# FEMALE STUDENTS' UNDERSTANDINGS OF INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE AT UKZN RESIDENCES

# A Dissertation Submitted to the School of Education at the

**University of KwaZulu-Natal (Edgewood Campus)** 

In fulfilment of the

**Requirements for the Degree** 

of

**Master of Education** 

By

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2017

#### **DECLARATION**

# I, Thembeka Makhosazana Myende, declare that:

- The research reported in this thesis (Female students' understandings of intimate partner violence at UKZN residences), except where otherwise indicated, is my original work.
- ii. This thesis has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.
- iii. This thesis does not contain other persons' data, pictures, graphs or other information unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other persons.
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# STATEMENT BY SUPERVISOR

This dissertation is submitted with/ without my approval.
Prof. Shakila Singh
Prof. Shakila Singh

# **DEDICATION**

This dissertation is dedicated to my husband and my son. You have been the pillar of my strength throughout this work. You spared your family time so that I could follow my dreams and goals. This is OUR accomplishment. I thank God for you.

#### **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

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#### **ABSTRACT**

Intimate partner violence (IPV), under the gender-based violence umbrella, is a tragedy in university residences, with young women bearing scars the most. The underlying issue contributes to women falling behind in areas of economic development, autonomy, politics, social standing, and in their education. These shortfalls indicate the power inequalities between men and women that continue to exist in society. In this dissertation, I sought to showcase the understandings about IPV of female students living at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, in one of the university campus residences. Using West and Zimmerman's (1987) framework of social constructionism, I sought to explore what meanings female students attach to IPV at the residences. Using a case study methodology, semi-structured interviews were conducted with eighteen female participants studying to be teachers at the university. Findings reveal that IPV is prevalent at the university residences and female students are the most victimised group. Factors contributing to IPV include alcohol, the need for materialism, blame, enduring pain for the sake of love, and socialisation. Violence directed towards female students in institutions of learning is often perpetrated by people they know such as their boyfriends. Some participants showed agency actions in resistance of IPV in their relationships and those of others; others were reserved for the conventional spaces they found themselves in. The study also highlights the importance of interventions aimed at changing attitudes and societal norms about IPV, proposed by female students themselves. There is also a need to understand the reproduction of masculinity at the expense of women and for society to attempt to understand the social and cultural norms shaping the justification of IPV.

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#### **CHAPTER 1**

# INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

## 1.1. INTRODUCTION

Intimate Partner Violence is a global issue that has its roots embedded in patriarchal societies (Thaler, 2011). Since different countries began empowering women and terms such as 'gender equality' started creeping up, researchers and scholars have been reporting on issues around it (Gqola, 2007; De Klerk, Klazinga, & McNeil, 2007; Albertyn, 2011). Studies have been intensively researching on domestic violence in communities, and documenting the effects thereof (Madzimbalale & Khoza, 2010; Barnish, 2004; Cyril, 2013). IPV has not received much attention, particularly when tertiary institutions are concerned. IPV is not just a community issue where victims have an opportunity to report violent incidences to the law officials; it is also present at universities.

All the universities in South Africa and worldwide are committed to protecting the safety of their students. Universities, worldwide have established ways and policies of ensuring safe and healthy living environments. In its policy, the university under study states that it is committed to "making known the University's policy, including the procedures for resolving complaints" (UKZN, 2004 p. 4). Unfortunately, despite having safety measures in place, the tragedy in the form of sexual, physical, emotional, and psychological abuse may strike (Gordon & Collins, 2013). Studies show that the prevalence of physical and sexual abuse is the highest in communities and universities are places with commonly reported incidences (Barkhuizen, 2013, Gordin & Collins, 2013). Research shows that women are more vulnerable to violence that is perpetrated by males (Peltzer & Pengpid, 2013; Vetten, 2014). Research also shows that violence directed towards female students at institutions of learning is often perpetrated by people they know such as their boyfriends and husbands (Vetten, 2014). This issue is becoming increasingly prevalent in learning environments such as universities and schools (Gordon & Collins, 2013; Barkhuizen, 2013; Shefer, Clowes, & Vergnani, 2012). Against this evidence of violence against women in universities, this study sought to explore the understandings of IPV among female students at UKZN residences. The study further aims to understand female students' views on the prevalence of IPV at the mentioned residences and how they suggest these incidences could be reduced. On this basis, this chapter introduces the study by presenting the background to the study; the rationale of the study; statement of the problem; the study aims and objectives, the significance of the study, clarification of IPV and the demarcation of chapters constituting this study.

## 1.2 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Intimate Partner Violence is a complex concept to understand, from defining it to the various versions understood from broad perspectives, and the effects thereof. Terms such as "spousal abuse," "wife battering," "domestic violence," and many others are used to describe IPV and constitute different forms of abuse such as physical, sexual, psychological, emotional and stalking. Older explanations of IPV only include physical, sexual, and psychological abuse, mainly focusing on physical violence (World Health Organisation, 2004; Jewkes, 2002). Recent research includes stalking and financial abuse as forming part of IPV (Barkhuizen, 2013; Hart & Klein, 2013). There has been confusion, particularly amongst young adults, regarding the identification of abusive acts. This confusion has resulted in not getting access to the appropriate assistance that is due to them. The consequences of this instability have been documented to affect quality and comparability of data with women only reporting sexual and physical abuse and in some cases victims not reporting the abuse to law enforcement officers (WHO, 2004). Therefore, understanding IPV varies according to social, legal, or research purposes.

In South Africa, in the recent years, equality and women empowerment have been at the forefront regarding the further development of the country, yet there have also been staggering findings regarding how IPV affects women. Women who have experienced IPV at the hands of their male partners go through fear, injury, expensive doctor's fees, psychological and physical long-term scars (Tracy, 2007). On top of that, every eight hours, a woman is killed by her partner (Abrahams, Mathews, Jewkes, Martin, & Lombard, 2012). Even the justice system has not been as effective as it should be since some women have documented not feeling safe even after getting restraining orders against their abusive partners (Payne & Wermeling, 2009). The domination of women by men has been attributed to patriarchy. On the one hand, in patriarchal societies, men rule, they exert power and control, are superior and make all the decisions in their households and relationships. On the other hand, women are inferior, subordinate to men, and weaker

than men (Asay, DeFrain, Metzger, & Moyer, 2014). Women could, therefore, be attributed to as controlled. Seeking to change this power arrangement can be strongly challenged as it can disturb the distribution of political and economic power in the hands of men in communities and society as a whole (Albertyn, 2011). Women who hold traditional attitudes play a contributing factor in perpetuating violence against women themselves (Flood, 2009). Women's beliefs regarding their roles in and out of relationships stem from the constructions of society. Whether these constructions are right or wrong seems not to be an issue since it is traditional men who constructed them in the first place, to suit their needs.

Female students living in university residences also experience IPV. One may think that universities are safe spaces for learning, yet there have been cases of abuse mentioned. Some relationships are entered into for material gain, then abuse follows (Shefer, Clowes & Vergnani, 2012). Some students live in constant fear of abuse happening to them because of the unresponsive authorities at the university and being stigmatised by society (Gordon & Collins, 2013). With the changing time and with women obtaining more education than they did before, cultural norms remain rigid. That is, women may be becoming empowered through knowledge and other domains, but their gender roles and inferior status remains unchanged. This affects women's freedom, education, finances, and lives in general particularly when violence is involved.

Intimate Partner Violence is both a local and international issue. South Africa has at some point has been called the "rape capital" of the entire world, meaning the country had reported the most rape and sexual offences (Halcomb & Andrew, 2005). Men in South Africa have been exposed and socialised into violent families (Abrahams, Jewkes, R, Laubscher, & Hoffman, 2006; Abrahams, Jewkes, Hoffman & Laubsher, 2004; Collins, 2013) where children grow up witnessing female family members being abused by males in the family. It does not end just there. These children also see violence in their communities, where women are usually the object of abuse. According to (Albertyn, 2011) men worldwide abuse women to sustain their power that they feel they are entitled to, as socialised in their communities. There are no personality profiles of women and men who perpetrate and victimise others.

#### 1.3 RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

I became interested in studying IPV because it is an issue that women face daily. As a former resident student in one of the universities in South Africa, I observed several cases of IPV that were not reported and the university did not have any measures to combat it. Drawing from literature, I have realised that IPV is a global issue and the dynamics are the same throughout. For example, the Institute for Security Studies (ISS) (2015) reports that in South Africa 74% of all suicides involved an intimate partner, 96% of them victimising women. Another report by ISS (2014) states that in South Africa, on average, more than three women are murdered by their husbands or boyfriends every day. The WHO (2012) in its report based on a study that was conducted in nine countries, adds that 61% of women reported having experienced physical violence by a partner. 49% reported having experienced severe physical violence by a partner while 59% reported having experienced emotional abuse by a partner in their lives. However, 75% reported having experienced emotional abuse by a partner. In South Africa, it is reported that one in four women experience abuse by their partners and the country is leading regarding murders committed to women by their partners (Gordon & Collins, 2013).

Several reasons lead to the perpetration of IPV where mostly women are victimised. One reason is that many cultures condone violence in the home from childhood, which teaches children that violence is normal in certain settings, especially physical abuse by men against women (Jewkes, 2002). While the cases reported above are not addressing IPV in residences in higher education institutions, there is evidence that students residing at university residences, particularly female students, are prone to IPV (Gordon & Collins, 2013). It is important to note that this kind of violence is mostly experienced by female students while at their residences. Therefore, I felt the need to ponder more on such an ill and of the string of factors that are associated with it. A university residence is supposed to be a safe place, a home away from home, yet some studies show otherwise (Gordon & Collins, 2013). There are supposed to be safety measures in place. However, how effective are these provisions? Do students even have an understanding of what IPV is? These are just some of the questions that kept me wondering. I then decided to focus on university residences since research has not exhausted issues of IPV at university residences.

I have observed that it is usually some gender-based violence like rape, harassment, and domestic violence that has received the elaborate attention of researchers. In South Africa, research on IPV at universities is minimal and only recently emerging. It is for this reason that I decided to focus on this issue. The findings from this research could be useful to journals of violence and abuse, especially within the South African context; to higher education policy designers; to anti-gender violence activists; and to students themselves. This could assist to propel them to be knowledgeable about IPV and therefore, make informed decisions.

#### 1.4 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Intimate Partner Violence is an issue that affects mostly women at the hands of their male partners (Vetten, 2014). The underlying issue contributes to women falling behind in areas of economic development, education, autonomy, politics, social standing and other shortfalls (Gender Studies Institute, 2010; Thaler, 2012). These shortfalls indicate the power inequalities between men and women that continue to exist in society. International studies have focused on IPV in general, providing statistics, and how women and their families are affected by it (World Health Organisation, 2002; World Health Organisation, 2012; World Health Organisation, 2013; Westbrook, 2009). Locally, most studies have focused on physical violence, domestic violence, and how it affects women's health (Vetten, 2014; Madzimbalale & Khoza, 2010; Petersen, 2010). The limited focus of the latter indicates the confusion that exists regarding the identification of other forms of partner violence emotionally, financially and technologically as problems or criminal offences, thereby inhibiting access to support (Connecticut Coalition Against Domestic Violence, 2014). The issue of IPV in universities has been minimally researched. At university residences research is even more limited (Gordon & Collins, 2013). There have been some intervention strategies that have been established which seek to alleviate IPV in broader communities like the universities (Gordon & Collins, 2013). There have also been policies in place, but the problem is that these policies may be unknown to students (ibid). This study seeks to explore the understanding of female students living at university residences about what IPV is, how prevalent it is at the university residences and prevention strategies that they are of the opinion could work in their context.

#### 1.5 AIM AND FOCUS OF THE STUDY

Given the problem stated above and focusing on one university campus, the purpose of this study was to explore the meanings that female students at the University of KwaZulu-Natal residences attach to IPV. This study seeks to unravel what the female students understand about IPV, to explore their views about the prevalence of IPV at the university residences and investigate what female students suggest as possible ways to reduce IPV at the residences.

# 1.5.1 Objectives of the study

The objectives of this study are threefold:

- To explore what female students at UKZN residences understand as intimate partner violence.
- To explore the views of female students at UKZN residences on the prevalence of intimate partner violence at the residences.
- To explore what female students at UKZN residences suggest as possible ways to reduce intimate partner violence at the residences.

# 1.5.2 Key research questions

Building from the aim, the study seeks to answer the following key research questions:

- What do female students at UKZN residences understand as intimate partner violence?
- What are female students at UKZN residences views on the prevalence of Intimate Partner Violence at the residences?
- What do female students at UKZN residences suggest as possible ways to reduce Intimate Partner Violence at residences?

## 1.6 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

In South Africa, research on IPV has focused mostly on providing general information and the health implications thereof, research at universities, especially female residences is minimal and only recently emerging. This research may contribute to the literature in understanding issues around IPV, especially within the university context. Results from literature support the need to attempt to understand the social and cultural norms shaping acceptability and justification of IPV. Therefore, this study highlights the importance of interventions besides placing security measures that are aimed at changing attitudes and societal norms about IPV. The findings from this research could be useful to journals of violence and abuse, especially within the South African context; to Higher Education policy designers; to anti-gender violence activists; and to students themselves to propel them to be aware and knowledgeable about IPV and therefore, make informed decisions.

## 1.7 CLARIFICATION OF KEY CONCEPTS

This section will briefly clarify the key concepts of this study. The key concept identified in this study is intimate partner violence.

#### 1.7.1 Intimate partner violence

Intimate partner violence is a type of gender-based violence that is found in all areas of the world. Along with this continuum, many variations exist including domestic violence, wife battering, spouse abuse, partner violence, dating violence among many others (Lawson, 2012). These variations indicate that the issue is engendered. IPV also takes different forms such as physical, sexual, psychological and financial abuse, which perpetrators use to inflict violence on their victims (Lau, 2009; World Health Organisation, 2012). It should be noted that these forms and variations are broad and not limited to this study, but, for the sake of this study, I shall use those included. According to the Connecticut Coalition Against Domestic Violence (2014, p.4), "Confusion or disagreement over what constitutes an 'intimate partner,' particularly for young adults, makes it difficult for them to identify their relationship as abusive and creates a barrier to accessing services." Henceforth, you may find a person who is victimised psychologically, financially, or even technologically not knowledgeable about whether their situation qualifies to be an IPV offence. Intimacy, a component of IPV, is defined as feelings of affection and closeness displayed among partners in a relationship including sexual and psychological engagement (Mackey, Diemer & O'Brien, 2000).

Power and control are said to be among the driving forces behind IPV. De Keseredy and Schwartz (1993) argue that males engage in peer groups that support and reinforce social norms permitting males to abuse females. These social ideas do not operate in a social vacuum but are contributed by dominant social patriarchal patterns together with traditional perceptions of masculinity, privacy, sexual objectification of women, heavy alcohol use (De Keseredy, Schwartz, Fagen, & Hall, 2006). This includes unemployment, poverty, family fragmentation, financial woes, and isolation (Ousey, 1999). According to Catallozzi, Simon, Davidson, Breitbart and Rickert (2011) the types of controlling behaviour by a male partner may include:

- o insisting on knowing the woman's whereabouts at all times;
- o being angry if the woman spoke to another man;
- o suspecting infidelity;
- o trying to keep a partner away from friends;
- o neglecting or ill-treating a partner;
- o limiting contact with her family, and
- o expecting his partner to ask permission before seeking health care.

#### 1.8 ORGANISATION OF THE REPORT

The report consists of five chapters and a brief outline of what the chapter entails is provided below.

Chapter One stated the introduction and the background to the study. The rationale behind the study and statement of the problem followed. Furthermore, the aim and focus of the study were mentioned, subsequently followed by the objectives, research questions, and significance of the study. Key concepts were then clarified, and information about how the report was organised, was also in included. Finally, the summary of the chapter concluded the chapter.

**Chapter Two** will review the literature. Firstly, the concept IPV will be examined, with different theories highlighting the main findings. Secondly, vast literature will be discussed on old and new findings of IPV in general and in female university residences. Local and international contexts will be the point of reference for this study. Thirdly, literature on

addressing IPV will be discussed. Finally, the theoretical framework underpinning this study will be confirmed.

Chapter Three focuses on the research design and methodology, which contains detailed information about the participants, the instrumentation used to generate data, and the procedure that was followed. The potential limitations of the study are also provided in this chapter.

**Chapter Four** of this report focuses on the presentation and discussion of the data that were been generated. The data is presented under the relevant themes, and direct quotes are used to substantiate the claims.

**Chapter Five** provides a summary of the findings and concludes the study. This chapter also makes recommendations and implications for further research.

## 1.9 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has provided the introduction and background to the study. The introduction has highlighted the phenomenon being explored, and the background has provided the backdrop for the issues surrounding the phenomenon and how this study tried to respond to these matters. The rationale has provided the motivation and experiences that have triggered my interest in the phenomenon of intimate partner violence. Furthermore, the statement of the problem, the aims of the study, the objectives of the study, the research question and the significance of the study were discussed respectively. Moreover, a brief clarification of the key concepts was then provided. The chapter concludes with an organisation of the report which briefly outlines what each upcoming chapter will entail. Chapter Two will focus on a thorough review of the literature including the conceptualisation of key concepts and the theoretical framework.

#### **CHAPTER 2**

#### LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

## 2.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter, the orientation to the study was discussed. In this chapter, the local and international literature on IPV will be reviewed to demonstrate the need for this study further. Drawing from different contexts, with particular attention to the South African context, this chapter discusses the vast angles from which to understand IPV, the prevalence of IPV in general and in university residences in particular, and how IPV can be addressed. Furthermore, global and local statistics will also be discussed to motivate for the critical question on the prevalence of IPV in residences. Social constructionism as a theoretical framework for this study will also be discussed.

## 2.2 CONCEPTUALISING INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE

Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) is a concept that carries multifaceted meanings and does not contain a single explanation. Thus, many theories and perspectives have contributed vast knowledge to unravel the idea regarding its nature, causes, and consequences among other aspects. Terms such as 'spouse abuse,' 'wife abuse,' 'wife battering,' 'domestic violence,' 'partner violence,' and 'marital violence,' are frequently used by theorists to describe IPV, all assuming that the problem is that of a gendered one (Lawson, 2012). Many theorists have confirmed that it is mostly women who experience violence at the hands of their partners (Jewkes, 2002; Suffla, 2004; Flood & Pease, 2009; Abrahams, Martin, Mathews, Vetten, Lombard, 2009; Albertyn, 2011; Gevers, 2013; Vetten, 2014). For that reason, this chapter will focus mainly on women as victims of intimate partner violence. The term 'intimacy' in Mackey, Diemer and O'Brien (2000, p. 203) refers to "feelings of closeness and affection between interacting partners. It also means the state of having revealed one's innermost thoughts and feelings to another person, relatively extreme forms of nonverbal engagement which could notably be, touch, eye contact, and close physical proximity and particular types of relationships, especially marriage. Sexual activity and stages of psychological maturation form part of the explanation. Intimate partners may include heterosexual and same-sex partners, current or former partners, and partners may or may not engage in sexual activities (Centres for Disease Control and

Prevention (CDC), 2015). In this case, the explanation of 'intimacy' resembles the above definition to describe current or former partners involved in an affectionate relationship, who engage physically, emotionally, and sexually with each other, and tend to be dependent on one another regarding the fulfilment of one's desired needs.

# **2.2.1 Defining Intimate Partner Violence**

Intimate Partner Violence forms part of the umbrella 'gender-based violence' (GBV), defined as a human rights violation and discrimination by one's gender, infringing one's safety and human dignity (Human Science Research Council, 2014). The Domestic Violence Act 116 of 1998 (1998, p. 4) defines GBV as "physical abuse, sexual abuse, verbal and psychological abuse, economic abuse, intimidation, harassment, stalking, damage to property, entry into the complainant's residence without consent where they do not share the same residence." GBV is further defined as any other controlling or abusive behaviour towards a complainant where such conduct harms or may cause imminent harm to the safety, health or well-being of the complainant (ibid). GBV can affect people of all sexual orientations, whether heterosexual, lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgendered, or intersexed (Hwemba, 2014). There have been debates concerning the definition of IPV since activists began establishing programmes to end the violence directed at women and scholars started studying it (Hart & Klein, 2013). The Connecticut Coalition Against Domestic Violence and Injury Prevention Center (2014), claims that IPV is a pattern of abusive behaviour perpetrated by intimate partners such as boyfriends, spouses, or husbands, irrespective of their age, religion, race, gender, including education. Lau (2009) expands that IPV is abuse that affects mostly women, and takes place between people in or were formerly in an intimate relationship. IPV includes controlling behaviours such as physical, sexual, emotional, and economic abuse (Lau, 2009; CDC, 2015). These definitions highlight the power imbalances that exist between current and former intimate partners. According to Payne and Wermeling (2009), violence involves destruction, anger, and pain. It is often experienced ironically by close, loved ones like family and close others (ibid). At its worst form, IPV may lead to death. According to Abrahams, Matthews, Jewkes, Martin, and Lombard (2012), IPV is the leading cause of death among South African women.

