in society can be attributed to gender roles and norms which acknowledge different notions of innate behaviour for men and women (Barker & Ricardo, 2005).

Some female students accept the dominant view about masculine identities such as that men have a naturally uncontrollable sexual desire. Charity mentions that men cannot control themselves while Betty felt that male lecturers who lived apart from their spouses felt the need to satisfy their sexual desires and as a result they ended up sexually harassing students. This perception emanates from the socio cultural norms that men have a strong sexual desire (Barker & Ricardo, 2005) which needs to be fulfilled.

Another aspect which emerged during some focus group discussions was that some male students faced pressure to conform to masculinity norms and this pressure led to women being sexually harassed, as expressed by Sthandwa:

“There was this one friend again who I thought was a friend and then once he was with his group, it’s like someone else because they are now greeting me in a manner that is not appropriate and I told them that why don’t you not greet me one on one. Just because you are with your friends you have the courage now to greet me in a certain way, just because you want to show off that you are the guy.”

Sthandwa’s narrative suggests that some male students face pressure to conform to masculine identities and that such male students engage in certain behaviours in order to be accepted by their peers and to be regarded as real men. They engage in such behaviours because they do not want their male friends to regard them as weak hence they act to affirm their masculinity through inappropriate sexual behaviour towards their own female friends (Ricardo & Barker, 2008). According to Wood (2009), men learn that in order for them to fit in with their friends, they have to be tough, aggressive and strong, and male bonding reinforces masculine identities. In some cases males encourage their peers to discuss women in belittling ways. As a result, some peers may be forced to say and do things as part of a group that they would never contemplate doing as individuals. The need to be recognised and respected by their male peers overshadows their decency and values (Wood, 2009).

The pressure to show this masculinity brings some form of competition for masculinity among male students who, in turn, sexually harass female students by spreading rumours on campus about having sexual intercourse with them. During an individual interview with one female

participant, Lungi, she mentioned that some men spread false rumours on campus about their sexual conquests.

“... Guys keep on talking about you on campus, ‘I slept with a girl...I slept with a girl.’ He will tell everyone on campus and then you will hear the rumour, ‘did you hear what he said about you, what did he say, he said he slept with you, and you can’t convince people that you didn’t because they were not there, it was only you and him.’”

The above extract suggests that sexual experience is regarded as an accomplishment among male peers. Lungi’s narrative indicates that male students often spread rumours on campus about having ‘slept with a girl’ and it’s difficult to convince people that it is not true. By spreading rumours about sexual conquests male students achieve a form of masculinity status from their peers which is important to them. The excerpt suggests that male students create their identities, understand and confirm their manliness through their (sometimes only alleged) sexual experiences and they are often praised for their sexual prowess (Ricardo & Barker, 2008).

Due to the fact that men have been socialised to show their masculinity and want to maintain status among their peers men will not report sexual harassment or find it difficult to report sexual harassment perpetrated by women. This came out during a focus group discussion with eight male participants. They all agreed that society suppresses them in a way because if a man denies a woman’s sexual advances and confides to a friend about the incident he will be regarded as a fool. Barker and Ricardo (2005) contend that society puts more pressure on those who diverge from socially recognised roles, letting a male know when he is failing to be a man. Having many girlfriends is regarded as an appropriate way for men to improve their self-worth and masculinity (Oizgone & Morell, 2005).

Similar views were expressed during the individual interviews with one male participant, Nhlanhla, as shown in the excerpt below:

“... I think it’s the way we were socialised that if a girl comes to you accept a girl because there are many beliefs in our African culture for instance even if you no longer like a girl, it is not for you as a guy to say no let’s call it off, I don’t want you anymore, so I think even in the case of sexual harassment same thing applies even if a girl can touch you otherwise, no, you will just accept and play around and even if you can go and report that case they will ask, ‘hey, are you gay or what, why don’t you appreciate that a girl loves you.’”

According to Bell et al. (2014), traditional philosophies of masculinity continue to intensely shape most men and women's identity, emotional reaction and behaviour. This is echoed by Nhlanhla's statement above.

Nhlanhla's views were also supported by Zola who further adds that to be a man one has to have many girlfriends. Having many girlfriends may be regarded as evidence of sexual skill and dominance over women and hence a manifestation of masculinity (Barker & Ricardo, 2005). ('Even if they sexually harass you, you should not report this because you will be seen as a weak man.'). According to Klos (2013), the masculinity concept often closes down chances for young men to report sexual harassment because of the expectations of the role. According to Ricardo and Barker, (2008) in some societies men are often brought up to accept that to be a real man they need to be in control and strong especially in sexual relationships. According to Wei and Chen (2012), in some societies the socially accepted man is supposed to be strong, hostile and tough.

Some gay students face harassment from male students, as shown in the extract below.

Mpume: "...they just fight with them and ask them why they are gays and so forth but they don't talk in a good way to them, yes like they would if it's another boy."

This indicates that some gay students on campus have their sexual orientation questioned and are addressed in a hostile and intimidating way by other male students. This is supported by Ricardo & Barker (2008) and Tadele (2011) who state that in many cultures heterosexuality is regarded as the main way of expressing sexuality and masculinity and men outside of it often face harassment as they are perceived as abnormal and deviant.

During a focus group discussion female participants mentioned that there were some male students who faced sexual harassment from female students. They all agreed that shy guys would be asked out and touched and even be sent messages via their phone. This suggests that men who are shy are regarded as lacking masculine traits such as control of emotions, active and dominating (Torronen & Roumeliotis (2013). This is supported by Cinnamon, Theresa and Kelly (2014) who assert that to be masculine is to be tough and able to reject traits, behaviours and emotions typical to feminine roles.

Alcohol consumption is associated with men's masculine role, norms and beliefs (Cinnamon et al., 2014). Some participants mentioned that female students who drink alcohol usually face sexual harassment from male students who are under the influence of alcohol.

Nhlanhla mentioned that male students who were drunk attempted to have sex with a female student who was also under the influence of alcohol. This is linked to what Barker and Ricardo (2008) highlighted: that alcohol consumption is often viewed as a marker of manhood and maybe a conspicuous feature of men's sexual and social relations. Zola, on the other hand, stated that male students deceived female students by putting alcohol in their drinks so that they would be intoxicated because this would make it easier for them to have sexual intercourse. According to Torronen and Roumeliotis (2013), male drinking customarily has represented masculinity and is associated with aggressive behaviour. Yet Sthembile, a female participant, said that some female students who were drunk often ended up having sex with male students against their own will. They blame themselves for what happened and often fail to recognise their experience as rape because they believe that it is the alcohol which they consumed that put them at risk of being sexually victimised (Renzetti et al., 2012). According to Torronen and Roumeliotis (2013), femininity is typically associated with passivity. Female students may fail to object to such behaviour because they view it as appropriate for men.

This further suggests that female students maintain and perpetuate norms which accept men's sexually aggressive behaviour when they are drunk. Wechsberg, Myers, Reed, Carney, Emmanuel and Brown (2013) contend that alcohol use is associated with behavioural risks such as sexual violence against women and it is also related to men's perpetration of gender based violence. Furthermore, in their study it was found that males encourage females to drink alcohol so that they would be less resistant to having sex (Wechsberg et al., 2013). This supports a study done at a university in the USA which reveals that 15% of men acknowledged using alcohol to coerce women into having sex, 35% of men confirmed getting a woman drunk so that they could have sex and 20% confirmed that their friends have gotten a woman drunk so that they could have sex.

In this theme I highlighted in detail several points: male students regard certain sexual behaviours as normal for men; male students feel pressure to conform to masculinity which often leads to sexual harassment of women; men do not report sexual harassment because of the pressure to maintain a masculine status; and alcohol consumption and its influence on sexual behaviours. This leads us to how the internet and social networks are being used to sexually harass students.

4.6 Internet, Social Networks and Sexual Harassment

People have been socialised into a whole new era of communicating and as much as these platforms are good for communicating and networking some people face undesirable behaviour through this technology (Wegge et al., 2015). This is evident in the interview with Lungi who mentioned that she experienced sexual harassment from a lecturer who was constantly sending WhatsApp messages to interact, even to the extent of inviting her for lunch. Lungi's narrative indicates that some lecturers abuse social platforms like WhatsApp to initiate unwanted meetings with female students. The lecturer's behaviour, regardless of his intention, is making Lungi uncomfortable and this is reflected by her sending angry face icons to the lecturer on WhatsApp. According to the University of Michigan Sexual Assault Prevention Awareness (2014), pressure for unwanted personal interaction and pressure for dates where there is a sexual/romantic intention, constitutes sexual harassment.

Some male participants, on the other hand, noted the same issue of being sexually harassed, this time through Facebook. When one registers on Facebook all one's personal details are displayed and are easily accessible, as mentioned below by Sabelo.

"...the gay person can search (via Facebook) Edgewood, UKZN Edgewood campus and then find all the persons who registered on Facebook who are studying at Edgewood campus and then he will invite you and then like, okay, I don't know this person and let's try browsing his photos and then you see this dude is gay and at the same time delete and then they again invite you on Facebook and they send you one inbox, 'no, I want to chat with you and will send some naughty stuff..."

Zola had a similar experience with somebody posting nude pictures on Facebook, as shown in the excerpt below.

"...Sometimes, in terms of the social networks, you will find that I need something from the school page. If I bump in there then I will find those nude pictures, pictures of naked women and naked men. They just keep on posting them."

Sabelo's narrative indicates that social networks such as Facebook make students vulnerable to sexual harassment. Sabelo's view suggests that some men have been targeted by gay students who searched for male students on Facebook and invited them. When the male student opts out of that friendship, he continues to receive unwelcome communication. Zola's statement reflects that there are some students who constantly post nude pictures of men and women on the

university Facebook page and this makes other students feel uncomfortable. Wegge et al. (2015) assert that social network sites are useful in communicating but have given rise to undesirable experiences as a result of aggressive behaviour.

During a one-on-one interview with Sabelo, he suggested that, in order to reduce sexual harassment on campus, YouTube must be blocked because male students learn inappropriate behaviour from it.

“...block the YouTube, maybe the LAN manager has access to block YouTube because YouTube you see nasty things. In YouTube you see nasty videos like twerking videos and stuff, girls twerking.”

Sabelo’s statement suggests that platforms such as YouTube expose male students to sexually explicit material. Some male students watch videos of girls dancing in sexually seductive ways and girls wearing clothes which reveal their bodies and this influences their sexual behaviour. This further suggests that, through YouTube, male students learn and internalise behaviours they think are appropriate to them. Henry and Powell (2015) argue that the use of technology, such as video posting websites, among others, to facilitate sexual harassment is increasing.

On the other hand, during an individual interview with Lungi, a female participant, she suggested that social network sites, among other things, may be used to campaign against sexual harassment.

“... we can... also create a page on Facebook maybe for this campus to discuss sexual harassment so that way people can speak their minds of that way, people can share their views, share their ideas on how to prevent sexual harassment on campus from both the lecturers and students.”

The above extract from Lungi suggests the university can create a Facebook page for the campus students only which will allow students to speak their minds about sexual harassment. This is supported by Wegge et al. (2015) who contend that social network sites enable peers to connect and communicate and these sites have become popular platforms among young adults. Through interacting on Facebook students may share their views and become well-informed about sexual harassment.

