EXPLORING THE PERCEPTIONS OF MALE STUDENT ACTIVISTS IN RELATION TO GENDER TRANSFORMATION AND EQUALITY: THE CASE OF WITS

A report on a research study presented to

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for a degree Master of Arts in Social Work

by

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this research report is n	my own unaided work, and that I have given full acknowledgment to the
sources that I used. It is being submitted for	the degree of Master of Social Development at the University of the
Witwatersrand. It has not been submitted be	fore for any other degree or at any other university.
Signed:	
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The struggle for women empowerment and development is not a recent phenomenon. For decades the call for women empowerment has been pioneered largely by feminists and women. The call for gender development gained international popularity and replaced that of women development initiatives as these programmes were seen to be marginalising men. The Beijing Platform for Action in 1995 made it clear that gender relations can only be holistically addressed by involving men (Connell, 2005; UN, 1995). With the growing recognition of the role men play in gender issues, the importance of studying men has since taken centre stage within gender and development studies.

Over and beyond the many years of struggle by women's movements for equal rights, a number of countries have done very well in attempting to bring about gender equality to the forefront, but despite efforts of Governments, the United Nations and other international and regional organisations, inequalities between the two genders persist the world over. For millions of women and girls, education and employment opportunities are restricted, leading to further inequalities in income and access to decision making platforms (Meer, 2011; Sweetman, 2013).

Women empowerment and development initiatives in South Africa have been implemented for decades now. Democratic countries like South Africa have adopted impressive legislations and polices that speak to gender equality as a human right, and its implementation in the public and private sector. Little improvement unfortunately can be documented in the lives of women whom gender equality is meant to benefit (Meer, 2011; Sweetman, 2013).

1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT AND RATIONALE OF TH STUDY

Today is widely understood that improving the status of women and advancing their rights benefits women and the communities they live in. Ensuring access to sexual reproductive health services and protection from gender based violence, improves the health of families and as a result the economic well-being of the entire society (Meer, 2011; Sonke Gender Justice, 2013; Sweetman, 2013). This speaks to the fundamental focus of Social Development, which is concerned with developing the social and economic well-being of individuals (Midgely, 1995). Women generally have fewer opportunities for economic participation and prosperity as compared to their male counterparts, women also have less access to education, be it basic or higher education, they are exposed to greater health risks and less political representation. The ensuring of the rights of women and giving them equal and just opportunities to reach their full potential is critical not only for attaining gender equality but also for the overall social and economic development of a country. Empowering women and girls directly contributes to the health and productivity of their families, communities, and countries (Sonke Gender Justice, 2013).

The office of the Statistician general in "The Gender Statistics in South Africa 2011 report" stated that the illiteracy rate is higher amongst women as compared to men. Women experience higher unemployment and a lower participation rate in the economy (South African National census of 2011). Women who are employed are paid less than their male counterparts (South African National census of 2011; SANews, 2013).

In 2012 the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) ranked South Africa 4th position out of 87 countries on their social institutions and gender index. In 2014 however the country dropped to 90th position out of 148 countries. The OECD attributed this dramatic drop to the inaccessibility of the justice system by women. While the South Africa's laws protect women in theory, the OECD argues that there are challenges with the application and enforcement of the law (Oliphant, 2015).

The commission for Gender Equality is of the view that South Africa cannot achieve complete gender equality because many women do not have access to reproductive health services, and gender based violent remains prevalent (Oliphant, 2015). According to the 2014 study conducted by KPMG, domestic and gender based violence against women is high across all racial and economic demographics, this costs the South African government billions of rands each year (Oliphant, 2015).

As stated by Haider (1996) women represent half of the world's human resources this makes women essential and critical when advancing any developmental goal but more so when striving for social development. By developing women and focusing on the needs of women social development is able to address the gender issues and redress social inequalities simultaneously.

Issues of gender equality have since their inspection been seen as issues for women and largely associated with feminism (Meer, 2011). However, there has recently been growing acknowledgment of the integral role men must play in building gender equality and achieving gender transformation (Larsen, 2013). The widespread attitudes societies have about the gendered roles of women and men create perceptions with no objective basis, hence referred to as stereotypes. In the Gender-Role Theory, Crawford, (2001) states that people develop expectations for their own behaviour and others based on beliefs about what is socially acceptable for women and men. Gender stereotyping refers to the practice of ascribing to an individual woman or man specific attributes and characteristics. Gender perceptions and stereotypes reinforce gendered identities and constrain the behaviour of women and men in ways that lead to inequality (Riseman 2004). Gender inequality is a characteristic of most societies, with males being better positioned in social, economic, and political hierarchies (Humanity Divided, 2014). A gender stereotype is harmful when it limits women's and men's capacity to develop their personal abilities, pursue their professional careers and make choices about their lives and life plans (Humanity Divided, 2014).

The motivation for this study is based on the observation that in most South African institutions of higher learning transformation is taking place at very slow rate. Akala and Divala (2016) found that a majority of women and girls still find it difficult to access institutions of learning and quality education. The democratic achievement of 1994 in South Africa and the constitutional legalization of equal human rights for all South Africans have not yet substantially changed the situation of the formally marginalized women. Evidently gender inequalities continue to affect the same cohort of women and girls in institutions of higher learning. Matsau

(2013) argues that the reason for this is partly due to the fact that current research in this area is focused mostly on measuring the inequality but does little to identify how and why this inequality persists.

Secondly, gender transformation and equality studies in many respects have tended to focus on women, the shift to focusing on men has led studies to focus on men who fall into common research categories such as professional men, abusive men, men living in rural and urban, township, and the likes. Research on less common cohorts of men have been marginalised, and in the case of the current study, male university student activists. Male perceptions ultimately have the ability to influence on how society perceives women in structures such as business, within communities, government, etc. How these male perceptions develop and manifests in the society may have long-term implications on how institutions and organisations transform, these male perceptions also have the ability to shape how individuals contribute to institutional values, cultures, belief and worldviews. Unless women are perceived as equal members of the society with a role to play in communities, institutions of highly learning and business, South Africa will continue to experience transformation challenges. Understanding existing noticeable and hidden perceptions about women in institutions of higher learning, and to a lager extent, the broader society, may be necessary to create societal gender equality awareness and fast track transformation initiatives.

Additionally there is substantial literature that calls for the involvement of men in the struggle for gender equality (Connell 2003a; Connell 2003b; Cornwell, 1997; Moser & Moser, 2005). Currently it would be irrational to consider gender equality in the present day and not include men (Connell 2003a; Connell 2003b; Cornwell, 1997; Moser & Moser, 2005). There is, however, a lack of literature that speaks to the way men should be involved, what role they should play, and the limitations of the roles, the responsibilities and contributions of these roles in building gender equality.

Finally, the relevance of the study is stimulated by the objectives of social development. Social development aims to harmonise social and economic policy in order to enhance the holistic wellbeing of individuals (Midgley, 1995 & 2014). This aim can however not be achieved if gender inequalities within society are not substantially engaged with. The study of men of

diverse cohorts and categories becomes important as socially relevant policies, in part, should be concerned with understanding how and what maintains gender inequalities and how this affects gender transformation. The study is an addition to the exploration on gender transformation and equality and further hoped to establish how it is that men can be effectively incorporated in the struggle for gender equality without side-lining women

1.3 PURPOSE OF RESEARCH

The primary aim of this study was to explore perceptions of male students regarding their role in transformation more so in gender transformation and gender equality. The study is thus focused on the effect of perceptions and stereotypes associated with gender. In the end the empirical aim of this study is to explore how these perceptions and viewpoints by male students affect their decisions to advocate, advance or support gender transformation and equality in an organisation based on campus.

1.4. OVERVIEW OF THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Qualitative research was identified as the most appropriate method for this study taking into account that the central aim of the study was to explore the perceptions of male student activists in relation to gender transformation and equality. The research method utilised was qualitative and exploratory in nature and tasked itself with explaining the perceptions of male students. Semi-structured individual interviews were conducted with eleven particiapnats includingthe key informant. The lengths of the interviews range from twenty-five minutes to fifty minutes. Two interviews were conducted face to face and the remaining interviews including that of the key informant were conducted telephonically due to a change in the interview schedule as a result of the fees must fall campaign on campus and long distance constraints. All the telephonic interviews were recorded using a voice recorder, the researcher had to put the phone on loudspeaker while conducting and interview to enable the voice recorder to record the interview. Recording the interviews was important as it allowed the researcher to accurately capture the responses of the participants. The key informant chosen by the researcher was relevant to the study as he is well versed in student activism and gender issues within student activism

organisations, the key informant's interview also strengthened the credibility of the participant's views and subsequently that of the study. The data, in the form on interview transcripts, was than analysed using the Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) approach.

1.5.DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

Perception: In the study, perceptions refer to the participant's beliefs, views or understanding about something. Pretorius Terblanche and Tshiwula (2007) state that perceptions could also be referred to as the participants form of reference or worldview which is shaped by awareness, insight and/or understanding about something.

Gender: Philips (2005) has described gender as the role and expectations attributed to men and women in society. These roles change over time and are different from one society to another. Gender is socially constructed, rather than being a biological construct, as an individual is not born with a certain gender. Gender norms and expectations are learnt from societal surrounds one finds themselves in.

Gender Equality: Gender equality calls for the empowerment and the equal participation of both genders in all spheres public and private. Largely gender equality is defined as giving boys and girls, women and men equal opportunities, rights and treatments. Andersen and others (1988) have stated that equality does not automatically lead to justice. The call for gender equality must be cognisant of the fact that both equality and justice are needed to achieve gender transformation and equality in any given society (Andersen *et al*, 1988).

Feminism: Feminism gained much influence in the 1960s to the 1970s as women became conscious, firstly, of their surroundings and secondly, conscious of the fact that they lived in a world governed by men, as a result women began demanding, among other things, the same rights as those afforded to men (Friedman, Metelerkamp & Posel, 1987).

Patriarchy: Patriarchy can be described as the formation of a particular society. In this society, the father is the supreme figure and authority in the family, this authority is also recognised

throughout the entire society. According to Hooks patriarchy is a political-social system that insists that men are inherently dominating, superior to everything and everyone (Hooks, 2004). Walby (1990) simple descrines patriachy as a system of socials structures and practices in which male supremacy oppress and exploits women.

1.6 LIMITATIONS

The researcher is well aware that the research quality and the success of the study is dependent on the research skills of the researcher. If the researcher is unable to identify the correct codes and themes from the data, the analysis of the data will not be able to answer the research question that was initially outlined by the study. To address this the researcher had improved her interview skills and engaged literature guides that detail how to go about conducting the IPA approach and the importance of sourcing the right themes from the data collected. The researcher also used the pre-testing of the instrument to practise her interview skill and assess what she needs to work on.

1.6.1 Sample

For the purpose of the study, the participants were limited to male students attending the University of the Witwatersrand. These ten male students had to furthermore be members of SASCO and directly involved in student activism.

1.6.2 Gender bias

The researcher's position during the data gathering process, which is often unavoidable in qualitative research, can affect the participant's responses. The researcher feared that the participants would not freely answer the questions asked, out of fear of being assumed to be patriarchal supporters because they are men. The fact that the researcher is a woman asking men about issues of gender could also make the participants calculate their responses and produce responses that they feel will not offend the researcher. The reasecher found that it worked best to continously asure the participants during the interviews that the researcher was interseted in thier views and not looking for wrong or right answers. The researcher did not at any point of the interviews cross examine the responses of the participants in a manner that

might be persived as being hostile and argumentative. The researcher further encouraged the participants to eleborate their response in order to obtain their extensive views on the matter.

1.6.3 Data collection

The collection of data presented a number of challenges, the first was keeping to the interview timetable. Due to the varying nature of a student's lifestyle the researcher was only able to conduct pre-testing interviews face to face, the rest of the interviews for the study were conducted telephonically frequent rescheduling had to take place to insure that the participants were interviewed at a time most suitable for them. The researcher being based in the Northern Cape could not stay in Gauteng to conduct the interviews because of employment commitments. The interview timetable was further disrupted due to the fact that the students were in the middle of the exam period and rescheduled the interview for when they had completed the particular exam they were studying for.

Telephonic interviews also posed a challenge as some of the participants would have horrible network reception or find themselves in noisy surroundings at the time of the interview was being conducted, as a result the researcher struggled to hear what the participant was saying and if the network reception was really bad portions of the participants responses were lost in transmission.

Having the researcher and the participants in different provinces meant the researcher had to rely largely on email to send and receive the formal consent form that had to be signed by the participants before the interviews could take place. The information sheets detailing the reasons for the research was sent along with the consent forms to the participants via email, when calling some participants to enquire about the consent form the researchers found that the participants had not opened the email with the information sheet and consent form and thus the interviews had to be further rescheduled to award the participant time to read through the information sheet, sign the consent form and email the signed consent form back to the researcher.

1.6.4 Literature

Being based in Upington in the Northern Cape, presented a challenge to the researcher in regards to access to an academic library. The researcher found it difficult to gain access to hard

copy academic literature to use when conducting the study. The Wits online library along with internet sources were utilised heavily by the researcher, these internet sources presented their own challenges when it came to referencing them throughout the study.

1.7 OVERVIEW OF THE RESEARCH REPORT

Chapter One: outlines the introduction, the problem statement and the rationale for the study. It includes the purpose of the study, an overview of the research methodology, the definitions of the key concepts and the limitations of the study.

Chapter Two: comprises of a literature review that is appropriate for the study and discussed is socialist feminism the theoretical framework underpinning the study.

Chapter Three: looks at the research methodology used in the study.

Chapter four: analysed data and findings according to the themes in relation to the objectives of the study are tabled, the key findings and the main themes that emerged from the study are reported, discussed and analysed.

Finally, in **Chapter Five** a summary of the key findings, conclusions of the study and the overall recommendations are provided.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, literature on the gendered nature of the society, the family and the institutions is discussed. The chapter will attempt to identify how the global community, specifically South Africa, has sought to address gender inequalities through legislation and policies. When focusing on a country like South Africa it is inevitable that the discriminatory past of this country be discussed as to contextualise the current status quo we find ourselves in as a country when addressing inequalities whether it be race, gender or class. The crux of this section will discuss the approach of involving men in the struggle of attaining gender transformation and equality. The concepts of masculinity, gender mainstreaming, feminism, the notion of feminism and men, and the socialist feminism theoretical framework underpinning this study are discussed. Finally, the influential role student activism plays in bringing about and campaigning for change, the history of student activism in South Africa, the South African Student Congress (SASCO) as a student organisation advocating for gender transformation is investigated.

2.2. GENDER AS A SOCIAL STRUCTURE

There have been many debates that wish to identify gender as a concept established either by agency or by structure. Social science has by in large come to a consensus that gender is largely influenced by the values and norms of one's social surroundings and that this then in return shapes how the individual (the agency) views the concept of gender. The study finds contentment in Lorber (1991) who states that gender is an institution that is embedded in all the social processes of everyday life and social organisations.

The definition of a social structure needs to be first unpacked in order to understand what is meant when gender is conceptualised as a social structure. To aid in this regard reference is made to David Elder-Vas'(2010) book *The Causal Power of Social Structures: Emergence, Structure and Agency*, in which he states that the term social structure can be used when making

reference to normative institutions, organisations, the capitalist system or demographic distribution (Elder-Vas, 2010). There are two prominent conceptions of social structure. The first is institutional structure, where social structure is seen as comprising of cultural and normative patterns that define the expectations that individuals have about each other's behaviour and the relations to be formed with each other. The second concept is relational structure; here social structure is seen comprising of the social relations themselves, understood as patterns of casual interconnections and interdependence among individuals and their actions (Elder-Vas, 2010, p. 78).