Although research focuses mostly on physical and psychological abuse, sexual, economic abuse, and stalking, they all significantly form part of IPV and perpetrators use them to control their partners (Przekop, 2011). Similarly, Devries, Mak, Garcia-Moreno, Petzold, Child, Falder, and Lim; Bacchus, Engell, Rosenfeld, Pallitto, Vos, Abrahams, and Watts (2013) agree that most research has focused on sexual and physical violence to the exclusion of others. According to the Connecticut Coalition Against Domestic Violence and Injury Prevention Center (2014), confusion about what forms part of IPV among young adults makes it difficult for them to identify abusive acts as IPV, preventing them from accessing the necessary help. WHO (2004) notes IPV to include physical, sexual, and psychological abuse. The WHO (2012) version includes emotional abuse and excludes psychological abuse. Other definitions include physical, sexual, stalking, and emotional abuse featuring psychological abuse (Barkhuizen, 2013; Cyril, 2013; Hart & Klein, 2013). Regarding what constitutes IPV, there is evidence of inconsistency in the way people use the term, especially in research. According to Jewkes (2002, p. 1423), "Intimate partner violence particularly with regard to inclusion or exclusion of sexual and psychological abuse by male intimate partners, has resulted in most global quantitative studies on the causes of intimate partner violence focusing solely on physical violence." Asay, DeFrain, Metzger, and Moyer (2014), argue that despite IPV constituting of many variables, women only report sexual coercion and rape to the police. Consequently, researchers may experience difficulty in reaching significant factors such as quality and comparability of data (WHO, nds) of which according to (Suffla, 2004, p. 42) "may obscure important aspects of the problem". Given the above information, some people are still confused about understanding what constitutes IPV as evidence from the vast terms above used interchangeably and which can result in some cases not being reported to the legal authorities. Therefore, definitions vary according to the aim of use such as for research, legal, or social reasons which may be regional and cultural.

IPV is a social phenomenon that affects women the most and perpetrators of partner violence use different forms to control their partners. For the purpose of this study, IPV will include physical abuse, sexual abuse, verbal and psychological abuse, economic abuse, intimidation, harassment, stalking, damage to property, entry into the complainant's residence without consent where they do not share the same residence or any other controlling or abusive behaviour towards a complainant where such conduct harms or may cause imminent harm to the safety, health or well-being of the complainant.

# 2.2.2 Forms of intimate partner violence

There are numerous measures of intimate partner violence, but the most common include physical abuse, sexual abuse, psychological abuse, and economic abuse. Although perpetrators of violence may or may not use all forms of abuse, the combination that they employ has bad results. These forms, according to Kelly and Johnson (2008), highlight power and control (see Figure 1) as the main factors determining partner violence. Kelly and Johnson (2008) further argue that a pattern of intimidation, coercion, and control is used by abusive partners to maintain power in their relationships.



Figure 1: The power and control wheel by Kelly & Johnson (2008)

## (i) Physical violence

Physical violence is the most common measure of partner violence (Jewkes, 2002; Artz, 2011). It involves action such as slapping, kicking, punching, hitting, beating, choking (struggle for air), and mutilation (WHO, 2012, Kelly & Johnson, 2008). According to the Centre for Disease Control (2015), physical abuse is intentional with the purpose of causing harm or even death to another person. A recent study by Peltzer and Sengpid (2013) found that physical abuse aimed at women was at its highest when coupled with alcohol and drug abuse, which is a great concern in the South African context.

#### (ii) Sexual violence

Sexual violence involves forced or coerced sexual intercourse, including obtaining sex without the consent of the person being violated (WHO, 2012; Muehlenhard & Kimes, 1999). Similarly, according to Fileborn (2011) "sexual assault includes intentionally or recklessly engaging in a sexual act whether or not it involves penetration of the vagina by the penis without the consent of the victim". A recent study by Nicholson and Jones (2013) reported that 144 women report sexual assault to the South African Police Service (SAPS) every day, meaning six cases of rape are dealt with every hour. In 1995, South Africa was named the "rape capital" of the world (Human Rights Watch, 1995). Often, forced sex by an intimate partner is not perceived as rape due to the high stigmatisation around being raped, consequently women cannot refuse sex forced by an intimate partner (Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Morrell, & Dunkle, 2010).

#### (iii) Psychological abuse

Psychological abuse includes emotional abuse such as insults, humiliation, intimidation, threats to harm, stalking, demeaning, blaming, and isolating (WHO, 2012; Kelly & Johnson, 2008). Often, abusers use paranoia and psychopathic ways to exert power over their victims (Hennessey, 2012). According to Vetten (2014), the South African Domestic Violence Act of 1998 claims that psychological abuse constitutes degrading, threatening, possessive, and jealous behaviour that intrudes and violates another person's privacy, safety, and liberty.

#### (v) Economic abuse

Economic abuse which is also known as financial control, involves withholding funds and controlling the use of funds (Kelly & Johnson, 2008). Also known as economic coercion, the abuse may include controlling family expenses, sponging off family funds instead of contributing, and controlling the victim's access to resources such as money, medical aid, transportation, employment, and even child care (Przekop, 2011). Vetten (2014) defines economic abuse as unreasonably preventing family members from obtaining economic resources they are legally entitled to. Ultimately, understanding about what constitutes IPV varies according to descriptions by different studies and people. Below are some of the vast theories that contribute to our understanding of IPV.

#### 2.3 SOME THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON IPV

# 2.3.1 Feminist perspectives on IPV

The Feminist perspective views IPV as domination of women by men (Lawson, 2012). This approach argues that IPV can be attributed to issues of gender and power (Lawson, 2012; Jewkes, 2004; Yllo, 1993) manifesting from the social ills of patriarchy. It highlights that society forms cultural constructions of gender that favour men and consequently may have debilitating effects on women (Suffla, 2004) such as fear, injury, costly doctor consultations, long-term physical and psychological consequences (Tracy, 2007). Jewkes (2004) further postulates that in these constructions, hierarchies of gender roles exist, which place men as superior and women as subordinates, and of low value. These inequalities go a long way and affect women's social standing, educational attainment, relationships, and economic access, among other things. Thus, feminists strive for a society that treats both men and women equally in all spheres of life.

## 2.3.2 Systems view of IPV

The systems theory has also contributed to understanding IPV as a concept. Sociologist Straus (1973, p. 404) explains this theory by first assuming that "violence between members of a family is a 'systemic product' rather than a chance aberration or a product of a warped or psychopathic personality." This theory is based on the family violence perspective that violence which occurs within the family is a norm and can escalate or decrease depending on positive or negative feedback received from the family. Violent behaviour is learnt and reaffirmed from an early age in childhood from parents, siblings, and other children, and even the media (Lau, 2009). Familial variables such as how the family is organised; the family position in social structure; and family beliefs, values, and personality all contribute to aspects leading to violence. The key to understanding why people resort to violence lies in how the family as a system manages and responds to violence, and that determines whether the interactions will perpetuate the cycle of violence on not. Consequences of violence within the household can lead to divorce, separation, and even death.

## 2.3.3 Social learning perspective on IPV

The social learning theory is based on the assumption that partner violence is a product of learnt violent behaviour and its consequences within a social setting and is thus seen as an appropriate mechanism for dealing with problems. According to Flood (2009), the process of learning violent behaviour stems from individuals observing close associates like family, friends, and significant others who hold negative definitions of the use of intimate partner violence and perform acts of violence against their partners and ultimately emulating this behaviour. Therefore, the probability of emulating acts of violence against a partner becomes more likely to occur. If the violent act yields greater rewards (such as domination and encouragement from close associates), the more the perpetrators are inclined to engage in such behaviour (Flood, 2009). Agreeing with this, Sellers, Cochran, and Branch, (2005) state that individuals who are not inclined to engage in partner violence are those who see the losses to be greater than rewards. These losses may include "the fear of arrest, loss of the relationship, guilt, remorse, shame, embarrassment, social approbation and physical injury" (Sellers, et al., 2005, p. 383). The three theories discussed above give us an understanding that inflicting violence on a partner is not innate. An individual is not born with the urge to act violently towards another person but rather it is something that is learnt from our immediate context and society as a whole. Female university students may be accepting of behaviour imposed to them as inferior and subordinate to men due to socialisations that come from their interactions with different agents of society. We can deduce further to say that we learn certain behaviours directly and indirectly through observations and through our social interactions of which the results can either have a positive or adverse effect.

## 2.4 WOMEN AS VICTIMS OF INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE

Women experience more intimate partner violence than men. Although there may be possibilities of women being perpetrators of partner violence whether to men and even same-sex relationships, partner violence is usually experienced more by women in the hands of men (Westbrook, 2009; WHO, 2002; Tjaden & Thoennes, 1999). In his study, Cadena (2011) states that about 64% of women reported having experienced forced intercourse from a male person in their lifetime and 70% had sex due to fear of consequences resulting from refusing to have sex. Women between ages 18-24 and 25-34

experience partner violence more than any other age group (Catalano, 2012). According to Vetten (2014) women are more likely to experience intimate partner violence at the hands of people they know, like their husbands or male partners whom they are often dependent on and which can be even fatal. Unmarried women experience intimate partner violence ten times more than married women (Catalano, 2012). Studies have reported that women who had exercised intimate partner violence against their male partners reported selfdefence and vengeance as the main reasons for their behaviour, of which they were primary victims in the first place (Hart & Klein, 2013; WHO, 2012). IPV is the most common factor leading to female homicide and morbidity (Gass, Stein, Williams, Seedat, 2010). In a local study, it was found that every six hours a woman is killed by their partner (Mathew et al., 2004). In another local study, the first conducting research on the mortality rate of women from IPV, reported 50,3% of women 14 years and older who were killed by their partners, documenting 1,349 of women dying from IPV in 1999 (Abrahams, et al., 2009). There are no personality profiles of women who experience IPV; they can be found in all age groups, occupations, education, socioeconomic backgrounds, religions, including sexual orientations (Ganley, 1995; Payne & Wermeling, 2009). Furthermore, Payne and Wermeling (2009) state that women experience violence from their partners who have an urge to control and use power to fulfil their individualistic needs. The myth is that women are to blame for their victimisation and Ganley (1995) disregards this and argues that the victim's behaviour does not cause intimate partner violence. Such reasoning gives power to the perpetrator's justification for the violence and escalation thereof and removes responsibility for enforcing it (Ganley, 1995). Research shows that although women are not the factors that cause intimate partner violence, their attitudes including those of others and responses to victimisation play a significant role in the perpetration of intimate partner violence (Gracia, 2014; Flood, 2009; WHO, 2002). For example, according to Jewkes (2002), children who grow up in violent homes learn that the use of violence is the main mechanism for resolving problems, and therefore normal to use in certain contexts. Consequently, as adults, men learn to use violence as common perpetrators and women learn to accept and tolerate violent behaviour as common victims (Jewkes, 2002). Attitudes that women, their families, and society hold, play a significant role in the perpetration of IPVand ultimately the victimisation of women. Women who hold more traditional gender role attitudes are more likely to accept IPV against women (Flood, 2009). Abused women do not report IPV because they fear blame and being stigmatised by family, friends, legal authorities, including society as a whole (Flood, 2009).

## 2.4.1 Why women stay in abusive relationships

One would wonder that despite women enduring abuse at the hands of their intimate partners, why do they still stay in these bad relationships? There are many reasons for women staying in abusive relationships, but the most influential one according to Payne and Wermeling (2009) is that society still supports patriarchy and the belief that men have power over women and that it is a man's right to inflict violence on a woman. Even the legal system sometimes fails to protect female victims from abusive acts perpetrated by men.

#### 2.4.2 Fear of abusers and stagnant legal processes

Victims of abuse seek for help to alleviate partner violence through court protection orders. Between the year 2009 and 2010, 291,546 people applied for a protection order in South Africa, 58.2% obtained a protection order and 21.2% withdrew the protection order (Gender Links, 2010). Zoellner, Feeny, Alverez, Watlington, O'Neill, Zager, and Foa (2000) claim that apparently, in the United States of America, thousands of victims of violence especially women attempt to obtain protection orders against their partners, yet less than half return to get final orders from the court. The legal system's processes to provide proper help to victims of partner violence are not adequately effective as a result victims of partner violence tend to be reluctant to witness against their partners. According to Hayes (2015), sometimes the abusers coerce the female victims to withdraw their statements. Many victims would rather dismiss charges than being exposed to the perpetrator's wrath after going to court. Payne and Wermeling (2009) report that many female victims are concerned about the legal system releasing perpetrators too soon, thus coming to the realisation that the legal system can only protect them for a small amount of time. The female victim would rather protect herself at all costs since the legal system fails to (Payne & Wermeling, 2009). Artz (2011) postulates that in South Africa, despite having such legislation as the Domestic Violence Act (DVA), inconsistency and mishaps in the application of the law by the police and other laws and justice agents results in inefficiency of the law which discourages victims applying for a protection order to continue the legal process. According to Vetten (2014) in South Africa, since the inception of the DVA, women have been the majority applicants of a protection order. From 2009 to 2011, the number of protection orders granted amounted to 668 875 mostly from female victims

(Wilson, 2012). Female victims are often threatened with death if they attempt to leave the relationship or report the abuse to the police (Artz, 2011; Przekop, 2011). According to Hayes (2015), usually the abuse occurs randomly, as a surprise, victims live in constant fear of their abusive partners. Furthermore, in his study Przekop (2011) revealed that 75% of female victims who leave the abusive relationship have a greater chance of being beaten up or murdered by their partners compared to those who remain in the relationship and bear the abuse. Of the 503 female respondents, 222 reported having been threatened with death if they applied for a restraining order (Artz, 2011). In her study, Artz (2011) documented some of the reasons the female victims did not finalise the protection order. Among the 503 female victims, nine per cent did not get a copy of the protection order from the court, 5% did not realise they had to come back to court, 23% interim protection was not served, and 17% victims lost confidence in the legal system as a whole (Artz, 2011). Given the above information, it is made clear that female victims of partner violence dread being in relationships where despite reporting violence and getting restraining orders against their partners, they get threatened with death, and therefore become fearful for their lives and as a result remain with toxic, abusive partners. The legal system is not helping anyway because the system itself has some loopholes like the one's stated above including not getting a protection order copy in time and postponement of cases (Artz, 2011).

# **2.4.3** Dependence on the perpetrator

Female victims of partner violence experience excruciating abuse by their partners but still stay in these relationships. According to Hayes (2015) women have a nurturing nature and have been socialised to be loyal in their relationships where maintenance of them is a significant factor in their success, even when they are being abused. Another factor is the financial issues involved. Payne and Wermeling (2009), claim that it is not easy to flee away from an abusive partner if you are financially unstable and dependent on them for securing financial resources. For example, in a study by Shefer, Clowes, and Vergnani (2012), female students at a South African university reported that students at entry level often tolerated physical abuse from older moneyed men for the sake of securing funds to cater for food, clothes, and other needs, since they came from poverty stricken backgrounds. Dependence on the perpetrator affects not only older women who are

cohabiting or married to their partners, it also affects younger women in schools and universities, especially those who come from poor backgrounds.

#### 2.5 MEN AS PERPETRATORS OF INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE

Men have been reported to commit the most acts of intimate partner violence (Black, Basile, Breiding, Smith, Walters, Merrick, Chen, & Stevens, 2011). Almost one-fifth of sexual assaults in the United States are committed by men aged 18-21 years of age, while male stalkers range in their 30s (Miller, 2010; Sheridan & Davies, 2010; Fisher, Cullen & Turner, 2000; Talbot, Neill & Rankin, 2010). In South Africa, the rate of rapes is four times higher than that of the U.S (United States Department of Justice, 2006). In their Cape Town study, Abrahams et al. (2006) reported that it was the younger Coloured group who were more likely to commit abuse against their partners. The rates of Coloureds are higher in this case because of the dense population of them in the Western Cape. Among other factors were those men who were uneducated, abused alcohol, had witnessed and experienced violence in childhood, were unfaithful to their partners, unreligious, and were violent in nature. The above study also showed that ideas encouraging gender inequities and normative attitudes about partner violence were major factors perpetrating violence against women. The college date rape attitudes survey and the attitudes towards women found that students who generally hold rigid stereotypes and traditional gender role beliefs and who conform to masculinity norms were more likely to commit intimate partner violence as opposed to those who viewed women as equals (Catalano, 2012; Talbot, Neill & Rankin, 2010). In one study, when men were asked about their reasoning behind raping women, they cited forced sexual engagement as sexual entitlement, as punishment to their girlfriends and sometimes as an escape from boredom (Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Morrell, & Dunkle, 2010). Fourteen percent of these men committed sexual assault against their female partners and most reported starting in their teenage years (ibid). South African men see it as their right to have many intimate partners and arguing against infidelity is considered as a transgression, disobedience, and questioning of a key masculine measurement, which can lead to being battered (Wood & Jewkes, 2001). The use of alcohol also plays a contributing role towards the perpetration of violence against women by their male partners. In a study by Abrahams et al. (2006), the use of alcohol was seen as the driving force for acts of violence for both men and women. The women had reported that their male partners had been abusive due to alcohol abuse. When asked about when it

was acceptable to hit a woman, 24,1 % of men said that it was when alcohol had been consumed (ibid). In South Africa, women's use of alcohol is socially discouraged since men associate it with infidelity and that it may prevent women from fulfilling expected gender roles. Similarly, in another study performed by Cadena (2011), an 81,8% prevalence of alcohol consumption was reported as having a direct influence to IPV.

## 2.6 SOCIAL NORMS THAT CONDONE VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

Certain behaviours are expected and deemed normal in our social settings and IPV is viewed as no exception. We cannot identify and understand social norms that condone violence against women without first recognising the historical, cultural, and structural forces that shape and reinforce them. From a patriarchy point of view, men should exert their masculine characteristics, control and dominate in all spheres of life, whether in politics, the workplace, at home, and in society as a whole. Women should show their feminine side by being subordinate to men, being soft, powerless, passive, of low status, and inferior. In patriarchy, men have more power than women, they are the norm, the subject; while women are the object and have to take care of men's needs (Tracy, 2007). Heggen (1993) notes that in patriarchal societies, it is logic and a norm for men to control and dominate, therefore, making women voiceless and powerless. Thus, because control is a characteristic of patriarchy, violence in these societies is normal. "Patriarchal social norms sanction the use of violence by men to discipline and control female partners, and so much time as boundaries of severity are not transgressed, violence is viewed as socially acceptable" (Asay et al., 2014).

According to Asay, et al (2014), some traditional men perpetrate IPV to neutralise the many rights that women have accumulated from democratic transition leading them to loose respect for their men, as a means of putting women in their place. Flood (2009), claims that there is a strong relationship between attitudes of individuals, those of their communities, and the use of IPV. He further argues that it is men who hold traditional, rigid, misogynistic, gender role attitudes that are more likely to use violence against women. The attitudes they hold stem from beliefs they learnt that are enforced in the patriarchal communities they come from. Women's responses of being victimised by men are influenced by their attitudes and those of others. To the extent that women agree with views that people have about partner violence and tend to blame themselves for the abuse,

they do not report the violence to the relevant authorities and ultimately bear psychological and emotional scars throughout their lives. Although there may be other views pertaining to why and how men resort to violence in their relationships, it is evident that patriarchy is the overarching factor to explain why men tend to have recourse to violence when their dominance is threatened. According to Thaler (2012), exposure to IPV whether at home or in communities is the driving force for the acceptance and perpetration of it. Socioeconomic factors that may contribute to people accepting IPV can be attributed to the perpetration of violence, being a victim of IPV and being hit by parents at a young age, poverty, community disorganisation low social capital, alcohol abuse, and low education attainment (Thaler, 2012). Research has identified that perpetrators of partner violence overestimate the power of social norms as a contributing factor to their problematic acts of abuse (Neighbors, Walker, Mbilinyi, Rourke, Edleson, Zegree, & Roffman, 2010). Furthermore, perpetrators of partner violence may be unaware that abusing women is not justified as they justify it as generally accepted behaviour (ibid).

## 2.6.1 Attitudes influencing violence against women

Attitudes play a role in the perspectives that both males and females have about violence against women, perpetration of violence, women's responses of their victimisation, and community responses to violence perpetrated against women. Flood and Pease (2009), claim that there is a strong relationship between attitudes of individuals, those of their communities, and the use of IPV. He further argues that it is men who hold traditional, rigid, misogynistic, gender role attitudes that are more likely to use violence against women (ibid). The attitudes they hold stem from beliefs they learnt that are enforced in the patriarchal communities they come from. Women's responses of being victimised by violence at the hands of men are influenced by their attitudes and those of others. To the extent that women agree with views that people have about partner violence and tend to blame themselves for the abuse, they do not report the violence to the relevant authorities, and ultimately bear psychological and emotional scars throughout their lives (Flood & Pease, 2009). For example, in a Central American study, nine of the 35 women interviewees had agreed on the cultural statement that, "it's important for a man to show his partner who is boss" (Cadena, 2011). Only one woman from the above study had reported the abuse (ibid). The above statement proves that certain attitudes about women and men's relationships have been deeply engrossed in some women to the extent that it seems fine to be inferior to men. "Societal attitudes also shape the formal responses of professionals and institutions to the victims and perpetrators of violence against women, including police officers, judges, priests, social workers, doctors, and so on" (Flood & Pease, 2009, p.127).

# 2.6.2 Traditional gender norms

International and local studies attest to a gender gap in attitudes towards intimate partner violence (Gender Studies Institute, 2010). They argue that men are more likely than women to support ideas of inflicting violence against women, blame women, are less empathetic, and perceive behaviours that harm women as less severe. The gender gap has also been reported among university students in Turkey, India, Japan, Hong Kong, Australia, among others. A survey in three university campuses in Afghanistan found that more men than women were of the opinion that women and girls do not experience any restrictions or problems in universities or any other institution of learning, and a small number of men saw GBV as prevalent in the university (ibid). Some of the students reported GBV as linked to the patriarchal and rigid culture of the university (ibid). Findings also presented that females were harassed more than males by male staff. In addition that, at some point, the female students had experienced a fear of failing if they were not friendly towards the male staff. Among other things, the female students mentioned such elements as verbal abuse and sexual harassment as contributing to feeling unsafe on campus. In one university, some students referred to the lack of rules and regulations endorsed especially for addressing GBV, and perpetrators of GBV were not disciplined in a satisfactory manner (ibid). Overall, all three university campuses were prone to GBV, affecting women more. This finding can be a reflection of the existence of GBV at society as a whole, which has shown itself at the university campuses.