During an individual interview with one female participant, she reveals how the internet can be used to increase students’ knowledge about sexual harassment. This is reflected in an extract below:

Sthandwa: "...also just creating like a blog or news feed or something just to spread around... spread around the information and other stories that are happening around UKZN as a whole so people can actually relate to it..."

Sthandwa's narrative indicates that students should be made aware of behaviours that constitute sexual harassment and this could be done through the internet. Information about sexual harassment could be disseminated through platforms such as blogs and newsfeed.

Betty, a female participant, adds that the university could send emails to students educating them about sexual harassment, as reflected in an excerpt below:

"They can create an awareness based on sexual harassment like send us emails educating us on what sexual harassment is coz you might find out that it happens to many people in the campus but because they don't know what it really means or what it really is, they don't realise its seriousness."

The above statement indicates that the university could send emails which educate students about sexual harassment.

This theme highlighted that some students are facing sexual harassment on social network platforms such as Facebook and WhatsApp. Some participants further suggested that in order to reduce sexual harassment on campus, the internet and social network platforms could be used to raise awareness about sexual harassment.

4.7 Stigmatisation, fear and myths

In this theme participants stated that they found it difficult to report sexual harassment because of stigmatisation and fear. Even though there are some overlaps with data in the themes, here I discuss participants' direct references to stigma, fear and myths. Some of the responses are cited below:

Sabelo: "Boys don't report sexual harassment? If you are a boy it is taken as a weakness. Ah, it's a weakness, you are weak... the society thinks a boy is supposed to enjoy sexual harassment."

Zola: "When you come to report to the police station they will just laugh at you, what kind of a man, they will just start by laughing... maybe he is homosexual..."

The above extracts indicate that some male students have been socialised that men are supposed to be strong and cannot report sexual advances from women because they will be

regarded as being weak. According to Ricardo and Barker, (2008) in some societies men are supposed to be strong and aggressive in sexual matters. This is also explained by Renzetti et al. (2012) who state that men appear to be less likely than women to report that they encountered sexual harassment because of certain myths that men are able to protect themselves when faced by a threat.

Renzetti et al. (2012) assert that some law enforcers still hold on to stereotypical myths that men cannot be abused, as mentioned by Zola. Bell et al. (2014) assert that men may not report sexual harassment because they are likely to be labelled homosexual. This also came out in Zola's statement. The fear of being stigmatised causes men not to report sexual harassment. This is supported by Renzetti et al. (2012) who assert that some victims may not want to disclose to others because they fear being stigmatised and facing some negative reactions.

The fears of facing negative reactions is what causes men not to report having been sexually harassed by women as noted in an individual interview with one male participant in an excerpt below:

Shotie: "A guy being harassed by a girl and report that girl? You can't report that you have been raped by a girl here on university. That one would be difficult to report...you find a case like maybe it was your girlfriend and you will be scared that you have been raped by a girl that make us not to report those cases."

As a result, men are scared to report that they have been sexually harassed, especially when raped by a girlfriend. Renzetti et al. (2012) and Bell et al. (2014) assert that men do not want to divulge their experiences because they fear the reactions they are likely to receive when they do so and because of the myths that men cannot be raped. This also came out in the above extract. Another aspect which emerged from one male participant was that men also felt embarrassed to report sexual harassment.

One female participant expressed the sentiment that she has never heard of men having reported sexual harassment. This is linked to the above statement. She states that maybe they feel embarrassed to report if or when they are sexually harassed. Men may feel embarrassed to report sexual harassment because of societal norms that encourage certain sexual behaviours for men and male students might feel ashamed that they are not being 'real' men if they report such issues as real men are perceived to be strong and in control (Ricardo & Barker, 2008). The female participant even echoed the same sentiments when she stated that 'men are

supposed to be stronger than us'. This is supported by Torronen and Roumeliotis, (2013) who assert that men are supposed to be dominating and strong.

It also came out during a focus group discussion with female participants that women who have been sexually harassed or raped may feel ashamed to report the incident because of the reactions they are likely to get from their peers. Charity mentions that 'some people may even laugh at you' and some female students may not report it because they do not want to be stigmatised. Some may fear that no one would want to date them if they heard that they were sexually violated. This supports studies done which reveal that when rape victims disclose to others their experiences they often face negative reactions and stigmatisation and it is not surprising that many victims do not disclose their victimisation to anyone (Renzetti et al., 2012). Cortina (2002) asserts that in some societies women who are sexually harassed may not report the case because of conservative gender roles, honour and shame codes that reflect different standards for females' and males' sexual behaviour.

Another aspect which came out of the individual interviews with the majority of female participants was that students may not report harassment because they fear that they might not be believed.

Betty: "I haven't heard of any cases being reported and I think it would shock the majority of the school and as a result of that I think that alone would cause hatred. The student that is the victim or the student that reported the case might be hated by the colleagues that work with this person that is accused if the person happens to be a lecturer, you know, it would just arouse hatred and you just simply be the odd one out like, honestly, they would think you are exaggerating. There is that mentality with us students, we just do not understand you know, what another person might be going through and just think that you know she is just seeking for attention."

In the preceding excerpt Betty highlights fear of how the perpetrator and the victim's peers might react to the news. Betty mentioned that the majority of students may be shocked to hear that a case of sexual harassment has been reported. She suggests that the students may not report the incident because they fear they will be hated by the perpetrator, especially if the perpetrator holds some form of authority, for example, the lecturer. Betty further states that if one reports sexual harassment one's peers might think 'you are exaggerating,' seeking attention and are not credible. This was supported by Mpume, another female, who echoed sentiments that if one was sexually harassed by a lecturer and there was no evidence and no witness, it

was difficult to be believed. This supports Bell et al's (2014) view that students may not report because they don't want to cause trouble. According to Jewkes, (2002) victims may not report sexual violence because they fear that they may not be believed and this emanates from claims that women lie about crimes such as rape.

Another reason why students might not report sexual harassment is that they fear the lecturer might lose his job. This was mainly said by female students during a focus group discussion. According to Torronen and Roumeliotis, (2013) femininity is usually related with emotionally, empathy, nurturance and passivity. Some female students may sympathise with the perpetrator and hence fail to report their experiences.

In light of this some male students suggested that female students were scared of what the perpetrator might do to them if they reported sexual harassment:

Mondie: "Girls don't report because they are afraid that boys would hunt them and trace them and beat him...beat her."

Sabelo: "Ah, most them they are scared to report. It's either they have been told that when they report what they have been doing...most of males tell girls that they will kill them so it's not easy for that girl to...to report because each and every time when that girl they reported the issue of being harassed that male can easily do what he has already said before. Yah, that person who have harassed can be able to kill that person if he/she reported."

The statement above was also supported by two female students who expressed that as female students they feel too intimidated to report sexual harassment because of what the perpetrator might do to them. Sthandwa said that although they knew the people they were scared to report. She further said that if they reported, the harasser might blame the victim, saying 'she is the one who wanted it because I told her I will give her this and she allowed it to happen'. This statement suggests that students are not aware of whether such behaviour will be considered as sexual harassment. They think that because they agreed to have sex in exchange for funding the harasser might accuse them of wanting it to happen and nothing will happen. According to Jewkes (2002), victims of sexual violence may not report the incidents because they fear retaliation by the perpetrator. Sabelo mentioned that some 'males may tell girls that they will kill them' and this shows that women may feel too threatened to report violence perpetrated against them. Mpume mentioned that female students may not report lecturers because they feared that if nothing was done to him he would continue teaching them and might be hostile and unfair towards them and allocate them low marks. Statements from female students support

studies done which reveal that some female students are unwilling to report sexual harassment because they dread losing some educational rewards (Renzetti et al., 2012).

Despite the challenges discussed above concerning the issue of reporting, some male and female participants encourage students who face sexual harassment on campus to report it in order to reduce its occurrence, as reflected by one female participant in an extract below:

Charity: " I would advise others that they should report such things because if we don't report that would make sexual harassment to spread, that person could do it to another person and another person and another because he know that he...he will not be reported so that... that person could be disciplined, be told that if you do that it's wrong..."

Charity's statement indicates that it was important to report sexual harassment so that perpetrators may refrain from perpetrating such violence.

One male participant echoed the same sentiments as shown in the excerpt below:

Nhlanhla: "They need to report it, that's the best way. If you feel that you were harassed just report it. Most people are not comfortable with sexual harassment, so if you happen to do that you will be prosecuted."

Nhlanhla suggested that those who faced sexual harassment needed to report it so that the perpetrators can be dealt with.

This theme focused on the reasons why students do not report sexual harassment. The main issues that came out were fear of stigmatisation, embarrassment and the fear of further victimisation if they reported these cases.

4.8 Increasing Awareness leads to Reduction

The theme highlights participants' suggestions on ways to reduce sexual harassment on campus. Sthembile, a female participant, states that raising awareness around the campus, in the form of a discussion or a forum meeting would assist in making students aware of behaviours that constitute sexual harassment. Betty shares the same views, saying that it is important to create awareness on what sexual harassment is because some students are not well informed about what sexual harassment is and its seriousness. According to Singh et al. (2015), awareness programmes are useful in creating a safe atmosphere on campuses.

During an individual interview, one male participant shared similar views, as shown below:

Nhlanhla: “.... if we can have something like sexual harassment awareness, that’s where people will learn more about sexual harassment.”

Nhlanhla’s statement reiterates the importance of having a sexual harassment awareness programme to reduce sexual harassment on campus. Brown, Banyard and Moynihan (2014) contend that a number of sexual harassment prevention programmes for both male and female students are focusing on women to be empowered and have been helpful in stopping sexual harassment before it happens, interceding when it is happening and being a friend to the victim after sexual violence has happened.

Some male participants, on the other hand, also indicated that there should be programmes to talk about sexual harassment which must be compulsory for every student to attend. Sabelo suggested that this could be done by bringing in experts to explain to students the consequences of perpetrating such violence. Education and awareness can help to eliminate unwanted behaviours.

The majority of participants proposed that students could assist in reducing sexual harassment by making other students aware of what sexual harassment was. During individual interviews with female participants, they expressed the following views.

Lungi: “The role that I can play to prevent sexual harassment on campus is that...firstly, if we are having a conversation with my male friends I will just brief them on what sexual harassment is and tell them not to do this and tell them not to do one, two and three if they are talking or if they are sitting with girls because this and this can lead to this so I can tell them...so I can tell them the boundaries that they should not cross if they are having a conversation or if they are involved in group works with girls.”

Betty: “I could communicate it. To talk about sexual harassment with other students just like I was doing, I went out, I went and I spoke about sexual harassment to like my room mates and I did a random conversation with the girls that I was sitting next to when I was waiting for the bus... It’s just something like that that would encourage the awareness of sexual harassment and in...like in turn, in turn it could help them report issues, when such issues...when they happen.”

The above narratives show that students have a major role to play in reducing sexual harassment. What comes out so strongly is that there is need for having a conversation to bring

about awareness about sexual harassment. They all stated that it was important to openly talk about sexual harassment and tell others what it was.

During individual interviews, male participants shared similar opinions concerning the issue of communication and open discussion regarding sexual harassment. They mentioned that the best way was to talk to friends and people they knew about sexual harassment. In addition, they noted the importance of letting the perpetrator know that what he was doing was wrong.