Given the definition of gender outlined earlier in the study and the above definition of social structure, the study now moves to focus on how the two intertwine. This discussion forms a pertinent part of the literature review when unpacking gender as a social construct. According to Riseman (2004) there are four distinct social scientific traditional theoretical approaches that have been developed to explain gender and social structure. The first focuses on how individual sex differences originate, the second focus on how social structure creates gendered behaviour, the third approach looks at gender as a socially constructed stratification system and the last approach looks at gender as a result of social interaction and accountability to others expectations.

The first approach, how individual sex differences originate, seeks to say that gender is individualistic and shaped by agency as the individual learns, whether through biological or social avenues, and in time the individual chooses which gender roles to take on (Riseman 2004). This approach has faced numerous critic in fact the following three approaches that will be discussed all emerged as a reaction to the first approach.

The second approach, social structure creates gendered behaviour, cannot be elaborated on without mentioning Anthony Giddens's 1984 structuration theory, the theory points out the very important fact that the relationship between structure and agency is recursive, meaning that structure shapes agency and simultaneously agency shapes structure. Giddens (1984) emphasises that agency and structure cannot be looked at without the other. Individual actions conducted over period of time, become a culture. These cultures in time become institutionalised.

The third approach, in line with this study's theoretical framework of socialist feminism, states that gender is a socially constructed stratification system used to advance patriarchy and sustain the subordination of women. The last approach, gender as a result of social interaction and accountability to others expectations, this implies that people "do-gender" they play out the gender roles that society imposes on them (Riseman 2004). Ridgeway (1997, 2007, 2009) argues that this social construct of gender classification and gender roles is so embedded in human nature that we don't even realise we are doing.

Ridgeway (2009) speaks of gender as being a cultural frame, a primary cultural frame to be more exact and states that race and age are equally primary cultural frames. People use these frames to organise and classify social relations. As a result of our daily dependence on others to attain what we need and want in life we interact with different individuals on different levels and for different reasons. Ridgeway (2009) argues that our interdependency on each other also leads to us developing common understandings what he refers to as cultural knowledge. It is this cultural knowledge that informs the bases of working and coordinating with each other and how we behave and act towards others. We box people into certain cultural categories derived from our cultural knowledge. The male-women distinction is mostly always one of society's primary cultural categories (Riseman, 2014). Primary framing is virtually automatic and never quite disappears from our understanding of others and self (Riseman, 2014). Gender framing enables societies to create and reproduce inequalities (Riseman, 2014).

2.3 PATRIARCHY, THE FAMILY UNIT AND SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY

This study is of the opinion that gender inequality cannot be understood if the concept of patriarchy is not understood. Walby in Quanson (2014) accredits the establishment of concept of patriarchy to Max Weber, who is said to have used the concept with reference to a system of government in which men ruled societies through their positions as heads of the family unit (Quanson, 2014). Walby (1990) herself, as stated earlier in the study, defines patriarchy as a social construct, Walby (1990) emphasises that the term social construct carries immense significance as it implies that patriarchy is not agency determined and that not every single man is in a dominant position and not every woman is oppressed (Walby 1990).

Gordon (1996) notes that patriarchy as it currently exists in South Africa must be understood within the context of African customs and believes and further how colonisation introduced European forms of patriarchy in South Africa (Gordon, 1996). Under the apartheid regime black women were discriminated against based on their gender, race and class. The racist, capitalist and sexist system sustained under apartheid insured that black, working class women were the most oppressed and marginalised group in society. The 1994 elections in South Africa are commonly regarded as the dawn of democracy. In this new South Africa everyone was awarded civil, political and socio-economic rights (Gouws, 2005). The end of apartheid in South Africa brought with it promises of new economic opportunities open to all South Africans, A new country, new beginnings, yet the existence of poverty traps caused by insufficient distribution of assets and the countries minority holding on to the country's economic wealth saw only privileged few escaping the poverty trap. Leaving large numbers trapped in poverty (Barrett, Carter & Little, 2005). South Africa's unemployment rate has increased from 22% to 25% over the past two decades. Almost 50.2% of the black South African population was unemployed, of which most were women, and among the white population only 6.3% as revealed in the 2011 census (South African National census of 2011). Hence when contextualising patriarchy and gender issues in current day South Africa one has to bear in mind that South Africa is a developing country that is battling: the legacy of the apartheid regime, a capitalist system that has created high unemployment rates, paralysing poverty among 40% of the population and being one of the most unequal societies in the world (Gouws, 2005). South Africa has extremely high levels of gender based violence such as rape and domestic violence coupled with one of the highest HIV/AIDS infections in the world. Parallel to these complexities South Africa has

implemented large scale law reform that has managed to create women friendly legislation to promote gender inequality, coupled with one of the most advanced National Machineries for women in the world as well and one of the most liberal constitutions.

Gender norms are strengthened by patriarchal norms of traditions as found in developing societies like South Africa. These patriarchal attitudes and values, which privilege men, are imbedded in the fibres of societies from the level of the family right up to the state (Gordon, 1996). Patriarchy utilises the family unit to divide society as men and women, the role of the nuclear family in advancing and sustaining patriarchy is one that cannot be ignored. The family unit is the primary and most significant institution where we are socialised into our appropriate roles and norms of behaviour (Haralambos & Holborn, 2013; Sihlali, 2015). The family unit thus becomes patriarchy's foremost institution that is shaped by society and at the same time influences the very society; inevitably the family unit is a patriarchal unit within a patriarchal environment. According to Clough and Millett (1994) the main contribution of the family in patriarchal society is to socialise boys and girls into patriarchal norms and attitudes. These stereotypes and norms are further cemented through peers, schools, and other formal and informal learning sources.

Feminists have played a large role in questioning and criticising gender roles associated with the traditional family. Feminists have argued the family has traditionally performed two main roles which oppress women (Haralambos & Holborn, 2013). The first is the socialisation of girls to accept subservient roles within the family, whilst socialising the boys to believe they were Alfa and leaders. Children learn actions they witness from parents and as a result produce these actions in their own lives and families as they get older (Haralambos & Holborn, 2013). The second function of the family in the oppression of women is socialising women to aspire and be content with the "housewife" role as the only acceptable role for a woman. Feminists viewed the function of the family as the main and first unit of society were patriarchal gender roles are introduced, learnt and acted out in the broader society (Haralambos & Holborn, 2013).

2.4 FEMINISM, SOCIALIST FEMINISM AND MEN IN REGARDS TO FEMINISM

Feminism is possibly one of the most powerful political discourses and theory that emerged from the twentieth century (Whitehead & Barrett, 2001). Gaining much influence in the 1960s to 1970s, as women now became conscious that they lived in a world governed by men; and as a result began demanding for, amongst other demands, equal rights as men (Friedman, Metelerkamp & Posel, 1987). As a result of the varying conceptions of how the struggle should proceed and the different societal factors experienced by different women around the world, different orientations arose within the feminist movement, ranging from liberal to radical to cultural and socialist feminism (Campbell & Wasco 2000; Friedman et al, 1987). Klocke (2013) suggests that there are perhaps as many definitions of feminism and feminist theory as there are people who declare that they are feminists. The strength of feminism and the women's movement in general is the ability to both unthank the sources of oppression and to use this analysis to create an alternative vision (Gouws 2005).

The study utilised socialist feminism as a framework. Socialist feminism links the oppression of women to Karl Marx's ideas of oppression and exploitation (Ehrenreich, 1976). The theory states that women are exploited by a patriarchal system that devalues women and the substantial work they do. Socialist feminism aims to bring about change that affects society as a whole, rather than on an individual basis (Ehrenreich, 1976). Socialist feminism analyses the connection between the oppression of women and other oppressions in society such as race, social and economic injustices, the theory suggests that for gender equality to take place there first needs to be a restructuring of society, power and roles (Napikoski, 2015).

Essentially socialist feminists endeavour to understand the system of power deriving from capitalist patriarchy (Eisenstein, 1979). As Eisenstein (1979) and Walby (1990) state that male supremacy and capitalism work hand in hand to continue the oppression of women. Capitalism shapes social structures in such a way that the working class is continuously economically exploited by those who own the means of production consequently; these exploitive class relations determine the nature of gender relations in society. Barrett in Sihlali (2015) concurring with Eisenstein and Walby is of the view that the oppression of women by men in a society is a direct result of the oppression of workers by capitalism and class oppression is central in society as it shapes gender oppression. Socialist Feminism generally states that the development of

capitalism has led to a worsening position of women, and argues that gender equality cannot be achieved if capitalism has not been addressed (Eisenstein, 1979).

The main critic of socialist feminism is that it largely focuses on capitalism as the root cause of gender inequality and all other inequalities found in society, socialist feminism fails to address gender as an independent social construct and rather address gender dynamics as a direct result of a capitalist society. This perspective proves to be challenging when exploring the concept of gender inequality pre- and post-capitalist societies (Walby, 1990). Above this there is a school of thought that proposes that the gender inequalities pre-date capitalism, and thus capitalism cannot be the root cause of gender inequalities (Middleton, 1981; Walby, 1990). There is an additional school of thought that concedes that while gender inequalities pre date capitalism, modernisation and capitalism introduced a new form of patriarchy (Walby, 1990). Eisenstein (1979) concurringly states that they while it is accurate that patriarchy existed before capitalism and is most likely to continue in post capitalist societies, it is their present relationship that must be understood if gender equality is to be achieved.

Socialist Feminism does not view oppression and exploitation as equivalent concepts for women or any marginalised groups. Exploitation refers to the economic result of capitalist class relations where working class men and women are exploited while oppression refers to women and other marginalised groups defined within sexist, racist and capitalist class relations (Eisenstein, 1979). Socialist feminism is attractive to the study when conceptualising at a country such as South Africa in which oppression and the marginalisation of racial groups and women to advance the capitalist agenda of the white monopoly was the order of the day under the apartheid regime.

Men's response to feminism has been diverse in many respects. The way in which gender issues came into the public domain, resulted in them quickly being regarded as a women-only arena, which did not include the men and which, then, made men react negatively towards gender equality awareness. However, there is a school of thought that maintains that including men in initiatives directed at addressing women's issues will only allow for men to undermine the prospects for success since they are still in control of society's wealth and most especially institutional authority (Connell, 2005). While others argue that the very fact that men control the

wealth of society and institutions of power is the very reason why men should be included in gender equality issues. Any effective strategy to engage men in promoting gender equality must first and foremost appeal to male policymakers as a rational framework with clear dividends for men (UNESCO, 2004).

There is a long standing debate within feminism over whether or not men can be feminists. Tarrant (2009) has argued that men's identification with the feminist movement is necessary for furthering the feminist causes. Identifying as a feminist is the strongest stand men can take in the struggle against sexism against women. Men should be allowed, or even encouraged, to participate in the feminist movement. Klocke (2013) presents the notion that men can and should be pro-feminist and anti-sexist; they however, cannot be feminists in the strictest sense of the word. Men cannot remove themselves from their power and privilege in relation to women that patriarchy affords them. To be a feminist one must be a member of the targeted group (i.e. a woman) not only as a matter of classification but as having one's lived experience inform one's theory. To reinforce this notion Klocke (2013) makes an analogy between male pro-feminism and anti-racism. Men cannot be feminists any more than whites can be black nationalists. However, men can be pro-feminist and whites can be pro-black nationalists.

2.5 MASCULINITY

The masculinity school of thought emerged stating that if sustainable gender equality is to be obtained we need to understand that societal gender roles are imposed on both men and women and that in the effort to level the playing field we have to address the impact gender equality will have on men and boys (Sweetman, 2013).

Research has repeatedly shown that patterns of gender inequality are interwoven with social definitions of masculinity and men's gender identities. Connell (2003a & 2003b) states that men cannot avoid being involved in gender issues, the reason for this she states is that patriarchy has given men the power to control all the resources that are needed to implement gender equality, it is because of this that Connell (2003a & 2003b) has dubbed men as the gatekeepers of gender equality. Gender equality requires men to think and act in new ways that are not defined by the unequal societies they live in, to reconsider traditional images of manhood, the role of societal

roles of men and women and the relationships that men and boys have with women and girls (Cornwell, 1997; Connell, 1995). Masculinist seeks to challenge the notion that men are the reason for gender inequality that they perpetuate it because they benefit from it. Masculinist writers have shown that men are also disadvantaged by social stereotypes of gender and it is therefore this reason why gender equality will benefit both men and women (Connell 2003b).

2.6 INVOLVING MEN

Over the past few decades there have been debates and arguments that emerged stating that the reason gender equality is taking so long to be achieved is because men are excluded in the fight for gender equality. Influential writers such as Connell (2003) expanded on the notion that we cannot speak of gender equality without involving men as the term gender in itself speaks to both men and women. The study thus cannot speak of women empowerment and development on its own as this would intentionally marginalize men and this more often than not usually faced with resistance from the male population and thus hindering the progress of gender equality (Connell, 2003).

Connell (2003) is possibly one of the biggest advocators for male involvement in the fight for attaining gender equality. The international development organisations and donors have been quick to welcome this view and immediately called for the involvement of men in gender equality programmes (Meer, 2011). Feminist groups however have been cautious and skeptical about these new developments, the groups felt that their space was now being contested by men and questioned the legitimacy of men in the struggle for gender equality. Men were never disadvantaged by gender inequalities; they therefore cannot fight a battle they know nothing about (Meer, 2011).

A number of women groups are weary of including men out of fear that once men are invited to participate in gender-related work, the men could take over and erode women-oriented projects. Men may very possibly assume that they are the "liberators" of women (Meer, 2011; Sweetman, 2013). This in itself is an insult to gender equality. It puts men at the forefront, making them the vanguards of liberation, and in the end relegating women to a secondary role. Nevertheless, a

number of organisations and programmes that are aimed at men have since emerged and have been generously funded by international organisations by shifting funds away from feminist groups that don't work with men to groups that do (Sweetman, 2013). The gender-related work space seems to be contested, this contestation presents a need for robust debates on the effect this new approach has had on women rights and feminist gains, there also needs to be a discussion on the role men and boys should play, the limitations of these roles (Sonke Gender Justice, 2013; Sweetman, 2013).

2.7 WOMEN DEVELOPMENT TO GENDER DEVELOPMENT AND GENDER MAINSTREAMING

Gender and development (GAD) policymaking and practice can be largely attributed to what is commonly known as the second wave of feminism that took place in the 1790s (Moser & Moser, 2005). Women in Development projects (WID) were established to address the issues of discrimination and marginalisation of woman and to bring about policy change that spoke to the contribution of women in the economy and development fields. Feminists fought long and hard for years to get their voices heard, to get the development of women to be regarded as important as politics and the economy and move away from the notion that gender issues are secondary issues as regarded for many years (Moser & Moser, 2005; Sweetman, 2013).