## 2.6.3 Gender inequality and the normalisation of violence

According to Jewkes (2002), gender inequality and the normalisation of violence in society have a contributing factor to the perpetuation of violence against women. These, among other factors complement each other leading to the acts of violence against women. "South African men across the racial spectrum are raised according to dominant masculine norms or hegemonic masculinity and therefore taught to perceive themselves as superior to

women, and are encouraged to be tough, brave, strong, respected, and use violence as a tool to exercise one's masculinity" (Connell & Messerchmidt, 2005; Jewkes et al, 2009 in Human Sciences Research Council, 2014, p. 14). Within the African racial group, structures such as the family, church, and traditional structures continue to be institutions of resolving partner violence in contrast to seeking professional counselling and legal assistance which is used more by the White racial group (Asay, 2014). It is in these structures that violence is legitimised because of the underlying belief about women submission to violence. This goes to show that the issue of gender inequality and partner violence is deeply rooted in the socialisations passed on from generation to generation. Albertyn (2009), claims that it is one's cultural context which shapes one's outlook on maintaining intimate relationships. Culture involves a group's common thoughts, experiences, and patterns of behaviour, values, rituals, and symbols which are socially transmitted over the course of generations (Jandt, 2004). South Africa is a country of vast cultures that are deeply valued and manifest one to identify themselves. According to Albertyn (2011), traditional gender roles established under the umbrella of culture, tend to maintain women as inferior to men and sustain male power as legitimate. Seeking to change this arrangement can be strongly contested as it can disturb the distribution of political and economic power in communities and society as a whole (ibid). It is in such contexts where inequality brews, placing women in positions of subordination. When women disobey male power, violence can follow. For example, South African men see it as their right to have many intimate partners and thus, arguing against this is seen as challenging their entitlement a key masculine measurement which may lead women to being battered (Wood & Jewkes, 1997, 2001). Another driving force for inflicting partner violence is the use of alcohol. This view supports findings from a range of research, for example, Madzimbalale and Khoza (2010) found that all seven female participants interviewed had experienced physical abuse when their men had used alcohol and drugs. In a study by Abrahams et al. (2006), both men and women confessed to the association of alcohol and partner violence. The women had reported that their men had been abusive due to alcohol consumption. When queried about when it was acceptable to hit women, 24,1% of men reported that when their women had drunk alcohol (ibid). In South Africa, women's use of alcohol is socially discouraged, men associate it with "sleeping around," preventing her from fulfilling her expected gender roles (Abrahams et al., 2006). Such perceptions belittle women's social standing, placing strict boundaries against them.

#### 2.7 INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE: A GLOBAL PHENOMENON

IPV is a worldwide phenomenon that affects women from all backgrounds. More than 4 million women experience physical assault from an intimate partner annually (Black, et al, 2011). In 2009 it was reported that 30% of women experienced IPV, meaning one in three women had suffered abuse at the hands of their intimate partners (Vetten, 2014). In 2013 the prevalence was still the same for women who had experienced sexual and physical abuse in their lifetime (WHO, 2013). In America, between the year 1994-2010, it was reported that 4 in 5 victims of IPV were female, with the highest prevalence ranging from ages 18 to 34 (Catalano, 2012). In African, Eastern Mediterranean and South-East Asian areas researchers reported the highest prevalence of 37%; the Americans reported the second highest prevalence of 30%, and lastly; the European and Western Pacific reported a low prevalence of 25% (ibid). The lifetime prevalence of intimate partner violence by age group among ever-partnered women was high from ages 20-44. The age group 40-44 had the highest prevalence of 37,8%, the lowest being the 55-59 group with a prevalence of 15,1% (ibid). The age group most relevant for this study (20-24) had a high prevalence of 31,6% which indicates that exposure to IPV occurs from a young stage in women's lives. The WHO (2012) multi-country study on women's health and domestic violence against women measured the prevalence of IPV among 24 000 women in ten countries: Bangladesh (Urban), Bangladesh (Province) Ethiopia, Namibia, United Republic of Tanzania (Urban), United Republic of Tanzania (Province), Serbia, Peru (Urban), and Peru (Province). 13–61% women reported ever having experienced physical violence by a partner; 4–49% reported having experienced severe physical violence by a partner; 6–59% reported sexual violence by a partner at some point in their lives while 20-75% reported experiencing one emotionally abusive act or more, from a partner in their lifetime. In Africa, the prevalence of IPV is higher than in other continents. In 2010, the Global Burden of Disease study reported 29,7% for southern sub-Saharan Africa, 38,3% for eastern sub-Saharan Africa, 41,8% for western sub-Saharan Africa, and the highest prevalence of IPV was 65,5% for central sub-Saharan Africa (WHO, 2013).

Many factors lead to violence against women. According to WHO (2002), factors such as using family planning, men suspecting women of adultery, refusing him sex, disobeying him and women neglecting the house all contribute to the male perpetration of violence against women. Brazil, Chile, and Columbia reported that a husband would only resort to

violence if he suspected his wife of adultery (ibid). In Ghana, 51% of men and 43% of women alike had the same assenting notion that a woman should be battered by her husband if she decided to use family planning without his knowledge (ibid). Areas like Egypt, Ghana, West Bank, and Gaza Strip had the highest prevalence of men responding with violence when they were refused sex by their partners (ibid). From the above information, it is made clear that intimate partner violence occurs everywhere in the world and affects women the most. Any woman in an intimate relationship can experience IPV, no matter the age, race, religion, gender, or education. Not all the countries in the world have been mentioned above as there is limited information that covers all continents regarding IPV. Different countries have presented various statistics on violence against women, some more alarming than others, but Africa tops the numbers for the perpetration of violence on women (WHO, 2013).

#### 2.8 INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE IN SOUTH AFRICA

IPV is a serious issue not just globally but locally as well. South Africa has the highest prevalence of IPV in the world (Gass, Stein, Williams, & Seedat, 2011). In 2009, a national epidemiological study reported 3,797 female homicides, of which 50.3% were from IPV. The mortality rate was 8.8 per 100,000 women (Abrahams, Jewkes, Martin, Mathews, Vetten, & Lombard, 2009). IPV studies conducted in South Africa have established a couple of reasons explaining why men perpetrate violence in their intimate relationships. They found that men are perpetrators because they have been exposed to violence within their families and in their communities (Abrahams, Jewkes, Laubscher, & Hoffman, 2006; Abrahams, Jewkes, Hoffman & Laubsher, 2004; Collins, 2013). Moreover, Wood and Jewkes (2004) found that men are socialised into violence by the agents of socialisation immediate in their social contexts: family, culture, community, and peers. It is in these contexts where violence is normalised (Collins, 2013) where men learn stereotyped views of how men and women should behave not just among them but in their intimate relationships alike (Lau, 2008). Violence hence results when their intimate partners fail to meet the gender norms that are prescribed by society that men are superior to women (Jewkes, 2002; Abrahams, Jewkes, Hoffman & Laubsher, 2004). Other factors of men perpetrating violence in the Wood and Jewkes' (2004) study included feelings of powerlessness associated with being masculine such as being powerful, autonomous, and competitive due to unemployment, poverty, and being uneducated.

## 2.8.1 IPV among racial groups

It should be noted that despite South Africa having the highest rate of IPV in the world (Abrahams, Jewkes, Laubscher, Hoffman, 2006), racial groups experience partner violence differently as per the cultural contexts and situations they become exposed to and therefore, will present separate prevalence. Four racial groups as categorised by the apartheid government included Africans, Coloureds, Whites, and Indians. In a study conducted in Cape Town by Thaler (2012), 3000 participants between the ages of 21-54, consisting of 54% women and 45% men; by race 44% African, 49% Coloured, and 7% White were sampled to measure the acceptance of IPV as a social norm. When analysing according to gender, it was revealed that it is mostly women who were more approving of IPV against women. When analysing according to race, it was found that African women had the highest prevalence of accepting IPV against women in comparison to Coloureds and White counterparts. Among the Coloureds, having criminal friends and high alcohol consumption which was 30% higher among Coloureds than any other race, significantly correlated with accepting IPV against women. Africans in general presented to be more accepting of IPV against women overall. Among the Whites, IPV was approved only if a partner was caught cheating, although with small percentages. Factors such as sexual infidelity, alcohol abuse, displeasure in food prepared and being exposed to family violence increased the likelihood of approving IPV against women. It should also be noted that access to participants was limited as per the location which was the Cape Flats under study, which consists mostly of Africans and Coloureds and a small number of Whites without Indian and Asians. In a similar Gauteng study, African men were reported to have the highest prevalence of perpetrating violence on women. African men showed a prevalence of 62% for inflicting sexual and physical violence and 70,6% emotional and economic abuse; Coloureds, Indians, and other were grouped together and reported 63,6% sexual and physical violence. 66,7% inflicted emotional and economic abuse; White men reported the least prevalence although still high of 45,5 sexual and physical violence and 61,4% emotional and economic abuse (Gender Links & Medical Research Council, 2010). In a national epidemiological study, compared to other race groups, Coloureds had the highest IPV murder rate (18,3 per 100,000), and White women had the lowest murder rate of 2,8 per 100,000. Coloureds also had the highest perpetration rate as intimate partners (19,7 per 100,000) compared to other race groups, while White men had the lowest perpetration rate as intimate partners of 3,0 per 100,000 men (Abrahams, Jewkes, Martin,

Mathews, Vetten, Lombard, 2009). In Coloured communities especially the Western Cape, the use of violence is a norm, and violent gang subcultures often provide the scenery for performing GBV such as rape and sexual harassment among other aspects such as substance abuse and perpetual poverty (Human Science Research Council, 2014; Peterson, 2010). What can be deduced from the above information is that the subordination of females by males is prevalent in all racial groups but presents itself with varying degrees and different factors of men inflicting violence against their women.

# 2.9 INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE IN UNIVERSITIES AND UNIVERSITY RESIDENCES

The phenomenon of intimate partner violence as mentioned before, affects women from all backgrounds and university campuses and residences are no exception. Researchers have explored perceptions of students about IPV in universities. For example, in a South African study by Shefer, Clowes, and Vergnani (2012), students reported that transactional relationships between rich, older men known as 'sugar-daddies' and young female students preferably first and second year of study are rife at university residences. Transactions in the form of sex in exchange for food, money and status are the most common. The transactional relationships are established deliberately by the female students to pull the moneyed men into relationships to finance for their needs. It was also reported that some girls especially those from poor backgrounds were dependent on these relationships for survival and often tolerated physical abuse for fear of losing tangible benefits from the older men. Gordon and Collins (2013) reported some discourses regarding the prevalence of IPV and experiences among female students at the University of KwaZulu-Natal residences at the Howard College campus. Firstly, they identified fear as framed in some students' daily experiences and choices. They regarded fear as inevitable and one woman spoke of positioning herself in a 'waiting game' as she anticipated men to victimise her. Secondly, the women felt a sense of responsibility for their safety and to thereby, develop precautionary strategies. One woman spoke of a friend who was raped by her boyfriend after having consumed alcohol with male students who visited her residence room and framed her as "breaking the rules" thus initiating that she chose to associate with this man despite knowing the risks. The third discourse was that of silence where the women refrained from speaking about GBV due to the distrust of university services, and the shame society associates it with.

Violence against women is normalised in many South African cultures (Collins, 2013) and many students have been raised in patriarchal cultures where their gender expectations may be in direct contradiction to those encouraged in institutions of higher learning (Barkhuizen, 2013). This tolerance may result from families or communities emphasising the importance of maintenance of the male-female union at all costs or minimal legislation to protect women (Jewkes, 2002). Gender roles imparted from a young age in South Africa support male dominance and female subordination, making young women more prone to victimisation (Barkhuizen, 2013). Economic problems are also some of the factors that make tertiary institutions common places of atypical gender behaviour with females victimised more than the males (Iliyasu et al., 2011; Gordon & Collins, 2013). This is evident in a study conducted by Barkhuizen (2013) at the University of Cape Town. Barkhuizen (2013) found that men were positioned as authoritative, powerful, and dominant over women, who were viewed as submissive and controllable for the sake of maintaining love and fulfilling men's sexual needs in the relationship. These findings justified men's abusiveness and women's victimisation due to socialisation and cultural norms as fixed and inevitable forces. Furthermore, in a society that is characterised by poverty, it is also possible as Gordon and Collins (2013) state, to have females who continuously tolerate violence from their intimate partners because they support them financially (WHO, 2012).

In other African universities IPV is just as rife. A Nigerian university reported 171 of 291 female students ever experiencing some form of GBV since joining the university while 22, 8% experienced physical violence, 22,2% reported sexual violence, and 50,8% endured emotional and verbal violence (Iliyasu, Abubakar, Aliyu, Galadanci & Salihu, 2011). By age, the prevalence was highest among students in the 20-24 years of age. Perpetrators of physical violence included 20,9% being boyfriends and 3,0% reported husbands, boyfriends and relatives emotionally or verbally abusing them. Overall, 58,8% of female students experienced some form of GBV (Iliyasu et al, 2011). In a study conducted by Barker and Ricardo (2005) in Nigerian and Ugandan universities, many men blamed women for provoking violence. Aggression and violence against women becomes a resolving mechanism for men because it allows for the expression of power (Flisher et al, 2007) in terms of securing their authority over women in instances arising from social expectations of manhood, where a male provides economically. Women who hold more liberal ideas are regarded as educated and therefore, empowered to challenge certain

aspects of traditional sex roles. Such empowerment carries an increased risk of violence (Thoennes & Tjaden 1999). Wood & Jewkes (2004) identify male identity as a root problem stemming from experiences of power that perpetuates IPV. Ideologies of male dominance affect female autonomy, participation in politics, the economy, and academic life. Such ideologies affect even how the law is enforced if at all it is in incidences of violence against women. Locally, IPV is perpetrated more by males on females yet a global study presented different results. Drawing on comparable data, the International Dating Violence Study conducted research in 31 universities among 16 countries which were mostly Asian, American, Australian, and European countries that focused on examining physical assault among dating students (Straus, 2004). In this study, it was reported that overall, there was a similarity in assault rates between males and females although male students injured their partners at a 2.6 times greater rate than by women (ibid). The United States of America had the highest perpetration rate of 44,7% and Portugal had the lowest rate of 17,1%. In examining cultural approval of violence as an associate for violence rates, the students were asked to agree or disagree with the statement, "I can think of a situation when I would approve of a husband slapping a wife's face". The students' responses ranged from 26% to 79% among different countries (ibid). The above information provides evidence that cultural norms that accept and condone the battering of women by their male partners still prevails and have an influence on the social behaviour of anyone, even educated students in prestigious universities. In another question the students were asked about the severity of corporal punishment whether spanked or hit when they were children, the results ranged from 13%-73%. The results provided confirmation that was parallel with the social learning theory that students who had experienced corporal punishment often and had been exposed to it as children modelled the behaviour of their partners at a later stage in their lives of which contributed to the perpetration of partner violence and the high rates thereof.

#### 2.10 ADDRESSING INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE

While efforts have been made through many programmes to address the issue of intimate partner violence, they have yet to make an impact on the high rate of abused women. This is because efforts to address IPV involve changing long-held traditional and cultural beliefs about a woman's place in society, of which is not easy to do. Agreeing with this, the WHO (2002) postulates that many efforts to combat intimate partner violence, mainly

against women, have been established, focusing largely on providing support to victims, correctional programmes for perpetrators, legal and police reform. These support systems will not be adequately effective unless there are changes in institutional culture and practice (WHO, 2002). The university under study does have policies in place that address violence in the university. Despite the need to address IPV in university residences, policies regarding IPV in university residences may be unknown to students. According to Yaliwe, Selebogo, and Ojakorotu (2013), such weaknesses exist further coupled with difficulties in law enforcement by law enforcement agents. Rhodes university in South Africa encountered negative student responses in which students reported little confidence in the university's handling of sexual harassment and rape issues, they subsequently believed that their complaints were disregarded by management (De Klerk, Klazinger & McNeil, 2007). Students' low confidence in their university's security measures has a direct relationship with the underreporting of violence. Researchers analysing police statistics on IPV reported IPV as underreported (Vetten, 2014). Underreporting of violence and inability to measure IPV consisting of mostly measuring physical violence may be some issues attributed to IPV not being addressed (Barkhuizen, 2013). Between 2008 and 2009, in Gauteng, 0,3% of women reported assault cases to the police, although within the same year, 18,1% of women declared to researchers that they had experienced violence at the hands of their partners (Vetten, 2014). While there are challenges with law enforcement, research further demonstrates that cases of IPV remains unknown. For example, a study conducted at three universities in Kabul, Balkh, and Herat in Afghanistan, exposed gender-based sexual violence and harassment as more prevalent issues (Gender Studies Institute, 2010). However, respondents who had experienced IPV seemed timid to discuss their experiences due to fear of how their family members or friends would react and because they feared that their education would be discontinued by the university (Gender Studies Institute, 2010). Fear, unavailable response mechanisms, ignorance by authorities and corruption emanating from perpetrators knowing law enforcers were some of the issues that victims identified. Given all these problems, the value of a study trying to dig deeper to the meaning female students attach to IPV cannot be underestimated. Yaliwe et al. (2013) indicate a significant factor that is similar to what this study intends to contribute in the curbing of partner violence at universities. They indicate the cruciality of understanding the prevalence of IPV at university residences and the importance of devising possible strategies that are grounded from what the female students themselves feel will work, as these remain fragmented and reactive (Yaliwe et al.,

2013). Similarly, Abrahams et al. (2006) advice that understanding male risk factors in the perpetration of violence against women and altering male supportive attitudes and acceptance of violence against intimate partners, is significant in the prevention of violence. Moreover, finally, Jewkes et al. (2010) suggests establishing "interventions and policies that start in childhood and seek to change the way in which boys are socialised into men, building ideas of gender equity and respect for women."

## 2.11 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study is underpinned by the Social Construction framework. Social constructionists are concerned with how meanings are attached to objects and events by the societies in which we live (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Paechter, 2003; West & Zimmerman, 1987; Muehlenhard & Kimes, 1999). According to Connell and Messerschmidt (2005), gender is constructed by society or social institutions. Society dictates as to how men and women should behave. Gender relations are constituted on a daily basis and arranged in such a way that they place men in authority over women (Gordon & Collins, 2013; Martino & Pallotta-Chiarolli, 2009). Society categorises character and motive as feminine and masculine (Gardiner, 2004; Paechter, 2003; Morrell, 2007). Femininity is associated with women and is characterised by being passive, cooperative and emotional (Burke & Stets, 1988) while masculinity is related to men being more dominant, competitive, and autonomous (Ashmore, Del Boca, & Wohlers, 1986). People thus, identify themselves along those acquired associations (Burke & Stets, 1988).

## 2.11.1 Doing gender

In their explanations of gender constructions and other gender issues, West and Zimmerman (1987) coined the term "doing gender", which I have adopted as a concept to explain intimate partner violence as a social construction. West and Zimmerman (1987) argue that gender does not entail one's characteristics, nor is it a variable, nor a role which one plays, but it is the product of a social phenomenon. Furthermore, gender is constituted through interaction with others, and thus is deemed natural although a social production. It is an innate capability to learn to produce and recognise masculine and feminine gender displays which are conventional expressions that are performed for a well-knowing

audience. These performances are shown according to a timetable and in special locations. "Doing gender" is an on-going process that takes place in daily interactions (ibid). West and Zimmerman (1987) elaborate "doing gender" by use of an example of a boy who underwent a sex-change operation. She always wanted to be seen as normal, doing natural, effortless things done by women. She had to constantly display womanly behaviour and simultaneously learning what being a woman entailed. She had to analyse the behaviour of natural women and model it. She learnt womanly behaviour through her fiancé's criticisms of other women. Of all the things learnt, she learnt to be submissive and that being a man was all about having power. Gender is learnt from interactions with others and during those interactions people have to portray the expected behaviour. For example, a woman has to let her man control the daily activities in the household without arguing with him. Ultimately, "doing gender merely involves making use of discrete, well-defined bundles of behaviour that can simply be plugged into interactional situations to produce recognisable enactments of masculinity and femininity" (West and Zimmerman, 1987, p. 135). If "doing gender" is an action learnt from society, then men do gender when they perpetrate violence against women, because as mentioned before, partner violence is learnt during socialisation from society.

# 2.11.2 Constructions of masculinity, femininity, and violence

"Constructions of masculinity play a crucial role in shaping violence against women: at the individual level, in families and relationships, in communities, and societies as a whole" (Flood, 2013, p. 2). Gender should be noted as something that intersects with age, race, ethnicity and other social differences. In other words, being a man has different meanings in different contexts. There are different ways of doing masculinity. People of different sex, race, class, age, and ethnicity construct masculinity differently (Flood, 2013). In some parts of the Eastern Mediterranean a woman has to honour her husband by being pure, and if that purity is tempered with either by being raped or through consensual engagement in sexual activities the woman will be killed (WHO, 2002). By the woman maintaining purity, the man obtains a sense of achievement, maintaining his masculinity. According to Pallito and O'Campo (2005), women who live in traditional societies are more prone to being abused and have little power.

Connell (1995) describes this subordination and marginalisation of women as a problem manifesting from the legitimacy of patriarchy which puts men in authority over women. Children grow up having been socialised into this construct of life and therefore, internalise those constructs and act them out according to different situations (Paechter, 2003). This acting out of gender is what West and Zimmerman (1987) call 'doing gender' and stems from a continuous interaction with significant others. About IPV and how it is constructed, according to (Muehlenhard & Kimes, 1999, p. 241), "women normalise male violence as "understandable" or "excusable," a response that conforms to the notion of men as typically aggressive." Morrell (2007) further elucidates that the reason for violence, especially within the South African context, is not an attempt by men to perpetuate the domination of a wife or intimate partner. It is rather an attempt to secure a position of status which is central to the man's experience of being a man, and in this way is tied to societal expectations of manly behaviour. Similarly, Jewkes (2002, p. 1425) argues that "pressures to conform to expected, patriarchal gender roles and the overt and subtle punishments of any transgressions of these norms contribute to a greater likelihood of violence in relationships."