This theme highlighted suggestions given by students to address sexual harassment on campus. Participants stated that it was important to have a sexual harassment awareness programme and this could be done through discussions and inviting experts to address students. Students could also play a major role by communicating with their peers about sexual harassment issues. This theme contributes to answering the research question on student suggestions on ways to reduce sexual harassment on campus.

4.9 Student Support Structures and Services

This theme stressed participants' sentiments on the structures and services available on campus to assist students who face sexual harassment. The National Sexual Violence Resource Centre (2004) revealed that absent or weak sanctions and services may inhibit victims from reporting cases of sexual violence as they fear being punished by the weak justice system and this may add to and exacerbate sexual violence. In addition, unresponsive systems fail to hold the perpetrators responsible and result in the victim being let down.

In answering the question: "How can services and structures that assist sexually harassed students be improved?" during focus group discussions and individual interviews, both male and female participants showed their desire to have services and structures improved to reduce sexual harassment and to bring awareness as well as encourage those who have been sexually harassed to report the incidents.

During individual interviews, most female participants mentioned that services and structures that assisted sexually harassed students must be known to all students, as shown below:

Lungi: "They should be known. We don't even know there are structures on campus. Maybe you can even create billboards, you can even show arrows of which room...which venue is that particular programme taking place."

The above statement indicates that support structures are available but are not known by students. This further shows that these structures are not effective. Lungi further suggested using billboards which directed students to such services.

In connection with the above sentiments male participants expressed similar views, as reflected below:

Sabelo: "They are there but they are not known by everyone or by every student in this campus but myself I...I didn't know until the meeting that we held ... they must not only tell us on the orientation day, they must continue informing us the whole year about these structures, where you can go if you want to report something on sexual harassment."

Sabelo's narrative indicates that the university provides such services but they are not known. He further suggests that the university should constantly remind students about such structures and services and where they can go if they need assistance.

Some male participants expressed the need for structures available on campus to discuss sexual harassment issues with students and also to employ more professional staff who were well equipped in counselling students who faced sexual harassment on campus, as reflected in an excerpt below:

Nhlanhla: "...there are structures like CHASU even though I don't know how they operate but I know they talk more about HIV, relationship problems. I think sexual harassment can be discussed in structures like that...they can get professional counsellors who will counsel students about sexual harassment. That could be great."

Nhlanhla's view is a clear indication that the university needs to employ more professional people who will assist in discussing sexual harassment issues with students.

Another suggestion which came from one participant in an individual interview was on improving the Risk Management Services (RMS), as reflected below.

Shotie: "I think people are not comfortable to go to the RMS because they say the RMS is useless so even if they can improve the security there, then people can take RMS as useful...if you report a case they don't follow up that case so it's a waste of time...they don't report them because they know that even if you report the RMS doesn't take cases to the police outside, and the suspect will just be left."

Shotie's narrative shows that the RMS is regarded as 'useless' on campus because they do not take cases reported seriously. As a result, students find it futile to report their cases because they have a perception that nothing will be done and the perpetrator will continue perpetrating sexual harassment without consequences. This supports Collins et al.'s (2009) study which found that students who attempt to report their cases were often frustrated because of false promises being made to them (that their cases were being dealt with). The study further revealed how students were reluctant to use the university security services because they were not reliable.

One male participant, Nhlanhla, expressed the importance of taking action against those who are reported, as reflected in the extract below:

"...on the side of discipline students who are caught harassing other students can get serious punishment. I think that can assist. Punishment like, even you can get a fine, you can be suspended from campus for a certain period of time, or ask to come with the parents, things like that."

Nhlanhla's narrative suggests that the university should have visible enforcement of sexual harassment policies to deter students from perpetrating such violence. The university could punish those reported by either suspending them or levying a fine. Demonstrated competency and efficiency in the student support structures would further inspire confidence and trust in students to report sexual harassment incidents.

This theme highlighted participants' views on improving structures and services offered by the university to reduce sexual harassment on campus. Participants emphasised the importance of these structures and services to be known by everyone on campus. They further suggested that structures such as the RMS must improve so that students could gain confidence in them and report sexual harassment. Participants also stressed the need for disciplining students who perpetrated sexual harassment. This would encourage other students to report.

4.10 Conclusion

This chapter presented a comprehensive analysis of data generated from focus group discussions and individual interviews. Data is presented and analysed within the eight themes that emerged from the study. The themes that emerged revealed that gender is something that is continuously created and recreated through social interaction (Lorber, 1994). From both male and female responses, it was suggested that female students faced sexual harassment

because of the way they dressed which male students viewed as provocative. Power differences emerged as exacerbating sexual harassment on campus.

There are certain behaviours that are considered appropriate for men and women (Bell et al., 2014). Responses from male students suggested that they felt the pressure to conform to societal norms which did not allow a man to reject a woman's sexual advances. The rise of internet and social networks has brought a whole new level of communicating and interacting with friends. It emerged that in this study some students face sexual harassment through this form of technology. The majority of participants suggested that a sexual harassment awareness programme was crucial in reducing it on campus. In the next chapter, I briefly summarise the main findings.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter the findings of the study are synthesised. I then offer the conclusions that have been reached through the process of the enquiry. To recap: The following research questions are answered:

- What do students at a selected UKZN campus understand as sexual harassment?
- What are students' views on sexual harassment at a selected UKZN campus?
- What do students at a selected UKZN campus suggest as ways to reduce sexual harassment on campus?

The study was conducted at a selected University of KwaZulu-Natal campus. To answer the questions above this study adopted the interpretive paradigm and the qualitative approach. Purposive and snowball sampling was employed to select participants. Data was generated using focus group discussions and analysed using the thematic analysis. The study draws on Lorber's social construction of gender theory (Lorber, 1994) which holds that gender is constantly created and recreated out of social interaction.

5.2 Summary of the Main Findings

The data reveals varying degrees of students' understanding of sexual harassment. Some students understand sexual harassment as any behaviour that makes a person who is being subjected to it uncomfortable. However, some students' understanding of sexual harassment is limited to physical harassment, especially rape. They consider rape as the only form of sexual harassment that needs to be reported. This could be a result of how society has normalised some behaviours which would normally be classified as sexual harassment. Male and female students have different views of what constitutes sexual harassment. Certain behaviours from male students make female students feel uncomfortable but male students consider it normal. Female participants indicated that male students pass sexual comments, hug, kiss, spank buttocks and touch breasts and this makes them feel uncomfortable. However, they do not take such behaviours seriously. Accepting such behaviour has created a cultural ideology on campus which condones and accepts sexual violence. It was also found that some female students have accepted the behaviour of lecturers who sexually harass them. Participants indicated that female students are mainly the victims of sexual harassment. Male students were reported to be the main perpetrators of sexual harassment. This can be attributed to gender norms which

accept certain sexual behaviours for men, for example, there are certain gender norms which indicate that men should be hostile, knowledgeable and experienced in sexual issues.

There are certain behaviours that are traditionally associated with male or female sexes (Bell et al., 2014). This is reflected in the way men perceive women's dressing on campus. Male students claimed that they faced sexual harassment from female students because of the way they dressed. Their responses indicated that women who wore mini-skirts or revealing clothes were sexually harassing men. Male students consider it normal for men to be sexually aroused by a woman wearing a miniskirt or revealing clothes. In addition, they justified sexual harassment of female students because of the way they dressed. Some male participants even suggested that it was the responsibility of female students to not dress in revealing clothing to avoid being sexually harassed on campus.

Sexual harassment is prevalent on campus. Gender as a social construct creates social differences which privileges some and marginalises others (Lorber, 1994). This is reflected in the data generated from both male and female participants. In this study it was found that some female students face sexual harassment from those in positions of power such as lecturers and SRC members. They also face sexual harassment from male students who they perceive to have some form of power. Some male lecturers sexually harass female students by constantly phoning, sending WhatsApp messages, requesting meetings, or asking for a romantic relationship and those who refuse to comply often face the risk of being failed in their assignments.

On the other hand, some SRC members often ask female students, especially first years, for sex in exchange for funding or accommodation in residences. Female students have indicated a misperception that SRC members were responsible or have an influence in allocating funding to students which they used to exploit female students. There are also some senior students (not SRC members) who deceive female students, first-year students in particular, by pretending to have an influence in allocating funding to students so that they could ask for sexual favours in exchange for facilitating access to funding. Some gay students also face sexual harassment from male students who pass offensive comments to them. They are perceived as people diverting from socially constructed norms about what it means to be a man or a woman. Some senior gay students were reported to be sexually harassing junior students, especially first years.

This study found that students are facing sexual harassment from social networking platforms, especially Facebook. There are some students who post nude pictures on Facebook and this

makes them feel uncomfortable. Personal details of students are often accessible on social networking platforms and this enables some gay students to search for male students on these sites and constantly issue unwelcome invitations.

It was also found that some male students often contest for masculinity status and this is done by spreading rumours about a sexual conquest. They often behave in that manner in order for them to be regarded as 'proper' men. On the other hand, some male students often face pressure to conform to masculinity when they pass offensive comments in a group which they never would consider doing as individuals. This may be as a result of wanting to earn a masculine status from their peers. Some male participants felt that the way they were socialised contributes to non-reporting of sexual harassment. They were socialised that a man could not reject a girl's sexual advances and reporting sexual harassment would simply mean that a man was weak and real men are supposed to have several girlfriends. Having many girlfriends is usually evidence of a man's sexual skill. When some male students confide to their friends about being harassed by a girl they are referred to as 'a fool' because they refused a girl's sexual advances. These gender constructions inhibit male students to report sexual harassment. Alcohol consumption was reported to be causing sexual harassment on campus. Female students, especially those who consume alcohol, are often at risk of being sexually exploited and students often use alcohol to excuse certain sexual behaviours.

Sexual harassment is under reported on campus. Some male and female students do not report sexual harassment because they fear stigmatisation and the responses they are likely to get from their peers and others. Male students do not report sexual harassment because they do not want to be labelled 'homosexual.' These gender constructs inhibit men to report sexual harassment because they feel embarrassed, especially when raped by a woman. Certain myths, like men cannot be raped and that they are capable of protecting themselves because of their perceived physical strength, inhibit men from reporting sexual harassment. There are also some women who do not report sexual harassment, rape in particular, because they feel afraid of how their peers are likely to react and they do not want men to reject them. They also fear stigmatisation from their peers. Some responses indicated that female students do not report sexual harassment because they fear retaliation by the perpetrators.

Participants gave various suggestions on how to reduce sexual harassment on campus. Education and awareness campaigns on sexual harassment were mentioned as a way of reducing sexual harassment on campus. Students suggested that sexual harassment awareness

could be raised through discussions, forum meetings and also by inviting legal experts to explain to students the consequence of perpetrating such violence. On the other hand, some participants suggested that the internet could be usefully utilised in reducing sexual harassment on campus. Some female participants suggested that the university could send emails, and create a blog and newsfeed to constantly remind students about sexual harassment and issues related to it. Some indicated that YouTube was a bad influence on male students because they watched videos which promoted negative sexual behaviour. They suggested that, if possible, YouTube should be blocked on campus. Students need to be educated about sexual harassment.

Students also said that services and structures offered by the university to assist those who experienced sexual harassment should be known by all students. Students are not well-informed about such services. They suggested advertising using billboards. Some mentioned that the RMS needed to be improved so that those who were sexually harassed could gain enough confidence in their services to report sexual harassment. The RMS is regarded as 'useless' by students and as a result they do not utilise their services. Participants also suggested that students also have a role to play in reducing sexual harassment on campus. They could do that through conversations with other students about sexual harassment and encouraging them to report sexual harassment when they experienced it. Some participants urged other students who faced sexual harassment to report the cases so that perpetrators could be dealt with accordingly.