Despite decades of women development/empowerment campaigns and programmes that have been implemented throughout the year's gradual improvement in the lives of women at the grassroots level can be identified, WID policies and programmes have so far had little impact (Gordon, 1996). Albertyn and Hassim argued that the reason why WID policies failed or were unable to reach a wide scope of women may be related to underlying assumptions and gender norms that go unaddressed (Gouws, 2005). Concurring with this view is Newlands in Gordon (1996) who states that WID policies are unsuccessful in part due to the fact that they are set within male dominated institution, these institutions regard women issues are secondary issues when compared to male concerns of the economy, politics and race. Pearson as read in (Haider, 1996) on the other hand states that the WID policies approach is itself problematic as its basic assumption is that women are marginalised completely from every aspect of development, it fails to appreciate that women's time, energy, work and skills are involved in development.

Pearson in (Haider, 1996) points out that it is in fact the inequality of gender relations and the continuing oppression of women that ensure that the contributions made by women are not recognised. The most glaring criticism, over the years was that WID project were seen to be side-lining men and fuelling their resistance to transformation, as a result new approaches were being discussed and debated on how gender equality could be better attained (Connell, 2005; Moser & Moser, 2005; Sweetman, 2013). In 1995, The UN Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing called for Gender and development to be a field of policy and practise that looks at gender in a holistic view beginning with a gender analysis of the power relations that shape the lives of both women and men (Connell, 2005; Moser & Moser, 2005). The international community began to call for the involvement of men and boys when speaking about gender equality. To aid the concept of gender mainstreaming was now brought to the forefront

The concept of gender mainstreaming was first proposed at the 1985 Third World Conference on Women in Nairobi, Kenya. It only became popular though at the UN Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995 (UN, 1995). Gender mainstreaming is not an alternative to already existing gender policies and legislature on the contrary gender mainstreaming builds on the existing policies and legislation insuring that the end goal of gender equality is achieved (Andersen et al, 1998). Gender mainstreaming, in essence, is the assessment of implications of any action, policy or legislature and how these actions will affect women and men. The underlining value of gender mainstreaming is that it is inclusive as it considers both men and women. What is important to note about gender mainstreaming is that the means do not have to be equal for both men and women but rather the end or outcomes should place men an own an equal level.

2.8 POLICY AND LEGISLATION THAT SUPPORT GENDER TRANSFORMATION AND EQUALITY IN SOUTH AFRICA

With a country like South Africa having one of the most revered constitutions in the world that guarantees civil and political rights as well as access to socio-economic rights, it can be easily assumed that gender transformation and equality in this country is strongly enforced and enjoys the political will power to keep it on the political agenda (Akala & Divala, 2016; Gouws, 2005; Matsau, 2103). Gender equality, in South Africa however faces a persistent gap in access to opportunities and decision-making power for women and men. Women still have fewer opportunities for economic participation than men, less access to basic and higher education, greater health risks, and less political representation (Sweetman, 2013). Gouws (2005) points out that it is ironic that there is such a strong awareness of racial inequality and discrimination in South Africa but the same cannot be said for gender equality and discrimination. The reason for this as Buhlugu (as cited in Quanson, 2014) points out is that in South Africa the struggle for racial inequalities overshadowed that of gender inequality, despite the fact that women had been part and parcel of movements and actions to end racial discrimination.

South Africa like many democratic African countries have put into place considerable legislative reform advancing gender equality, women empowerment and women's rights. Following South Africa's 1994 elections, the formal acknowledgement of women's rights was cemented in the Constitution, the Bill of Rights with and equality clause is there to specifically prohibit the unfair discrimination on grounds of gender, sex and sexual orientation (Botman, 2014). This was subsequently followed with legislations such as the Employment Equity Act of 1998 which added family responsibility to the list of "unfair discrimination" that may not be permitted. Affirmative action was also introduced for "designated groups", specified to be black people, women, of all races, and people with disabilities (Botman, 2014). South Africa has created structures in the state for gender mainstreaming, these set of structures include the Office of the Status of Women, gender focal points in each state department, a Women Empowerment Unit, the Joint Standing Committee on the Quality of Life and the Status of Women and the Commission of Gender Equality (Gouws, 2005). The structures are utilized as monitoring and intervention methods by the state, a glaring concern, as noted by Gouws

(2005), is the accessibility to these structures by South African women. Another challenge of gender mainstreaming, as Goldman (2013) points out, is to make sure that this happens as part of the natural part of policy development, implementation and monitoring and evaluation in all sectors.

Since the advent of democracy South Africa has seen a number of women taking up leadership positions in areas previously dominated by men. There have been a number of significant cases of the representation of women in political and decision-making positions. Involving women in governance processes constitutes one of South Africa's globally acclaimed success stories. (South African Government Online, 2014) However, what has become evident is that the impressive representation of women in government is not a true reflection of the broader working environment or the society as whole (Botman, 2014; ipu.org, 2014; Skills Portal, 2012). Over and beyond addressing general inequality there are a number of statutory laws that focus on issues that mainly effect women. These amongst others include the Domestic Violence Act (1998) and the Maintenance Act (No. 99 of 1998).

In 2014 after pressure from the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women committee and local and international women's organisations for South Africa to have gender equality legislation we witnessed the Minster of women, children and people with disabilities, Lulu Xingwana and her department, spear headed the adoption of new legislation to boost gender equality in South Africa. The Women Empowerment and Gender Equality Bill, which was passed in the National Assembly in March 2014, calls for the progressive realisation of at least 50% representation of women in decision-making structures. It also aimed at improving access to education, training and skills development (ipu.org, 2014). The Bill has unfortunately since lapsed in terms of National Assembly Rule 298 which states that on the last sitting of the legislature term of the National Assembly, any bill that is on the table lapses at the end of the day unless the National Assembly decides otherwise.

2.9 STUDENT ORGANISATIONS AND MOVEMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE FORMATION OF SASCO

Student activism is usually conducted by a group of organised students who endeavor to bring about political, environmental, economic, religious, cultural or social change (Fletcher, 2005; Badat, 1999). Student activists tend to be more robust and radical than the government of the day in any given country given the fact that they are young and can demand change now without having to deal with the bureaucracy and diplomacy that limits the government of the day.

Although student activism is commonly associated with left-wing politics, right-wing student movements are not uncommon; for example, large student movements fought on both sides of the apartheid struggle in South Africa. As documented by O'Malley (1998) the first notable tertiary student organisation that was formed in 1924 during apartheid was the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS). NUSAS was the second-oldest student organisation in the world, the oldest being the National Union of Students in Britain, established in 1922 NUSAS did not begin as a radical left-wing student organisation to fight against apartheid, in fact NUSAS was an umbrella student organisation to promote the interests of white students from English in Afrikaans speaking universities across the country. In 1945 when Fort Hare was permitted to become an affiliated member, all the Afrikaans universities withdrew; subsequently on the other hand other black universities also became affiliates. Gradually NUSAS underwent a shift in its political views and by the early 1960s NUSAS began opposing apartheid measures in general.

In 1979 the Azanian Student Organisation (AZASO) was established as a national student organisation to represent black higher education students. AZASO went on to become the largest and most influential student national organisation during Apartheid. In 1986 AZASCO changed its name to the South African National Student Congress (SANSCO). As noted by Badat (1999) SANSCO proved to be an important and integral part of the South African mass democratic movement. In 1969 disgruntled by the liberal views and actions of NUSAS its many black student members formed their own organisation, the South African Students' Organisation (SASO) the second notable student organisation during apartheid. SASO was then and is presently still largely associated with Steve Biko as it promoted ideas of black consciousness and called for the black majority in South Africa to unite, mobilize and emancipate itself from

mental slavery and overthrow apartheid. SASO was from the onset left-wing, radical and militant in its approaches against institutional apartheid this led to it banning by the apartheid government in 1977 (O'Malley, 1988; Badat, 1999).

In September 1991, 600 black and white tertiary students from 129 Universities, Technikon's and Colleges gathered at Rhodes University grounds to launch the South Africans Students Congress (SASCO). Since its inception SASCO has advocated for a non-racial and non-sexist environment in institutions of higher learning (SASCO, 2010). SASCO implements a 50/50 gender quota, a progressive amendment from its previous 60/40, in all its leadership positions from branch level up to national level and subscribes to a non-sexist system of education. SASCO has mandated itself to ensure that institutions of learning become critical centers in the struggle for gender transformation and equality (SASCO, 2010).

Post democracy student organisations have become less politicalized as democracy presented a wide range of issues for students to organise around recently with the new wave of student activism that have been seen in the media, takin place at the Universities across the country, this new wave has been characterised a strong black consciousness theme, a rejection of the rainbow nation and the capitalist rhetoric, protest action and the disruption of universities. Student protests over the ever increasing tuition fees brought South Africa's University system to a virtual standstill in 2015. The fess must fall protest brought into the spotlight not only the exorbitant fees for higher education but South Africa's education system as a whole and the levels of transformation in institutions of higher education. Indeed the fees must fall protests have catapulted the importance of transformation in higher education in South Africa currently. What is important to note is that the call for transformation has not halted at the interests of the students only but, institutional cultures, symbolism, the number of women and black academics is being investigated, and the outsourcing of the maintenance and cleaning staff is also being challenged. Transformation in institutions of higher education is currently under immense scrutiny and has subsequently landed on the national agenda.

2.10 CONCLUSION

The chapter above identified how the global community over the years, in more depth how South Africa, has sought to address gender inequality. The crux of this chapter looked at the reasonably new approach of involving men in the struggle for attaining gender transformation and equality. Feminism, the notion of feminism and men and the various feminist frameworks were discussed and the framework this research paper will use moving forward was identified. The chapter then looked at masculinity and gender mainstreaming. Finally, the chapter looked at the influential role student activism plays in bringing about and campaigning for change, the history of student activism in South Africa, SASCO as a student organisation advocating for gender transformation.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will discuss the research methods of the study, this will include; the research design, the population sample, data collection, method of data analysis and ethical considerations

3.2 RESEARCH AIM AND OBJECTIVES

The main aim of the study was to explore the perceptions of male student activists in relation to gender transformation and equality. The objectives of the study are listed below:

- What transformative role do male student activists at Wits University believe they should play to advance gender transformation and equality?
- What are the limitations and responsibilities of this role?
- What is the influence of gender perceptions and stereotypes?
- What factors facilitate theses perceptions and stereotypes?

3.3 RESEARCH APPROACH AND DESIGN

In view of the aim and objectives of the study (exploring perceptions of male students regarding their role in transformation imperatives necessary to achieve gender equality), the researcher opted for a qualitative research approach. According to Creswell (2003:36), qualitative research is: "An inquiry process which consists of a set of interpretive material practices that makes the world visible".

This viewpoint is in line with Mouton (2001) and Schurink (2003) who argue that one of the significant characteristics of qualitative research is that it seeks to understand people in terms of their understanding of the world. As explained in Creswell (2003) qualitative studies seek to

construct a framework or picture, particularly when the inquiry embraces meanings, personal responses or values.

Creswell further summarises the value of qualitative approaches as follows: "We conduct qualitative research, because we need a complex, detailed understanding of the issue, by talking directly with people and allowing them to tell their stories unencumbered by what we expect to find" (Creswell, 2003, p. 40).

3.3.1 Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA)

In line with the primary aim of this study, a phenomenology qualitative tradition was employed in conducting this research. This approach (Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis) explores in detail how participants make sense of their personal and social world (Smith & Osborn, 2003). The IPA is an approach concerned with trying to understand a particular topic or concept from the participant's perspective, regardless of the researcher's view or knowledge of the topic or concept. This approach is thus particularly important in studies that involve viewpoints, perceptions and beliefs that participants hold regarding certain societal norms and standards.

As Smith and Osborn (2003) indicate the primary aim of interpretative phenomenological analysis is to explore in detail how participants are making sense of their personal and social world; the main currency for an IPA study is the meaning that particular experiences, events and states hold for participants. Smith and Osborn (2003) further argue that the approach is phenomenological in that it involves a detailed examination of the participant's life/ world; it attempts to explore personal experience; it is concerned with an individual's personal perception or account of an object or event, as opposed to an attempt to produce an objective statement of the object or event itself.

These ontological perspective can further be dissected through a high-level examination of a two-stage interpretation process, or a double hermeneutic, wherein the participants are trying to

make sense of their world and the researcher is trying to make sense of the participants trying to make sense of their world (Smith & Osborn, 2003).

This approach is appropriate and relevant for this study and in line with Maunders (2012) who recommends that IPA be applied when one has a research question that aims to understand what a given experience was like (phenomenology) and how someone made sense of it (interpretation). The concepts of phenomenology and interpretation (hermeneutics) are therefore regarded as the cornerstones of IPA (Smith & Osborn, 2003). These concepts enforce the belief that human beings are not bystanders in an objective reality, but are beings who formulate their biographical stories by interpreting and understanding the world around them in ways that make sense to them (Griffiths, 2009).

3.3.2 Phenomenology

Smith and Osborn (2003) argued that the primary aim of phenomenological research is to understand and elucidate the experiences of participants (the phenomena) as they are encountered, engaged and lived through their experiences. The researcher works towards understanding the phenomena in question, based, as far as possible, on the perspective of the participant being studied. However, it is impossible to completely put aside one's own perspective and interpretation (Smith, 1996). In phenomenology, the researcher needs to apply bracketing in order to avoid imposing any preconception on the data collected and to allow participants to be fully appreciated (Smith & Osborn, 2003). Whilst Smith (1996) argues that bracketing refers to laying aside the researcher's perceptions and knowledge of the topic, Griffiths (2009) contends that bracketing involves researchers' reflecting on their past and current experiences, so as to keep their personal experiences separate from those revealed by the participants. Bracketing therefore allows the researcher to create fresh meaning about the phenomena, as the researcher will be able to understand and represent the participants' experience adequately and free of personal interference.

3.3.3 Interpretation (Hermeneutics)

Interpretative approaches to phenomenology accept that understanding cannot take place without some form of interpretation (Smith, Flowers & Larkin, 2009). A central component of hermeneutics is the method of understanding a text and thereby interpreting its meaning. Interpretation is a circle closed by the dialectic of question and answer (Gadamer, cited in Blore, 2010). This reality-exploration then results in a new understanding of the phenomenon, thus creating a circular process of interpretation, which Gadamer referred to as a Hermeneutic Circle (Blore, 2010). Smith, et al. (2009) refers to the Hermeneutic Circle as a useful way of conceptualising the role of IPA researchers, which is concerned with the relationship between the part and the whole. In order to understand the part, the IPA researcher looks at the whole phenomenon and vice versa (Blore, 2010). However, Blore further explains that the interpretation obtained can only be valid in its cultural and historical context.

The study sought to explore the experiences of male student activists in a transformation process, their perceptions about their role, perception and stereotypes about women students and their challenges, and the overall interpretation of gender equality progress from their subjective accounts. The relevance and significance of the IPA approach in this particular study is that it appropriately guides the research analysis as it holds the view that human beings are sensemaking creatures and therefore the accounts that participants provide will reflect their attempts to make sense of their experiences (Smith, et al., 2009).

3.4 RESEARCH POPULATION, SAMPLE AND SAMPLING PROCEDURES

The research population for this study comprised of all male SASCO student activists at Wits University. The researcher did not limit the research population to those occupying leadership roles in SASCO but all male SASCO student activists with knowledge of the topic. The selection of participants was conducted based on the idiographic principle of IPA which focuses on a detailed case-by-case analysis of participant transcripts in order to provide a detailed account of the perceptions and understandings of a particular group rather than prematurely making more general claims (Smith & Osborn, 2003; Maunders, 2010).