Violence, therefore, occurs not necessarily for the sake of it but rather as a means to secure the masculinity that society expects men to reproduce. West and Zimmerman (1987) argue that in "doing gender", females and males are sustaining and reproducing the constructs of society as an institution, and legitimising the institutional arrangements of powerful social authorities as natural and normal. Therefore, it is the meanings along the feminine-masculine dimension that are confirmed as important (Stets & Burke, 1988). The social constructivist theory shapes this study because the purpose of this study seeks to explore meanings that female students attach to intimate partner violence as a construction of the society in which we live. This study values the human subjective experience with the goal of understanding social phenomena through the eyes of the female students living at university residences.

### 2.12 CONCLUSION

Understandings of IPV, whether by individuals, theorists, men, women, society as a whole, or even female students themselves as the selected sample, varies considerably. The common key direction of understanding IPV leads to the notion that men dominate women

in their relationships, highlighting that power and control are the two factors pushing this domination. The patriarchy system is viewed as the point of reference for this domination of one gender by another, and despite various programmes established to alleviate women inferiority from men, this system still prevails. Theorists have mentioned that the only way to overpower the inequality is by changing the mindset of those who govern the land, occupying powerful positions in systems such as culture, politics, family, the media, education and even church. There is no doubt that female subordination is crippling development locally and globally. South Africa has once been deemed the "rape capital" of the world, even so, global statistics are still high. IPV affects women and their families, creating scars that may never heal. The statistics of IPV victims are high and even more perplexing in that the legal system processes are not effective enough. The actual incidence of IPV is not certain due to the high levels of underreporting. The information stated is only estimated information provided by researchers and police reports. This highlights that convicted IPV perpetrators constitute only a small portion of all those responsible. Gqola (2007), states a shocking yet real statement about inequality in South Africa: "The discourses of gender in the South African public sphere are very conservative. In the main: they speak of 'women's empowerment' in ways that are not transformative, and as a consequence, they exist very comfortably alongside overwhelming evidence that South African women are not empowered. The rape and other GBV statistics, the rampant sexual harassment at work and public spaces, the siege on Black lesbians and raging homophobia, the very public and relentless circulation of misogynist imagery, metaphors and language (ibid). The above statement, coupled with statistics mentioned suggest that the criminal justice system, the government, professionals, community members, need to do more to alleviate IPV. There needs to be a further education in universities about the siege of IPV and providing not just security measures of safety in residences but also empowering information about the root of the problem, which will propel them to know more and be informed about social issues, therefore making informed decisions about their safety. The ultimate safety of the female victim should challenge society not just to follow the lead of the justice system but also provide support to them in all spheres such as the home, at work, and on the street.

#### **CHAPTER 3**

#### RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

#### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

In Chapter Two, I reviewed the literature and discussed the theoretical framework that underpins this study. In this chapter, I discuss the research design and methodology used to conduct this study. I first discuss the research paradigm that guided this study. Following is the discussion on qualitative research methodology I adopted as a means to gain an indepth understanding of the study conducted. Furthermore, sampling, data generation methods and data analysis used to generate data for this study are explained and justified. This chapter also includes an explanation regarding ethical considerations and trustworthiness of the research study undertaken. This chapter concludes with challenges that were encountered in conducting the study and possible limitations to the study.

#### 3.2 RESEARCH PARADIGM

Babbie (2011) defines a paradigm as one of the structural models or frames of reference we use to organise our observations and reasoning. I couched this study within the interpretivist paradigm. According to Cohen, Manion, and Morrison (2011), the interpretivist paradigm's primary concern is to understand the subjective world of human experience; and to derive meaning from shared experiences. Bertram and Christiansen (2014), state that the interpretivist paradigm's purpose is to develop a better understanding of how people make sense of contexts in which they live and work. Meaning can only be understood in the interaction between the researcher and the participants (Creswell, 2009). Cohen et al. (2011) add that the interpretivist paradigm has the following characteristics: focuses on the individual, small-scale research, subjectivity, qualitative in nature, hermeneutic and interpretive, has multiple directions of causality, personal involvement of the researcher, understanding actions or meanings rather than causes, investigates the taken-for-granted, personal constructs, and defines situations and practical interest. Researchers using this paradigm focus on the specific context in which people live and work (Creswell, 2009). This study is concerned with understanding the interpretations of female students of their meanings and understandings of intimate partner violence at the university residences they reside in. I understood that reality regarding how female students may understand IPV is multifaceted and I could only understand it from the meanings that these female students attach to it. I interviewed the female students, and they provided their understandings of IPV at their residences according to their different life experiences. Eighteen young women were involved in this research study in which they interacted with me and with each other. Our interaction provided more quality data as they built on each other's experiences. Meanings derived from the interviews were very individualistic as Cohen, Manion, and Morrison (2011) agree that within the interpretive paradigm, people's realities are subjective.

## 3.3 THE QUALITATIVE APPROACH

According to Bertram and Christiansen (2014 p. 40), a research design is "a plan on how the researcher will systematically collect and analyse the data that is needed to answer the research question." The methodological orientation, research parameters within which the data were generated, and the research instruments that were used to generate data are discussed. I used the qualitative approach to produce data for this study. Qualitative methods often rely on text, images, and direct interaction between researchers and participants. It also involves the researcher seeing the participants behave and act within their context. In line with Creswell (2014), I focused on deriving female students' meaning about their understandings of IPV, its prevalence and how it can be reduced in residences. As stated that this study was grounded within the interpretive paradigm and that researchers in this paradigm were also interested in in-depth views from participants, it locates well within the qualitative approach. This is because the approach is suitable for studies that are aimed at gaining depth data. The study aimed to unfold meanings that female students derived about IPV in their residences, the qualitative approach was suitable for this line of inquiry. In this research, I found the qualitative approach useful because it revealed in-depth and insightful information of these young women's responses to IPV at female university residences. This research methodology allowed young women to express themselves meaningfully and subjectively in a private, confidential and nonjudgemental environment.

## 3.3.1 Case Study Methodology

The study was explored under case study research. Case study research involves "empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life

context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used (Yin, 2009, p. 23). Harrison, Birks, Franklin, and Mills (2017) explain that case study research seeks to investigate and understand complex issues in real world settings. It looks at specific components of a whole, for example, GBV is broad and has many aspects which include intimate partner violence, sexual abuse, physical violence, feticide, female genital mutilation, and others (Sharps, Laughon & Giangrande, 2007). This study explores IPV under the GBV umbrella. Intimate partner violence is explored under one campus of UKZN and looking at female students living in the university residences. According to (Johannson, 2014), a case study should be represented by a 'case' which is the object of study. This 'case' should be a complex functioning unit; be investigated in its natural context with a multitude of methods and; be contemporary. This study is a complex social challenge one and has been talked about for centuries in many countries; it was investigated in its natural context (the female university residences) using individual and focus-group interviews; the study is also contemporary as it appears in articles and the media.

Bertram and Christiansen (2014) postulate the nature of case studies as a type of method that seeks to describe the likeness of phenomena and context. In this study, UKZN was selected as the context for the study. I selected the study as a single case to capture the complexity of IPV at female residences. The issue at hand is currently being deliberated, debated and investigated across South African media and by scholars. I had no interest in generalising the findings. The focus was placed on understanding the subjective views of female students living in UKZN residences about IPV at the residences. Furthermore, I focused on one case to study, taking into account the context of it and reporting on views and meanings about IPV. I further had an understanding that the case represents itself and its findings as earlier indicated are context bound and cannot be generalised to other university residences. The findings from this case further explain the meanings of 18 female students used in this study and not those not involved.

### 3.4 THE RESEARCH CONTEXT

To answer the research questions, female participants aged between 19 and 24 years were selected and interviewed. The study was conducted in 2016 at a South African university campus in KwaZulu-Natal. I chose to research one campus because I am currently doing

my studies there and it is closest to where I stay which is four kilometres away from the on-camp females' only residence and 400 metres away from the off-camp mixed one. The young women all resided at UKZN's residences, two females only and one mixed. There are twelve residences on the campus of which eight are girls only, and four are mixed. All the female residences were represented by ten participants, and the mixed residence was represented by five female students. This study was part of a large project called Safer Learning Environments: Reducing GBV at UKZN residences and selected schools.

#### 3.5 SAMPLING AND SAMPLING METHODS

Sampling involves making decisions about which people, settings, events, or behaviours to include in the study (Bertram & Christiansen, 2014). Non-probability sampling was appropriate for this study because I made judgements about which participants to choose (Cohen et al., 2011). In this case, I knew the participants who were female residence students, implying that I excluded some members of the wider population of female students. I used the snowball sampling to select participants for the study. In this sampling method, potential participants are referred to by their acquaintances (Cohen et al., 2011). In this case, the participants selected were eighteen female residence students who had resided at the residences for more than a year except for one participant who insisted she wanted to be part of the study after hearing her friend talk about it. The selection was based on the assumption that students who had stayed at the university residences for more than a year would have sufficient knowledge about the happenings of the residence. The selection of eighteen female students was justified for other practical reasons: to enhance the legitimacy of in-depth inquiry in a natural setting; to adjust to the limited time frame and resources, and the information derived was deemed enough for subjective views of the female students because the goal of qualitative research is in-depth understanding of phenomena. Those who agreed to partake in the study also referred me to other female students from their residences who would be interested. The study participants were all Zulu-speaking and of African descent. Regarding the identification of students, I asked female students that I recognised from the Education Studies modules that I had taught at the university about their interest in the study of which I had to define first. I chose to research females only because I was interested in understanding why they are more victimised than men. On these particular campus residences, there are more Black, Zulu

people which can be attributed to that it is located in KwaZulu-Natal (many Zulu speakers live there). Therefore, it was more convenient to choose the latter.

#### 3.6 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Where human beings are the researched, ethical approval needs to be acquired (National Health and Medical Research Council, 2015). Cohen et al (2011) mention a few ethical considerations when conducting research among people. These are participants' informed consent, their safety, privacy, confidentiality, anonymity, access to information discussed in the research and benefits which include informing participants about the nature of the research and allowing them to withdraw and terminate when they want to. To respect the principles safety, privacy, confidentiality, anonymity, and to ensure harmless research, I thoroughly explained the nature of the research. Approval to conduct research from the registrar was applied for and approved (See Appendix C); ethical clearance from the UKZN ethics committee was also sought (See Appendix D) before the research was conducted, and participants created their pseudonyms which are used in this report to maintain anonymity. After the interviews, I showed transcripts of the interview with the participants to confirm them before the data were analysed. Furthermore, I informed the participants that once the study had been completed, I would make the thesis available to them for feedback purposes. Participants were also informed about the study being for academic purposes only and that there were no monetary benefits involved. The study is part of a larger project conducted at UKZN, however data generated from the participants will not be shared with anyone and participants' names are hidden by use of pseudonyms. Hence, my supervisor (driver of the larger project) and the general public will access the same dissertation.

The literature presented in Chapter Two shows that female students living at university residences are vulnerable to gender and sexual violence. Although I did not intend to select female students who were in abusive situations, my sample could have been comprised of participants who had or were experiencing IPV. I avoided topics that could lead to social stigmatisation or secondary victimisation and the disclosure of sensitive information that the participants could find offending. I also informed the participants not to disclose information they regarded as sensitive if they did not wish to. Since I am not trained to deal with the issues under study but having encountered such during the interviews; I made means of referring the participants to the campus psychologist. The participants were

continuously reminded that they could pull out of the study if and when they wished to do so without any repercussions involved.

#### 3.7 DATA GENERATION METHODS

To respond to the research questions, I used semi-structured, face-to-face interviews and focus group discussions. According to Bertram and Christiansen (2014), the interview method is used extensively in interpretivist research because it aims to explore and describe people's perceptions and understandings that might be unique to them. Interviewing is also useful for gaining detailed insights from a small number of people (Newton, 2010). The interviews were conducted in English and sometimes translated into isiZulu where it seemed the participants did not understand the questions asked. Much probing was done to dig deeper into matters and for a sense of consensus agreement. Data were generated over a period of eight weeks; four weeks for focus group discussions and four weeks for interviews to maintain order, time and for the process of arranging data to be conducted effectively. The researcher audio-taped the conversations and also kept a journal to record the necessary information to ensure that the voices and meaning of participants were not lost.

## 3.7.1 Focus Group Discussions

Once I obtained permission to conduct the study, the female students were telephonically approached to participate in the study. I conducted a pilot interview with five female students to establish whether my questions were going to be suitable for interviews. Focus group interviews were first conducted, and they were followed by semi-structured interviews. They were conducted first in order to elicit more information from the participants as a group and also so that they could feed off from each other. "Focus groups are a form of group interview whose reliance is on the interaction within the group who discuss a topic supplied by the researching, yielding a collective rather than an individual view" (Cohen et al., 2011, p. 436). A video (https://youtu.be/RmNo7TOkCjk) depicting intimate partner violence in residences was first played out during the focus group discussions. This was done to provoke and prompt discussion among the participants. The use of video elicitation is useful in focus groups because it prompts discussion, stimulates recall of memories and experiences of the participants, and provides a basis for reflection

(Jewitt, 2012). I used an audiotape with the permission of participants to record the interviews and transcribed afterwards. I did this to ensure that the generated data captured the exact words of the participants thus strengthening the trustworthiness of the study. The focus group discussions were held at three different places: the Research Commons, one of the university classrooms and in one of the students' residential rooms. This change of venue was determined by the interests of my participants. Some of them wanted me to come to their rooms as they were comfortable to be interviewed there. With regard to the female students residing at the mixed residence, interviews were held away from the male students as female residences were separated by floors from male residences, in their rooms to maintain their safety and privacy. The focus group discussions (See Appendix A) lasted for about 1 hour and 50 minutes. The interview questions (see Appendix B) were divided as per an extension of the three critical questions mentioned in Chapter one. The participants mostly spoke in their mother tongue, IsiZulu, because I had allowed it since some students communicate better through it. Those interviews that were in IsiZulu were translated into English. While this can be regarded as a weakness in the data, it must be noted that I was able to do it based on my background in the Languages discipline. I am a qualified English language teacher, and I speak isiZulu as my mother tongue. This made the process of translation to be of quality and no meanings from the data we altered or fused. For this research, three focus groups consisting of five participants were supposed to take place to make the arrangement more convenient and more manageable. Unfortunately, many hiccups came about. For the first and second focus groups, students arrived late, and others reported having commitments at the last minute. This resulted in three students being interviewed for both focus groups. Five participants were interviewed for the third focus group.

#### 3.7.2 Individual Interviews

After focus group interviews, semi-structured interviews were conducted to elicit more information from the female students who may not have been open during focus group discussion, due to possible domination by others or being constrained by the presence of peers. Individual interviews were also conducted for the richness of data when combined with data generated through focus group discussions. Research has shown that data gathered through individual interviews can be put together with focus group data to complete and confirm data (Halcomb & Andrew, 2005). Semi-structured interviews are

most appropriate where there is little knowledge about the study phenomenon and for exploring sensitive topics, where participants may not want to talk about such issues in a group environment (Gill, Stewart, Treasure, & Chadwick, 2008). The interviews were conducted at the residence rooms of each female student. I believed that some students could not talk freely in a group and this was a reality as female students talked more when they were alone than they were in a group.

## 3.8 DATA ANALYSIS

Data analysis, according to Bertram and Christiansen (2014) is a process that involves data reduction, deciding which data to include, data display of information, conclusion drawing, findings of the patterns formulated and, verifying information. For this study, data were analysed using the inductive approach and thematic analysis. The inductive approach begins with specific observations of raw data and moves to generalisations, patterns and theories (Bertram & Christiansen, 2014; McMillan & Schumacher, 2010). This approach is useful because a qualitative study is more open-ended and exploratory in nature (Bertram & Christiansen, 2014) where general conclusions emerge from data rather than theories being imposed (McMillan & Schumacher, 2010). According to Braun and Clark (2006), thematic analysis involves identifying, analysing and reporting themes or patterns within the data. Thematic analysis is useful because it unravels or unpicks the surface of reality (Braun & Clark, 2006). The themes that emerged from data involved information that was obtained from participants about their understanding of IPV, the prevalence of IPV, and their suggestions for reducing IPV in the residences. When data had been categorised, and conclusions or patterns identified, data were transcribed verbatim.

Guided by thematic analysis, I examined the female students' realities, experiences, and meanings they had about IPV at the female residences and reporting them. I searched across a data set of focus group and individual interviews to find repeated patterns of meaning. The process involved familiarising myself with the data by reading and rereading, noting ideas; collating data and searching for themes and producing a final report which relates to literature and the research questions. I transcribed two focus group discussions and all individual interviews, the one focus group discussion was transcribed by an expert transcriber who could translate IsiZulu into English. This sharing of transcribing was done to lessen the load of work and for the sake of the fast progress of the

research study. I read the data many times to familiarise myself with it and for identifying patterns which could form themes.

#### 3.9 TRUSTWORTHINESS

In qualitative research, it is not easy to achieve reliability and validity due to the evolving nature of human behaviour and the multifaceted nature of reality. The idea of ensuring reliability and validity in qualitative research is through trustworthiness, which was proposed by Lincoln and Guba (1985). They constructed four constructs to consider in the criteria for judging quality and rigour of qualitative research. These are credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability.

## 3.9.1 Credibility

Credibility demonstrates that the phenomenon being studied is represented and recorded in its true sense (Shenton, 2004). To address credibility in my study, firstly, I used a combination of focus group discussions and individual interviews to generate data. These are useful because as Shenton (2004 p. 65) notes, "While focus groups and individual interviews suffer from some common methodological shortcomings since both are interviews of a kind, their distinct characteristics also result in individual strengths." Secondly, with the permission of the participants, I recorded the data on an audio tape recorder to capture their words more realistically. Thirdly, I consulted and employed debriefing sessions with my supervisor to discuss the study in the course of action. According to Shenton (2004 p. 67) "The meetings also provide a sounding board for the investigator to test his or her developing ideas, interpretations and probing from others which may help the researcher to recognise his or her biases and preferences."

## 3.9.2 Transferability

Transferability involves providing sufficient detail of the context of the fieldwork conducted to allow for others who come across the research to make comparisons of familiar contexts with the one provided (Shenton, 2004). Addressing transferability in a qualitative study is not easy and may not be realistic because the findings are specific to the single study undertaken in the particular context and individuals being studied.

Therefore, Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest that the researcher includes a full description of the context under study, to enable the reader to make a transfer. In my study, I provided sufficient information about the framework of the study for others to have a better understanding of the phenomenon under investigation and thus to enable them to make comparisons with their situations. Information about the boundaries of the study was also highlighted because it would be more useful for the reader to analyse the context before making comparisons.

## 3.9.3 Dependability

Dependability is used to show that the findings are consistent and a future investigator can repeat the study (Shenton, 2004). In my study, in-depth coverage of the processes within the study was done: the research design and its implementation; the whole process of data generation; and a reflective evaluation with the aim of enabling the future researcher to repeat the study. A voice recorder was used, and field-notes were kept for the sake of consistency of data and safe-keeping.

## 3.9.4 Confirmability

To achieve confirmability, researchers must ensure that data constitutes the participants views and not the researcher's assumptions and biases (Shenton, 2004). In my study, focus group discussions and interviews were used as methods of data generation, to capture as much as possible the true findings of the participants' responses rather than my preferences and subjective views. This was done to reduce the issue of investigator bias which could inhibit objectivity in the research. Another way to achieve confirmability was that when the study had been conducted, the transcripts were taken back to participants to verify data. This ensured that the data were accurate.

#### 3.10 DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED

There were many hurdles that I experienced during the research process. Firstly, the prearranged venue was the Research Commons, which I was able to use for the first focus group meeting. When I went to apply for the venue again for the next group, I was told that the venue was not meant for undergraduate students' use but Masters and PhD students only. This was confusing because I had used the venue the first time around. I then had to look for another venue within the campus facilities. Another difficulty I experienced was the lack of time management on the participants' side. Most of them came at least an hour later the agreed upon time or did not show up at all without reporting to me. Although these were challenges that inconvenienced me, the study was conducted successfully, and these challenges had no bearing on the quality of data I generated.

## 3.11 POSSIBLE LIMITATIONS

Study limitations are possible in all studies; this one was no exception. The study was conducted in a single institution in female residences. Therefore there is a need for caution for not generalising the findings to all South African university residences. The sample size was small, which may be limiting regarding findings. Findings will have to be understood from the context of the study and not from a universal point of view. The study may also be affected by power dynamics placing me in the forefront as the researcher and interviewer. The students may have been intimidated and withheld some information. I tried my best to treat all the participants with respect and dignity, allowing for a welcoming, safe environment. Lastly, sometimes what the participants tell the researcher in a focus group is shared with other group participants, this may raise the invasion of privacy (Morgan, 2013) and thus, limit the productivity of the whole study. Hence the study also included the semi-structured interview method to elicit more information and for the sake of privacy from individual female students.

## 3.12 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has presented the research design and methodology followed while conducting this study. Issues regarding the research paradigm, the research approach and methodology were discussed. They were followed by a dialogue on the data generation method and the data analysis approach respectively. Trustworthiness and its respective criteria were then presented and followed by a discussion on the selection of the research site and the participants. A dialogue on ethical considerations was followed by an outline of the limitations.

This chapter has shown the research design and methodology employed in conducting this study. The interpretivist paradigm was discussed as the most suitable paradigm for this research study. Processes involving data generation and data analysis followed respectively. Other aspects of research such as issues of trustworthiness, ethical considerations, and the research context, difficulties encountered and possible limitations were discussed. The next chapter will present the findings and discussions about the data generated during the interviews.