5.4 Conclusion

Sexual harassment is a major obstacle in obtaining equal education in higher institutions and this study reflects that it has to be taken seriously in higher institutions to create equal opportunities. It is therefore important to get students' meaning on implementing some of the recommendations above to reduce sexual harassment on campus. Students and all the university staff play an important role in building a safe and friendly environment for teaching and learning.

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APPENDIX 1A: ETHICAL CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE



16 July 2015

Mrs Sibonile Kabaya 215079966
School of Education
Edgewood Campus

Dear Mrs Kabaya

Protocol reference number: HSS/0793/015M (LINKED TO HSS/1524/013CA)

Project title: Understanding sexual harassment amongst students at a selected UKZN residence

Full Approval – Expedited Application

In response to your application received on 26 June 2015, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol have been granted **FULL APPROVAL**.

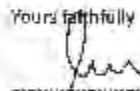
Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further 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 3 years from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully


Dr Shemika Singh (Chair)
Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

/pm

Cc Supervisor: Dr Shemika Singh
Cc Academic Leader Research: Professor P. Morojuru
Cc School Administrator: Ms T. Khumalo

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

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APPENDIX 1B: GATEKEEPER PERMISSION



3 June 2015

Mrs Sibonile Kabaya
School of Education
College of Humanities
Edgewood Campus
UKZN
Email: 215079966@stu.ukzn.ac.za

Dear Mrs Kabaya

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:

"Understanding sexual harassment amongst students at a selected UKZN Edgewood campus residence".

It is noted that you will be constituting your sample by performing interviews and focus group discussions with students from a selected UKZN Edgewood campus residence.

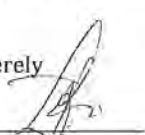
Please ensure that the following appears on your notice/questionnaire:

- Ethical clearance number;
- Research title and details of the research, the researcher and the supervisor;
- Consent form is attached to the notice/questionnaire and to be signed by user before he/she fills in questionnaire;
- gatekeepers approval by the Registrar.

You are not authorized to contact staff and students using 'Microsoft Outlook' address book.

Data collected must be treated with due confidentiality and anonymity.

Yours sincerely

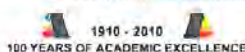

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Edgewood Howard College Medical School Pietermaritzburg Westville

APPENDIX 2A: INFORMED CONSENT FOR STUDENTS



INFORMED CONSENT LETTER

My name is Sibonile Kabaya. I am a student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, School of Education. I would like to invite you to participate in a study that I am undertaking.

Title of the study – Understanding sexual harassment at a selected UKZN Edgewood campus residence

The study will explore the meanings attached to sexual harassment by students at Edgewood campus as well as ways of reducing sexual harassment on campus. The study will involve interviews and focus group discussions with students.

Please note that:

- Your confidentiality is guaranteed as your inputs will not be attributed to you in person, but reported only as a population member opinion.
- The interview may last for about 1 hour and may be split depending on your preference.
- Any information given by you cannot be used against you, and the collected data will be used for purposes of this research only.
- Data will be stored in secure storage and destroyed after 5 years.
- You have a choice to participate, not participate or stop participating in the research. You will not be penalized for taking such an action.
- Your involvement is purely for academic purposes only, and there are no financial benefits involved.
- The results of the study and any publications arising from the study will be sent to you by email.

- The study is not designed in to create any stress or anxiety but if your participation gives rise to any anxiety or stress then you may contact the psychologist who is based at the Edgewood campus: Ms Lindi Ngubane. Her telephone number is 031 2603653 and email address is ngubanel@ukzn.ac.za.

For further information my contact details, my supervisor's as well as the official in the research office are given below.

Sibonile Kabaya

Student no: 215079966

Cell: 084 4284551

Email: sibonilembanje@yahoo.com

Supervisor

Dr Shakila Singh

Email: Singhs7@ukzn.ac.za

Tel: 031 2607326

You may also contact the Research Office through:

Lindi Ngubane

Research Office,

Tel: 031 260 3653

E-mail: ngubane1@ukzn.ac.za

Thank you for your contribution to this research.

APPENDIX 2B: CONSENT DECLARATION FORM

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/ do not consent* to an audio recording of the interview. (Please mark your selection with a **X**)

I understand that I am at liberty to withdraw from the project at any time, should I so desire.

SIGNATURE OF PARTICIPANT

DATE

.....

.....

APPENDIX 3A: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION SCHEDULE FOR STUDENTS

INTRODUCTION AND ICE-BREAKING

1. Thank interviewees for participation
2. Personal introduction: I introduce myself and we share demographic information e.g. we are all students
3. I explain the purpose of the research which is to explore the meanings attached to sexual harassment and suggestions on ways to reduce sexual harassment.
- 4 Stress CONFIDENTIALITY and anonymity of the participant and seek consent to RECORD the interview.

- **Stimulus:** Watch video <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yllmLq0Whvg>
- What do you think is happening in the video?
- Why do you consider this as sexual harassment? Explain
- Why do you think the man in the video behaves that way towards the woman?
- How does it make her feel?
- Do you think she will report it? Explain
- From what you have said how prevalent are cases of sexual harassment on campus?
- Who is most affected?
- Do they report sexual harassment?
- If no, why not?
- What support structures are there for students to deal with sexual harassment?
- In your opinion what could be done to reduce incidences of sexual harassment on the campus?
- Is there anything else you would want to tell me on sexual harassment that I have not covered in this discussion?

APPENDIX 3B: IN-DEPTH INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR STUDENTS

INTRODUCTION

1. Thank the interviewee for participation
2. Personal introduction: I introduce myself and we share demographic information i.e. we are all students
3. I explain the purpose of the research which is to generate information pertaining to the participant's understanding of sexual harassment.
4. Stress CONFIDENTIALITY and anonymity of the school and the participant and seek consent to RECORD the interview.

Concept of sexual harassment

- How long have you been living in the residence?
- Do you feel safe in the residence?
- If yes, explain what makes you feel safe.
- If no, who and what are you afraid of?

My study is about understanding sexual harassment on campus.

- What do you think sexual harassment is?
- Do you think this happens on campus? Please tell me more
- Who are the victims of sexual harassment on campus?
- Who are the perpetrators?
- In case of sexual harassment do they report?
- Why not?
- What happens to the perpetrator, if reported?

- What do you think are the causes of sexual harassment?
- What do you think can be done to prevent sexual harassment on campus? **OR**
- What do you think can be done to protect students from sexual harassment?
- How can services/structures that assist sexually harassed students be improved?
- What role do you think students should play in preventing sexual harassment on campus?

APPENDIX 3C: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION WITH MALE PARTICIPANTS

Participants watched a video first: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yllmLq0Whvg>

Me: What do you think was happening? What was happening in that video?

A: Yah, the teacher or tutor, I don't know what to say, the guy...but the guy was harassing the student.

Me: Okay

A: That male teacher was harassing a female student.

Me: Why do you call it harassment?

B: Because he was touching her in an inappropriate manner without her permission in a school with other children.

C: In addition to that there is no agreement that have been made in that.

Me: No agreement? Okay.

D: Even the conversation, you can tell that eh, that eh...it's sexual harassment.

B: The teacher was using his power over her.

Me: Okay, why do you think the man in the video was behaving in that way? Why was he behaving in that way?

B: Maybe it's because it's something he was used to. He has done it before.

C: And get away with it, and get away with it.

D: Yah, maybe it's all about satisfaction. He wanted to be satisfied.

B: Satisfied

D: To be satisfied

Me: Okay, what else?

A: Another thing is that eh, young girls are known that are vulnerable for...for older men so the teacher was coming with that approach, that no, just because I am a teacher this girl will just fall for me, yah.

Me: Okay, how does it make her feel? The girl?

A: Awkward.

B: It will also affect her performance in the classroom. He even say that she won't come to the class again.

Me: Okay, how does she feel when she is being sexually harassed like that? What do you think she feels?

Group chants: Scared.

A: She is not feeling protected, eh, as you know there is a perception that males have to protect females but in this case it happened...it happened otherwise. The male who is supposed to protect is the one who is harassing so she...she...she felt unprotected.

Me: Okay.

B: The teacher is not playing his role of being a parent. They say a teacher is supposed to be a parent and psychologist. That says the teacher is not being a parent.

Me: Okay, do you think the girl will report the sexual harassment?

C: He is not.

Me: Do you think she will report it or not?

D: I don't think she will report it.

Me: Why?

D: Eh, because... I think maybe somewhere somehow the teacher was threatening, eh, as you see in the video the way he holds, it's aggressive when he is talking to her.

F: The girl will be afraid to report the harassment because the police will think he is bluffing, she is bluffing, just making up.

D: And even he chased her...of course if someone chases you then it will be difficult for you to just do anything that will make him upset.

Me: Okay, what else?

D: Maybe she is afraid of failing the maths.

Me: Okay, is there anything else?

A: Another thing, she might not report because teachers are...are...are one of the most respected professions and if...then if you come with a different story or telling your parents that your teacher is doing this and that so they might not believe that, eh.

Me: Okay, how prevalent is sexual harassment on this campus? Is it there on this campus?

G: I haven't seen it. Others?

D: I think on campus, eh, I have never seen it but in other residences, yah, it is... although it is not that eh ...

B: So let's say you are touching someone, maybe accidentally touching, is it sexual harassment...you are just passing. Is it sexual harassment?

Me: Okay, what do others think? Is it sexual harassment?

D: I think there is sexual harassment everywhere nowadays, everywhere, even in churches there is sexual harassment.

Me: Is it here on campus?

A: Yah

D: I think it is because...I think many of the times when you talk about sexual harassment we are only concerned about men harassing women but I think that the co-factor of the sexual harassment or the foundation of the sexual harassment it is women. Women are not dressing properly, even in churches they are not dressing properly, you know. They are not protecting their bodies. They are not, eh, having self-esteem, you know...when a man sees a woman...you know that something...

Laughter and coughing.

B: We are also sexually harassed by the way they dress. They are harassing us. It is sexual harassment.

A: I think that's where I was also going.

Group chants: Yah

A: Sexual harassment exists in our campus because without even saying a word but if you are wearing a mini-skirt and you are showing curves, I can barely see your underwear, you are harassing me.

B: You can't concentrate. Even in lecture room if you are not wearing properly the concentration you lose and it forms part of harassment.

D: They even want to hug us.

Me: Women?

D: Yes.

Laughter.

D: It's sexual harassment but there is a problem because we cannot, eh... (Laughing)

E: We want to touch.

Me: You cannot what?

D: It is not easy for us to report sexual harassment; to say we are being harassed.

E: Yes, it's not easy for us.

D: Yeah, you know the government has taken everything to the women.

B: Yah, powers. They are the ones who are being protected.

D: Yes.

A: Even the society if you just report to your father for instance to even say this girl is giving me a hard time every time we meet, even the look, the way she hugs me, your father can be like worried 'what's wrong with you? Are you gay?' Even regard you as gay, yes.

Me: Okay, I need more example of sexual harassment. What's happening here on campus?

B: Inside school campus?

Me: Yes

A: Even the way we look at each other, yah. A person...one can harass you without saying a word but the way he looks at you, like you see, trying to bring that sexy look, yah.