In line with the aim of the study, and the nature of this investigation, the researcher's selection was focused on participants with potential insights about the topic or the phenomenon under investigation. The sample was selected using the purposeful sampling method to identify a more closely defined group for whom the research question was significant. This kind of approach therefore requires a small number of participants as it is committed to a painstaking case-by-case analysis which takes longer to complete (Smith & Osborn, 2013). As the guidelines by Smith (1996), the participants were therefore selected because of the insight that they could offer into the topic under investigation, thereby meeting the criteria for homogeneity. The study participants were selected from a list of activists obtained from SASCO. Participants had to meet the following criteria in order to be selected:

- Male
- Age (19-25)
- Current student of Wits university
- At least 12 months or more as a member of SASCO and involvement in student politics.

Table 3.1 Profile of the participants (N=11)

Quantity	Academic level	Political	Position
		affiliation	
3	3 rd year	SASCO	Members
2	Post-grad	SASCO	Leadership
4	Second year	SASCO	Members
2	Alumnus	Ex SASCO	Leadership

Eleven male participants including one key informant were identified across all academic levels and political credentials as illustrated in table.3.1 above. The significance of including a key informant as part of the sample was to source more information and deeper insights about the topic under investigation. The rich data provided by the key informant was as result of their vast knowledge and exposure to the topic under investigation. This was done in line with (Babbie & Mouton, 2001) who argue that triangulation of data (data collected from various persons who hold different points of views) is a key tool in ensuring credibility of data. The key informant, who is an expert in the field of activism and well versed on the issues of gender transformation

and equality, was interviewed using semi-structured interview schedule to allow him to elaborate on the insights shared. The researcher had initially stated in the research proposal that two key informants would be interviewed. When the researcher commenced with the interviews one of the key informants withdrew from the study citing unforeseen work commitments. After conducting the interview with the one key informant the research was of the view that the interviewed key informant was sufficient for the study and thus in the end only one key informant was interviewed.

3.5 METHOD OF DATA COLLECTION

3.5.1 Research instruments

A research instrument is a device used to collect the data. The researcher made use of two different semi-structured interview schedules, one for the participants and the other for the key informant, as the research instrument. According to Nalzaro, (2012) the research instrument used must be reliable and valid. Interview schedules are instruments in qualitative research; they can be done in both structured and unstructured ways. Semi-structured were utilised for both the face to face and telephonic interview.

Semi-structured interviews allowed the researcher and participant to simply talk with one another and share information in an informal atmosphere (Kimberlin & Winterstein, 2008). The researcher utilised a tape recorder to record the interviews and during the interviews made notes of the interview in a research diary. The researcher also attempted to create an environment of casual conversation, for the both face to face and telephonic interviews, to allow the participants to feel at easy and to express their perceptions in-depth.

3.5.2 Pre-testing of the research instruments

Pre testing of the research instruments is crucial part of a good study design. Pre testing the research instrument can help the researcher foresee where the actual research may fail, where research protocols may not be followed, or whether proposed methods or instruments are inappropriate or too complicated (Hundley & van Teijlingen, 2001). In essence pre-testing helps

the researcher identify in advance the risk factors and challenges the main research may encounter, thus enabling the researcher to implement risk mitigation strategies and find solutions to the challenges presented in the pre-testing before conducting the main research (Hundley & van Teijlingen, 2001).

The pre-test may not be able to identify all the challenges that the researcher may encounter when the main research is being conducted. Other limitations of a pre-test include the possibility of making inaccurate predictions or assumptions on the basis of the pre-test (Collins, 2003; Hundley & van Teijlingen, 2001). Another disadvantage with pre-testing is that the researcher may want to make drastic changes to the main research to suite the chosen research method rather than adopting an alternative research instrument that will deliver better findings (Collins, 2003; Hundley & van Teijlingen, 2001).

The pre-test phase consisted of two interviews, two participants were deemed to be a sufficient pre-test sample size by the researcher as this pre-testing sample size would be able to indicate adequately to the researcher, the average time of the interview, the effectiveness of the questions and whether they language used is appropriate for the sample group amongst other things.

The participants of the pre-test were taken from the same student organisation that was utilised for the main research, the same sampling criteria was used in the pre-test as that of the main research. In the pre-test interview, the duration of the interviews was between twenty five to fifty minutes. As a result of the pre-test interview some questions scraped, while others were added and other were altered to be more specific to the study. The pre-testing phase in essence helped refine the questions and make them more appropriate and sufficient for the purpose of the study.

The pre-testing also enabled the researcher to pre-test the voice recording device that was going to be used in the study and assess the audio of the interview when played back. The pre-test was carried out only once ethical clearance from the university had been obtained and the pre-testing participants were not utilised in the main research and the findings from the pre-test also not included in the main research.

3.5.3 Data collection methods

Two semi-structured face to face and nine telephonic interviews were used to collect data as they are considered to be the most appropriate and effective form of data collection for IPA (Smith et al, 2009). Semi-structured interviews enabled the participants to give their own opinions and perspectives; it also allowed the researcher to obtain unanticipated answers, and as a result allowed for increased insights and information (Grinnell & Unrau, 2011).

Semi-structured interviews also enabled the researcher and participant to engage in a dialogue wherein initial questions are modified in the light of the participants' responses and the researcher was able to probe interesting and important areas which arise (Smith & Osborn, 2003). Furthermore, these interviews also allowed the researcher to make interpretations which reflected the participants' accounts based on the subjective responses of the participants, thereby providing descriptive insight rather than statistical significance (Smith et al 2009; Smith & Osborn, 2003; Maunders, 2010). An open framework was utilised allowing for focused yet conversational communication in order to minimise predetermined responses (Patton, 1982). The researcher also used an interview schedule to guide the structure of the interview however allowed participants to explain their views in detail and without trying to channel their thinking in a particular way or influence their perceptions. The interview schedule covered the following topics/themes:

- 1. Academic background and
- 2. Political background.
- 3. Political ideology
- 4. Experiences in working with women in politics and various other structures.
- 5. Understanding and importance of gender equality
- 6. Understanding and importance of transformation
- 7. Involvement is gender transformation and equality initiatives
- 8. Relevance of university politics today
- 9. Role of women activists in politics and society
- 10. Challenges faced by females in modern politics and society

Prior to the interviews, the title, nature and purpose of the study were explained to participants and written informed consent was obtained. The interview schedule was also explained to the participants and consent for recording was obtained in writing.

Each interview took between 25 – 50 minutes to complete. All interviews were conducted in English as all participants were students and could communicate in English fluently. The researcher requested the chairperson of SASCO to make use of the organisations operational office. The SASCO office is located on the second floor of the Matrix at the University of Witwatersrand. The pre-testing interviews were conducted in the SASCO office before the students had to go study for exams that had been postponed due to the fees protest that commenced at the University of the Witwatersrand in October of 2015, most of the participants were involved in intense protesting and as a result had immense studying to get through if they were to be ready for their end of year exams. The researcher had to travel back to her residential province (The Northern Cape) as the interviews with the participants were interrupted by exam preparation. The remaining interviews were resumed after the students had completed their exams, these interviews were conducted telephonically, the reason for the telephonic interviews was that the researcher is based in the Northern Cape and most of the participants had travelled home almost immediately after examinations had concluded for the end of year holidays.

By conducting the telephonic interview on loudspeaker the researcher was able to tape recorder all the interviews utilising a tape recorder only after consent was received from the participants to do so, their consent or none consent was documented using a consent form (Appendix C). The interviews with both the participants and key informant were conducted by the same researcher so that dependability was increased.

3.5.4 Data analysis methods

All interviews were recorded using a digital voice recorder and were transcribed verbatim. In analysing the data, the IPA approach as described in Smith and Osborn (2003) was followed, with focus being on four main stages:

3.5.4.1 Systematic Search for Themes in First Case

This self-explanatory process basically begins with searching for themes with the first case or participant before moving on to other cases. The transcript is read a number of times, the left-hand margin being used to note what is interesting or significant about what the respondent said (Smith & Osborn, 2003). Maunders (2012) explains that this step allows the researcher to analyse and make notes on the data which can be broken down into three types of comments: descriptive, linguistic and conceptual comments. The descriptive comments merely describes the content of what was said, the linguistic comments focuses on the participant's use of language whereas the conceptual comments moves to a more theoretical interpretation of the data (Maunders, 2012). From an Ontological point of view this stage is very important in the analysis process as it provides the researcher with an opportunity to see reality through the views of the participants.

This stage further involves a more rigorous process of linking data and themes. The researcher revisits the data and the notes to identify connection between notes and develop emergent themes by capturing the essence of what was said by the participant (Smith & Osborn, 2003). Therefore, the skill at this stage is finding expressions which are high level enough to allow theoretical connections within and across cases but which are still grounded in the particularity of the specific response (Smith & Osborn, 2003).

3.5.4.2 Connecting the Themes

According to Smith et al (2009), this stage involves a more analytical or theoretical ordering whereby the researcher attempts to make sense of the connections between themes as they emerge. Some of the themes are clustered together, and some may emerge as superordinate concepts (Smith & Osborn, 2003). There are two specific ways of looking for connections between themes: abstraction and subsumption (Smith et al, 2009). With abstraction, higher order themes emerge as a result of putting themes together and developing a new name. Subsumption is similar to abstraction but in this case an emergent theme becomes a master theme itself as it draws together related themes. Both techniques were used in this study and some of the initial themes where eventually merged and absorbed in the process.

This stage further allows for further consolidation of themes in that once the connections have been drawn between the themes, the clusters are themselves given a name and represent the superordinate themes (Smith & Osborn, 2003; Smith et al, 2009). Finally, an ordered and coherent table of themes is drawn reflecting the list of themes which goes with each superordinate theme.

3.5.4.3 Move across Cases

Once consolidation has been achieved in the first case, it's only then that the researcher moved to the next case. This next step involves repeating the exact process on a different case, however central to this step is the ideography which is concerned with the distinct experiences of particular people and the particular contexts in which those experiences occur (Maunders, 2010). Each case is central to the inquiry and the researcher attempts to understand as much about each case before moving onto the next in order to maintain sensitivity to each person's unique story (Smith et al, 2009). Although Smith and Osborn (2003) suggested that themes from the first case could be used to inform the subsequent analysis of the other cases, a firmer commitment to the idiographic approach has been articulated in more recent writings (Smith et al, 2009). Thus, the important aspect of this stage is to understand each case separately and in its entirety but in relation to other cases.

3.5.4.4 Establishment of Superordinate Themes

The next stage involves formulations of patterns. From an epistemological perspective this stage is very important as it reveals to the researcher what we can know about reality and how we can know it – the nature of reality or form.

Once each transcript has been analysed and a table of themes has been constructed for each, the next stage is to look for patterns across cases. Some themes will represent higher order themes which more than one case shares. Based on the cross case analysis and clustering, a final table of superordinate themes is constructed (Smith & Osborn, 2003). It is vital to note that these themes are selected not purely on the basis of their prevalence within the data, but the richness of the particular passages that highlight the themes and how the theme helps illuminate other aspects of the account, are also taken into account (Smith & Osborn, 2003). This step also helps to highlight the differences between participants as well as the similarities that they may share (Maunders, 2010).

This stage is more relevant in this study as it provides the researcher with an opportunity to interpret the meaning and nature of the data being analysed, particularly as the study involves personal experiences and perceptions from participants.

3.5.5 TRUSTWORTHINESS OF THE STUDY

Trustworthiness of the study in qualitative research strategies are employed by the researcher. Accuracy and auditability of the study was authenticated by checking and rechecking that the analyses of the study is credible, trustworthy and authentic (Trochim, 2006; Shenton, 2004)

3.5.6 CREDIBILITY

3.5.6.1 The development of an early familiarity with the culture of participating in the organisations

The researcher being a former executive committee member of SASCO is familiar with the culture of the organisation. Being a member allows the researcher to attend the organisational meetings, to visit the organisational office and interact with the members of the organisation before the research is conducted. This early interaction and familiarisation with the organisation and its members enabled the researcher to have prolonged engagements with the participants during the interviews as the participants felt that the researcher was "one of their own", another form of ensuring credibility, and thus developing a relationship of trust between the researcher and the participants (Shenton, 2004).

3.5.6.2 Ensuring honesty in the participants

The researcher only interviewed participants who showed genuinely wiliness to take part in the research and who had given voluntary consent to be interviewed; this consent was be documented in consent form signed by the participants, Appendix B. The research tried by all means to create a rapport from the onset with each participant by reminding them that the interview is not structured and rigid, nor is it a test, there are no wrong or right answers, and that the researcher was only there to listen and gain further understanding.

3.5.6.3 Triangulation

To ensure credibility of the research a key informant, who is an expert in the field of activism and well versed on the issues of gender transformation and equality, was interviewed using semi-structured interview schedule. This is termed triangulation of data, meaning that information is collected from various persons who hold different points of view. Thus, various and divergent constructions of reality can be elicited (Babbie & Mouton, 2001).

To ensure the reliability of the study the researcher documented in as much detail all procedures and steps taken throughout the study. To achieve this the researcher made use of the following qualitative reliability procedures:

3.5.7 DEPENDABILITY

To ensure dependability the researcher kept a research diary for audit trail purposes. The diary assisted the researcher in documenting the research design and its implementation, the operational detail of data gathering and all changes that occurred, such as the alterations of the questions after the pre-testing phase and a bulk of the interviews being done telephonically and not face-to-face as initially planned, and how these changes affected the way the researcher continues with the study (Shenton, 2004).

3.5.8 TRANSFERABILITY

Transferability can be achieved through a detailed description of the research process to allow a reader to see if the results can be transferred to a different setting (Trochim, 2006; Shenton, 2004). To ensure transferability of the study the researcher tried to provide an adequate background data and description of all the contextual factors impinging on the study. Information pertaining to the organisation taking part in the study and where it is based; the restrictions in the type of participants who contributed data; the number of participants involved in the fieldwork. The data collection methods that were employed, the number and length of the data collection sessions, the time period over which the data was collected is all provided in the study for the reader (Shenton, 2004).

3.5.9 CONFIRMABILITY

Confirmability refers to the degree to which the results can be confirmed or corroborated by others. There are a number of strategies for enhancing confirmability (Trochim, 2006). The researcher documented the procedures for checking and rechecking the data throughout the study in the research diary and in the study. After the study the researcher conducted a data audit by reflecting and making judgements about the probability and biasness or distortion. The researcher also checked and re-checked the transcripts to make sure that they did not contain mistakes made during transcription.

3.6 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Ethical clearance was obtained prior to embarking on the study from the University of Witwatersrand's Ethics Committee to ensure that the study would be conducted in consideration of the human subject rights and that these would not be violated (Appendix G)

The researcher, before conducting the either the face to face and telephonic interviews, presented the participants with an information sheet and a consent form. The researcher went through the information sheet and once the participants were satisfied with the explanation, the researcher went on to explain the purpose of the consent form (Appendix A and C) before the interview commenced in order to be certain that the participants understand their rights, the purpose of the study and the potential risks and benefits of participation. The very same procedure was undertaken with the key informant (Appendix B and D).