#### **CHAPTER 4**

#### RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

#### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

As stated in the previous chapters, the purpose of this study was to explore the meanings that female students at the University of KwaZulu-Natal residences attach to Intimate Partner Violence (IPV). In the previous chapter, I explained the methodology adopted to conduct this study. This chapter presents and discusses the findings of the study emanating from the data using eight major themes that emerged in the analysis process. These themes stem from the direct interpretations, beliefs, observations of surroundings, and life experiences of the participants relating to IPV at female residences. The themes are: what is IPV?; gender roles and IPV; violence demonstrates love; materialism and 'sugardaddies'; cohabiting and training as wives; self-blaming and victim blaming; university security and support systems; and reducing IPV. Segmenting the data into themes enabled me to analyse, organise, and describe data conveniently. Some of the themes overlap and therefore show the repetition of data in some areas. Words such as participants, women, girls, and female students are used interchangeably to refer to the participants because the participants used them interchangeably to refer to themselves and other female students.

## 4.2 PROFILING THE PARTICIPANTS

Below, I provide brief demographic information of the 18 participants. The information was shared during the individual interviews, and provides an understanding of the participants' context and background. All the participants were female. IsiZulu was their first language, were of African descent and came from KwaZulu-Natal. They were all studying towards a Bachelor of Education degree at one of the campuses in UKZN. The names describing participants below are pseudonyms which were used to protect their identity as an ethical commitment to this study.

1. Samkelo was a 19-year-old girl from Mthwalume. She was currently doing her 2<sup>nd</sup> year. She had been staying at the residences for two years and was in an off-campus residence. She had a partner who was also in a tertiary institution. She felt safe with him.

- 2. Ntombcele was a 21-year-old girl from Greytown. She was in her third year of studies and had been staying at the residences for three years. She remained in an off-campus residence. She had a partner who was in a tertiary institution. She felt safe with him.
- 3. Inelly was a 22-year-old girl from UMzimkhulu. She was in her fourth and final year of study and was currently staying at an off-campus residence. She had a partner who worked and felt safe to be with.
- 4. Mbali was a 21-year-old girl and from Stanger. She was doing her third year and had been staying at the residences for three years. She stayed in an off-campus residence. She was single.
- 5. Imani was a 22-year-old girl from Marianhill. She was in her fourth year and had been staying at the residences for four years. She stayed in an off-campus residence and was single.
- 6. Sammy was a 21-year-old girl from Clermont. She is currently in her third year of study and has been staying at the residences for three years. She stays in an off-campus residence. She is single.
- 7. Abenathi was a 22-year-old girl from Nongoma. She was in her fourth year of study and had been staying at the residences for four years. She stayed in an oncampus residence. She had a partner and felt safe with him.
- 8. Sho was an 18-year-old girl from Nkandla. She was doing her first year and had only been staying at the residences from January 2016. She stayed in an off-campus residence. She had never been in a relationship before.
- 9. Malondana was a 22-year-old girl from Eshowe. She had been staying at the residences for three years and was currently doing her third year. She stayed on campus. She had a partner who she felt safe with.
- 10. Rose was a 21-year-old girl from Mhlab'uyalingana next to Mozambique. She was in her third year of study and had been staying at the residences for three years. She stayed on campus and was single.
- 11. Neliswa was a 20-year-old girl from Kranskop. She had been staying at the residences for three years and was in her third year of study. She stayed on campus. and was single.
- 12. Zethu was a 24-year-old girl from Vryheid. She had been staying at the residences for two years and was in her second year of study. She stayed in an off-campus residence. She had a partner whom she felt safe to be with.

- 13. Daisy was a 22-year-old girl from Vryheid. She had been staying at the residences for three years and was in her third year of study. She stayed on campus. She had a partner who works and felt safe to be with him.
- 14. Pearl was a 24-year-old girl from Ladysmith. She was in her fourth year of study and had been staying at the residences for five years. She stayed on campus. She had a partner whom she felt safe to be with.
- 15. BJ was a 21-year-old girl from Folweni. She had been staying at the residences for two years and was currently in her third year of study. She stayed on campus and had a partner who she felt safe to be with.
- 16. Khazimula was a 22-year-old girl from Durban. She was in her fourth year of study and had been staying at the residences for four years. She stayed in an on-campus residence. She had a partner and felt safe with him.
- 17. Zukiswa was a 22-year-old girl from Durban. She has been staying at the residences for four years and feels safe with her partner.
- 18. Angel was a 21-year-old girl from Skhawini. She was a third year student living at the off-campus residences.

**Table 1: Female residence students** 

	1 <sup>st</sup> year	2 <sup>nd</sup> year	3 <sup>rd</sup> year	4 <sup>th</sup> year	Age
Residence					
On campus N=8			4	4	20-24
Off-campus N=10	1	3	4	2	18-24
Total N=18	1	3	8	6	

## 4.3 MAIN FINDINGS

The data generation process involved individual interviews and focus group discussions which mainly took place in the residence rooms of the participants. I first analysed the individual interviews and then the focus group discussions after, and after that, analysed them together. The patterns formed from both data generation methods have similarities and differences which are discussed within the themes. This process was conducted to answer the three research questions: female residence students' understandings of IPV, the prevalence thereof at residences, and their suggestions on how to reduce IPV in female residences. The participants spoke of their intimate relationships voluntarily and those of others; those they had experienced, witnessed and heard about at the university residences

to contribute to this study. As earlier stated, I used pseudonyms to refer to the participants to protect their identities. I used the participants' verbatim responses to provide evidence and ensure that the meanings and their voices were not lost. This is in line with the interpretivist paradigm used to understand the meanings given by female students.

#### **4.3.1** What is Intimate Partner Violence?

Understandings of IPV are multifaceted. While most people who have studied it come to the conclusion that it involves physical, sexual, emotional or psychological, and economic abuse (WHO, 2012); the participants' understandings were limited. Most of the participants initially understood IPV as equivalent to physical violence. For this reason, they regarded physical abuse as the leading kind of violence in relationships. When asked about the perpetrators of IPV, most participants listed that it was mostly men who inflict partner violence using words such as beating and hitting which showed that IPV was attributed to physicality.

"Men. That is why even in relationships when couples fight, men tend to become angrier and end up hitting women." –Ntombcele

"It's men. They physically abuse women because they are stronger, use harsh words, and put pressure on women." –Mbali

"It's mostly men because they are violent. I've never heard of a girl hitting a boy in my community and at res. It's always men." –Sammy

"Men. Boys are also taught that a woman is straightened up by a beating." – Malondana

After I had provided a broader explanation about what IPV entailed; the participants were able to provide more information regarding other forms of intimate partner violence, such as emotional, economic, and sexual abuse. Sexual abuse was rife among partners in a relationship which highlights the issue of sexual entitlement often pressurised by men. Women who are usually the victims feel obliged to submit to forced sex without realising that it is a violation. The following participants provided information on sexual abuse at the residences:

"A friend has told me of her boyfriend forcing himself on her after she refused to have sex with him. The boyfriend's reasoning was that they are already in a relationship."—Mbali

"If he wants to sleep with you, you would only agree because you feel you owe him not because you want to."—Sho

Emotional abuse among partners was also a problem at residences. Participants highlighted that it involved humiliating, stalking, jealousy, and force in the continuation of a relationship. Female students had to bear emotional scars that affected not only their self-esteem but also their studies.

"My neighbour's boyfriend at res is like that. When he tells her to come back from campus with the 13:00 bus, she does, even if she still has lectures to attend later. That girl even failed two modules in her first year. She couldn't attend lectures appropriately since she wasn't allowed to come back after 19:00. It was difficult for her."—Mbali

"On the last day of teaching practice, some guy was drunk and was busy humiliating his girlfriend in front of everyone. He was saying bad things about her that he didn't want her anymore and he has had enough sex with her." – Rose

"He is very jealous, and they fight all the time. The girl wants to take a break from him, but he refuses." –Neliswa

"I was involved with a student who wanted to see me all the time. If he didn't find me in my room, he would become aggressive and want to know my whereabouts." -B.J

Some students from FGDs spoke about the lack of knowledge regarding emotional abuse including the lack of services on campus that deal with it. This unawareness made students to withhold information thereby, creating room for the abuse to continue.

"Emotional abuse is not easy to report. There is this acquaintance of mine (the one I was talking about earlier who was being beaten by her boyfriend) that went to get a protection order against her boyfriend. She said that she didn't want him to abuse her emotionally. The protection order stated clearly that he should restrain from using vulgar words. This is so rare. We just know that a person can hit you or do bad things to you - we are unaware about the use of words to abuse one emotionally. We usually just keep things inside." -Khazimula

"Is it?" -Me

"Or that I will only tell Abenathi (one person) and that is it." -Khazimula

"Why though, why don't people report emotional abuse?" -Me

"There is lack of knowledge". -Khazimula and Abenathi

"Especially here on campus. There is a lack of staff. There is a room for counselling by the clinic but they only counsel people testing for HIV. If you seek counselling regarding other things they just tell you to come back at another time, its lunch-time, etc., until you give up."—Abenathi

Participants also provided an understanding of financial abuse and cited that female student are more obliged to provide material support in the relationship if they have more funding. Girls succumb to pressure to avoid conflict and rejection.

"There's this jealousy that is happening on campus among couples. If one of them has more funding than the other (it seems the girls usually have more funding than their boyfriends) it becomes an issue. Boys usually have a problem with this and girls feel they have to do more to become equal. Girls then buy them clothes, buy food and do other things for them and they don't see how they are being abused." –BJ

"Partners also fight because of money issues. You find that they get different amounts of money from home and the one with less expects you with more to do more things."—Sho

"Financial abuse also happens at res whereby a male was demanding money from a female for alcohol purposes. We have funding and people know. The girl had funding from Fundza and the guy knew that it pays more money than NSFAS."—Pearl

The participants were aware of power dynamics that exist in relationships and talking about it created more awareness.

"..although I was focused much on physical and sexual abuse, I wasn't aware that boys from here abuse girls that are funded by Fundza."—Imani

During the above interviews and discussions, the participants showed varying knowledge in defining IPV which could have adverse effects on people often resulting in underreporting. Because of the less known forms of IPV such as emotional and financial abuse, there were also implications of not receiving adequate assistance. The participants were more aware of physical and sexual violence. Abrahams and Watts (2013) also found that most research focuses on physical and sexual violence to the exclusion of other forms of violence, which significantly has an adverse impact on quality and comparability of data (WHO, 2012). However, I provided some information on the forms of IPV, participants became more aware of the violence that occurred around them and could, therefore,

express themselves better and hopefully report on such issues in the future. This was an indication that more awareness on IPV was essential in residences.

The following theme explains about how gender roles were constructed and how they were linked to IPV.

## 4.3.2 Gender roles and IPV

Most of the participants indicated that women were more likely to be victims of IPV than men and this corresponded with the evidence from the literature. For example, the prevalence of intimate partner violence against women stands at 30% worldwide according to the WHO (2013). Even though there may be cases where women inflict violence on their partners, women experience it more in their relationships (Westbrook, 2009; WHO, 2002; Tjaden & Thoennes, 1999). Of all the 18 participants, 16 confirmed women as victims of IPV while the one participant argued that it could be both women and men. Rose said:

"On campus most people who have died or went to hospital are mostly girls. I've never heard of a boy throwing himself out the window. Girls suffer the most because they surrender their lives to their boyfriends and want to be the talk of the town and so suffer in private when things go bad as they don't want people to see their problems. Girls here at the university are taken as sex objects." -Rose

Rose first blamed women for being abused due to being too involved in a boyfriend's life. She then blamed boys for using women as sex objects. For her, it was a two-way-street. However, it is women who ended up being abused.

Below are some voices from the individual interviews to provide their meanings about perpetrators of violence.

"Men are physically stronger than women." -Samkelo

"Men from the rural areas tend to abuse their girlfriends more because they have this mentality that a man will always be a man, nothing can change that, even being an academic doesn't change that." -Ntombcele

"I've never heard of a girl hitting a boy in my community and at res. It's always men." -Sammy

"Boys are also taught that a woman is straightened up by a beating." -Malondana

According to the participants, in African culture there is a belief that a man is the head of the household and that he is obliged to use violence as a disciplinary mechanism.

"Men see themselves as superior to women. Men tend to become more angry and end up hitting women. In the deepest rural areas, when a woman has done something wrong she is sent back home so that her people can talk some sense into her. She is first beaten up then sent home. So, they come with that mentality here that a woman has to be put in line in a harsh way in order for her to obey." -Ntombcele

"Boys usually say that girls like scolding at them and they can't scold back so they end up hitting their girlfriends." -Daisy

Lau (2009) and Jewkes (2002) argue that resorting to violence in general and specifically in relationships is not a sudden act, it manifests from a system of learnt behaviour at an early age from different socialisations, primarily the family. When they become adults, they use violence to resolve problems as it is a normal thing to them. According to the participants, when men become angry they almost always resort to violence. This suggested that violence was the only way men dealt with their anger in relationships. Ntombcele also mentioned that the deepest rural areas form the main context of transferring traditional gender roles placing women as inferior to men. Partner violence is expressed differently in other cultures like Eastern Mediterranean where a woman has to stay a virgin until marriage. If she sleeps with another person before she is married, she is raped or killed (WHO, 2004).

Researchers found that partner violence was normalised in social contexts like family, culture, community and among friends (Wood & Jewkes, 2004; Collins, 2013). In such contexts, men also learn stereotyped views about how men and women should conduct themselves with their partners and violence becomes the result of gender norms transgressed (Collins, 2013; Boonzaier & de la Rey, 2004; Lau, 2008; Jewkes, 2002; Abrahams, Jewkes, Hoffman & Laubsher, 2004). This confirms the value of social constructionism which is the theoretical framework of this study. From this context gender is socially constructed, meaning that our daily encounters shape how we make meanings as females and males in the society (Gordon & Collins, 2013; Morrell, 2007). Our norms and beliefs may, in one way or the other contributes to violence against women.

Among all the participants there was clear recognition of the rifeness of gender roles at the university residences, which expect female students to be inferior and submissive to their partners. Socialisation agents for example, the family, school, the media, religion, the

workplace, and friends help shape gender constructions that create, alter, or delete meanings about IPV. However, the family is the primary socialisation agent that teaches children gender roles from a young age. The teachings to young girls include learning to respect and take care of men.

"It's all due to the way we've been socialised. I was raised by my grandmother. She taught me that a woman has to respect a man. The way she treated my grandfather, we could see how to treat men, meaning a woman will always be submissive." -Khazimula

"Here at the residences, you find that we (both male and female students) are staying together. Then I as a girl am dating a guy and do everything for him as if I am his wife. I live with him, I cook for him, do his washing and ironing, everything. I even report on where I am going and ask for his approval if I want to go somewhere with my friends. If he refuses then I can't go anywhere."
-Abenathi

The gender roles women observe and learn, play a big part in how they perceive men in their relationships. The women in the above excerpts mentioned that their families instilled teachings of gender which they used in their relationships when they get to university. The teachings favoured men as more powerful and women as their subordinates. The construction of gender roles showed patriarchy and socialisation as underlying influences of the inequality of power relations in heterosexual relationships which were dominant among the participants. The young women in this study indicated that they were raised in patriarchal societies which highlighted cultural constructions of gender, where men were placed on top as superior to women and women placed at the bottom as inferior or subordinate to men.

The teachings of men were also gender specific, and this influenced their expectations in their relationships. A participant (Zukiswa) mentioned her conversation with one male student which shows how men see themselves and how that ends up to the construction of roles and females constructions of their identity in the society.

"With this one guy I spoke to, we once got to the topic of women abuse and he said, 'You females, there is something that you don't understand about us men. You see the way we have been brought up influences us throughout our lives'. He even made an example of himself saying, 'You see, I drink a lot and I'm short-tempered. If a woman does or says something I don't like, I clap her on the face. I don't do that because I like doing it but it's what I saw my father doing to my mother and she always submitted'."—Zukiswa

This statement shows that men and women are socialised into their roles in the same manner, sometimes directly, sometimes indirectly through observation. Men are encouraged to be aggressive. The way their identities are shaped have an impact on how they perceive women. Malondana's statement connects the relationship between the latter and IPV.

"If you grew up in an environment where your mom got abused by your father, you learn the ideology that women have to be obedient. Even when you get abused you can't fight it because it is something you grew up seeing throughout your life. You end up saying that it has to happen because it was meant to. There is this thing that in the Zulu nation women had no say. Their job was to look after children and the home. If a man abused her by hitting her, she could not do anything about it since she had no say. Women had to endure the abuse. That is how we were socialised." -Malondana

Malondana spoke about her observations of IPV between her parents which indirectly socialised her that it was appropriate for men to abuse women. In the discussion below, the other participants in FG2 not only outlined gender roles but they also expressed their social standing it. Some of them believed that men should be respected by giving them their place in relationships but also that women should be respected as well. There were different perceptions about women's responses to gender roles. This shows a shift in learnt gender construction and more freedom in not being involved in oppressing relationships.

"I'm usually told that I am strong-headed and that I should be more lenient to men because they are superior to us." -Imani

"Who said that?" -Me

"The people in my life. Last year my roommate said exactly the same thing." -Imani

"I'm sorry to laugh at you. I remember telling my current boyfriend that marriage is not in my plans and that I just want to be independent. Both my aunts are not married and they have their own houses and doing pretty well, my mother and uncles included. The last person to get married at home is my grandmother." -Malondana

Laughing. -All

"Girls are socialised in that way. I have three sisters and they are all married, I'm the last born. My sisters usually tell me that I'll end up alone because I have a negative perspective about men. They tell me that I should be submissive to a man. Girls from res spoil men. They buy groceries and cook when their boyfriends come around. Others stand them up. I think its lessons from home that a girl has to take good care of a man." -Imani

"We grew up with that socialisation that a man has to be respected." -Inelly

"Do you support those beliefs?" -Me

"Sometimes it's good but you have to know who you are." -Imani

"It's good to respect your man but in the process you should not forget who you are, where you come from and where you are going." -Malondana

"I believe that you should teach me how to love you. If you respect me I will also respect you. It is something you get taught by the person you're in love with." -Imani

"You give what you take. You can't do anyhow just because you know that your man loves you." -Malondana

Females' conforming to conservative notions about roles contributes to how they respond to the abuse exerted by men. Imani and Malondana's narratives during FG discussion (FG2) mention this concept:

"Even though we may realise that a boy is doing something wrong in the relationship, we can't hit him because we don't have the strength to. On the other hand boys have more power than girls. Therefore, it's easier to beat us and emotionally abuse us. We give them power to do it." - Malondana

"Another thing that makes women become targets of men to abuse is that sometimes girls who've been through abuse before somehow have a tendency of entering into abusive relationships. The woman I was working with told me that if the counselling sessions come to an end and you're not yet healed you always get men who will exploit you. If we go to a party and guys want a girl to play around with, they would choose me. You end up tolerating any crap men give you. Like my roommate; she was always seeking approval from her father but he never supported her. The men she dates always abuse her and she always tolerates it. She wants to be accepted by them so she cooks and does things for them in order to be the perfect girl." -Imani

Many women accept IPV as normal. Jewkes (2002) states that those women who grew up witnessing violence as the main tool to resolve domestic problems consequently learn to accept and tolerate those behaviours resulting in their victimisation.

Imani expressed a rather personal vendetta she had with men. She told me that she was raped on her way home four years ago and had accepted defeat from the male species. She was sure that she would always be the target for some abuse from men. This harsh reality had shaped the way she related to men in general and to potential boyfriends. She also had many theories constructed about relationships, and this has affected her life immensely. She had undergone therapy numerous times and even attended a support group. She did commend her therapist for much work done to help her, yet she could not get over the rape

ordeal as all she wanted was to forget. I have referred her to the university counselling lady, and she said that she has used her services before and will utilise them if she sees a need in the future. Despite her painful past, she mentioned the realisation that women were tolerant of abuse, were powerless and did things not necessarily because they chose to, but because they wanted to feel accepted by their partners.

The main point communicated in all FGs was that they were taught that men were superior and women had to be submissive to their superiority. Other female students learned by observing what happened in their homes, learning to be indirectly submissive in the process and this may expose them to violence which they do not challenge. Although we may argue that female students are responsible for their behaviour, it is evident that their behaviour is greatly shaped by external forces such as social and cultural norms. However, most young women do not challenge these roles or teachings, they have adapted and accepted that women are inferior to the male species and that is just how it is. Some participants (especially in FG2) were able to challenge social norms during the discussions by stating their individual emancipatory remarks in their relationships and family. For some, in their relationships, living and studying in a modern community and being educated will not change the values that men and female students have accumulated from their socialisations. In the individual interviews, the socialisation issue of men being more dominant than women also appeared.

"I think its gender stereotypes whereby it was said that a man is the head of the family, he should make all the rules. It starts there. From a long time ago, our mothers were dominated by their husbands. Men still have those beliefs."—Pearl

"Boys are also taught that a woman is straightened up by a beating." -Malondana

"In most homes it is known that a man is a man. A child grows up with that mentality until adulthood." -Ntombcele

Some participants agreed that the way men act in their heterosexual relationships was due to prior teachings not necessarily about how to conduct themselves in relationships but in accordance to females in general. This by default tends to appear in their relationships with females. The notion 'a man is a man' was widely used by the participants as something they commonly knew about, this notion, however, appears unexplainable, yet women understand that the meaning of men associated with unquestionable superiority.

Santana, Raj, Decker, La Marche, and Silverman (2006) argue that traditional gender role ideologies are the perceptions of how men and women are supposed to think and behave in society and within the context of heterosexual relationships. Gender roles imparted from a young age in South Africa support male dominance and female subordination, making young women more prone to victimisation (Barkhuizen, 2013). Connel (2005) observes that the issue of masculinity does not suddenly emerge in the stage of adulthood, but it begins at birth through gender role socialisation.