Group Chants: Yes, yah.

Me: Is it happening here?

D: The eyes are telling that let's go to bed.

Laughter.

D: So sometimes, you know...sometimes this is true.

Group chants: It is true, it is true.

D: You know, sometimes when you...I remember one day I was eh, eh, getting into church one of the fellow sisters who is a...

B: Member?

D: You know those ushers was just trying to fix a shirt you know...doing those things.

B: touching?

F: That emphasise something.

D: Everywhere, everywhere you know girls...you get into...maybe you were brushing your teeth then there is Colgate here (touching his lower lip). They won't just tell you that you know there is a...they try to... (wiping his lip).

Laughter.

B: Is that wrong? It's wrong?

D: No, it's not wrong but you know...

A: It's wrong because there is no agreement.

E: Yes

F: It is wrong because ...

B: It's normal.

A: Another... another...if I can give another example, eh, I am working as an RA so there is this girl who accidentally, as she says, (laughter) locked herself out of her room. She was

coming from the bathroom and this girl is staying not in my resi..., in other resi... but here on campus. Then she came with a towel, then she came into my room and says 'no, listen I locked myself out so if I need to access my room, if you can assist' and I said no I am not your RA what can...what I can do is just call your RA and then she said no, but my body is getting dry, I need to lotion my body, then she proceeded to my bedroom, then she took my lotion and she started to lotion.

F: In front of you?

A: Then..., yah can you imagine?

Me: In front of you?

A: Can you imagine, she is lotioning and putting the leg on the chair.

Laughter.

E: What is that?

A: The second remark she made was you know what? You are not a gentleman. You were supposed to lotion me.

E: You see, what is that?

A: That person is harassing me but because she is a beautiful girl no I ...

Laughter.

Me: Okay, can I just ask this? What is sexual harassment?

B: I think it's any inappropriate behaviour which does not make you good, maybe touching, looking or...

Group chants: Yes, yes.

D: I think you need to take the word sexual then harassment, you know...it is just forcing someone, eh, to ...forcing someone sexually. I don't know how to put it but you know...it may not be just touching and just you know...it maybe just some other means.

A: In simple terms sexual harassment is doing something that you know exactly that you are supposed to do to your partner but you are doing it to just any other person without an agreement.

Group chants: Yes, yah.

A: You ca...you cannot... sometimes you can harass me emotionally. Even the words you talk, you say can harass me, you see?

Me: Is it here on campus?

Group chants: Yes, yes.

Group chants: It is there.

F: But it is good, but is there.

D: It's very high.

Me: It's high?

A: Yes, it is high as compared to our society.

D: I think its 85%.

B: It would be summer. If you can come back during summer you will see.

F: Summer, you will see.

B: The things they are wearing.

F: It's difficult at the time but we are strong enough.

Me: Okay what else? Can you give more examples of sexual harassment?

A: Even we are having like debates, you know guys and girls debates. If a person says no, you cannot satisfy me. That person is challenging you.

F: Sexually.

A: She is implying that come and try.

Group chants: Yes

A: So that is sexual harassment. Let's say...let's say I have someone and I am not willing to cheat, that person always use that against me, no, you are afraid of me, all that stuff, that person is harassing me.

D: Sometimes...sometimes you know we have WhatsApp, Facebook and all those things you know, one of the ladies will just, eh, send her nude pictures, you know, like pictures not that nude but showing the curves and all those things you know like...

F: Inside the campus.

Me: Okay.

D: They can even... you know when you are chatting you can tell that no! no! No! This person...

A: ... is just flirting.

D: She may even ask you that, eh, do you think we are matching, you know, we are...you know, all those things. It starts with very small, very, very small talk up until it ends up in a terrible...because I may end up in jail because I will...

B: So you may...So you see, you see. This is where it starts. It starts with small talk then you send each other pics, maybe she asks you to meet somewhere with you. So what if you are meeting and she says...

F: Yah.

B: So what if you are meeting and she says...So what are you supposed to do? Not that you are ready

B: You may think that she is joking then you force yourself into her and you end up harassing her, you see.

A: And she will not ask you to go to like a public space. She will just come to your room and you see.

Laughter.

E: She will just put you in an awkward position.

B: Yes, because if you don't do it she will go around telling everybody this guy is gay.

E: Yah.

A: I spent all night with him...

B: He did nothing.

A: He didn't do even a single thing.

C: Just chatting, chatting.

Group chants: Yah.

Me: Okay, so who is most affected by sexual harassment here on campus?

Group chants: Boys.

A: I think boys are most affected.

E: Yes, it is us.

A: It's just boys are not aware that this is sexual harassment.

Group chants: Yes.

D: And the society is not aware that boys are being harassed.

Me: Why do you say boys are most affected?

E: Just because of the reasons we mentioned.

A: For instance even our society suppress us in a way because if you do something that a girl does not like then the girl will immediately say no, I don't like this, but if you are a guy and you start to deny, you start to deny...even if you tell your friend you see this girl touches me this and that and I deny. Even your pal will say no, you are a fool you were supposed to...

C: You were supposed to hit and run.

Laughter.

F: Hit and run (laughing).

B: So you see it's here, just...men are being harassed but they are not aware.

F: Yes.

B: And I think women are the ones who are like exposing themselves to harassment.

Group chants: Yah.

B: Yes.

Me: Okay.

F: And the gays, oh, amagays (the gays).

Laughter.

Me: You are saying the gays? Are they harassing you?

B: Men are harassing men, in the strange way.

Me: Is it happening here?

B: Yah, on campus.

F: They tell you that you are hot, saying you are hot.

Me: Tell you are what?

F: In a strange way like, ‘you are hot. Six pack. Can I take the shirt off? Can I see you curves?

A: Thanks God I never experience that (laughing).

F: Can you give me a hug, you see. A gay...a gay person...the boy...they knew the boy. Those were said by a gay person and it’s forming part of harassment.

Me: Okay

B: I think we must include them in your group. (Laughing)

Me: We must also what?

B: The gays, why are they harassing us?

F: It would be broader if...stating their views why they are harassing us. Also, why are we harassing them and why are they harassing us, vice versa. What should be done with all this harassing?

Me: Have you ever experienced any harassment from gays?

F: No, but we have seen it happening.

B: These young boys, maybe let’s say you are in first-year and there is a gay man, maybe he is in 3rd year.

Me: Okay

B: He is a 3rd or 4th year. He will tell his friends that have you see this guy, he is hot. What is his name? And stuff like that you see, so it is harassment.

Me: Okay, so for those who are sexually harassed do they report the harassment?

B: No.

D: Boys won't.

A: Only girls do.

Me: Why?

A: We can say guys enjoy sexual harassment.

Group chants: Yes, yes (laughing).

Me: They enjoy sexual harassment?

Group chants: Yes

A: Even if you can see that a guy can tell you a scenario and then you see this girl was really harassing this guy but the guy will say no, that girl is falling for me. He will be happy and tell everyone about that so, yah, guys embrace sexual harassment unlike girls.

Group chants: Yes.

B: So they do enjoy the situation, lotion girl?

Laughter.

A: In a way.

D: sometimes, sometimes you know, I can tell...I can tell this guy, 'you know, girl so and so did this to me' and he will say no ways.

E: I wish I was you.

D: I wish I was you, you are lucky. Stuff like that.

E: You are lucky.

Me: So that's why boys don't report sexual harassment?

Group chants: Yes.

B: I think it's the way we were socialised that we have to accept.

A: You are lucky. (Laughing). Girls are throwing themselves at you. That's what our society is teaching us.

B: If boys are throwing themselves at a girl it's a problem. It is a problem.

A: It's a bad luck.

Me: Okay, so what support structures are there to deal with students who are sexually harassed? Are there any support structures on campus to deal with sexual harassment?

E: Yes.

A: I think we do have CHASU on campus.

Me: There is what?

A: CHASU.

Me: CHASU?

A: Yes, an organisation dealing with HIV and stuff like that and I also have Mrs Lindi Ngubane who is doing counselling.

E: Psychologist.

A: Yah, we do have support structures it just that guys don't ...

B: Don't accommodate it.

Me: Does everyone know about these support structures?

Group chants: No, we don't.

A: We are all supposed to know because during orientation, when first-years are oriented, yah CHASU, does come and present their organisation and Lindi as well does the same so we are all supposed to know. So it's up to us whether we are using that platforms or not.

Me: Okay, in your opinion what can be done to prevent sexual harassment on campus?

D: I think the only thing to do, although it is very hard, it would be very hard, I don't want to lie but I think if you can go to rural areas, you know you can find that eh, they were grown up...the girls that were maybe taught at home they wear properly. They wear properly, they dress properly and they are being taught how to approach a man, how to talk to a man and how to behave. How to...you know how to behave in front of boys, how to talk to a boy. How to...

you know, all those things but you find out that eh, we are from rural areas and then when we come to urban areas...you know, it's like...it's like the...

A: You become city girls.

B: Being exposed to other culture.

D: You know. In urban areas they are adopting other cultures.

B: Western cultures.

D: You know, western cultures. If you get into the church then you are meeting eh, the usher, the usher is a girl, you should kiss her.

B: Or give a hug.

D: Even if we are having dinner, this is your...maybe I am with my wife or with your wife, it is not a problem to kiss your wife but when...you know, all these things. We are...we are adopting something that we cannot stand for but I think what will help us is to just eh, the girls should wear properly.

Group chants: Yes.

D: And a girl should behave because the guys ...because, because the guys...when a guy sees something he want to finish.

Laughing.

D: Yah, when the guy sees something he just want to finish, so that's my own opinion.

A: Yah, I get your point but what I am saying is that it's all in your mind because at the...when you are talking about dressing properly, back then Zulu, we are making an example of the Zulu-speaking people because the majority of us are not IsiZulu, yah, girls were wearing very small things.

Group chants: Yah.

A: Very small things, for instance wearing some sort of bra and something like ...it is called isigege. It is more like a mini-skirt but it is worse than a mini-skirt but there was no sexual harassment back then, yah. I think all we need to do like guys ...guys need to be educated because girls are fully educated. They know about sexual harassment. There are poems talking about harassing a woman. There are poems talking about harassing women, there songs,

everything. It's just that guys all we need to do now is just like raise a matter of sexual harassment on the side of males because males are harassed each every day but they are just fine with it

F: Almost each and every hour.

C: Each and every minute.

Me: Okay, what else can be done?

E: A module...

E: We can...maybe we can try to raise awareness based on sexual harassment for boys.

E: Yah.

B: Because we need to be educated. We are the ones who can stop this. If only we can behave.

A: But I think... If you can like conduct a study try to search whether guys are okay with sexual harassment.

Laughing.

A: Because most of them will say no, we are just fine.

A: They enjoy sexual harassment boys.

Me: Boys enjoy sexual harassment?

A: Even if a girl can come and sit on my lap, it will be fine. I will be fine with it.

B: If a guy goes to a girl and just sits on top of her that will be a problem but if a girl does the same it will be appropriate.

Laughter.

Me: Okay, what if it's harassment from a man?

Group chants: Ah, ah!

A: Man to man?

Me: Yes.

B: It's not supposed to happen at all.

A: Even the heavens are against it.

Laughter.

G: Even heavens don't agree. Man to man? Ah!

Me: Is there anything else that can be done to reduce sexual harassment on campus?