The participants' identities have not been disclosed in this research, and the researcher opted to use pseudo names where names were required. This was done in line (Neuman, 2000) who recommended that participants should remain anonymous, nameless and protected. In some cases participants are coded as m participant 1 up to participant 10. The key informant is coded as key informant A. The findings in the main research make no reference to the names of the participants and follow the same principle (pseudo names and code) as recommended in Babbie (2007). The interview transcripts and research diary does not contain the names of the participants, the researcher has used the coding method, participant 01-10 and key informant A, at all times.

The data will only be shared with the researcher's supervisor. The supervisor is an integral part of the study and thus can be considered as part of the researcher's study team. The supervisor is well versed in ethical considerations and the researcher is confident that she will adhere to maximum confidentiality of the participants.

CHAPTER FOUR PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter the findings of the study are presented. The main themes are introduced and demonstrated with direct quotes from the data collected. The socio-demographic characteristics of the participants, including the key informant, are presented in the table below

Table 4.1 Demographic profile of the participants

PARTICIPANT	REASON FOR JOINING	AGE	ETHINICITY	FIELD OF	YEAR OF
	SASCO			STUDY	STUDY
1	Former member of	23	African	Law- second	2 nd Year
	COSAS			degree	
2	Former member of	23	African	Construction	2 nd Year
	COSAS			Studies	
3	Political family	22	African	Metallic	3 rd Year
	influence			Engineering	
4	Former member of	20	African	BS Education	2 nd Year
	COSAS			teaching	
5	Political influenced by	20	African/	ВА	2 nd year
	friends and family		Tsonga		
6	Former member of	21	African	BSC	3 rd Year
	COSAS				
7	Believed in the values	22	African/ Zulu	BA general	2 nd Year
	of SASCO		and Tswana		
8	Political family	23	African/ Zulu	B.com in	1 st Year
	influence and			finance	
	former member of				
	COSAS				

9	Wished to serve the students and people	24	African/ Pedi	Bachelor of education	4 th Year
10	Could identify with the values of SASCO	23	African/Tswa na	Mining Engineering	Graduated December 2015
11	Political influenced by older brother	30-40	African	Sociology	Former secretary General (National)

Table 4.1 illustrates the socio-demographics of the eleven (including the key informant) male research participants who took part in this study. The table presents additional information regarding participants' socio-demographic background, which was taken into consideration in the discussion chapter. All the participants that took part in the study are currently students at the University of the Witwatersrand in various fields of study except participant 10 who recently graduated in December 2015 and is now employed but he remains a Wits Alumni. The participants are all male members of the South African Student Organisation (SASCO) as per the criteria of the study.

Seven of the participants involved in the study are former members of Congress of South African Students (COSAS) a student wing body of the African National Congress (ANC) most active in South African secondary schools. All of the participants interviewed are African, representing the demographics of SASCO, which has historically been a movement for African students. Most of the participants were either already political active or enlightened before they arrived at the University of the Witwatersrand and subsequently joined SASCO. Only participants 7, 9 and 10 became members of SASCO once they had taken an opportunity to learn about SASCO while on campus.

All the participants interviewed revealed that they became familiar with the gender transformation and equality struggle when they had become members of SASCO and other

Progressive Youth Alliance (PYA) organisations such as the ANC Youth League Wits branch and Young Communist League (YCL) Wits branch.

The key informant that was interviewed for the study has been a student at Wits, in the Faculty of Humanities, for a number of years now attaining his undergraduate degree, honours, masters and now reading towards his PhD at the institution. He has led and held positions on all levels of the organisation and was part of a team tasked to draft the gender equality policies and strategies of SASCO during his term as secretary general of SASCO. The key informant was able to speak adequately and in depth on SASCO, gender transformation and equality, the role of men and the way forward in regards to gender transformation and equality from both the perspective of a social scientist and a veteran student activist.

4.2 ANALYSIS

The interview recordings were transcribed verbatim for all eleven interviewed participants, following the IPA approach. Following the IPA principles in Smith and Osborn (2003), the idiographic approach was also applied, with a detailed case-by-case analysis of individual transcripts done in order to provide a detailed account of the experiences and views of the male participants regarding gender transformation and equality imperatives in the institution and the role of male counterparts in the process.

As illustrated in Maunders (2012), each transcript was read through and notes were made in the margins, in order to reflect: the researcher's general impressions of issues discussed; the tone and emotions of the interview; the respondent's ability to retrieve information for discussion. As described in Braun and Clarke (2006), non-verbal cues were also noted and registered on the transcripts during transcription whilst the experiences were still fresh in the researcher's mind. Table 4.2 below demonstrates the initial noting stage of analysis after reading of the transcripts and beginning to make sense of the data.

Table 4.2: Extract from an interview – drawing notes from the transcript

A pseudonym (Participant 9) has been used to protect the identity of the participant, the researcher's coding is shown in italics on the left margin and gestures and non-verbal communication are shown in bold)

Researcher's analysis/ notes from the			
transcript	Transcription of interview		
Understanding of gender equality, transformation, and related views. – Awareness	Participant 9: "This is about equality in as far as gender is concerned" (moving to the edge of the chair). Easing and trusting on both sides, both sides I'm referring to males and females.		
	Interviewer: What role is your organisation (SASCO) playing in this regard?		
Role of political leadership structures in promoting gender transformation and equality: influence of politics, political backgrounds- cultural influence	Participant 9: I feel like we getting there, and I am saying that because it took SASCO quite some time to actually have student leaders, particular females who have led the organisation (again repositioning – followed by a short pause). Overall you can see that the culture of the organisation is recognizing women leaders. So it's not mostly patriarchal and that forms part of transformation. (Sounding very pessimistic about the topic).		
	Interviewer: In your view who should be in charge of leading transformation initiatives.		
	Participant 9: Society leaders, of course it starts with them (rubbing his hands, something he does when thinking deep about his answers).		
Men are: too inflexible, too traditional, too stereotypical and patriarchal.	Interviewer: Let me ask a specific question, what role do you think males should play in this process?		
Different views and the impact of exposure to gender equality information.	Participant 9: (long pause) I think with men there is an attitude problem, some are too flexible to accept the era we are at and some are not flexible (giggling). I must confess that I was also like that, I was too traditional, too stereotypical and patriarchal before — I thank the exposure of being in the institution and taking informed decision about these issues of gender equality.		
Social networks, media and other	Interviewer: and people without exposure, how do they deal with these gender transformation and equality issues?		
sources of information. Women' struggles, challenges and	Participant 9: It depends how those people access information, do they rely on the media, community leaders, churches or other social structures. Overall (another pause) the main issue is literacy, people must be literate because if you are not literate is someone is informing you it is not easy to follow or see their point. Geographical location is therefore important when understanding how different people respond differently to these issues.		
responsibilities - perceptions.	Interviewer: and women themselves, what do you think they should do to facilitate gender transformation and equality in the institution and society.		
	Participant 9: Eish (scratching his head again – then laughing) to be honest this is a difficult one. Women are a bit difficult because firstly they themselves don't support each other – you also know that yourself my		

sister. But it is also a problem because the biggest challenge they are faced with is that the patriarchal society that believes women are not capable of leading. Which is why today you have a few leaders in government, and it is sad because some of them are very good and have proved that they can lead, not only here at home but on the continent and abroad.

Interviewer: So that is the problem, what is the source of the stereotype and perceptions:

Participant 9: Literacy level, it the lack of knowledge. My level of thinking as a first year and today is different – they system and surrounding transformed me.

Table 4.3 below illustrates the next stage which involved re-reading of the scripts and the notes made to draw out emergent themes- elevating the analysis to a more conceptual level - while remaining relevant to the participant's subjective responses.

Researcher's analysis/ notes from the transcript	Emergent Themes
Understanding of gender equality, transformation, and related views.	Interpretations, meaning, knowledge
Role of political leadership structures in promoting gender transformation and equality: influence of politics, political backgrounds-cultural influence	Political views, perspectives and doctrines. Political will, leadership, Discrimination
Men are: too inflexible, too traditional, too stereotypical and patriarchal.	
Different views and the impact of exposure to gender equality information. Social networks, media and other sources of information.	Societal norms, values, traditions, gender stereotypes, acculturation information and education
Women' struggles, challenges and responsibilities - perceptions.	Sources of information, reliability and dependability of the sources, access to the sources.
	Formal and informal support structures general hostility towards women, readiness assessment measures - sustainability.

Table 4.4 below illustrates the step in which connections between the emergent themes were drawn and organized into superordinate themes that highlight the main aspects of the participant's account of the research phenomenon. As described by Smith and Osborn (2003), a list of themes and grouping into clusters of related themes was done, and then given a superordinate theme that captures the essence of the themes.

Researcher's analysis/ notes from the transcript	Emergent Themes	Superordinate Theme
Understanding to gender equality, transformation, and related views.	Interpretations, understanding, meaning and knowledge	
Role of political leadership structures in promoting gender transformation and equality : influence of politics, political backgroundscultural influence	Political views, perspectives and doctrines. Political will, leadership, Discrimination	*Political influence
Men are: too inflexible, too traditional, too stereotypical and patriarchal. Different views and the impact of exposure to gender equality information.	Societal norms, values, traditions, gender stereotypes, acculturation	*Social influence
Social networks, media and other sources of information.	Information and education Sources of information, reliability and dependability of	*Social influence
Women' struggles, challenges and responsibilities - perceptions.	the sources, access to the sources.	*The gender perceptive
	Formal and informal support structures, general hostility and prejudices towards women	

4.3 THEMES

An in-depth presentation of the research findings has been centered on three (3) superordinate themes that were identified. Table 4.5 below presents an overview of the three superordinate themes drawn from the research finding:

- 1. **Political influence**: for the purpose of this study "political influence" refers the extent to which politics of the country and the history influence people's views or actions when passing judgment. In this context political influence refers to the political indoctrination and not the concept of "power"
- 2. **Social influence**: for the purpose of this study "social influence" refers to all of the beliefs, customs, ideas, behaviors, and traditions of a particular society that are passed through generations. This theme also reflects participants' perceptions, observations, interpretations of their roles as men and what they believe are the reasons for certain societal responses to gender transformation and equality.
- 3. **The gender perspective**: for the purpose of this study "the gender perspective" refers to the gender related information and theories that have contributed to the participant's views and perceptions on gender.

Table 4.5: Superordinate and Subordinate Themes

1. Political influence	2. Social Influence	3. The gender perspective
 → Gender Discrimination → Leadership → Lack of Political will and gender mainstreaming 	 → Social stereotypes and Perceptions → Patriarchy → Cultural norms → The family unit → The education system 	 → Gender transformation and equality → Feminism → The transformative role of men

4.3.1 POLITICAL INFLUENCE

This superordinate theme encompasses the factors that participants reported as associated with political indoctrination and their experiences as activists. These factors were grouped into three (3) subordinate themes, i.e.: (1) gender discrimination (2) leadership; and (3) political will and gender mainstreaming. The above factors were reported to result in exclusion, discrimination and less recognition of women; these factors also influenced women's chances of assuming leadership roles in the organizational structures and society at large.

4.3.1.1 Gender discrimination

The research participants described the political environment and atmosphere (at Wits) to be one that is characterized by gender discrimination and inequalities. The participants indicated that while they are members of a student organization that advocates for gender equality, what is documented in theory is not always put into action, as described by **Participant 2** stated: "I do not really think that comrades have understood or are conscious of the gender struggle, I am not really sure, it is my own analysis including our own women comrades."

Participant 3 shared that he has heard men in the organization referring to women in a horrific manner, he stated that : "I have heard words like political pentyprenuers; I have never heard such a word before that women who participate in politics are political pentypreneurs which is a disgusting word and that thing would...is perpetuated by men."

Key informant mentioned that: "There are some male comrades within SASCO who rhetorically speak about gender transformation but don't really embrace it in reality." This is regardless of the fact that SASCO and the national legislation promotes the rights of women and equal opportunities. The gender transformation progress in South African societies, within SASCO and similar political structures it is very slow. The discrimination of women, however, is not a social injustice that can be looked at on its own the Key Informant further states that: The oppression of woman, the violence against woman, it continues in all spheres of society, go to church, you go to the work place, you go to NGO's, you go to all spheres of society.

These sentiments are echoed by **Participants 1** and **2** respectively **Participant 1** who feels that: "there are the economic issue, the gender issue and the race issues are all inter related so I think we can solve most by addressing the other". While Participant 2 points out that: "They (Women) have been oppressed because they are women, they have been oppressed because they are black or because they are poor most of the time" The views of **Participants 1, 2** and the key informant are shared by Zanaele Dlamani who has stated that the culture of inequality is deeprooted in the apartheid era where gender and racial inequalities were rife. Women were not only oppressed because they were women, but they were also oppressed because of their race and class, this multiple oppression has been classified as the triple oppression. Since 1994 South Africa has adopted vigorous strategies and polices of addressing the past inequalities and injustices to address the triple oppression of women. Gender inequalities predate the era of apartheid and we can in no way condemn apartheid for gender inequalities found in present day South Africa, we can though argue that institutional and systemic oppression of individuals based on race, class and wealth contributed to the prevalent gender inequalities in South Africa today (Larsen, 2012). As a result, in a country like South Africa dealing with poverty still means dealing with racial segregation and for women it additionally means dealing with patriarchy (Larsen, 2012). Gender inequalities in society have a slip over effect resulting in social problems such as, gender based violence and teenage pregnancies. These social problems are more prevalent in African and Coloured communities who were previously disadvantaged during apartheid (Mkhwanazi, 2010). The triple oppression of women was an issue that cut across the interviews. The participants, like Marxist socialist feminists are of the view that gender inequalities cannot be resolved in isolation of other social inequalities, equally a fundamentally restructuring of the society, power and societal roles needs to take place in order to achieve sustainable gender equality.

Finally, despite an evident need to embrace change and redress gender inequalities, most participants feel that the discrimination in society and in SASCO is so deep-rooted that efforts to change are always blocked and patriarchy is used to perpetuate the inequalities, **Participant 10** gives an example of patriarchy in the work place as witnessed by him: "If men had an option, they would not have women in the mines, particularly in management. You are regarded as a good manager if you behave as expected; and if you don't and want to be unique, they set you up for failure, take away the support and expose you"

All the participants were aware of the historical marginalisation of women and the strides that have been taken by the state to address these injustices. Borrowing from the socialist perspective of Marxism, the participants are conscious of the fact that women have been oppressed because of their gender class and race. These oppressions are interwoven oppressions that are still very much prevalent in the societies. The participants believe that the marginalisation and discrimination of women is so embedded in society that efforts for fundamental change are hindered for the retention of patriarchal benefits.

The discrimination of women whether directly or indirectly is amplified when women are in leadership positions or have ambitions of occupying leadership positions, in the following subordinate theme the participants describe the hostility faced by women who aspire to be in leadership roles.

4.3.1.2 Women Leadership

As the participants described the political environment and atmosphere at Wits to be one that is flawed with gender inequalities it comes as no surprise to learn that such is the case when it comes to the allocation of leadership roles. The participants have described the current political system as unfair and promoting a culture of male dominance, with men occupying most of leadership roles in the political structures and females being marginalized as attested to by **Participant 10**: "when it comes to leadership positions, you still have, males dominating more than females." The key informant believed that the reason for this is because "They have been socialized into believing that men have the capacity to lead, and they've got this belief you know that they are better in all respects" The participants voiced their concerns about the hostility towards women leaders in SASCO.

Participant 6 argued: "They were fights within the organization and there was a group that didn't agree with having a women president."