The data from this study shows that female students' construction of gender roles which are driven by patriarchal society influences the roles they play, or they think they should play in relationships. This is similar to findings from previous studies, for example, in her study of female university students, Barkhuizen (2013) found that men were positioned as authoritative, powerful, and dominant over women; while women were viewed as submissive and controllable for the sake of maintaining love and fulfilling men's sexual needs in the relationship. Also, Jewkes (2002) argues that pressures to conform to expected, patriarchal gender roles in relationships exist, and any transgressions of these norms may result in the infliction of violence, victimising women.

These findings deemed men as perpetrators and women as victims due to socialisation and cultural norms as fixed cultural norms as inevitable forces. According to research, there is a relationship between beliefs and practices about gender and violence (Westbrook, 2009; Flood, 2009). They legitimate who has a right of inflicting violence and when it is appropriate to do so (ibid). The key factor in men's use of violence on women is determined by their hostile sexist beliefs, attitudes about gender roles and patriarchy (Flood, 2007).

Below are some examples of norms and beliefs that support violence against women.

# Examples of norms and beliefs that support violence against women

- A man has a right to assert power over a woman and is considered socially superior
- A man has a right to discipline a woman for 'incorrect' behaviour physically
- Physical violence is an acceptable way to resolve conflict in a relationship
- Sexual intercourse is a man's right to marriage
- A woman should tolerate violence to keep her family together
- There are times when a woman deserves to be beaten

- Sexual activity (including rape) is a marker of masculinity
- Girls are responsible for controlling a man's sexual urge

(WHO & LSHTM, 2010)

The following theme discusses love as the reason for girls to stay in abusive relationships.

### 4.3.3 Violence demonstrates love

Women often go through a long process before coming to the decision of whether to end the relationship or stay. It depends on the available but often limited options. According to WHO (2012), the process includes periods of denial, self-blame, long-suffering and trying to relate their circumstances with other women in similar situations. From this study, participants provided reasons for staying in abusive relationships including that they still loved their abuser. Participants from FGD3 highlighted that exerting control over women through violence was understood as an expression of love in a relationship.

"They stay! Girls usually say that when a man hits you it is his way of showing you that he loves you." -Angel

"Yes, it happens. I know of this girl who is pregnant. Her boyfriend hits her like nobody's business. He visits her accompanied by a girl, her friends watching." - Zethu

"Why is she still involved with him?" -Me

"She says that she loves him." -Zethu

"When you try to advise a person in such a situation you become the wrong person." -Angel

"As women, we are used to protecting men and this thing did not start with us. Even our parents have gone through such and they tell you not to expose private matters to people and the police. You end up seeing it as the right thing to do and protect your partner. Last year, this girl from an on-campus residence protected her boyfriend when the RMS went looking for him. She, herself, hid him from them. She would say that it was a mistake, he was angry. The next day you see them walking together. As much as abuse affects us, we also sell ourselves short by protecting them." -Zethu

"Why do people protect those who abuse them?" -Me

"It has to do with not loving yourself enough. You may have a fear of losing the relationship and say that it was a mistake." -Sammy

"But its blind love. It's difficult to understand that a person may hit you numerous times but you still go back to them. From the outside you may conclude by thinking that maybe he really does love her." -Angel

"Another thing is that I think, I don't know, is that it is within our nature. Us, women think that we can change a man. He can beat you tomorrow but you have hope that one day he will change." -Zethu

Love as discussed above still prevails and one of the main reasons for victims of abuse to stay in abusive relationships. The participants spoke mostly of other people they knew and highlighted that it was not appropriate to remain in such relationships. Apologising for inflicting abuse was also equated to expressing love. The girls' 'love' relationships left them sad and depressed, hoping that their partners would change for the better. The participants' statements did not support the issue of tolerating partner abuse. Angel saw it as 'blind love', and even if she did want to help, the victim did not appreciate it. Reproduction of traditional norms over generations also appeared as Zethu spoke of parents' way of protecting their partners, having an influence to how a girl may also find herself protecting a lover.

Shefer, Strebel, and Foster (2000) observed similar patterns in their research at the University of Cape Town. They noted that female students often tolerated abuse from their partners due to the belief that they were loved. The participants' notion of love was deeply embedded in the belief that when you love someone, you have to endure any hardships that comes along the way; in other words, love endures everything. When I asked the participants about the reasons why students stay in abusive relationships, this very belief came out as one of the factors that make female students stay in abusive relationships. The individual responses follow:

"Women allow men to abuse them. What else can she do? She loves him. We black people believe that when you love someone you have you endure hardships." -Inelly

The above participant mentioned that women had themselves to blame for their victimisation but also contradicted herself by stating that women have no choice but to stay in a relationship while there is still a portion of love that exists. Mbali and Sho also emphasised the powerful influence of love in women's choices. Sho further added that leaving an abusive relationship only happened if a woman was not serious about the relationship, suggesting that commitment to a relationship was coupled with the acceptance of abuse.

"People see that such relationships are not conducive but still stay because they say, 'I love him/her.'"-Mbali

"Love is love. You can't leave a person for just abusing you. You can even go for counselling before you take the decision to separate, unless you were just playing around." -Sho

The construction of what is meant by the love which may also be argued that it comes from how the females construct their meanings. Zethu mentioned that a love relationship protected the perpetrator of IPV because abuse within a relationship was considered acceptable and justified by love.

"Others say that "love protects", it protects one's dignity in front of others. It protects the perpetrator from public scrutiny and judgements that he hits his girlfriend. Others say that they love their partners, so it's okay if they are being abused by those they love."—Zethu

Many participants saw love and abuse being intertwined. According to them, love was demonstrated when a partner inflicted violence onto the other no matter how inappropriate it was. Participants depicted irony in the sense that love was supposed to be a good thing yet they suffered within its confines.

It seemed that the participants' focus on love was more on the positive aspect of making it work for the sake of love instead of the negative dimension of the relationship. According to Dare, Guadagno, and Muscanell (2013) focusing on the positive side of the relationship helps the victim to cope with the abuse because if they leave, they will experience high volumes of dissonance which results from the negative outlook on the relationship. Hayes (2015) explains that abused women may see that they do not have enough choice but to stay and endure whatever pain they experience in the relationship. Mbali spoke about knowledge of sexual abuse in intimate relationships:

"A friend has told me of her boyfriend forcing himself on her after she refused to have sex with him. The boyfriend's reasoning was that they are already in a relationship." -Mbali

According to Jewkes et al. (2010) often, forced sex by an intimate partner is not perceived as rape due to the high stigmatisation of the matter. Consequently, women cannot refuse sex forced by an intimate partner. Similarly, in his study Cadena (2011) found that 70% of women had forced sex with their partners for fear of consequences if they refused to have sex. Also, Vetten (2014) alludes that men who rape normalise it and perceive it as a sexual entitlement and a benefit for being in love.

Some participants mentioned that it was important to be in a relationship and maintain it at all costs. The thought of existing an outside the relationship is far more painful than the idea of staying and coping within that relationship (Hayes, 2015). Some participants believed that to a man demonstrates his love by hitting you. Sammy said that at some point she came to a situation where she wished to know how it felt like to get a slap on the face from her boyfriend.

"Some girls glorify being abused. Some go as far as telling you all the details, for instance, 'he pressed his knee down my throat' as if they enjoyed it." - Sammy

To them love comes with a limited extent of pain if you have not felt pain, it means that you are not serious about the relationship. Power, Koch, Kralik, and Jackson (2006) argue that leaving an abusive relationship is very difficult for women because society legitimates that the central existence which is the development of self and femininity of women is linked to ideas to love and to be loved. Hayes (2015, p. 2) alludes that "belief in romantic love prioritises relational maintenance above all else and suggests that, 'love itself can overcome all obstacles', even abuse." The above extracts also demonstrate the relative powerlessness that some girls experience when it comes to love and relationships. Ganley, 1995; Payne and Wermeling (2009) argue that there are no personality profiles of women who go through IPV, meaning that the geographic area of a person does not always determine the likelihood of experiencing IPV. Consequently, social constructionism as a framework for this study comes out. From the females account both FG discussions and individual interviews, I established that being single or being without men was perceived as not good and thus the tolerance of abuse in the name of love. The next theme discusses materialism, 'sugar-daddies' and IPV.

## 4.3.4 Materialism and 'sugar-daddies.'

Most of the girls I interviewed came from disadvantaged backgrounds and relied much on Fundza Lushaka bursary and NSFAS. When they get to university, usually in urban areas they see many beautiful things in the area and from other students that they mostly cannot afford. They then either learn to accept their situations as they are or find means of getting those material things. Across FG1 and FG3 group discussions, the female students expressed that having material things was a necessity at university and their partners, who had money, should be the primary providers of those necessities. They agreed that they

were usually unaware that getting into these relationships could come with a price of succumbing to abuse.

"I only dated the guy because I liked his car. I broke up with my boyfriend from home, not because I didn't love him anymore but because of the good, blingy things I was seeing here. You find that sometimes you date a guy for the tangible things he has and find that you have met the wrong person. You don't want people to know about your poor background. You try to meet the class of high people, forgetting that we are diverse here at the university."—Abenathi

"I don't want a man who won't do nice things for me. For example, he must do something nice for me on my birthday – in a relationship; we can't just stare at each other." -Khazimula

"As a woman, I have to be treated special." -Abenathi

"When I'm hungry he must know that his woman is hungry and do something about it. He can't tell me to cook or ask me to buy something. He can't say, "sorry", he must make a plan." -Zukiswa

"Action speaks louder than words. I don't always expect him to give me money though because we are in a relationship. He does not have to feed me but in the end he has to support me somehow because we are in a relationship." -Abenathi

FG1 participants were very materialistic, and they believed that it was a man's job in the relationship to provide for them, not just because they were students and did not work but also because they were women and women should be taken care of. At university, there is a lot of competition and students are always hustling not just to fill their stomachs but to also stay relevant among their peers. Hence, they get partners who can give them things. They become dependent on their partners for even essential commodities like food and negotiate their different needs and wants. However, Abenathi differed from the others by acknowledging that women should not always depend on their partners for material things but believed there had to be some support.

In FG3, the participants also highlighted materialism as an important aspect of being a university student. However, this came with the debilitating issue of sometimes succumbing to an abusive relationship.

"We also have this issue of 'sugar-daddies', we also call them 'blessers' or 'bennies', meaning benefits. You find that my friend owns three Carvelas and I also want them and find myself dating an old man who is married. He is going to take me out of res and get me a place to stay elsewhere where he can see me easily. If he hits me, it's fine because he would buy me Carvela as a sign of

apologising. Here at res it's stylish to date a gangster because they say that they are so romantic. The only problem is that they hit them. You ask them why they stay since they get beaten up. I know of this girl who always has bruises from the beatings. I asked her why she stays she would ask that who will buy her sneakers and take-aways. We come from rural areas and get here to find guys who drive Mercedes. They ask us out, and we date them because we want nice things too. However, we are not aware how we get those nice things. A big issue that we face as women is that we sell ourselves short just to get what we want and don't think of the consequences that lie ahead. Fostering a relationship with a 'sugar-daddy' will obviously not last because he has a wife – he can leave you anytime, even before you complete your degree. What will you do then?" -Zethu

"Just to add onto what Zethu was saying that the issue begins with morals and accepting the situation of where you come from. I come from Clermont. Most students who come from rural areas are not exposed to the life of 'sugar-daddies' and get pulled in easily, but I'm aware of what 'sugar-daddies' are capable of. During my first year, we were seven girls who came from the same school. One of the girls always had nice hairstyles, went shopping after every two days and she would ask us to come with her. She always had money for food and we had nothing. You end up wishing to also live that kind of lifestyle. She wore long weaves (24 inches), carried expensive phones, and her man always fetched her from res and brought her back. You should just accept your situation. Like Zethu has been saying, it seems stylish here to date a gangster. That girl was dating a gangster from Clermont who was known in the area for bombing ATMs, robbing banks, and hijacking cars among other things. She'd always brag about what her boyfriend was doing for her and I was wishing the same for myself. However, he used to severely beat her up, on consecutive days at times. Sometimes we take ourselves cheaply as women because we know that if a man hits you he will buy you something after that. At one time he beat her up so badly and poured water on her." -Sammy

University life was portrayed as a totally new world as opposed to high school in which female students came to the realisation that they had to look the part. This new world comes with a high standard of living where looking good and possessing tangible things such as money, expensive clothing, expensive phones, and other things is the order of the day. The issue of materialism is intertwined with the understanding of 'sugar-daddies' being the primary providers of material things because they can afford them. The above information gives evidence that some girls tolerate abuse in return for material, tangible things. The two girls above highlighted the adverse effects such relationships have. They disapproved of girls dating older men for material things, hence deemed such behaviour as

demeaning to self. They also suggested that girls should accept their socioeconomic status, which was the main driver of student, 'sugar-daddy' relationships.

Below are individual interview extracts on the 'supposed transactional relationships' that female students have with 'sugar-daddies' and the issues thereof.

"Funding is a problem because you can't always ask for money at home or get a part-time job since our school work is demanding. NSFAS is inconsistent so students end up making bad decisions (involve themselves with 'sugar-daddies')." -Rose

During Rose's discussion, she explained that some students ended up involving themselves with 'sugar-daddies' due to the limited amount of money they got from home and NSFAS. Henceforth, they resorted to having 'sugar-daddies' that would provide them with what they needed. This put them in a compromising and powerless position because these very 'sugar-daddies' took advantage of their situations. Apparently, female students that came from rural areas were more prone to getting pulled into these situations because of poverty and other unfavourable socioeconomic status they were exposed to before and during their university studies.

"The students want money in return to do their hair, nails and to buy groceries and clothes. I don't think they are poor – they want to afford material things like others on campus. If you have an Adidas cap (things that are labels and show a certain standard of living) they also want it. They want to maintain style" -Daisy

"Most students who come from rural areas are not exposed to the life of 'sugar-daddies' and get pulled in easily." —Sammy

However, Daisy's observation was a little different from Rose's one. She seemed to think that students could afford some things, the problem was that they wanted expensive things to maintain the high standard of living depicted at university.

In a study by Shefer, Clowes, and Vergnani (2012) at the University of the Western Cape, they reported that the exchange or expectation of sex by female students with 'sugar-daddies' providing material gains as a normal thing on campus. They also found that they targeted mostly first year students because perpetrators were aware of their naivety and poor backgrounds. First years were also still sensitive and more prone to enter into these transactional relationships in order to feel a sense of belonging to the university life, as they came as strangers. It seemed that 'sugar-daddies' were aware of these dynamics

hence, they placed themselves in the position of potential rescuers and expected sex in return. Some girls were aware while others were not aware of the hidden agenda by these men.

"Others meet at a club – those provide you only with alcohol. Others come and wait outside res, when girls come out they approach them and take them out and choose whom they want to take home. These days their types are light-skinned girls (yellow bones). When they do come, they come with expectations. If he can't give you what you want then he should leave you alone. You do not date a 'blesser'. If a 'blesser' buys you clothes, he must get something in return, which obviously is sex. Now that is sexual abuse. Another thing is that when a 'blesser' wants to see you, he expects to see you. If you don't give him what he wants, he's out of your life. You don't have to date, you don't even know where he stays - you only meet for a transaction." -Zethu

Girls like Zethu who had stayed at the residences for two years were more likely to be aware of them as they had been exposed to the life of students and relationships. On the other hand, Sammy had stated before that girls from rural areas were not exposed to 'sugar-daddies', hence they could not make informed decisions when faced with them. Zethu also equated transactional relationships to sexual abuse. However, if a person does not date a 'sugar-daddy' and they only met for a transaction, it meant that the people involved were aware of each other's expectations that needed to be fulfilled. Parker (1998) indicated that sexual transactions involved people that abuse others. They were self-centred, did not care about the feelings of others, and promoted alcohol and drug problems.

According to the participants, nowadays if you are light-skinned and enjoy alcohol, you are the target of the 'sugar-daddies'. They provided with alcohol among other things and since alcohol makes you lose the ability to think properly the probability of female students being taken to their places for sex was very high. "Some men see drunk women as sexually available and may use alcohol as a strategy for overcoming women's resistance" (Flood, 2007 p. 15). Clubs provide the base to mingle with the girls since they provide a sense of anonymity and the place is age appropriate for university students and 'sugar-daddies' (Davoren, Cronin, Perry, & O'Connor, 2016). It is a give and take situation. The trick is in knowing what is happening and if you are willing to do what the 'sugar-daddy' expects of you whether you know what is expected of you or not.

Sometimes an encounter with a sugar-daddy or any other person in places that provide a sense of anonymity is not transactional in nature, particularly when alcohol is involved.

According to Flood (2007), such places as clubs are high alcohol consumption contexts that increase rates of sexual violence affecting girls the most. Agreeing with this, Phungula's (2007) study found that it is during parties where there are high volumes of alcohol provision and use that female students are at an increased risk of sexual violence. Crawford, O' Dougherty Wright, and Birchmeier (2008) in their research study about college women's risk perception and behavioural choices also indicated a relationship between alcohol use and sexual violence. They found that 50% of sexual assaults among university students were linked to heavy alcohol consumption. Sugar-daddies play a major role in girls attaining such things as alcohol. Unfortunately, the risk of having a 'sugar-daddy' is that someday he may leave you and when he is gone, this leaves the student with the problem of replacing what was there, hence they may resort to prostitution. According to BJ, 'sugar-daddies' are older men that have left their wives at home and go out to have fun with students because students come with freedom, are less spending, and much fun.

"Big cars come by and park their cars (Jeeps, Jaguars, etc). They bless girls with alcohol (not clothes or taking them out) — students love to drink. Bringing alcohol means fun time and maybe might get laid. They come around because they want to be young, less attached - students are jolly and don't care about their problems and since 'blessers' are usually older than them they also want to be in that "don't care" environment. They have stress at work and at home so being around students helps them escape from reality. For other female students, they only have 'blessers' for money, even though they have boyfriends on campus. That's how they get HIV." - BJ

In both FGs and individual interviews, the participants agreed that the issue of 'sugar-daddies' was rife at the campus residences. According to the students, alcohol abuse was rife with campus students, whether male or female. Eleven of the eighteen female students attested to the fact that many students abused alcohol at the university. IPV occurs especially when students were under the influence of alcohol. The consumption of alcohol has a direct impact to IPV (Cadena, 2011). Abrahams et al. (2006) support this view by also confirming that alcohol is the driving force behind IPV for both women and men. This shows alcohol as a significant factor in the contributors of violence in relationships. Again, social constructionism as a framework for this study plays out in the narrative of participants above about female students being dependant and only relying on men "sugar-daddies" for survival. As much as poverty causes this, social constructionism comes out here in that females also succumb to abuse because they feel that the sugar-daddy is a provider and all his desires as the provider cannot be turned down (Morrell, 2007). In society, males have been projected as providers and when they do provide to females, the

females will become the commodity of males. The next theme discusses cohabiting issues and the effects thereof at the residences on IPV.

# 4.3.5 Cohabiting and training as wives

Most of the participants confirmed that many partners lived together at residences. Cohabitation, also known as 'squatting', was a common aspect of campus heterosexual relationships. The couples lived together without any form of legal binding (Schmidt, 2012). From the participants' discussions, it was apparent that in such living arrangements women got trained to be future wives. The findings of a study conducted at a Nigerian university also confirm that nowadays cohabitation is seen as a field to prepare for marriage (Arisukwu, 2013). The discussion in this theme is strongly connected to the one on Gender Roles and IPV. Males and females live together assuming the roles of husband and wife, whereby the female student is obliged to do house chores such as cooking, cleaning, and washing. On the other hand, the male student either buys groceries to provide for both of them or expects to be catered for and does nothing. Besides fulfilling the substantial roles stated above, there are other stereotypical gender roles that women in FG1 felt they were inclined to do to feel wanted.

"Here at the residences, you find that we (both male and female students) are staying together. Then I as a girl am dating a guy and do everything for him as if I am his wife. I live with him, I cook for him, do his washing and ironing, everything. I even report on where I am going and ask for his approval if I want to go somewhere with my friends. If he refuses, then I can't go anywhere. We are the ones who give men power. Then men see that you are a softy, if I say this, she does it. Then the guy uses these powers that we as women have given them because we allow them. We treat them as if they are our husbands." -Abenathi

"On that point, we as ladies are looking forward to being wives. We are preparing ourselves because if you become rude then a guy will say, 'no I won't take this one as my wife', then you try to become soft. Some people will approve and say, 'That is a woman you can take'".-Zukiswa

"You have to be careful and analyse your partner to see what kind of person you are dating. If you see that he's the right person then you can do all those things for him." -Abenathi

"But it's usually said that you should build the man you want with the one you have. You can change a drunkard to become a Christian. So we are trying. That's why you find us busy trying, you just bow down." -Zukiswa

The above extracts outline the roles of a woman in a relationship. Women expect to cook, iron, wash clothes, etc. because they want their men and those who influence men to see them as potential wives. This shows that there are power dynamics that come into play when students cohabit as the woman is subordinate to the man. In so doing, they felt they had to submit to the men in their lives because they had been socialised in that a man has power and succumbing to that power means you are more likely to get married. However, Abenathi analysed that it was women who gave men power by allowing them to dictate in their relationships. On the other hand, Zukiswa felt that a woman has the capability of changing a man into being what she wanted him to be, but this could only happen when power had been granted to a man. It was not clear how this could happen. Arisukwu (2013) argues that the issue of gender cannot be ruled out in performing house chores. Both partners assume their respective roles of which no one is told how to play those roles because it seems that they both understand what is expected of them in the room. From the social construction of gender, females are raised to understand that husbands should be treated distinctively as they exert control in the relationship. In his study, Arisukwu (2013) found that the main reason for fostering this living arrangement was due to love. However, restriction of movement as stated above was abuse.