B: I think like gay people needs to be like addressed to make that...even psychological...like treatment or something.

Me: To be addressed on what?

B: The issue of harassment, coz you see there...ah, I don't know how to put this but it does happen they do harass other men.

Me: Okay.

B: They do harass people.

Me: Okay, is there anything else that you want to tell me about sexual harassment that we have not covered in this discussion?

D: I can add something about...when we are looking at the different intellectual between men and women. Although many people say they is no difference but according to my own opinion I think men need a very, very special treatment on...in terms of psychological, yah because you know even if a woman may not actually sexually harass you...you know, but the beauty you know, even if she is...

B: Wearing properly.

D: Wearing properly you know everything; a man can be fooled by the voice.

Group chants: (laughing) Yes.

D: Her voice you know...all those things, I think what we need to do as men, we need, eh, I don't know...there is a lot to be done. There is a lot that needs to be done in terms of, eh, changing us psychologically because you know what has been done so far...I don't think it's enough. I think it's zero out of hundred. I think we need... we need deep, deep, deeper education about how we think...about how we ...you know... about lust because all these is about lust.

Me: Okay, can you just clarify something for me. Who are the perpetrators of sexual harassment on this campus?

D: Perpetrators? Meaning?

Me: Those who harass others.

D: I think both genders.

Me: Both male and female?

A: We as guys harass the girls and they do the same. It seems like both parties are fine with it.

Me: How do male students harass female students?

B: Okay, as we said...

Me: Can you give examples?

B: As we said, when the girls wear that short skirts or ...

Me: You are talking about female students being harassed by male students?

B: We are making an example.

Me: Okay

B: So as a guy you want to see or you will be affected.

Me: Okay. Can I ask again my question? Who are the perpetrators of sexual harassment? And you said both, right. How are male students harassing female students?

A: Eh ...

Me: How are male students harassing female students?

E: Yah...

Me: You are saying female students are being harassed. How are they being harassed?

A: Even by...they can harass each other even by comments. A comment you make when a girl is passing.

Me: Male students?

A: Yah, making comments to female.

Me: Okay.

D: Sometimes the way they touch the girls. I am not saying the way we coz I... yah.

Me: The way they touch girls?

D: Yah, when you meet you want a hug even if she is not comfortable with it. You will even fall you know because...you know sometimes they...

H: Hug and squeeze.

Laughter.

B: As we saw in that video the type of harassment occurring, do you think it's not possible for it to occur here in our school?

F: It's possible. Because in the perception of that video we have seen that the male was harassing a female due to his power. Because he is older than the one he was harassing. Yes, he is older than he was trying to harass or he was harassing and the first point already said that most of the students here on campus they take the advantage that they are older than someone.

Group chants: Yah.

D: So like what...take the advantage of the first years.

Me: Senior students harassing first year students?

F: Yes.

A: Vice versa again, even first-years do harass seniors.

Me: How?

A: Most first year students they know...I am talking about girls, they know that if they are coming from high school as they are called freshers like every ...every senior student want to date a first year student.

Me: Okay.

A: Even the one who never got a girlfriend she will try by all means to get, a first-year student knows that very well.

Laughing.

H: Yes.

A: And they use that against guys. They just throw themselves around guys for instance if you are a guy you are...you have like some sort of power on the campus, you are an SRC member, girls will throw themselves to you. You are an RA girls will throw themselves. Even if you are a tutor lecturer.

D: Do you know sometimes...

Me: Let him finish first.

A: They even throw themselves at lecturers who are old enough to be their parents but girls do throw themselves at lecturers. So in that way we can say first-year students do harass senior students, yes.

Me: Okay.

D: I think there is also something wrong in women intellectually because most of the women ...I think about 90% of them they do not think before they plan to do something, they do not plan before they do something. They don't think, they just do then they cry after. Then what I wanted to add is that...you know you find out that some of the students they don't have funding, they don't have housing you know when...about the first days, eh, maybe in the first semester.

B: Nowhere to go.

D: The first years they don't know where to sleep you know...they don't know what to eat. They don't know what is going on around campus you know then you find senior students have advantage...taking advantage of that, then you find that there are sleeping with those girls, they are promising to give them funding you know...they are promising to... you know.

Me: Sorry, who promises the funding? A senior student?

D: A senior student. You know, when you don't know anything I can come, 'I am so and so, I can help you with funding' although I do not have funding, I don't know anything about funding but just the fact that I know the...around the school. I know everything about the university, then you don't know, then I can take advantage of that, then I can do anything about you.

H: Yes.

D: So that's another issue.

Me: What about lecturers and students?

Laughing.

Me: Why are you laughing?

H: Lecturers you know...I have no idea.

Me: Remember, I said whatever you say is confidential.

G: Confidential?

Me: Yes, and it will not be used against you?

G: Yes.

Me: There is more. Your reaction is telling me there is more to this.

B: Not at all.

D: I have never seen such.

Me: Okay.

E: All we can say is that lecturers are...

H: They have got power.

Me: Lecturers have more power?

D: Maybe it occurs.

E: Who knows, anything can happen.

Laughter.

E: This is a big school lecturers are people.

C: Only God knows.

Laughter.

G: They are men like us. They do have more advantages.

B: More than us. Anything can happen. Anything can happen.

G: It happens; it's just we are not sure but it happens.

Me: Can you give an example.

B: Even if they do, it's private because we are grown up.

Me: Okay, it's fine. Is there anything else about sexual harassment? Okay you didn't tell me about how female students harass male students? How are you being harassed?

A: The way they throw themselves at guys.

H: Their behaviour.

D: Their approaches.

Me: Okay.

D: Sometimes they will tell you that you are gay and because...just you are not interested in them you are gay. 'Prove that you are not gay'. Then I will prove.

Laughter.

Me: Okay, that's fine. Thank you very much for participating in this discussion.

APPENDIX 3D: INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW WITH MPUME

Me: Thank you for your participation in this interview. How long have you been living in the residence?

P: Ah, 2 years.

Me: Okay.

P: Because my first year I wasn't staying in the resi only stayed in my 2nd year and now.

Me: Okay, do you feel safe in the residence?

P: Eh, the resi... I used to stay like last year, eh, I wouldn't lie I didn't feel safe at all.

Me: Okay.

P: Because the entrance where you enter, maybe when you are going like around, like 11 0'clock when you walk outside it...it would be open like anyone can just walk in. The security guards will be sleeping in the small rooms there, so I wouldn't say I feel safe. The doors were, weren't really strong.

Me: Okay.

P: So whenever we lost the key we can just push the door and come inside the room.

Me: Okay.

P: So it wasn't that safe. There was this incidence when eh, one boy was drunk, he just went inside a girl's room. He just pushed the door and went inside so this matter really scared us coz we knew the resi wasn't safe but we had no choice but just to stay there, just to stay so this year we had to move because it wasn't really safe.

Me: Okay, what about where you were staying now?

P: Where I am staying now, ah it's safe, ah because when you come inside you need to swipe your student card. You can't just walk inside like that you know and the doors are very strong, you can't just push a door and come inside because usually I lost a key, I have to go to the RA, the residence assistance to open the door for you so that's the only time you can come inside.

Me: Is it a mixed or single residence?

P: No it's only girls.

Me: It's only girls?

P: Yes.

Me: What happens when a boy wants to visit?

P: When a boy wants to visit you just take your student card and swipe and let him come inside.

Me: Can he use his card?

P: No, he can't use his own student card. Only yours the person who is registered for the, for the residence can only swipe you inside and comes in like you mam when you were coming inside here my student card wont swipe inside.

Me: Okay, so what time do they open the door?

P: The doors? When, ah I don't know why, sometimes they open the door, I don't know but sometimes they open the door like right now it's open, anyone can just come inside there, yah.

Me: What time do they close?

P: They close at ah...I don't know, sometimes its left open through the night or the whole day it will be open like the whole of first semester they didn't close it.

Me: Okay.

P: It was open like when you wake up in the morning going to a lecture it's open, when you are coming back it's still open so it was just a free zone for everyone to come inside like when you go to campus and come back, so it's always open.

Me: Do you always lock your room when you are inside?

P: When you are inside? Ah, not always like we only lock at night when you know coz it's night, you need to sleep.

Me: At night, around what time?

P: Maybe about...usually we close the door at 8 o'clock, yah.

Me: The main door or your room?

P: My main door, like my room. I only close the door by 8 o'clock, not the main door.

Me: Okay.

P: Sometimes they don't close it, so it's right if I lock the door inside my room.

Me: Do you feel safe when it's not locked?

P: I won't say I don't feel safe, I won't say that coz I actually feel safe because I know my room is locked no one can just push it.

Me: Okay.

P: But the other students I don't think it's safe for them because some, some people usually forget to close the door. So if you forget to close the door someone may come inside take your laptops and do whatever, so for them it's not safe. For me, I always make sure I have to lock the door because I come from an environment where it's not safe.

Me: Okay.

P: So I always make sure that safety comes first before anything, yes.

Me: You said you feel safe, not like last year. What were you afraid of last year?

P: I was afraid of people coming inside because they can just come inside the resi... and steal your things or even rape coz we...we are staying in a resi... where in that floor there were only girls. What if someone came inside and rape you? It wasn't safe at all mam coz, even drunk people from the streets...coz we...it's like in town...yes, here in Pinetown. So people from any...any bar can just come in there coz its open mam and they know there is girls inside, so they can just come inside and do anything. It wasn't safe coz we even... even our laptops were there, even when you are coming to school, we always have to carry our laptops like the thing very important like our IDs and what else? Our IDs, our laptops. Those things we had to carry them to school like every day we had to carry our laptops coz we can't leave them at the resi. Coz someone can just badge inside and take them and take everything coz there was an incident were ah when the student came inside a room and she find there was nothing inside the room where she came to ...she came to campus afterward she went to her resi... there was nothing there so I think they just... I think people just came inside and stole everything.

Me: Okay, as I was saying my study is about understanding sexual harassment on campus. What do you think sexual harassment is?

P: Ah, I think sexual harassment is when someone does something to you that you are not comfortable with ah, like for example touching you or saying something like...it was like,

come here or anything that just makes you uncomfortable with it, yes, I think that is sexual harassment.

Me: Okay, have you ever experienced any sexual harassment?

P: Sexual harassment? I think I have but not in a serious manner coz we have people here like boys who just grab you, wanna hug you. When they hug you they are like, oh come here coz we are friends. We know the boys around school, we greet them, we give them a hug. When they hug you they, they hug you so tight it makes you very uncomfortable, then they kiss you, no, it's just so uncomfortable, so I think that's the only sexual harassment I ever experienced on this campus.

Me: Have you ever witness any sexual harassment?

P: Ah no, no, no coz to me I will think no that's sexual harassment coz like...I know what sexual harassment is and if someone were to sexually harass me I will report it you know, so maybe to them it's just like we are friends, they are just touching you, they are just kissing you coz it's fun. We don't take it seriously, so I won't say... maybe it was sexual harassment when I saw it, maybe it wasn't, I don't...no, but this time when the boy came inside the room and just touches...started touching the girl, I think there was sexual harassment but then he was drunk and then we reported him to the RA so they took him out of the resi, so yah that's all. That's the only sexual harassment I can say I have witnessed and that I know of.

Me: Okay, do you think this happens on campus? Sexual harassment?

P: Yes, it does. It does happen, I won't say it doesn't, it does, yes, it does.