Participant 1 mentioned: "SASCO had a national congress a few days ago and all the women were given deputy roles... They (Men) have been socialized into believing that men have the capacity to lead, and they've got this belief you know that they are better in all respects"

The views of **Participants 6 and 1** are in correlation with the views of **Participant 7** when he stated that: "as SASCO we give woman positions and yet we undermine them in those positions it doesn't really help" As explained by Eagly and Karau (2002) leadership roles have traditional been occupied by men and it has taken years for women to enter the spheres that were primarily identified as male dominated such as politics, military and cooperate, it has taken even longer for women to occupy leadership positions in these spheres. The leadership positions afforded to women, however, seem to be limited, restricted and at most times met with hostilities.

Women are scrutinized more than men when aspiring to fill leadership positions, for instance the capacity of a woman must be analysed, **Participant 4** mentioned that: "one thing that I must bring to you is that when we speak about gender equality we mustn't speak without looking at capacity." The issue of capacity as the key informant also pointed out is only looked at in more depth when it concerns women, for men it is automatically assumed that they have the capacity and leading comes naturally to them. This in of itself is patriarchal and marginalises women from being elected to occupy leadership positions as it is assumed that they have to be groomed and capacitated first before they can assume leadership positions. The participants articulate the issue of women and capacity almost unaware that it is comes across as chauvinistic and applies to women. It was only **Participant 3** who stated "the same goes to men you can't say that men are more capable for this job without looking at capacity" making the researcher aware that when he refers to capacity he is referring to both women and men.

The issue of the gender quota within SASCO made for an interesting discussion during the interviews. A gender quota makes it mandatory that women must constitute a certain number or percentage of the members of a body (Ford & Pande, 2011). **Participant 3** mentioned that: "Now the constitution here at the branch, we are working on a 50/50 but nationally SASCO is still operating on a 60/40 gender quota." While participants like **Participant 3** were boastful of the fact that SASCO Wits branch has worked on adopting a 50/50 quota while some branches are still operating on the 60/40 gender quota, other participants admitted that the 50/50 quota does little to address gender stereotypes and perceptions as out lined by the following participants:

Participant 5 stated that: "first was 40/60, females were 40 and males were 60 ...But then last year they resolved it to be 50/50. But now what is happening basically is that the women are given the lower position according to the SASCO structure."

While **Participant 3 noted that:** "the problem with the gender quota is that it's just a number driven prophecy...... the gender quota does not address the need to transform the culture and the modus operandi of the organization itself because we come from different backgrounds."

Participants 5 and 3 stated while the quota system was developed to make sure that women are also elected into leadership positions. The quota system does not in any way work to induct the members within the organisation on the importance of women development and as a result you find as **Participant 5** puts it, women are given lower positions within the leadership structures of SASCO.

Participant 8 however has a completely different view. He stated that SASCO is not particularly hostile to women leadership positions the crux of the matter according to him is that "You've got few actively involved woman ... So when you look at the SASCO constituency it's predominantly masculine, but when you come to leadership you want to make everything 50/50." He further goes on to say that "the fact that Wits SASCO was able to allow her to run for SRC president shows you that SASCO has matured by allowing women to access the same opportunities as men do in the organisation."

There is what seems to be a cultural resistance coupled with a lack of political will to make women development and gender equality initiatives within SASCO a priority as stated by the Key informant as they are not seen as bread and butter issues that call for immediate attention.

4.3.1.3 Political will and gender mainstreaming

Most of the research participants described the lack of political will in South Africa as a potential cause for the slow gender transformation progress the country is face with. Participant 3 believes that "Politics in general and the politics of the country in general, through even on the discourse of the struggle against the legacy of apartheid based on race and class. Which then tends to marginalize the Politics on women and gender equity in particular you see....I must be honest on 16 day of activism and on the 9 August that's it. We are only sensitive to gender problems only on those few days throughout the year it is null its politics as usual."

Participant 2 in line with the views of Participant 3 is of the view that "If indeed the ANC was serious about gender transformation we would have won it a long time ago." As stated by Andersen (1998) the government of the day has to be certain that the needs of the whole population are taken into account and served and that policies improve the well-being of society as a whole. Any government has the power to either obstruct or promote social inequality by using its power and institutions. Participant 8 expresses what he believes to be the reason for the lack of political will identified.

Participant 8 believes that: "The thing is one of the fundamental problems that we have is that we may have everything written down and it may look good on paper but if we do not practice it and we do not implement it." Without a strong political will to create consensus on a culture of gender equality, the achievement of gender transformation and equality can in no way be successful. Participants 2 and 3 are both convinced that the government of the day does not have the political will to achieve gender equality and as a result does not assign the required resources to make it a reality. States must go beyond political will and adopt concrete measures for gender transformation and equality (Andersen et al, 1998).

Gender mainstreaming goes over and above gender equality policies and strategies that are already in place, gender mainstreaming is mentioned as a new strategy to achieve gender equality, it is always stressed that this strategy does not replace "traditional" gender equality policy, but complements it (Andersen et al, 1998). The responsibility for making gender mainstreaming possible rests on the shoulders of government, not solely on government, but fundamentally on government officials, its resources and its institutions. It is not enough to plan and launch initiatives, resources and funds must be allocated to these initiatives to ensure that they are successful. Participant 4 shares these sentiments when he states that: "But one of the things I think our government and our institutions within the society have to play a very vital role in this...... They are the ones that should be advocating for equal treatment especially our women that are up there like our deputy presidents and the womenleaders up there are not advocating for equal rights."

There is a strong correlation between the political will for gender mainstreaming and public awareness of gender equality issues. Therefore, governments need to support awareness-raising and dissemination of knowledge of gender equality, using institutions such as the educational system for instance.

4.3.2 SOCIAL INFLUENCE

The degrees of gender inequalities differ from one society to another for different reasons. For purposes of this study, "social influence" is extended to reflect the extent to which participants' perceptions, observations, and interpretations of their roles as male activists are influenced by social factors.

4.3.2.1 Social stereotypes and Perceptions

Gender stereotyping refers to the practice of ascribing to an individual woman or man specific attributes, characteristics. A gender stereotype is harmful when it limits women's and men's capacity to develop their personal abilities, pursue their professional careers and make choices about their lives and life plans (Humanity Divided, 2014). The research participants had a general understanding and awareness that society is generally gendered and perpetuates gender stereotypes and perceptions as described by the following participants:

Participant 5 states that: "We live in a society, which is more stereotypical......like the man have power you are defined by a job and if you don't have a job you are not man enough"

As **Participant 6** describes: "We still feel as though males are regarded as 1 2 3 and females are regarded as 1 2 3. Like it is more on an unconscious thing than a conscious thing, it is something that was instilled in us when we were still growing up" The views of **Participant 6** and the key informant who states that "... Women are somehow institutionally disadvantaged You know, they are somewhat institutionally disadvantaged because they are not in positions of power where they are able to change this mentality" are in line with those of Riseman (2004) who states that gender norms and stereotypes reinforce gendered identities and constrain the behaviour of women and men in ways that lead to inequality. Men have been dominant in most societies. The degree of dominance from one society to other may vary responding to other social factors in a particular society. Gender inequality is a characteristic of most societies, with

males on better positioned in social, economic, and political hierarchies (Humanity Divided, 2014). As a result of the lack of power and access to decision-making power women still have fewer opportunities for economic participation than men, less access to basic and higher education, greater health risks, and less political representation (Sweetman, 2013).

The participants all seem to share that belief of **Participant 8** who believes that "The fact that you are a woman should not stop you from accessing the same opportunities as a man. The competitiveness to get opportunities should not be based on gender but should be based on merit and you academic excellence" Unfortunately patriarchy as a way of thinking is embedded in our subconscious even if we don't want to sound patriarchal by virtue of growing up in patriarchal surroundings we assume that certain gender roles can only be done by the associated gender as witnessed with **Participant 2** statement "I am going to be blunt and be honest a women best raises a child" and goes onto state "he is not trying to sound patriarchal" further cements the notion that people experience and act out societal gender in their day to day lives whether wittingly or unwittingly. Society as a structure plays a vital role when determining factors that perpetuate gender inequities. **Participant 6** describes it as: ".it is more on an unconscious thing than a conscious thing; it is something that was instilled in us when we were still growing up."

The key informant cautions us to remember that: "we need to appreciate that that the unconscious mentality does not only affect male comrades there are some woman comrades who also have been brought up to belief that you know, in society men are supposed to take the lead and I have seen it in SASCO"

4.3.2.2 Patriarchy

In a patriarchal society the oppression of a women begins at birth, in the words of Hooks (2007) From then onwards girls are taught to behave and act in a certain way, dress in a certain way and take up roles that are lesser then those of boys and men. **Participant 8** argued: "patriarchy has been a social norm in our society for centuries."

Participant 1 in line with the views of **Participant 8** states "women were colonized even before the white men came into Africa by the patriarchy that existed..." Indeed patriarchy has always existed in South Africa even before colonial times. Gordon (1996) wrote about the importance

of understanding that patriarchy in Africa subsequently South Africa was always there, colonialism only introduced a western form of patriarchy into African societies.

Most of the participants admitted that they became conscious of gender inequalities only once they had become Wits students and SASCO members. The participants spoke of normalities of gender stereotypes and patriarchy in their communities and families, when they began tertiary education that these gender stereotypes were questioned either by SASCOs gender policies or by the lectures they attended. **Participant 2** shared the fact that: "before I came to join these organizations I use to treat a girl as someone that you are going to marry. It was somebody that must submit to all of your requests"

Participant 5 mentioned that now that he is aware of patriarchy and tries his best to defy it: "I can say inside campus I'm more involved, I'm anti patriarchal but also outside the society."

Patriarchy was a norm to the participants and becomes a complex task to ask them to now stop being patriarchal as mentioned by the key informant. **Participant 6** and the key informant share the difficulties of trying to unlearn patriarchy below:

Participant 6 mentioned: "Ok I will not lie, I am driven by patriarchy in my private space but I try by all means to make sure that I fight it. I try that in everything I do is equivalent to my partner or whoever I am around" But while some like Participant 6 try their best to act against patriarchal stereotypes the key informant mentions that: "There are some male comrades within SASCO who rhetorically speak about gender transformation but don't really embrace it in reality." Empirical research shows that gender equality in organisations is hindered by men (Höyng & Puchert, 1998) or how gender equality processes are contextualised in a way in which 'gender means women' (Holter, Riesenfeld & Scambor, 2005). The possible loss of privileges may be one of the biggest barriers for men's involvement in equality processes, and it may lead to high pressure towards conformity among men and against men's engagement in gender equality issues (Meuser, 2000).

The participants spoke critically to the fact that even though they are aware that patriarchy perpetuates gender inequalities and marginalises women, they find it difficult to not conform to the societal stereotypes around gender and risk being labelled "not man enough." **Participant 3**

recalls "I remember I had a quarrel on Facebook because I articulated somehow uhm...against men and the patriarchal side. I was attacked by men through inbox and phone calls and stuff"

Men within SASCO are assumed to be conscious men, that these men understand and rebuke the injustices of patriarchy thus acknowledge the importance of gender equality. While it cannot be assumed that all men within SASCO are willing to advance gender equality it is important however to begin a dialogue that addresses what it is that men that are members of an organisation that advocates for gender equality should be doing. The participants have pointed out that while they now know that patriarchy marginalises and discriminates against women, it is so embedded in individuals that they display patriarchal tendencies unwittingly. The key informant draws out attention to the fact it is important to note that society as a whole is patriarchal, including women, who have been socialised to believe that their marginalisation and discrimination are the normalities of society.

4.3.2.3 Cultural norms

Culture can be understood as a particular way of life of a particular group. Gender is a particularly important aspect of culture, as one's cultural context shapes an individual's understanding of what appropriate gender roles and responsibilities are. Given the fact that all the participants and the key informant interviewed are black South African men, culture came up quite often in the interviews when discussing gender inequalities and the slow process of gender transformation and equality. The views of the participants are captured below:

As **Participant 3** stated: "Our cultures are patriarchal in nature...in your isiZulu and my Pedi where they teach you "a man needs to stand on his own" like "a man needs to stand for himself"

Participant 4 concurred: "from a perspective of tradition and culture it has always been that a man is the head of the family and they've got power and all of that." Gender relations, the manner in which gender roles are formed and valued, and their relationship to each other, play a vital role in forming the essence of cultures as ways of life, passed from one generation to the next.

Participant 10 shares similar views with that of **Participant 3** and 4 and believes that: "Is because of their cultural history and the cultural principal that they subscribe to.... you know

when you get on campus there are women students who do not even know about that the system is anti-woman."

Interestingly enough Participant 4 boldly stated that: "I am a culturist myself and I'm an Africanist but I only know of one man Thomas Sankara who was a pan Africanist who was feminist advocating for women's rights, I mean, it can't be that we look at culture to be exploitive, we can't portray our culture like that, our culture actually respects women but what we need to ensure is that practically it happens that our culture respects women." Participant 4 views on culture and gender are complex. While all the participants stated that the culture we are taught while growing up perpetuates gender inequalities, he then later on in the interview defended African culture by saying that in actual fact culture respects women and does not exploit them, if anything we should geared against presenting African culture in a negative way when speaking about gender. The Participant's views are in line with those shared by Inkosi Patekile Holomisa, the then chair of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa. Holomisa stated that African culture and traditions are in actual fact designed to protect vulnerable women and children and not to discriminate and exploit them. He warned that while we strive to achieve the western inspired human rights we shouldn't "end up denying the vulnerable and insecure the protection which our cultures, customs and traditions avail." (Holamisa as quoted in Albertyn, 2009, P. 165)

4.3.2.4 The family unit

The family unit is influences and is influenced by societal gender roles. Culture, social stereotypes and religion paly different roles in different families, all of the mentioned factors influence gender roles within the family and how the family functions. **Participant 1 mentioned**: "gender inequality was created by the fact that the father must go and work, the mother must be at home." The reason for this as stated by Tanzim (2001) is that with any given societies there are institutions that allow and promote gender inequalities as the status quo. The family unit is patriarchal in nature, as patriarchy literary means the rules of father.

Participant 6 stated: "You know at home the father is the head of the house and he is the one that is supposed to support the family". Family is the basic unit of the society. Within this social unit there are gender divisions of labour. Women and men have different roles in the family. Often women's roles are considered lesser than that of men.

When speaking about the family and gender inequalities the participants make practical examples of the socially constructed role of a man in the family, such as going to work so that he can provide for the family. This is in line with Livesey's (2010) argument that seeks to say that gender roles in the family are directly influenced by the economy on the society. Industrialised capitalists' societies perpetuate gender inequalities and gender roles more as compared to pre-capitalist societies.

4.3.2.5 The education system

The education system has been identified as an instigator of gender stereotypes but ultimately a fundamental institution that can be used to achieve gender equality. A number of the participants have highlighted the fact that the teachers teaching in these schools come from patriarchal societies and unwittingly indoctrinate learners to be patriarchal and perpetuate gender stereotypes. **Participant 10** believes that: "if teachers were conscious they were going to fight against you know the oppression of women in classes."