With the information provided, it was apparent to conclude that when students cohabited, they immediately assumed the roles of husband and wife, which was not always conducive to the female student who had to balance her role of being a student and that of a training wife. The institution of marriage was highly valued, not just by society but female students also had the utmost reverence for it and validated their relationships through the possibility of getting to it. Cohabiting was the first stage towards validation of the potential of marriage by females. Female students who cohabited went through many IPV issues as expressed by the following voices.

"Boys like to come and live with their girlfriends at res and most boys drink alcohol. A friend of mine who stays at res usually tells me that her boyfriend hits her. He comes back drunk late at night and demands for food because he's the one buying food. It's like they are husband and wife even though they are not married and he exerts more power in the relationship. He wakes her up and beats her up but she endures because she says that she loves him." -Inelly

"Men are wrong though." A girl I used to jog with committed suicide. She was staying with her boyfriend at Holzner. Her boyfriend was cheating on her and they had a two-year-old baby. She used to warn people that she was going to commit suicide until they sent her to sister Lindi for counselling. The following

day she drank an unknown poison that made her throw-up and gave her a tummy ache. That's how she died. She killed herself over a man."—Imani

"I know of this girl who almost died from abuse, but her boyfriend was a student at another UKZN campus. Her boyfriend cheated and hit her while she was pregnant. He hit her until she miscarried." -Inelly

It seemed as if women were victimised more in cohabiting relationships, and this was compounded by their attachment to love, and they, therefore, prioritised the relationship more than themselves. In university relationships, conflict results when certain lifestyles such as drinking, smoking, and following fashion are not properly managed in the relationship (Arisukwu, 2013). Some participants expressed how cohabiting partners restricted their freedom of movement.

"Our showers are visible. There is a guy who came in looking for his girlfriend as we were showering. In the on-campus residences, people come and go as they wish. Boys stay with their girlfriends there and shower with them. You leave the toilet and he's on his way into the very same toilet. Therefore, residences for me are not safe spaces."—Zethu

"We are not safe. We stay with boys in this residence and when they are drunk they knock in our rooms. They can do anything since the security is downstairs. Sometimes the security doesn't even come to check if we are fine" -Zama.

The participants expressed that they did not feel safe in their residences due to the sight of men who were portrayed as dangerous. From the other interviews, student partners who cohabited were more likely to fight. The fighting did not last very long because after a day or so, "they forgive each other and move on (Pearl)" or "you see them together in the shower (BJ)". Other students judged the continuity of such relationships by seeing the cohabiting partners together again as if nothing had happened. This validates the Asian concept of "saving face" by maintaining the image and social standing in the relationship (Monfret, 2011) to maintain and preserve a reputation because some participants stated that other girls do not leave the relationship because they are afraid of being judged by other students.

Arisukwu (2013) found that girls that cohabit do not care about the feelings of other people when they enter into such relationships, not even what their friends think. Students who cohabit may ignore the feelings of others sharing the same building due to the high normality or culture of it. Cohabiting is more normal in on-campus residences than off-campus ones because on-campus residences are not adequately monitored whereas off-

campus residences are strictly monitored by security using a finger scanning machine for access by those students registered to live there.

In the individual interviews and FGs reported on many cohabiting issues. Below I present the summaries:

- Cohabiting partners fight the most about cheating, alcohol, and when one has not fulfilled his or her role as expected.
- Men are taught that housework is a woman's job; hence women do the room chores.
- It is rare for relationships to reach the level of marriage because the boys call them 'recycling bins'.
- The boys expect the girls to play wifely duties, which make it difficult for girls to concentrate on their studies and spending time with their friends.
- Former students have attested that university relationships rarely last outside the university context.
- The rate of female students getting pregnant and being dumped is high.
- Girls do not mind being abused by their partners because they want to be seen as potential wives.

Individual interviews and focus group discussions reported on vast similar patterns. One participant even shared on that the boys at the university had a negative attitude towards female students, calling them 'recycling bins' because when a relationship fails another student will take a girl to be his girlfriend and the cycle continues. University relationships and university life were perceived as different entities from the outside world as what happened inside had its culture and attitude towards life. Regarding pregnancy, Hart and Klein (2013) found that just because a girl has become pregnant, it does not mean that the abuse will stop. Getting dumped when pregnant as stated above is a form of emotional abuse on its own because the girls are left alone and do not get emotional support from their boyfriends, others get physically abused too. Their studies also suffer immensely because they cannot sometimes focus, especially when a couple has had a fight.

Although residence management prohibits students of the "opposite sex" to live together in one room, some students do not comply. It is also difficult to monitor because the security especially on-campus is not tight. The next theme looks at students' self-blaming and others who blame them for IPV.

### 4.3.6 Self-blame and victim blaming

Terry and Leary (2011) explain 'self-blame' as the course of attaching responsibility for conditions or events to oneself in a hostile, disapproving manner. On the other hand, Scott and Straus (2007, p. 853) state that "Blaming refers to the attribution of causality to factors outside the self." For example, "if you had not done this, I would not have done that." In this study, the concept 'self-blame' proved to be more prevalent than the concept 'blaming'. 'Self-blame' for victims of abuse was discussed more during the focus group interviews, only two participants mentioned it in the individual interviews. Victims of IPV especially women tended to blame themselves and portray ideas of deserving to be abused due to what they did.

"He hit me and I would cry and then he'd tell me that he will do it again. I realised it was my mistake because I had three phones."-Zukiswa

"We as girls also do foolish things – we come from home having a boyfriend and when we get here, we find new ones. What is expected?" –Abenathi

"I asked for it (by provoking my partner) and got it. My boyfriend hit me and I dumped him. He hit me again for dumping him. After a while he apologised and then we got back together again." -Zama

The girls above talked about being physically abused as something they expected due to their transgressions in their relationships. They blamed themselves because it felt right to be physically disciplined to equate it as a 'win-win' situation where both partners get what is due to them. A perpetrator's apology was deemed precious and worthy of another chance because it showed remorse in perpetrating abuse. While others endured abuse, others supported ideas of abuse as a way of discipline.

"Girls from res are very promiscuous. Yes, it's wrong for men to hit us but girls are promiscuous." –Imani

Some participants did not blame people who abuse for violence but their parents for socialising them to expect physical abuse when they had behaved wrongly in their relationships.

"As women, we are used to protecting men and this thing did not start with us. Even our parents have gone through such and they tell you not to expose private matters to people and the police. You end up seeing it as the right thing to do and protect your partner." -Zethu

"This thing begins with us - we expect to be hit because we think it is the right way of being disciplined. I agree with Zethu when she says that sometimes our parents instil such teachings in us. Our parents are to blame." -Sammy

According to Flood (2007), most young men and women see violence in relationships as unacceptable. However, in the study, most of the young women placed blame on themselves for provoking their partners and leading them to become victims of physical abuse. Surveys conducted in sub-Saharan Africa and Asia indicated the existence of justifications for women tolerating abuse included talking back, burning food, serving food later, and refusing to have sex (Gracia, 2014). One participant explained that it was due to direct and indirect socialisations from home that women accepted responsibility because they were taught that a man had to be respected and that men were superior to women thus implying that women had to tolerate abuse because they were inferior anyway. The participants above all showed reactions of self-blame which Gordon (2009) explains as emanating from anxiety and fear. This constructs acceptance of responsibility of IPV from the victims because their negative behaviour was inflicting the abuse. The perpetrators were partially or indirectly blamed for abusing their partners. This victim self-blame shifts the blame from the perpetrators to the victims, excusing the perpetrators of any wrongdoing. Implementation of the law is complex and should drive the victim to press charges because of myths and stereotypes about rape for example. It is trivialised, and victims are blamed for the incident (Vetten, 2014). Similarly, Gracia (2014) agrees that when the victim is perceived as the cause of an abusive occurrence, incidents are more likely to be toned down and seen as reasonable or deserved, and hence as less unfair and more accepted. "This naturalises gender inequalities in society because women are perceived as at fault for GBV" (Gordon, 2009, p. 78). Flood (2009) adds that the attitudes women hold stem from beliefs they learnt that are enforced in the patriarchal communities they come from. Women's responses of being victimised by violence in the hands of men are influenced by their attitudes and those of others, meaning that if parents accept the physical discipline of women as a norm, the same belief is likely to be learnt by their children. Women can agree with views that people have about partner violence and tend to blame themselves for the abuse. Scott and Straus (2007) contend that helplessness and having undergone long-lasting victimisation experiences lead to self-blame.

Sometimes victims of partner abuse are blamed by others. Gracia, Garcia, and Lila (2009, 2011) suggest that victims of partner abuse are judged by people they know such as

friends, family neighbours; including institutions such as the media, health departments, and law enforces. They are made to feel guilty for either exposing an abuser of wrong-doing.

"...The girl was begged and begged saying that if the boy lost his degree it will be her fault, will his parents be happy about it, making her take the blame and feel guilty even though she was the abused one with bruises — old and new."
-Khazimula

In the above extract, a participant was telling the story of a female student who had tolerated abuse from her partner for a very long time. When she went to report the abuse to Risk Management Services (RMS), she was begged not to lay a charge because if he were found guilty, his studies would come to an end. No one felt pity for her victimisation instead she was made to feel guilty and weigh the odds among who was prone to lose more between her, supposedly nothing and her partner. According to the WHO (2013) blaming a victim of partner violence is like inflicting the second victimisation to them, undermining their mentality and therefore, destabilising their process of healing. Schoellkopf (2012) maintains that victim-blaming is a new term for a trend, perpetrated by sexism, and empowers the perpetrator and maintains the status-quo. In their study, Scott and Straus (2007) attributed to men as generally having higher levels of partner blame than women. Women tend to blame themselves more for their relationship problems by taking responsibility for being abused (Gracia, 2014). The fact that intimate partner violence against women is not only an enormous social and public health issue but also a largely unreported one (Gracia, Garcia & Lila, 2009) makes it even more vital to try to change victim-blaming attitudes. In the next theme, I discuss participants' views about the security systems at the university.

# **4.3.7** The university security and support systems

In the main, students reported not being satisfied with the university's sense of urgency in addressing GBV. Hence, they felt insecure about the security measures. Many occurrences of GBV have gone underreported because of students' reported lack of assurance in university services (Tolsi, 2007). While the central focus must be on victims, another circle of influence involves those who are directly involved in responding to partner abuse cases on campuses.

The participants in FG1, FG2 and FG3 consequently mentioned the university staff members they think were responsible for their safety at the residences:

- RMS and security guards responsible for day and night safety of all students.
- Residence Assistants (RA) final year and postgraduate students responsible for student issues at the residences.
- House Committee (House Comm) chosen by the students regardless of a number of years at the university worked with management to resolve student issues at the residences.
- Management at the top of the structure at the res responsible for the overall operation of the residences.

Most participants indicated what they thought was the process of reporting IPV at the residences (RMS, RA, House Committee and management). However, most of them showed distrust in them. Below are some of their complaints.

"I usually hear students complain about RMS, that they take students cases lightly. They say students should resolve cases on their own." -Abenathi

"They tell you to go to the police because the university does not meddle into people's relationships. We once had a case of a boy who was carrying a gun and wanted to shoot his girlfriend at res but the same securities were running away with us."—Rose

"It is not effective because sometimes you call RA and she only comes after 30 to 45 minutes, no matter how urgent your situation is. They are just taken in and they don't really know how to deal with our issues."-Zethu

"You write statements and that's it, no follow up, it vanishes into thin air. You can report to the police and get a protection order but some women are stupid because they can clear it after the boyfriend has begged you to."-BJ

During the individual interviews, the participants were not timid in expressing their frustrations and disappointments about safety in general and IPV in their respective residences. I felt pity for them and wished to help them somehow. The participants sometimes reported IPV to the relevant authorities, but they did not get help. They were told to write statements and did not receive feedback. After that they were told to go the police; security officers were inaccessible, and the procedure of reporting was slow if effective at all. The participants were therefore in a state of hopelessness, and the university was beckoned to do something. Only three participants were satisfied with the level of security. They were satisfied because of the security checks which were only accessible at off-campus residences.

The participants reported on some issues regarding security at the residences. The main thing that stood out was distrust in the security guards whom they felt was their primary job to secure students and the lack of adequate support from the residence management. Male students were highlighted as the cause of violence and IPV to female students. Below are some explanations from the FG1 discussion residing on-campus.

"There is lack of proper counselling here on campus. There is a room for counselling by the clinic but they only counsel people testing for HIV. If you seek counselling regarding other things they just tell you to come back at another time, its lunch-time, etc., until you give up. RA said that there is no need to report abuse to the police, that there is a counselling process on campus, housing whatwhat. There is no such thing up until now. The issues that students face at the residences are not taken seriously; they don't get noticed. You can't even trust the RMS people. They ask us out. They just see potential girlfriends in us. Others are friends with male students; they drink with them."—Abenathi

"So, you are saying that counselling here is only reserved for HIV/AIDS, counselling regarding IPV is not available?" -Me

"Yes" -All

"On the case of the girl I was talking about, her boyfriend hit her on Friday and then on Monday our RA said that there is no need to report abuse to the police, that there is a counselling process on campus, housing what-what. There is no such thing up until now." -Khazimula

"If you experience IPV from your partner or abuse from anyone where would you go to report the matter?" -Me

"I'd go straight to the police. There is no way I would go to RMS. I have a very bad experience with them. I've seen many people not being helped by them, only appearing as fools in the end. That is why I'd go straight to the police."
-Khazimula

"I would also do the same." -Abenathi

The participants showed dissatisfaction towards the university staff involved in their safety. In the discussion above, the participants showed dissatisfaction in university security services by highlighting their unresponsiveness. The university was portrayed as an institution that did not care about the students' safety because they did not provide proper feedback nor deal with issues in a satisfactory manner.

Also, participants in mixed-gendered residences, off-campus highlighted how unsafe they felt despite the secure building.

"On my side I don't feel safe. The on-campus residences are worse, at least here the security is tight - you can't just enter anyhow. In the on-campus residences, people come and go as they wish. Boys stay with their girlfriends there and shower with them. You leave the toilet and he's on his way into the very same toilet. Therefore, residences for me are not safe spaces." —Zethu

"I agree with Zethu. We are not safe. We stay with boys in this residence and when they are drunk they knock in our rooms. They can do anything since the security is downstairs. Sometimes the security doesn't even come to check if we are fine." -Zama

"They don't knock in the boys' rooms, only the girls and they ask for food from us." -Zethu

"Sometimes they don't knock. If you haven't locked your door, they go straight in." -Angel

"Besides everything that has been said, the building is very secure. You can't enter anyhow, although when the boys are drunk they sign in their friends. Sometimes you don't get abused by people you know, but by people, you don't know that you've never even seen before." -Sammy

The boys at the off-campus residences were also portrayed as contributing to the girls not feeling safe. The building could be secure, but it was also the boys inside that abused them. The residences, especially on campus, were highlighted as unsafe spaces for female students. On campus, the only form of security was at the main gate and far from the residences where the security guards opened the boom gates for everybody entering or leaving campus. It was said that anybody could enter the buildings. It was much better off-campus because security guards were placed in the building itself where there was a fingerprint scanning system. The RMS saw potential girlfriends in the female students because they asked them out, which made them feel uneasy about them, plus they had lost any form of respect for them. Also, the participants indicated that if they went for counselling using the university counselling services they did not get help. This act discouraged students from seeking assistance in the first place because they knew they would not be attended to, meaning the issue of IPV could exacerbate if there were no proper channels of addressing it.

It is often difficult to report abuse, and when victims do come forward to the authorities, they have mixed feelings. They may regret reporting due to force from a partner to retract a complaint and lack of support from family, friends, and university authorities (Grimmett, Lewis, Schuster, Sokolow, Swinton & Van Brunt, 2015). Some participants mentioned that

the procedure to report partner abuse was slow and ineffective; they would rather go to the police. The police were trusted more to handle their cases than the university authorities were. Reporting involved going through a string of authorities in an orderly manner: RA, House Comm, RMS, Security guards, and eventually management. Management only handled cases that had gone through the other officials first and failed, they did not entertain first time reports. Sometimes cases of IPV were not entertained because female students would at times withdraw complaints or go against the rules and be seen with their partners again despite having been told not to do so. This may be the reason why some authorities took some IPV cases lightly.

Akala and Divala (2016) argue that gender issues are given less urgency in higher education since they are downgraded to private spaces where family, feelings, nurturance and relationships 'belong'. It is also worth noting that students need not go through certain challenges first hand to know about them, word of mouth is highly influential in distributing news about university issues among students. Others hesitate to report because they have heard that the university does not help students. The prevalence of IPV may, therefore, remain unknown due to such irregularities. The next theme discusses the participants' suggestions for reducing IPV.

### **4.3.8** Reducing Intimate Partner Violence

Attempting to reduce IPV in universities is of paramount importance not just for redressing disadvantages, inequalities, and imbalances of the past that have marginalised women the most, but also for the social and personal well-being of female students at an institution of learning. The participants all felt that something had to be done to reduce IPV. The solutions offered were varied. Some solutions concerned the university authorities, for example:

"The university should conduct surveys on what students think should be done regarding their safety. It should also skilfully train the security guards because all they have are security certificates - they have no knowledge of university problems." -Zukiswa

"I think there should be awareness talks even though we know that it's not everybody who will attend them - other people don't believe in talking about such issues. The management should clearly stipulate the consequences that one will face if they abuse anyone because they expect everyone to be well accommodated at res."—Sammy

"I think the university should organise an IPV awareness campaign for women. They should also put programmes in place especially for information about how to go about when you have been abused. We are always told we should report such things but we have no idea where to report." -Samkelo

Some solutions focused on educating men about gender. The participants felt that the male students' treatment of girls on campus was negative and abusive hence, they needed lessons on how to treat women well and with dignity. For example:

"I think that our male students have no knowledge about how to treat women. Shortly I wish that the university could invite someone to come and address our male students about how to treat women." -Khazimula

"I think boys should be mentored. The girls need someone who will teach them how to conduct themselves as women. We need someone who will guide us as to who we are because up until now I always address myself by my past."—Imani

Others focused on the empowerment of women. Also, Focus Group 3's reasons for intervention on women empowerment were based on the understanding that they did not know what to do, they were afraid of their partners and depended on them for survival.

"The solution is women empowerment where women should be told things." –Zethu

Others focused on how students, in general, could get involved in reducing IPV on campus:

"If I hear something bad happening in my neighbour's room, I think one should help because you end up being affected by what is happening."—Angel

"I think you should sit them down (neighbours) and advise them that one day the person abusing you can kill you." –Zama

All the participants indicated that there was a need for reducing IPV at residences. In all the focus groups, the participants mostly highlighted that women needed to be guided, mentored, and empowered about who they were and how to stand up for themselves and to stop addressing themselves by their past.

Similarly, during the individual interviews, most participants suggested that the university should organise awareness campaigns against women abuse where both male and female students could attend and know when a relationship was no longer healthy. However, one

of them felt that it would be pointless to have awareness campaigns because "if you love each other you love each other". This goes back to the first theme 'Violence demonstrates love' where participants highlighted that no matter how severe abuse could be among partners when you love each other you stay in that relationship. Even the security guards/RMS were aware of this trend of students getting back together after reporting IPV which could be the reason why they took students' issues lightly. Two participants suggested separate residences for male and female students; one participant said that there should be a 'no male visitors rule', while the rest wanted security at residence entrance gates, cameras, and House Comm to deal only with students' personal problems.

Addressing IPV at universities is a challenge because of such reasons as the low rate of reporting it, not just at universities but South Africa as a whole. Machisa, Jewkes, Morna and Rama (2010) confirm that GBV in South Africa is normalised and underreported. The SAPS reported that one in 36 sexual assaults were reported in South Africa (Vetten, 2000). Some participants stated that one of the reasons for not reporting IPV was because they were afraid of being laughed at by other students and that they often blamed themselves for initiating a conflict that often led to physical abuse. Participants were not even sure who to report to, should they encounter IPV. De Keseredy and Schwartz (1998) argue that the high prevalence of IPV and other GBV issues at university campuses is due to universities' low acknowledgement of women and the presence of gender disparity in student bodies. According to Vetten (2014), local intervention on IPV dates back as recent as 1993 when the Prevention of Family Violence Act was legislated as the first attempt to address domestic violence and rape between partners as a crime.

Vetten (2014) summarises that to combat domestic violence in South Africa; the policy brief recommends that:

- Further research should be conducted on all forms of family violence in South Africa, especially the co-occurrence of child abuse with intimate partner violence. Services may need to be adapted to ensure they address the presence of both forms of violence in families.
- The police should record the relationship between perpetrator and victim and report on this.

- Policies and programmes should be developed to address the economic drivers of domestic violence.
- The state funding of services (including the provision of shelter) to the victims of abuse needs to be improved. Microfinance, along with the provision of long-term housing, could significantly assist abused women.
- 5 The feasibility of regulating the availability of alcohol should be examined.

In addressing sexual violence, the university under study has a Sexual Harassment Policy and Procedures that was established in 2004. In its preamble, the policy states: "The university is committed to providing a work and study environment that is free of any form of unfair discrimination or harassment. This includes any acts or threats that interfere with the performance at work or in study of any individual or group on account of race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, family responsibility, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, political opinion, culture, language or birth (UKZN sexual harassment policy, 2004, p.2)." The university also has a Sexual Violence Awareness Campaign that was held at the Westville Campus earlier in 2016. Students were empowered on how to protect themselves against sexual violence and where to get help with other domestic violence issues. Student Support Services is still to host this campaign at other UKZN campuses (www.ukzn.ac.za). The obvious intent of these prevention and awareness programmes is to raise awareness regarding partner violence, sexual assault, and other issues of student safety to empower students and to ensure that they are knowledgeable about procedures and resources to eventually address and reduce IPV on campuses.