Me: Please tell me more?

P: Ah, okay, let me say ah, not physically, when it happens when like verbally.

Me: Okay.

P: Okay, when people just talk they just say nasty things to you, the boys, because the boys are very...the boys aggressive they just say anything to you, when they look at you, you know the look when a person gives you, they are thinking of something else you know, ah let me think, sexual harassment? I think in only residence. I don't think you actually harass someone in the campus. I think when you go to the resi, that's the only time you know, it's a private place when a boy comes inside a room, he just ha, say, 'what's wrong with you if I'm touching you,

lets kiss,' and you're like, 'no, why should we do that,' no, they wanna try and force themselves to you coz...I think the things do happen, I think they do happen, yah.

Me: Do you think students are harassed by students they know or they don't know?

P: Ah, I think it's the people we know coz I don't think someone who doesn't know you will just come inside your room and just start touching you and stuff. I think it's the people we know, that we are familiar with, the people who usually come inside the room, the people we know how to get inside, yah, I think it's ah, yah it's just that.

Me: Okay, who are the victims of sexual harassment on campus?

P: I think it's mostly the girls and the gays and the lesbian. I think it's those people, yes coz the girls they know we are, we are soft, we won't like act aggressively against them when they try to do something. Ah, the gays, there was this time when, when one boy post on Facebook that h..., I don't know who did that. They just came inside his room, they try to break his room, they just try to come inside the room. It was boys, he is a boy but he is gay, he stays in a boys' residence so yah, I think it's the gays coz...even the things they say to the gays and lesbians you know, they are just harassing them like oh why are you like this, you are just acting up, oh, come here let's just test if you are a girl or a boy. Yah, I think those are the things.

Me: Okay, the lesbians, how are they being harassed?

P: Yah, even the lesbians too coz the...the...

Me: Who harasses the lesbians?

P: It's the boys, coz they see them as girls, they say, why are you this? Come here, are you a girl? If you are a boy come here let's just test you. Yah, things like that, they wanna fight with them. They wanna sleep with them, yah.

Me: What about girls do they harass the lesbians?

P: Girls, I don't think, no, coz if you say a lesbian, you treat him as a boy, you won't harass a boy.

Me: Okay, what about gays harassing gays?

P: It's the boys.

Me: The boys?

P: Yes, it's the boys, mostly the boys.

Me: What about girls?

P: I don't know about the girls. We are friends with them, they are nice people. They are nice people so we won't harass them in that manner.

Me: How do boys harass the gays?

P: No, but not in a sexual way, no, not that way but then they wanna just fight with them and ask them why they are gays and so forth but they don't talk in a good way to them, yes like they would if it's another boy, yes, yah.

Me: Okay, who are the perpetrators of sexual harassment?

P: I think it's the female people in the school. No, the male, It's the male people, sorry. I think it's the male people who are the perpetrators of everything, of sexual harassment in this school. It's maybe the boys like the students, it's maybe the lecturers. It's those kind of people, the people who are in power or who think...they think they are superior than you coz the boys know, like in households the boys are always like the superior people because you have to respect the boys and whatever when they come to school they take that mentality, even the lecturers they know that they have the power over you, yah I think they are the perpetrators of sexual harassment in the campus.

Me: Okay, in case of sexual harassment, do victims report it?

P: Oh I have never heard of such, like a person going and reporting the ...we only talk about it like I will tell my friends that, oh the lecturer said this to me...I must come to his room eh, and those cases. No, I don't think they report it coz if they report it...we have...I think the lecturers who does that they would have stopped by now or they wouldn't be in campus if someone really reported them coz there are those lecturers we know that oh, this lecturer just be careful around him and the boys we don't report them, no, no, there is no... I have never heard of people going.

Me: Why is it that people don't report sexual harassment?

P: I think people take it lightly. It's not like a serious case. I think if someone actually rape you, I think that's the only time they would go and report it, yes. Ah, I don't think it's that serious coz I don't think anyone ever reported it, so they don't take it very serious and they think if they go, let me think, if they report it to..., they don't know who to report it to anyway. They

won't have enough evidence like if, if a lecturer asks you to come to his room, he won't go, he won't say come with your friend. Will just come to my room at 2 o'clock, my room is S something...come inside there. Ok, you will just go coz it's your lecturer and if he started touching you and stuff, if he started there is no one there, so there is no one you...there is no evidence, there is no witness. He will say okay; ah he touches me. They will ask you, where is the evidence in that.

Me: Okay.

P: So I think that's why they don't report it because there is no evidence. I think they might think the lecture...what if the lecturer doesn't get...if they don't arrest him they will still continue to teach you. I'm sure the lecturer is gonna have negative ah, negative...he just gonna act negative...negative towards you, even your marks may drop, yah, I think that's that.

Me: Okay, what do you think are the causes of sexual harassment on campus?

P: Oh, I think it's the mentality people have or they don't take sexual harassment that serious coz we usually not talk about it, so I think the mentality that people have...okay, if 'we are the boys , we can touch a girl.' The lecturers, 'no, I have power over her, she won't do anything' even if I touch her,' no, I think it's just the mentality that people have, it's nothing major, it's just the people...it's just mentality. Coz they know we won't eh, report them, where do we go if we want to report such incidence, yes, I think it's that, yah.

Me: Okay, what do you think can be done to prevent sexual harassment or to protect students from sexual harassment on campus?

P: I think there have to be like a program, the... awareness. Awareness like there is AIDS, there is HIV awareness in the school

Me: Okay

P: If you have HIV you can go there. It's, we all know about it but then for sexual harassment I wouldn't know where to go. If someone actually like harass me like right now, if I just come out of here and someone harass me I wouldn't know where to go because you won't go to the dean coz the dean talks about the academic stuff not the, you know, the sexual things and what not and what not. You won't go to the admin coz they only talk about your school work, you wouldn't know actually yah, so I think there have...there have to be programmes to show the students where to go if you're having such problems coz people take it as a minor thing, it's

not that even the hugs, the kisses, the touching...people don't take it seriously but if they...if they knew where to go if some incidence happen, so, yah I think that can be done. They can just have an awareness, 'this is sexual harassment, these are the kinds of sexual harassment that are around and people know of.

Me: Okay, how can services or structures that assist sexually harassed students be improved?

P: It can...how can it be improved? Ah, I think they are the ones who have to do the awareness thing like when you go around the school you see posters of HIV and AIDS. They will also include...they will also include the sexual harassment cases and have and even if during the...some modules can just talk about sexual harassment. Ah, coz, oh, I remember last semester I think we did...oh, no, it wasn't sexual harassment. We just did some courses of sexual harassment, it wasn't something major so they can do it as something very big, have programs, ah, have people coming to the school to share their experiences coz we usually have shows, they can have shows that start at 7 o'clock...they can have people come inside and just talking and they can create groups...they can create groups or...which will talk about sexual harassment, yah.

Me: Okay, what about students, what role do you think students should play in preventing sexual harassment on campus?

P: What role can they play?

Me: Yes.

P: I think after the awareness, that time, students will know that okay, there is something going on, we know what is sexual harassment, we know the causes, we know the different types so if that incidence happens they can just report it to that person and when someone tries to do it, talk to them, tell them this is wrong, you are not supposed to do this coz if you tell them I'm sure they won't do it to another person, yah.

Me: What role can harassers play to prevent sexual harassment?

P: Those ones, hey, for them, I don't know why they do it at first so it's gonna be kinda hard to answer this question but the thing they can do, they can just stop doing this coz if they know this is wrong I think they are going to stop doing it.

Me: Okay.

P: Coz if we have those programmes will tell you...coz I don't think some of the boys are actually aware that they are harassing you, coz when they hug you, touch you, just grab your hand walk around the school, I don't think they actually call it harassment. They think they are just friendly, friendly kinda thing, yes, so they can be told, no...them. They should know, if they know...if you tell them the, the victims, the person who is harassing you that okay, this is wrong so that person...the way they would stop it is by not doing it to another person, yah.

Me: So what about you, have you ever experienced any unwelcome sexual advances?

P: Ah, it's, it was, but it wasn't something major, I can...I can go report it, no. It's, it's just, it was just a friend of mine.

Me: What did he do?

P: No, you know, the example that I was using in this analysis or the thing you're doing. It was just hug and kiss. I think he was...that's what he did. When I saw him...In the morning we... when you see your friend usually hug them so when we hug he gave a kiss, a very uncomfortable one coz it was very uncomfortable.

Me: Did you tell him? What did you say to him?

P: I told him why...why are you doing this? Coz its kind... it doesn't feel right. Coz we are just friends, why would you do that? He said ha, we are just friends, there is nothing wrong with that,' It was hard for me to just to continue, telling him that I felt uncomfortable with it coz he would think I'm thinking of other things coz... yah, I think he will think I'm thinking of other things like he is ...I don't know. It was just wrong, for me it was wrong but for him he didn't see anything wrong with it.

Me: Okay, is there anything that you would like to say about sexual harassment?

P: Yes, coz after the session we had on...

Me: The focus group discussion?

P: Yes, the group session, when I was going out here a boy...another boy was pulling a girl's hand. I was like that's sexual harassment. He was just pulling the girl's hand, 'come here, come here' and the girl...she looked very uncomfortable, 'ha, no, no, no' so I just, I, I just saw that sexual harassment coz the girl wasn't comfortable with it you know and by coming to this group I was aware of other things that usually happen in the campus, you know. I think the thing that should be done is eh we should have awareness programmes that shows you that

kind of shows you that this is sexual harassment, where to go because we don't know if...if something happens to you, you wouldn't know where to go. So now if we have those programs we will know about it.

Me: Do you think students know what sexual harassment is?

P: Eh, I think they know what it is but they are really not aware when they are doing it because they don't take it seriously mam, coz... they don't take it serious, coz if they do take it serious they won't do it coz sexual harassment is actually a crime. You actually lose your degree because if you have...if you go to jail you might actually lose your degree, so no one loses their degree, so they don't take it seriously.

Me: Okay.

P: So I don't think they actually know the consequences of sexual harassment. They only know that this is sexual harassment, they don't take it seriously.

Me: Okay, let me go back to something. You said there are some lecturers harassing students, right?

P: Eh, I don't know, I don't think so, I don't know, I don't know. I wouldn't lie and make up a story or something.

Me: Okay.

P: I don't know coz I don't know, coz as for me I don't think I would go to a lecturer coz I respect the person.

Me: Okay.

P: I take it as a ...you know, someone who is older than you take him as your father, as a father figure coz they are teaching you something. No, I don't think but if it does, maybe it does but I don't know of such.

Me: What about female students who harass male students?

P: Okay, I think that's very possible coz we, we are the same age. Oh, okay I know of ...of an incidence coz you know when we are doing the voting...we are voting, when people are voting for certain organisations here...last year we were campaigning so were...the boys were just going up the stairs, we were just standing in the sides of the stair ways and when boys were going up and the girl was like hitting them on his bums, hitting the boy. That one is sexual

harassment because he was touching them in an uncomfortable way and the person was like, 'oh, stop that.' When they were going up, 'I will vote for you' that certain organisation when the boys were going up, will hit them so the girls do actually harass the boys.

Me: Okay, thank you very much for your participation in this interview

P: Okay.

Me: I do appreciate it.

APPENDIX 3E: INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW WITH NHLANHLA

Me: How long have you been living in the residence?