Participant 1 stated he is of the view that that gender stereotypes are introduced as early as nursery level: "it goes back to our education system from crèche [nursery school] to primary school, I remember at primary school girls used to sit in a particular place and the boys would sit the other side and we would be different according to gender"

Participant 2 recalls that: "In fact in my school it was compulsory for girls to clean. It was only them who would clean the staff room and the classrooms for teachers and all of us who are male used to just go home" The education system is one of the state's most powerful tools when it desires to shape the citizens towards a particular vision. During Apartheid Bantu education was implemented to groom a workforce for the country, boys where taught artisan skills and girls were taught how to sew, bake and housekeeping skills. When the transition into democracy unfolded the restructuring of the education system in South Africa was not prioritised although we do not have Bantu education in present day South Africa the present day school system is inherently patriarchal and thus teaches learners to conform to societal stereotypes

A strong education system, in line with the principle of non-discrimination, it is essential for redressing gender injustice in wider society, and for overcoming social and cultural norms that discriminate against girls and women. When looking to reforming the institution of education

we need to priorities the teachers, and address the way they unconsciously impose patriarchal tendencies onto student's thus instilling patriarchy in the next generation.

The education system need to be re-oriented to ensure the deconstruction of gender stereotypes as well as the promotion of equality of experience and relations for both sexes in education, thus addressing power imbalances that perpetuate gender inequality and leveraging access to all rights by woman and girls.

Participant 3 mentioned: "I think as activists we can challenge the curriculum because in challenging the curriculum I think we will be challenging the underlying patriarchal nature of the curriculum itself because the curriculum from home, your home language that is when they teach these patriarchal things."

Participant 10 noted: "In classes, where all teachers of all courses, take 2-3 minutes of their courses reminding children about gender equality."

Participant 1 stated that "I think even goes back to the education system"

Participant 3 shared similar with those of Participant 1 "we really need to teach them from home through our mothers, they are going to teach us how to be a progressive man and so from home we are going to get strengthened in terms of our education system then 'wala" we have a changed society, because this is my belief, one in two people in South Africa go through the education system of South Africa" The participants views on education are in line with those of Huang (2015) who believes that education must be one of the state's main tool in achieving gender equality as it involves the ways in which societies transfer norms, knowledge and skills. It is crucial that the education systems in its entirety, from the teachers, principals, school governing bodies, textbooks, and practises within the class room, etc, empower both girls and boys, and take care in counterbalancing the existing gender inequalities.

The factors that facilitate gender perceptions and stereotypes are by in large social factors, which influence individuals to identify and act out gender in a certain way. Changing the status quo and dismantling deep rooted gender norms and values is a mammoth task that needs to be undertaken by the entire society, if ever sustainable gender transformation and equality is to be achieved.

4.3.3 THE GENDER PERSPECTIVE

The gender perspective as a superordinate theme encompasses the knowledge and theories reported by the participants as associated with gender and their experiences as activists.

The participants utilised different schools of thought and theories to elaborate on their perceptions and views on gender, the most notable theories identified and elaborated on were grouped into four (3) subordinate themes, i.e.: (1) Gender transformation (2) Feminism, (3) Masculinity; and The transformative role of men.

4.3.3.1 Gender transformation and equality

Gender inequality is extraordinarily diverse and wide spread the levels of gender inequalities differ from one society to the next for various reasons. Women and men are unequal in every conceivable way. The participants' diverse understanding and knowledge of gender transformation and equality was thought-provoking. While others felt it referred to equality in leadership elections, such as **Participant 10** who stated that gender equality for him meant making sure that both women and men must be elected into leadership positions of SASCO "let us make sure that eh, when for example we elect leadership, we make sure that eh, gender, I mean both genders, both males and females are elected into leadership" **Participant 9** stated that: "Gender transformation is about equality in as far as gender is concerned", while **Participant 3** simply described gender equality as "an alternative to patriarchy."

For **Participants 2 and 4** gender transformation and equality means addressing the injustice of the past, **Participant 2** believes that: "gender transformation and equality we are placing the women and removing them from a marginalized position, because they have historically been marginalized" equally participant 4 similarly believes that: "Uhm basically changing to what was happening before in terms of woman not given full opportunities to speak about transforming, what was not justified, what was not according to order....giving them equal powers of men hence we speak about 50/50 and we speak about equal treatment"

Participant 7 shared the same sentiments as he stated that: "With gender equality what comes to mind is both sexes should be given equal opportunity, it should be treated fairly and there shouldn't be discrimination of some sort because one is different from the other me this

transformation for me I don't understand what is gender transformation, I've heard of gender transformation but I don't understand it." Interestingly **Participant 7** elaborated what he understood to be the meaning of gender equality, when it came to transformation he confessed that he did not understand the concept of gender transformation.

This is in line with the key informant's observation as he states that: "I do not really think that comrades have understood or are conscious of the gender struggle, I am not really sure, it is my own analysis including our own women comrades." The possible reason for this may be due to the fact that SASCO hasn't really implemented anything concerning the issue of gender equality, its only policies despite having adopted good policies documents which clearly state the ideological and theoretical stand point that SASCO has taken on the issue of gender transformation and equality and it articulates well on how to go about transformation within SASCO, within higher education and most importantly in society.

4.3.3.2 Feminism

For decades the call for women empowerment and development has been pioneered by feminists and women groups. Gender issues of any nature have largely been regarded as women issues and associated with feminism (Meer, 2011). It is of little wonder then that given the abovementioned a number of the participants associate gender transformation and equality with feminism. Participant 1 when asked what comes to mind when he hears the words gender transformation and equality, boldly stated that "for me, firstly it is feminism" his elaboration of this statement is captured below followed by the views of **Participants 3**

Participant 1 argued: history in our country and throughout the whole world, gender equality has always been advocated by feminists. They wanted to have equal access to education, equal access to work to the economy and to all genders whether it was male or female. So for me it is always about feminism"

Participant 3 mentioned: "within the organisation we have discourse around the issue of gender, especially now with this famous thing of feminism"

Participant 3 seems to suggest that the only reason discussions and debates are taking place within SASCO currently is because feminism is now fashionable, almost suggesting that discussing gender issues is a new phenomenon in the organisation. He then goes on to say

though that "I feel like feminism is opposed to gender equity" he elaborates this statement by stating that "Feminism what they want is to isolate women, from society and form a forum some sort where the ultimate product I think it is matriarchy"

Participant 4 postulated that: "Nevertheless patriarchy is still a problem hence we have feminists who speak about feminism and how to deal with things within the organisation"

Participant 4 seems to delegate the issue of addressing patriarchy to feminists and only feminists that exist within SASCO and not to the organisation as a whole. This is concerning as it shows that issues of gender transformation and equality as still largely associated with women issues as theorists have been stating.

Participant 9 argued: "so again when we look at the concept of gender equality towards females' people tend to have negative stereotypes about what is known or what is feminism, you get what I'm saying?"

It then becomes a matter of paramount importance to look at the negative stereotypes towards feminism as **Participant 9** points out, as these negativities towards feminism are indirectly and at times directly geared toward gender equality, as we have now seen that gender transformation and equality is assumed to be analogous to feminism. This perception is unsurprising as stated by White (2000) who attributes this negativity by men as directly due to the way in which gender issues came into the public domain, White, states that this resulted in them quickly being regarded as a women-only arena, which did not include the men and which, then, made men react negatively towards it.

Participant 4 mentioned: "I think it is how women portray feminism in such a way that you end hating feminism in such a way that men don't follow and believe in feminism because it just a matter of saying feminism advocates for equal treatment, it doesn't advocate for men, it just a matter of saying equal treatment between men and women"

Participant 7 stated: "I also don't believe in feminism as it's been portrayed, I've heard about feminism and I've read about womanist and the idea of feminism to me doesn't come of correctly given my history at school"

Participant 7 unpacks this statement by arguing that while the programmes in place aimed at elevating and developing women are necessary and encouraged they however run a huge risk of marginalising men and young boys as they now give little or no attention to males. This is line with the views of Belghiti-Mahut et al (2012) who states that while gender mainstreaming has given way to the involvement of both, women and men, in order to reach gender equality in all policy fields. Men and issues connected to men's lives have often been neglected. Gender initiatives and gender mainstreaming has very often been a synonym of strategies which mainly concerned women issues.

A number of the participants stated that while they support gender equality they do not identify nor support feminism in its current state from their own experiences. Participant 5 went as far as to state that "most of the women exaggerate their femininity"

Participant 7 argued: "I subscribe to equality thus I have a problem with feminism because feminism from my own experience and my own colleagues experience or some of my peers who are male have been suppressed with such a system"

The majority of participant's knowledge and understanding of gender transformation and equality is influenced by the fact that it is largely associated with feminism resulting in some of the participants assuming that the two concepts have the same meaning. While the debate is still ongoing on whether men can be feminist or not, Tarrant (2009) states that men in fact need to identify with the feminist movement is necessary for furthering the feminist causes as identifying with feminism is the strongest stand men can take in the struggle against gender inequalities. This seemingly is not the case with regards to the participants who mostly reject the feminism they are exposed to. There were a fair number of participants, however, that understood that gender transformation and equality includes both genders and not women only. All of the participants are acknowledge that indeed women have been marginalised and oppressed and this needs to be addressed. To this end, it is important to note that gender equality does not mean women ruling over men, but it rather guarantees a level playing field absent of all forms of discrimination that prevail against women (Lídia, 2011).

4.3.3.4 The transformative role of men

The masculinity school of thought led by writers such as Connell argues that men are also oppressed in a patriarchal society as they have to confirm to societal stereotypes of how a man should behave in the event they fail to live up to societal expectations of manhood they are chastised and ridiculed. Gender inequalities are to the detriment of men as it traps men into certain stereotypes and if they don't portray their lives according to these stereotypes their masculinity might be question, **Participant 1** added that "even with men not all of us are happy with how things are and are not happy with a system that is also oppressing us." **Participant 5** discuss the social pressures put on men to obtain jobs and provide for themselves and their families: "like the man to have power you are defined by a job and if you don't have a job you are not man enough."

This patriarchy is not only negative and oppressive to women as noted when reading literature on masculinity is also oppressive to men as stated by the participants A frustrated **Participant 3** sums up the situation this way: "We have heard things like Chief if you can't convince one person, it means that you won't convince 31 students with that face to you as an activist who has one girlfriend to say no you must uhm...practice the patriarchy and have as many girlfriends as you like to show that you are capable of convincing 31 students so that you can be put into a certain leadership position." **Participant 1** highlights that in actual fact: In many ways men are also suffering from society in their own ways." This is in line with Connell (2003) who stated that in as much as men benefit from patriarchy directly and indirectly it would be unjust not to point out what Connell has argued for years that equally boys and men are oppressed by patriarchy. From childhood boys must think in a certain manner, behave in a certain manner, not cry, and not express pain, as a sign of manhood.

Over the past few decades there have been debates and arguments that emerged stating that the reason gender equality is taking so long to be achieved is because men are excluded in the fight for gender equality. Influential writers such as Connell expanded on the notion that we cannot speak of gender equality without involving men as the term gender in itself speaks to both men and women. We thus cannot speak of women empowerment and development on its own as this would mean that we are now intentionally marginalising the men and this more often than not usually faced with resistance from the male population and thus hindering the progress of

gender equality (Connell, 2003; Sonke Gender Justice, 2013). The participants shared their views to the transformative role they should play as men, the implications and limitations of the said role:

Participant 2 felt that men need to be in a position to teach at embody the principles of a gender activist: "Because I have learned I now become a teacher in society and you show that this is how you conduct and show people that this is how to behave. It can't be correct that there is abuse against women and children in your presence …..So you become an activist in your own private space, beyond the organisational border"

Participant 1 stated that: "I think as men also we must sit down be open and talk, I think we have been ignorant for a long time now and we have been benefiting from patriarchy and I think it about time that we became honest."

Participant 3 stated: "Maybe we need to have discussion as men and say, women are trying to achieve this far with the feminism agenda let's meet them halfway....The role of men, I can say to a lesser extent is to attract more males to now support the gender equity struggle... But not direct the narrative. The women or the women must direct the narrative." Participants 1 and 3 both believe that creating dialogue and being able to speak about gender issues needs to be something that men are willing and able to do. Participant 3 further states that in his view the role of men should be one mainly of support to women who must bring about gender transformation and equality on their terms.

Participant 8's reaction indicates that there are indeed still men that believe that issues of gender are women issues and women should deal with them as they see fit. He is of the that men must be able to create the conditions for change but it is the women who must then use their own abilities to bring about gender transformation and equality: "I believe that as men we ought to detach ourselves from the situation and try as males to create conditions for women to realise their own abilities" The views of **Participant 3** are in direct contradiction with those of Cornwell (1997) has argued that men are the vanguards of gender transformation and equality and that it is only through their involvement will gender transformation take place.

Key Informant: The role of a man in a gender transformation is to appreciate that he has historical and an unfair advantage and that appreciation of a historical advantage must lead

that male comrade to commit to changing the injustices of the past... So the Male Cadre must debunk all the gender social engineering that tells him that he's better than the woman because you know, he's told he's a man so that cadre to understand that being a woman or being a man is socially constructed, but we need to deconstruct that in a manner that leads us into having this equality between men and woman, so I think a role of a SASCO cadre, a male SASCO cadre is to advance the struggle for gender transformation because it's a noble one" It was clear from the discussions that men need gender equality and gender equality needs men, as there cannot be full gender equality without the commitment of both genders. Not all men are for patriarchy although they benefit from it as heads of states and government ministers, as leaders of religious and faith-based institutions, as judges, as heads of armies and other agencies of force, as village heads, or indeed as husbands and fathers, men often wield enormous power over many aspects of women's lives (Lídia, 2011). It therefore becomes fundamental that the role of men within any given society be identified and productively implemented. It then becomes even more important to enlighten men, whether it is through men talking amongst themselves and having serious honest discussions about the privileges they enjoy, and/ or through discussions with women who want to achieve gender equality.

The participants referred to themselves as conscious men; men that understand and rebuke the injustices of patriarchy thus acknowledge the importance of gender equality. Participant 2 stated that: "These conscious men must be willing to lose the benefits that they have been benefiting from past circumstances." Participant 10 echoes the views of Participant 2 and goes on to elaborate that: "I think as soon as they become conscious, or as soon many men become conscious, eh, I don't think that there is anything wrong with them making their women counter parts aware of look there's a new knowledge that we have...You see, once you start to say this must be the role of a man and this must be the role of a women to me we would still be perpetuating gender inequality because our roles should be the same." While it cannot be assumed that all men within SASCO are willing to advance gender equality it is important however to begin a dialogue that addresses what men with an organisation that advocates for gender equality should be doing. It is important to remember that the men within SASCO are also part of society and it is these same men that have the capability of changing the societies they came from.

Many of the participants identified the role of men as one of support, they highlight that they cannot lead the struggle for gender equality as they are not the marginalised group and therefore cannot begin to understand the injustices. It was clear also clear for the participant's reactions that women need to set the agenda and programme of action in bringing about gender equality. Men need to utilise their patriarchal privilege to ensure that these programmes are implemented and that gender equality is achieved.

4.3.4 CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

The participants are certainly aware that the discrimination of women exists in institutions of higher learning, political spheres and in society as a whole. This is this particular discrimination has made it difficult for women to ascend to leadership positions. The will to transform gendered societies has been highlighted as one of the main contributing factors that hinder gender transformation and equality. The greatest contributing factor that has been identified by the participants in regards to gender is the social factors, the surroundings an individual grows up in has a direct effect on the individual the participants were able to site a social experience that reinforced the gender stereotypes and norms that they were already accustomed to. When the participants were introduced to concepts such as equality and feminism, it proved to be difficult for them to embody and practise gender transformation and equality even while being members of an organisation that advocates for gender equality. Patriarchy cannot be unlearnt simply because a policy document requires people to stop being patriarchal.

The transformative role of men in the struggle for gender equality presented itself to be a complex one. Participants such as participant 2 and the key informant believe that before men can play any role towards gender equality they should be able to first admit that they have benefited for from patriarchy whether directly or indirectly and thus be willing to lose the privilege and benefit that comes with patriarchy. In this study, the focus has been on the perceptions of men in regards to gender transformation and equality, the study reveals that gender transformation and equality are still concepts that are not holistically understood by the participants and as a result their submissions further reinforce the perception that gender issues

are still believed to be women issues and as a result men are struggling to vividly define their transformative role in the broader struggle of obtaining gender transformation and equality .

The main findings and conclusions, including recommendations of the research study, will be discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

MAIN FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE STUDY

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The study's primary aim was to explore the views and perceptions of male student activists in relation to gender transformation and equality particularly at the University of the Witwatersrand. The researcher equally sought to conceptualise how men can effectively get involved in the struggle for gender transformation and equality without hijacking the struggle from women or down playing the injustices of patriarchy. In order to achieve the above mentioned the researcher drew from the views of the participants concerning the transformative role the participants felt they should play, the limitations and responsibilities of these roles, gender stereotyping and discrimination and the way forward for gender transformation and equality. The participants being activists allowed for robust informative discussions around the issues of gender, transformation and equality, the role of men in the struggle and possibly an insight as to why it is that gender transformation is taking place at a painfully slow rate, from a male's perceptive.

5.2 MAIN FINDINGS

5.2.1 Political Influences

The study revealed that the participants as students in an institution of higher learning are abreast with gender dynamics and inequalities that plague women across the globe. According to Midgely (1995) perceptions of one's self and gender are intrinsically tied to differing values and belief systems, this then directly affects how gender is understood in the context of student activism, the study found that the participant's gender ideology is largely influenced by the Marxist socialists school of thought adopted by SASCO. The impact of gender perceptions and stereotypes results in the marginalisation of women and is very much evident in the participant's environment. Student organisations and institutions of higher learning reflect the equalities and the injustices that are present in society.

Women that wish to ascend into various leadership positions are thoroughly scrutinised and those that do make into a leadership position are given deputising roles and monitored because society has narrated a narrative that reserves leadership roles and attributes for men only. This cements the views of socialist feminists who point out that the work women do is devalued simply because it is done by women (Napikoski, 2015).

There is seemingly, also, a lack of will power from government and structures of government to wield power in favour of bringing about gender transformation and equality. Gender equality cannot be referred to in policies and strategic documents only. Government needs to show that gender equality is as important to the development of the country as ending poverty, improving health and education and addressing racial inequalities. Gender equality must be constantly fought for, protected and promoted, like any human right. The State must in a position to implement gender mainstreaming and demonstrate the necessary political will and commit in providing and mobilising all possible resources needed in bringing about gender equality. Achieving gender equality is a continuous process that has to be constantly put into question, thought about and redefined.

5.2.2 Social Influences

It is clear from the participant's submissions that there are a number of factors that facilitate the continuous gender discrimination and stereotyping, these factors can be primarily identified as; social and cultural norms, perceptions and stereotypes and lack of political will. The participants also spoke critically about social stereotypes. They are now aware that gender inequalities exist as a result of patriarchy and that patriarchy is wrong but they find it difficult to not conform to the societal stereotypes around gender and risk being labelled "not man enough" and because they are still bound by the expectations of society, they settle with being labelled as "not man enough" as that is a direct threat to their manhood.

The importance of educating and instilling the concepts of gender transformation and equality in men from childhood has presented itself as a vital component in achieving gender transformation and equality. A gendered society however cannot embed the idea of gender transformation and equality in their children if they themselves do not practise these values. It

becomes important then that social developers are able to appreciate the dependence of gender transformation and equality has on a conducive society The responses of the participants in the themes discussed shows once again that gender inequality is a social problem that needs social solutions that should be championed by the entire society if they are to be successful. It was quiet evident from the submissions that although some gains have been made in achieving gender equality not enough is being done and we seemingly have long way to go still

5.2.3 The Gender Perspective

The study reveals that gender transformation and equality are concepts that are not holistically understood by a number of participants. The findings showed that all the participants were introduced to the concepts of gender transformation and equality when they were studying at Wits. This on its own presents a number of challenges for the advocating and achievement of gender transformation and equality. The participants come from gendered societies, when they enter Wits they are introduced to the concepts of transformation and equality they are informed that they had to rebuke patriarchy and embrace gender equality. They are advised to disown their patriarchal benefits and privileges and go against the status quo and advocate for gender equality. The study shows that being a member of a student organisation that advocates for gender transformation and equality doesn't mean that the individuals in the organisation personify the values of gender transformation and equality. As result it is highly possible that that gender dialogues and activities are riddled with rhetoric and window dressing.

There is a definite need for men and women to work together to fight against patriarchy, because even though men are primarily beneficiaries of it, they too are oppressed by it, because they too must consistently be confining themselves to society's definition of what is appropriate. In the same breath though, it is important to note that the struggle of the oppressed can only be truly led by the oppressed themselves. Women are the ones that must table the way forward as to how they want to fight against gender inequalities and what strategies they would to employ to do so. Drawing from the participants reflections the role of men must be one of two things. Firstly, Men in their daily lives through actions and conduct must disown totally all benefits and privileges from patriarchy. Secondly men need to work amongst themselves and mobilise

against patriarchy and gender stereotypes. Limitations of the transformative role according to the participants are that the role must be a supportive role. Initially women must pioneer the struggle for gender transformation and equality; women should set the agenda and programme of action in bringing about gender equality. Men need to utilise their patriarchal privilege to ensure that these programmes are implemented and that gender equality is achieved.

5.3 IMPLICATIONS OF FINDINGS

The study revealed that there is a need for gender equality support systems in the community so that people are able to draw resources from these support systems when advocating for gender transformation and equality. Gender initiatives and dialogues must be adequately funded and resourced so that they are attractive to both men and women. Men in communities need to be able to confidently speak about gender inequalities that exist in societies without fear of being marginalise and their manhood questioned. There needs to be a change of norms regarding devaluation of women in society. Existing perceptions, beliefs and attitudes around gender roles and stereotypes must be challenged on a regular basis and the status quo must allow for such robust critics about gender to be a norm. Social workers should collaborate with government departments, organisations and community in the implementation of gender transformation and equality promotion programmes.

Present social policy needs to be improved in regards to gender transformation and equality. Cultural, religious and societal practices that impede gender equality should be amended. Institutions that have been entrusted with promoting and implementing gender initiatives must be held accountable when they fail to implement after being awarded all the resources they needed. Social policies in the future should develop interventions that seek to neutralise gendered societies. The interventions must target the entire society and not marginalise any group. The process of unlearning gender stereotypes needs to have backing of the entire community, children at an early age must be taught that they are equal, and this must be followed through with them being treated equally.

Institutions of higher learning need to be centres for transformation and equality. Transformation and equality initiatives spearheaded by institutions of higher learning should not

be aimed only for the surrounding communities and rural areas, but must be implemented in the very same institutions of higher learning. Gender inequalities in institutions of higher learning are mirroring the inequalities taking place in their communities. Institutions of higher learning need to refrain from relegating transformation and gender issues to the transformation officer or unit and unequivocally advocate for gender transformation and equality in all spheres of the institutions.

5.4 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE STUDIES

The study focused on male student activists from Wits only it is recommended that future research extends such an examination to the entire student population of any university, as it has now become evident that some individuals only get introduced to the struggle to end gender inequality once they have enrolled in institutions of higher learning. This is important in assessing how the future leaders and policy drafters of South Africa understand and rate the urgency of attaining gender equality. It would also be interesting to compare university students in Gauteng or Western Cape with one that is in Kwa-Zulu Natal or Eastern Cape.

In-depth research needs to be conducted on the process of reconstructing a society that is conducive to gender equality. There is literature that addresses pockets (the government, the church, the schools, and the feminist) in society when tabling recommendations for gender equality. There is a lack of literature that outlines a methodology encompassing all spheres and groups in society and their roles in the struggle for gender transformation and equality.

While this present study builds on previous research, it is important to continuously interrogate the role of men in gender transformation and equality, as societies change and develop; the role of men in gender equality must equally evolve and develop to guard against passiveness.

5.5 CONCLUSION

Gender inequality is an interwoven social problem and so too is its solution. The participants as it has already been mentioned did not look at gender inequality in isolation with other oppressions that women have been subjected to. Equally their suggestions and recommendations, in line with this of socialist feminist, were interwoven with other social issues such as class, the structure of the economy, the government of the day and even the education system as factors that need to be interrogated and restructured if sustainable gender equality is to attained.

Fundamentally, gender is socially constructed and is rooted in social norms and stereotypes hence the achievement of gender transformation and equality is heavily dependent on the social transformation and social development. State and social institutions need to undergo a process of unlearning gender stereotypes and patriarchal norms, where gender is deconstructed and reconceptualised for the benefit of both genders (a process of *degendering* if you may). Both genders need to be edified about the injustices of patriarchy and gender inequalities. Men and boys must be in a position where they understand the necessity of gender transformation and equality, it is only then that men can be able to constructively table a transformative role that works to the befit of both genders

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EXPLORING THE PERCEPTIONS OF MALE STUDENT ACTIVISTS IN RELATION TO GENDER TRANSFORMATION AND EQUALITY: THE CASE OF WITS

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Good day

My name is Thandazile Nyaose and I am a Masters student registered for the Master's degree in the field of Social Development at the University of the Witwatersrand. As part of the requirement, I am conducting research into the perceptions of male university student activists in relation to their involvement in gender transformation and equality. It is hoped that this information may help to improve the understanding of gender transformation and equality from the perceptions of men and the role(s) men should play to achieve gender equality.

I therefore wish to invite you to participate in my study. Your participation is entirely voluntary and refusal to participate will not be held against you in any way. The interview will last approximately one hour. You may withdraw from the study at any time and you may also refuse to answer any questions that you feel uncomfortable with answering. With your permission, the interview will be tape-recorded. No one other than my supervisor and I will have access to the tapes. Please be assured that your name and personal details will be kept confidential and no identifying information will be included in the final research report. You may also withdraw from the study if you wish without repercussions.

Please feel free to ask any questions regarding the study. I shall answer them to the best of my ability. I may be contacted on 078 339 2847 or at thanda@live.co.sa. My supervisor

Dr Edmarie Pretorius can be contacted by telephone on 011 717 4476 or at Edmarie.Pretorius@wits.ac.za. If required a summary of the findings will be emailed to you on completion of the study.

Thank you for taking the time to consider participating in the study.

Yours sincerely

Thandazile Nyaose

MA student in the field of Social Development

The Department of Social Work

School of Human and Community Development

University of the Witwatersrand



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Thandazile Nyaose

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EXPLORING THE PERCEPTIONS OF MALE STUDENT ACTIVISTS IN RELATION TO GENDER TRANSFORMATION AND EQUALITY: THE CASE OF WITS CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPATION IN STUDY PARTICIPANT

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPATION IN STUDY PARTICIPANT				
I hereby consent to participate				
in the research project since the purpose and procedures of the study have been				
explained to me when discussing the participant information sheet. I understand that				
my participation is voluntary and that I may refuse to answer any particular items or				
withdraw from the study at any time without any negative consequences. I understand				
that my responses will be kept confidential.				
CONSENT FORM FOR AUDIO-TAPING THE INTERVIEW				
I hereby consent to tape-				
recording of the interview. I understand that my confidentiality will be maintained at all				
times and that the tapes will be destroyed two years after any publication arising from				
the study or six years after completion of the study if there are no publications.				
(Please tick the appropriate box)				
YES				
NO				

Name of participant:	
Signature:	Date:
Name of researcher:	
Signature:	Date:



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EXPLORING THE PERCEPTIONS OF MALE STUDENT ACTIVISTS IN RELATION TO GENDER TRANSFORMATION AND EQUALITY: THE CASE OF WITS

KEY INFORMANT CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPATION IN STUDY PARTICIPANT

KEY INFORMANT CONSENT FORM FOR AUDIO-TAPING THE INTERVIEW

YES			
NO			
		-	
Name of	participant	::	
Signature	e:	Date:	
Name of	researcher	r:	
Signature):	Date:	

EXPLORING THE PERCEPTIONS OF MALE STUDENT ACTIVISTS IN RELATION TO GENDER TRANSFORMATION AND EQUALITY: THE CASE OF WITS

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE: PARTICIPANTS

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this study and for allowing me to tape-record our interview. I am going to ask you some questions. I would like you to answer the questions in as much detail as possible that you feel comfortable with. Your views and experiences are very important in improving gender based violence programmes involving men. At the end of the interview you will also have the opportunity to clarify anything that you may be concerned about. Should you wish to stop the interview at any time, you are free to do so.

Section A (Demographic Information)

- 1. Member of which organisation
- 2. Age of participant
- 3. Ethic group of participant
- 4. Field of study of participant
- 5. Year of study of participant

Section B

- 1. Please share with me your understanding of gender transformation and equality?
- 2. In your view how is South Africa fairing/ progressing with gender transformation and equality?
- 3. Why do you think should men get involved in gender transformation and equality?
- 4. Why are you are involved in activism for gender transformation and equality?
- 5. In which ways are you involved in gender transformation and equality?
- 6. What suggestions do you have for men to become more involved in gender transformation and equality?
- 7. What is the practical way forward for gender transformation and equality?

EXPLORING THE PERCEPTIONS OF MALE STUDENT ACTIVISTS IN RELATION TO GENDER TRANSFORMATION AND EQUALITY: THE CASE OF WITS

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR KEY INFORMANTS

- 1. Please tell why are you passionate about gender studies?
- 2. How long have you been involved in these studies?
- 3. What are the challenges hindering gender transformation and equality?
- 4. In your view how can these challenges to be overcome?
- 5. What is your opinion about the roles/contributions men can make to gender transformation and equality?
- 6. How do you think men should get involved in gender transformation and equality?
- 7. Where do the men fit-in and how?
- 8. Is involving men as simply as it sounds?
- 9. What practical suggestions can you make for the way forward in gender transformation and equality in South Africa?



HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL) R14/49 Nyaose

1114140 111140	~		
CLEARANCE	CERTIFICATE	PROTOCOL NUMBER: H15	/09/30
PROJECT TIT	LE	Exploring the perceptions of male student activists in relation to gender transformation and equality: The case of Wits	
INVESTIGATO	PR(S)	Ms T Nyaose	
SCHOOL/DEP	ARTMENT	Human & Community Develo	pment/
DATE CONSID	DERED	18 September 2015	
DECISION OF	THE COMMITTEE	Approved unconditionally	
EXPIRY DATE		09 November 2018	
DATE	10 November 2015	CHAIRPERSON	J - Wight
cc: Superviso	r : Dr E Pretorious		
DECLARATIO	N OF INVESTIGATOR(S)		***************************************
To be completed in duplicate and ONE COPY returned to the Secretary at Room 10005, 10th Floor, Senate House, University.			
I/We fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee. I agree to completion of a yearly progress report .			
Signature		Date	