P: Ah, it's my fourth year now, my fourth year.

Me: Okay.

P: I have been living in the residence since 2012.

Me: Okay, do you feel safe in the residence?

P: Yah, yes I do.

Me: What makes you feel safe?

P: Ah, first of all I am a spiritual person.

Me: Okay.

P: I feel that I am protected by God.

Me: Okay

P: And then we also have some security measures, we have RMS, yah.

Me: Are they always around?

P: Yes, to ensure our safety.

Me: They ensure your safety how?

P: No, we have security guards so they do not allow anyone in our residence so in that way I can say I am safe and we have Residence life assistance, if I need assistance I consult them so yah it feels like I am...

Me: Okay, as I was saying, my study is about understanding sexual harassment on campus.

P: Yes.

Me: What do you think sexual harassment is?

P: Eh, I think sexual harassment is forcefully touching a person in...in body parts she is not comfortable with. Eh the way you look a person it can, it can be defined...it can be clarified as sexual harassment. Even the way you dress knowing that we are going maybe to eh...eh a male's room. You, you, I think you need to cover your body so that you cannot eh harass that person, yah.

Me: Okay, do you think this happens here on campus? Sexual harassment?

P: Yes, it does, it does everywhere. It does here on campus, off campus everywhere.

Me: Okay, so you think it's happening here on campus?

P: Yes, yes, it does, it happens, it happens.

Me: Okay, please tell me more?

P: Okay, of sexual harassment?

Me: Yes, what you have seen, you are saying it's happening here on campus, right?

P: Yes, yah, if you can, if you can recall what I said in the beginning, I said even the way you look at person, it can be clarified as sexual harassment, yah, giving person that look I can say its sexual harassment. Another thing the...the way we dress can harass other people of opposite gender. Yah, if, if, if you are wearing something that is too revealing I think that is harassing a person who is seeing you but though you have a right to wear whatever you feel like wearing but I can say unintentionally you harass other people, yes.

Me: What else is happening here on campus?

P: Eh, you heard my case like eh a girl drank alcohol with boys and boys attempted to have sex with that girl.

Me: Okay.

P: Yah, I have heard of those cases though I have never seen a person close to me encountering that, yah.

Me: Okay, who are the victims of sexual harassment on campus?

P: Eh, I think everybody is a victim.

Me: Okay.

P: Because girls too can harass boys, boys can harass girls as well. As most people when we are talking of sexual harassment they think of a guy harassing a girl but it can happen the other way around, yes.

Me: Okay, why do girls harass boys?

P: Boys? Eh, I think it differs people does things for their different reasons, others can do it under influence of alcohol, others can do it because maybe some people can think that no, this person really likes me let me start to make a move in that process of making a move maybe you are, you are harassing a person who was not even...so yah it happens in that way.

Me: And boys, why do boys harass boys?

P: Boys they harass girls eh I think the same reason as well.

Me: Okay, why about boys harassing boys, girls harassing girls is it happening?

P: Yah, I think it, it, it happens because if...for instance a guy, if a guy asks you...if you are... like a gay assumes that you are gay as well and try to...and approach you that is harassment because you are going deep to my sexual orientation. You are assuming that I am this guy who love other guys. I, I, I can...I think that is harassment as well.

Me: Okay, is it happening here?

P: It happens everywhere, yah, it happens here on campus or outside, even in our society?

Me: Have you heard of a guy harassing another guy?

P: Yes, yes even a guy who wants to approach other guys, not like in a forceful way but trying to approach that guy I see that is harassment because you are assuming that this guy is capable of dating other guy which is something that eh in my eyes it seems wrong. I don't know maybe I am out dated or what but it seems wrong to me.

Me: Who are the perpetrators of sexual harassment?

P: Both genders.

Me: Why do you say that?

P: It's because eh whatever guys does, guys do, girls do as well so I cannot say guys are the only ones who harass girls, the girls as well they do harass guys so I can say both parties harassing each other, yah.

Me: Okay, so in case of sexual harassment do they report the harassment?

P: In most cases girls do report but guys they don't report. Some eh if, I can say sometimes guys embrace this sexual harassment thing because if a girl did something that you didn't...if a girl did something that you didn't like eh approve you will not be ashamed or you feel like oh, this girl is falling for me and you embrace that thing which is something that is very wrong, yah but its natural, it just happens.

Me: So you are saying boys don't report sexual harassment?

P: I never heard of a case a boy reporting a girl, I never, even if...even in basic education when we were still young, yah, we were never...we never reported girls but if you did the very same thing that girl did to you, she will report you, yah.

Me: Do you have any other reasons why boys don't report sexual harassment?

P:I think it's the way we were socialised that if a girl comes to you accept a girl because there are many beliefs in our African culture for instance even if a girl...you no longer like the girl, it is not for you as a guy to say no let's call it off, I don't want you anymore, so I think even in the case of sexual harassment same thing applies even if a girl can touch you otherwise, no, you will, you will just accept and play around and even if you can go and report that case they will ask, 'hey, are you gay or what, why don't you appreciate that a girl loves you,' you see, those things, yah.

Me: Any other reason?

P: No, I don't know of any other.

Me: Okay, what happens to the perpetrator if reported?

P: Eh, sexual harassment in most cases is associated with rape so they get arrested

Me: Okay.

P: Yah, they get arrested.

Me: They report to who?

P: Here on campus?

Me: Those who report sexual harassment?

P: Okay, they can report to Risk management services, so they are the ones who will discipline the student. In...when...in the context of campus I don't think you get arrested maybe you can be suspended on campus, things like that, yah. I never heard of any... of anyone got punished, so it seems like most people don't report.

Me: Okay, so you have never heard of anyone who reported a case of sexual harassment?

P: No, no.

Me: Do you have any idea of what happens, if anyone reports sexual harassment here on campus?

P: I have no idea, I can, I can only assume that a person will get punished, yah.

Me: Okay.

P: That person will get punished.

Me: Okay, what do you think are the causes of sexual harassment?

P: Eh, lack of education. People are not well educated about this sexual harassment thing because at times you can get a person who can hara...who can harass other person without knowing that he..., 'no, now I'm harassing that person,' so at first I can say we need thorough education about sexual... sexual harassment then we can take it from there.

Me: Okay, any other reasons of what causes sexual harassment?

P: I think all the other things may come, they will come just because we are not well educated because other maybe like start harassing a girl like tapping girls' girls' behind. They even ask, 'dude, what are you doing?' no, look at the way she is dressing, you see. Now they are saying sexual harassment is correct because the girl is wearing in a certain way, you see, yah

Me: Have you seen this happening?

P: Eh, not here on campus.

Me: Not here on campus?

P: Yes

Me: Do you have any other reasons why people sexually harass others?

P: eh, I think the...eh, alcohol as well can be the reason because we know people when they are drunk they do not behave in a, a proper, a proper manner, so yah, it could be the other reason.

Me: Okay, what about girls?

P: Girls harassing guys?

Me: What causes girls to harass boys?

P: I think the reasons are the same.

Me: Okay, what can be done to prevent sexual harassment on campus?

P: I think students need to be educated that...so that they can see that if a person cross this line harassment starts, you see, because people harass one another everyday but not realising that they have harassed a person, maybe I have harassed a girl but without knowing that I am harassing that girl so if they...if people could be educated that could be good.

Me: How can they be educated?

P: If we can, if we can like have campaigns in the way that they are educated with awareness like HIV awareness and stuff, like if we can have something like sexual harassment...sexual harassment awareness, that's where people will learn more about sexual harassment.

Me: Okay, what else can be done to protect students from sexual harassment?

P: Eh, eh, the...on the side of discipline students who...who are caught harassing other students can be...can get serious punishment. I think that can assist.

Me: Serious punishment like what?

P: Punishment like eh even you can get a fine, you can get a fine, suspended from campus for a certain period of time, eh ask to come with the parents, yah, things like that.

Me: Okay, anything else?

P: No.

Me: Okay, how can services or structures that assist sexually harassed students be improved? Are there services or structures here on campus that assist sexually harassed students?

P: Eh there are structures like CHASU eh even though I don't know how they operate but I know they talk more about HIV, relationship problems. I think sexual harassment can be discussed in structures like that.

Me: What is CHASU?

P: Yah, it is an organisation which comes with many awareness's, HIV awareness, eh they do counselling as well so yah, that kind of organisation.

Me: So how can all that be improved to assist those who are sexually harassed?

P: If, if maybe like they can get, they get professional counsellors who will counsel students about sexual harassment, yah that could be great.

Me: Okay, I would like to ask you another question. Have you ever witnessed any kind of sexual harassment here on campus?

P: Yes, yes like as I said even the way you...you...you look at each other that can be clarified as sexual harassment, even the way you dress that is sexual harassment, even the words you speak, yah?

Me: Have you seen that before?

P: Yes, yes.

Me: Have ever you ever experienced any unwelcome sexual behaviour?

P: Yes, I can say yes, even if a person like throwing comments that would leave you uncomfortable, I...I... that thing can be clarified as sexual harassment.

Me: Comments like what? Can you give an example?

P: Maybe a person can say no, you cannot satisfy me sexually, you see that comment. That person is harassing, he is...she is challenging you to do something to her even if, even if you are not willing to do that thing, you see.

Me: Okay, what role do you think students should play in preventing sexual harassment?

P: At first, they need to condemn sexual harassment. If a person suspects that he, he or she is getting harassed he or she must act, like report that person, yah.

Me: What can you as an individual do to prevent sexual harassment on campus?

P: What I can do is make sure that I do not harass other people so that they won't be uncomfortable to harassment me as well. So I think if all of us can have that idea that I do not want to harass anyone that would be great, yah.

Me: Okay, how are you going to do that?

P: By, firstly I would seek for education about sexual harassment. Once I know what is wrong and what is right I will stick on the right side, yah, talking like this is harassing someone so I will avoid that, touching a person in uncomfortable parts, I will avoid that, things like that, yah.

Me: What about other students, what can you suggest they do to prevent sexual harassment on campus?

P: They need to report it, yah, that's the best way. If you feel that you were harassed just report it then students will know that most people, most people are not comfortable with sexual harassment, so if you happen to do that you get...you will b, yah prosecuted.

Me: Okay, do you have anything else that you want to say about sexual harassment?

P: I think I have said a lot.

Me: Okay, you don't have anything to add?

P: Not today.

Me: Thank you very much for participating in this study.

P: Okay.

APPENDIX 4A: EDITOR CONFIRMATION LETTER

505 The Oaks
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22 January 2016

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

This is to certify that I, Catherine Harrison, edited and proofread Sibonile Mbanje Kabaya's thesis on sexual harassment on a campus of the University of KwaZulu Natal.

Yours faithfully

Catherine Harrison

APPENDIX 4B: EDITOR CONFIRMATION LETTER

March 29, 2016

To whom it may concern

This serves to confirm that the attached thesis, *Understanding Sexual Harassment amongst students at a selected University of KwaZulu-Natal campus*, was edited and proofread by Venilla Yoganathan.

Sincerely

Venilla Yoganathan

Independent editor and writer

0837778170

Venilla Yoganathan is a writer and editor with 25 years' experience. She is a graduate of the Argus School of Journalism and was a senior editor at The Mercury newspaper for 14 years. She has done editorial work for, among others, The Durban University of Technology, the Health Systems Trust and the Urban Futures Centre.

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