The participants noted that it was such campaigns that they needed to be empowered as vulnerable people in the university context. However, such campaigns did not guarantee that GBV would disappear because firstly; it requires students themselves to go to the venue that will host them and if students do not want to go then there will be no change, secondly; even after attending such campaigns there is no guarantee of any change if the perpetrator does not accept that he/she has a problem, their change of attitude about perpetrating violence is key to reducing IPV. Public perceptions and attitudes shape the social environment in which such violence takes place and either propagate or prevent its occurrence. A significant reduction of IPV cannot be achieved without addressing societal

attitudes leading to tolerance or justification of violence against women at the hands of an intimate partner.

### 4.4 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, the findings of the study have been presented and discussed within themes what is IPV?; gender roles and IPV; violence demonstrates love; cohabiting and training as wives; materialism and 'sugar-daddies'; self-blame and victim blaming; the university security and support systems and reducing IPV. In the theme 'What is IPV?' the female students showed limited understanding and only attributed IPV in the form of physicality which is physical and sexual abuse. However, after they asked for a further explanation of what IPV was, they showed an immense understanding on the different forms of IPV: physical, sexual, emotional, and financial abuse. In gender roles and IPV, both males and females are socialised into gender roles, and this kind of socialisation is from their immediate community which is family before the other agents such as friends, media, and institutions enforce these roles. From these roles, partners learn and what is learnt may at the time lead to IPV. In the theme "violence demonstrates love", females' students tolerate and expose themselves to IPV because violence according to participants equates to love. Further, it prevails from the chapter that residences, especially the on-campus ones, are characterised by cohabiting, and females' in the process of cohabiting are trained, or they train themselves as wives. Consequently, the findings indicate that poverty leads to lack of some necessities and the females' desire for some materials result in them exposing themselves to 'sugar-daddies' that are claimed to be exerting violence. In victim blaming, the data have also indicated that females blame themselves for being abused and that residences are insecure spaces thus exposing females to abuse. On reducing IPV, most of the female students believed that several things could be done to reduce IPV and for this, the responsibility lied with male and female students and the university authorities.

With these findings in mind, in the next chapter, I present, using the research questions the summary of the findings, conclusions and the recommendations for research and reducing IPV at university residences.

#### **CHAPTER 5**

## SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 5.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter, the analysis of findings was presented. In this chapter, I provide a summary of the main findings of my study with the aim of showing how this study has responded to the main research questions. I discuss the results of my study by connecting these to the critical questions, literature and theoretical framework. I finally provide recommendations and suggest areas for further future research.

The study sought to explore how female residence students at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, understand intimate partner violence, the prevalence thereof, and their suggestions on curbing the problem. The study was motivated by my observations of the prevalence of IPV in female university residences and the factors influencing underreporting thereof. The focus of my study was guided by three critical research questions:

- 1. What do female students at UKZN residences understand as intimate partner violence?
- 2. What are female students at UKZN residences views on the prevalence of Intimate Partner Violence at the residences?
- 3. What do female students at UKZN residences suggest as possible ways to reduce Intimate Partner Violence at residences?

To address these questions, a qualitative case study methodology was employed, located within an interpretivist paradigm. Focus group discussions and semi-structured individual face-to-face interviews were used to generate data. Eighteen female participants all residing at UKZN residences comprised the sample. A thematic analysis was used to identify, analyse and report themes or patterns within the data (Braun & Clark, 2006) which elicited the findings for this study. The three research questions were addressed within eight themes. The following section provides a synthesised overview of the major findings of the study.

### 5.2 SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS

In this section, I summarise how each research question was addressed by the findings in the previous chapter. The intention here is to expose the main findings of the study and also to demonstrate how I have managed to achieve the purpose of the study.

# 5.2.1 Research Question 1: What do female students at UKZN residences understand as intimate partner violence?

In this question the purpose was to establish the views of female residence students on what constitutes intimate partner violence. Regarding what constitutes IPV, the female students initially seemed not to have a broad understanding. They vaguely tried to explain what it was and where they had heard of it. To them, initially physical abuse and sexual abuse completed the meaning of IPV as physical. Acts such as psychological abuse, financial abuse and stalking were not looked at as forms of IPV. I felt a responsibility to explain that IPV was much broader than that. It is only after I had explained that they understood and were able to provide more information on the matter, especially about the factors leading to it and how those factors lead to it. Before I engage with these factors emanating from the female students' views, it is important to argue that this shallow understanding of IPV may contribute to underreporting of IPV. The prevalence of IPV, which I dealt with in the second research questions, reveals the degree and nature of IPV at the residences. It is possible that the views on the prevalence were only based on limited understandings about what constitutes IPV.

It was found that socialisation agents such as the family, friends, the university, social media, and church play a fundamental role in teaching students how to conduct themselves in society. The family and friends were the top ones while the latter reinforced their teachings. These teachings claim that women are inferior to men at home, university, and society as a whole. Women take these teachings and apply them in their lives and relationships.

The female students are taught about where they feature in the world as male and female persons. This is where the issue of gender roles comes in. African women are taught to perceive themselves as inferior to men and are encouraged to be submissive while men are

taught to be authoritative, strong, and that they are better than women. The female students are aware of these gender roles and take on the position of being submissive to men. As discussed under the theme 'Violence demonstrates love' in Chapter four, one effect emanating from this is accepting dominance, control and abuse in a relationship for the sake of maintaining 'love'. When asked about why women stay in abusive relationships, most of the participants cited that it was due to 'love'. Love was seen as the overarching factor for staying in an abusive relationship. In the individual interviews, most participants supported the notion of enduring partner violence while in the FGs there were participants who regarded it as uncalled for and saw a need to challenge the abuse. It was said that women had to endure physical abuse, sexual abuse and emotional abuse inflicted by a lover to prove that love existed in the relationship. The beliefs of participants about love stated above raise the question: When exactly should one leave an abusive relationship because they have made it clear that being abused is not reasonable enough. More in-depth research is needed to understand the ideology of abused women's passive response to IPV in their relationships.

The existence of relationships between female students and older men known as 'sugardaddies' or 'blessers' was also understood to be another prevalent cause of IPV. The existence of 'sugar-daddies' in tertiary institutions is normal. It appeared that female students avail themselves for 'sugar-daddies' with the hope of being provided with material things such as money, clothes, alcohol, and status. Most students come from poverty stricken backgrounds and rely on Fundza Lushaka bursaries and NSFAS to get by. Unfortunately, for others, the bursaries and loans are not sufficient. Hence, they get 'sugardaddies'. 'Sugar-daddies' were seen as providers of material goods and status because they work and drive expensive cars. This provides the foundation for partner abuse to thrive. Sometimes these relationships are formed in clubs and parties where the level of alcohol is high, and it is in these very contexts where sexual violence is increased because some men see drunk girls as sexually available and provide alcohol to tame them (Flood, 2007; Phungula, 2007). 'Sugar-daddies' come with the tendency that they own female students because they provide them with what they want. Should the female student transgress by disobeying the 'sugar-daddy', violence is most likely to occur. This was fully discussed under 'Materialism and sugar-daddies' in the previous chapter.

Alcohol was also viewed as a risk factor in causes of IPV. It was found that there is a relationship between drinking alcohol and IPV at the residences. The use of alcohol is extremely high at campus residences. Men who drink and abuse alcohol the most were found to be perpetrators of abuse because alcohol was said to increase the aggression and lessen the ability to think. Both, male and female students abuse alcohol, but males use it more and abuse their female partners in the form of shouting, shoving, knocking at rooms, hitting, swearing, and forcefully taking their money to buy more alcohol. Another finding of understanding IPV at female residences was that of cohabiting. As discussed in the previous chapter, cohabiting in heterosexual relationships is rife at residences, especially in on-campus residences. There are power dynamics that become exposed in such relationships because women take on the role of the wife, doing 'wifely' duties of cooking, cleaning, and laundry. They also have to be submissive to the male student who takes his position as the husband. It is also in such relationships where men feel a sense of sexual entitlement because sexual intercourse in some cultures is seen as a man's right (WHO & LSHTM, 2010).

Marriage is greatly valued in society, and women use cohabiting as the first stage towards hopefully reaching it. However, it was exposed that such relationships do not last and that male students are using girls to fulfil their desires while still at university. We can argue that male students taking the role of a husband may just be a strategy for them to gain what they want for a given period; should anything disturb their fun, they leave. Like, if a female student becomes pregnant, men tend to leave the relationship because they apparently do not want responsibilities, only fun times and anything to fulfil their desires. Therefore, while in the period of being a student, marriage was perceived as only valuable to female students.

According to the participants, student partners who cohabit are more likely to fight. They fight mostly about alcohol and house duties not fulfilled by women, in most cases. Female students do not challenge their partners when they get beatings or become emotionally abused because they believe that a woman has to endure pain in a relationship for it to last. Henceforth, they endure all negative things in the relationship. Cohabiting does not sit well with other students sharing a residence because they feel that their privacy is infringed. Arisukwu (2013) states that such students do not care how cohabiting is perceived by

others or by their friends. On-campus residences bear the most cohabiting students since there is little or no monitoring of residence rooms.

It was also found that victims of abuse tended to blame themselves and also endure blame from other people. Female students blamed themselves for their actions that led to being physically abused in most cases. It was their way of facing the consequences. They hold the belief that women have to tolerate abuse because they are inferior anyway which is something they learnt at an early age. This shifts the blame from the perpetrator to victim, pardoning them of any wrong-doing. When seeking help, it was reported that university staff such as the clinic and security guards did not consider students' problems. Gracia, Garcia, and Lila (2009, 2011) suggest that victims of partner abuse are judged by people they know such as friends, family, and neighbours; including institutions such as the media, health departments, and law enforcers. They disregard partner abuse issues especially if it is girls who seek help. Girls are therefore not confident in university services regarding their safety. The above findings represent the responses of students about their understanding and experiences in one of the campus residences of the University of KwaZulu-Natal. I will now explore the female students' views on the prevalence of IPV in the residences.

# 5.2.2 Research Question 2: What are female students at UKZN residences views on the prevalence of Intimate Partner Violence at the residences?

This question sought to understand the level of IPV in residences in the selected UKZN campus. The participants indicated that IPV was rife at the university residences. The issue of security appears to be the main cause for the high prevalence of IPV, especially in those residences found on campus. The off-campus residences were characterised by the 24hour security protection, and the use of fingertips to move in and out of the residences. This system made it difficult for outsiders to access the rooms of female students and therefore, cases of IPV were reduced. IPV in a mixed gender, off-campus residences is, however, a norm and prevalent to those mixed residences as students have easy access to their partner's rooms. On-campus residences are prone to the high prevalence of IPV in both males from inside, and the so-called 'sugar-daddies' have unlimited access to female students.

The highest prevalence of abuse was found in physical abuse. Such abuse occurs through hitting, strangling, and throwing off. Physical abuse is a norm in residences due to the frequency of infliction. The participants correlated physical abuse to occur more when alcohol was consumed. The participants stated that men become the perpetrators and women the victims. Places of fun such as parties and clubs are contexts of high alcohol and drug abuse; these very spaces are highly attractive to university students. Women meet potential providers who are more likely to sexually harass them in the end as payment for buying alcohol for them. Due to mismanagement of alcohol which is prohibited at residences by security, the relationship between physical abuse and alcohol may escalate. Physical abuse also relates to physical strength because the participants continuously reasoned that men were stronger than women. Hence men use this physical power to exert control in their relationships.

For women, sexual abuse was more likely to occur after drinking alcohol because being drunk reduces one's thinking capacity, making them readily available to anyone. About sexual abuse, women are also prone to it if they are in relationships with men who hold traditional misogynous beliefs that men are self-entitled to sex. Refusing sex also comes with unfavourable accusations of having multiple partners.

Emotional abuse in the form of swearing, and using insulting, vulgar language occurs behind closed doors at the residences. The participants attested to its existence, however, limited because female students at the residences have a tendency of not talking about it. It is not highly recognised like physical and sexual abuse because it is not as tangible and lacks specimen of evidence. Others do not recognise it as a form of IPV altogether due to unfamiliar terminology used.

Another finding included socialisation as a contributing factor that increases the risk for women to experience IPV. Socialisation from home proved to be most influential to how women and men conduct themselves in their relationships. Those socialisations improve gender inequality at the university because girls are expected to be equipped by gender roles that not just reinforce their learnt inferiority but also disturb their studies. Women, therefore, find themselves in compromising situations of succumbing to severe abuse for the sake of approval by the boyfriend, his friends, and the boyfriend's family. However, student relationships rarely move to the stage of marriage. This section is discussed more

in the previous chapter under gender roles and IPV. In the findings above I provided a discussion over the prevalence of IPV as perceived by female students staying at the residences. I will now explore their suggestions on reducing IPV at the residences.

# 5.2.3 Research Question 3: What do female students at UKZN residences suggest as possible ways to reduce Intimate Partner Violence at residences?

The female students are aware of IPV that occurs at residences and as discussed in the previous chapter, felt there was a need for intervention. Most of them wanted the university to organise awareness campaigns that would involve external stakeholders imparting knowledge on how men should treat women as men were viewed as the main source of IPV. Others alerted that the issue of IPV was taught at home and therefore, felt that such campaigns would have to address the negative perceptions of superiority versus inferiority male students have of female students. However, some participants believed that the latter suggestion would lack the impact since students would attend campaigns 'if' they wanted to. The participants stated that awareness campaigns should be aimed at changing the traditional gender role socialisation within which men feel entitled to dominate women, and women submissively accept being dominated by men.

Other students suggested institutional interventions such as gender separation at residences where male students have their residences and female students likewise. On-campus residences are gender separated while the off-campus ones have mixed gender ones and others not. Because there is already such an arrangement in operation, it was reported that female residences were more prone to IPV because there was no fingerprint system in place. Hence they wanted an improvement in security that would regulate who came in.

A few participants suggested that cameras be installed in all residences to improve security. They had asked for this security measurement to be used but did not succeed. Clearly, IPV as experienced and observed by the female students has had and continues to have debilitating effects on students' daily lives. Their suggestions should be attended to reduce intimate partner violence in the spaces they call 'a second home'.

### 5.3 IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

The implications for this study are divided into three categories. I first present the implications for a policy where I look at what the findings suggest for policies of the university concerned. Secondly, I consider the implications for practice where I highlight what findings suggest for curriculum in Universities and life in residences. Lastly, I present the implications for further research. Here I reflect on what this research has done and look at what kind of research is further required.

# **5.3.1** Implications for policy

It is clear that intimate partner violence is rife in the residences, and that it often goes unreported and unpunished, often even tolerated and normalised. The study has highlighted the impact of intimate partner violence in the university residences, and these have serious implications for policy at the university ensuring that they are violent-free living spaces. A significant finding in the study is the revelation of the lack of a platform to report IPV and one that directly deals with it. Overall, this study has shown how dominant discourses relating to IPV in relationships and gender power inequality, which are part of our daily lives, are central to the act of IPV in that they encourage male violence and dominance and women's victimisation and passivity. Bearing this in mind, the study recommends the following:

- The university under study should devise a policy that explicitly highlights the rules and regulations against gender violence, including IPV at the residences. In this policy, it should be made clear that IPV is prohibited and if students experience it, how and where including steps to follow, they can report it. However, more effort on preventing partner violence before it occurs should be emphasised.
- Male and female students, including university staff, are both affected by the
  historical problem of patriarchy. The university and other higher education
  institutions of learning should promote and stabilise gender equality with the
  needs of students at the forefront.
- The university should implement strict rules prohibiting alcohol as one the main causes of violence at the residences.

# **5.3.2** Implications for practice

- The issue of IPV should be acknowledged through awareness campaigns, incorporated into the university curriculum, posters around campus and residences and other informal spaces of discussion.
- While the influence of peers was often deemed as negative in focus groups (Barkhuizen, 2013), there were instances in which fellow participants challenged or cheered others in their groups and, ultimately, this study has shown how student's ways of making meaning were significantly influenced by their interaction with one another. Therefore, peer-led interventions, through talking, might be an effective tactic of addressing IPV in the student population at the campus.
- As people who interact more with residence students, Residence Assistants and House Committee should work together in the awareness and facilitation of talks about kerbing not just IPV but GBV as a whole.
- On-campus residences should only cater for female students, and male students occupy the off-campus ones. All residences should install a fingerprint detector at the entrances which can restrict anyone from freely entering the residences. In addition to security guards at the building entrances cameras should be installed and properly monitored.
- Social media is highly influential to youngsters these days; hence the university should take advantage and rigorously employ it as an outreach and effective mode of exposing gender power inequity, gendered stereotypes, and partner abuse as demeaning, therefore, unacceptable.
- Lastly, Security, with the support of the SAPSs which is more trusted by students, should be trained on how to handle IPV cases and also be more proactive in helping students when approached. In addition to this, they should undergo training regarding gender-sensitive matters and professionalism in the workplace. Failure to conduct themselves according to their training would have to be severely dealt with, expulsion being the ultimate decision.

## **5.3.3** Implications for further research

I recommend that further research regarding GBV, specifically IPV, be conducted at all UKZN campuses and at universities in South Africa as research concerning IPV in such contexts is sparsely conducted. Research should focus on gender construction and IPV, power and inequality in relationships, IPV reporting issues, security issues, and other forms of IPV that remain sidelined such as emotional and financial abuse as these play a significant role in the perpetration of IPV. This will inform bodies of policy and practice to implement policy in a more informed manner and eventually make universities and residences secure and friendly living spaces.

### 5.4 CONCLUSION

This research was a qualitative case study that explored the meanings that female students in one of the campus residences at the University of KwaZulu-Natal attach to IPV. I further explored the prevalence of IPV and the suggestions that female students at residences think could reduce IPV in residences. I have provided findings which suggest that IPV in the student residences is rife, with students experiencing it on a daily basis. The students' inputs emphasised that socialisation immensely contributes to how they conduct themselves in their dating relationships, often accepting abusive behaviour for the sake of maintaining love. This research hopes for recognition by journals of violence and abuse, anti-gender violence activists, and students themselves to propel them to be knowledgeable about IPV and therefore make informed decisions.

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## **Appendix A: Focus Group Discussion Questions**

Introduction (15 minutes)

- Greet and thank everyone for attending.
- Review the agenda, explain the research procedure and the signing of consent forms
- When the participants are settled, ask them for permission to use the audio tape.
- Ask the participants to introduce themselves by their pseudonyms.

Play the video (5 minutes)

link: https://youtu.be/RmNo7TOkCjk

The researcher then asks the following questions to the participants as a group: (60 minutes)

- 1. What do you think of the video that has been shown?
- 2. What do you think of the prevalence of IPV on campus residences that has been displayed?
- 3. Do you feel safe at the residences?
- 4. What do you think increases the risk for women to experience sexual, emotional, and physical abuse at the hands of their partners?
- 5. What is your understanding of intimate partner violence?
- 6. Who is usually the perpetrator or victim in intimate partner violence?
- 7. What are the reasons for partners in a relationship to fight?
- 8. Do you think intimate partner violence occurs often at the residences?
- 9. What does/should the student do should they experience violence at the residences?
- 10. Do you understand the procedure of reporting intimate partner violence here at the residences?
- 11. If yes, do you think this procedure is effective?
- 12. What would you suggest be done to reduce intimate partner violence at the residences?

#### Conclusion (10 minutes)

- Ask participants how they experienced the discussion and if there is anything else they would like to add.
- Then thank them for their time.
- Provide refreshments.

## **Appendix B: Questions for Individual Interview**

# Introduction (2 minutes)

- Greet participant.
- Review the agenda and explain the research procedure.
- Ask them for permission to use the audio tape.
- Ask the participant to introduce themselves by their pseudonyms.

## Interview schedule (20 minutes)

- 1. Which name would you like me to use as your pseudonym (fake name)?
- 2. Where are you originally from?
- 3. For how long have you been staying at the residences? How has it been?
- 4. Are you in a relationship?
- 5. Do you feel safe with your partner?
- 6. The Institute for Security Studies (2015) reports that in South Africa 74% of all murder-suicides involved an intimate partner, 96% of them victimising women. What is your take on this?
- 7. What constitutes forms of violence?
- 8. What do you think increases the risk for women to experience sexual, emotional, and physical abuse?
- 9. What do you think it means to be in an intimate relationship?
- 10. What is your understanding of intimate partner violence?
- 11. What are the reasons for partners in a relationship to fight?
- 12. Who is usually the perpetrator or victim when partners fight?
- 13. What is your view on intimate partner violence at the residences?
- 14. What are the reasons for partners to fight at the residences?
- 15. Do you think intimate partner violence occurs often at the residences?
- 16. Who do you think perpetrates intimate partner violence at the residences? Why?
- 17. Do you have any information about intimate partner violence that occurred here in the residences?
- 18. What does/should students do should they experience violence at the residences?
- 19. Do you understand the procedure of reporting violence here at the residences?
- 20. If yes, do you think this procedure is effective?
- 21. Do you think there is underreporting of partner violence in residences? If yes, please elaborate.
- 22. What would you suggest be done to reduce violence at the residences?

#### Conclusion (10 minutes)

- Ask participant how they experienced the interview and if there is anything else they would like to add.
- Then thank them for their time.

## **Appendix C: Letter of approval from Registrar**



30 September 2015

Ms Thembeka Makhosazana Nkosi (SN 214581890) School of Education College of Humanities Edgewood Campus UKZN

Email: matombot@yahoo.com

Dear Ms Nkosi

#### RE: PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH

Gatekeeper's permission is hereby granted for you to conduct research at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) towards your postgraduate studies, provided Ethical clearance has been obtained. We note the title of your research project is:

"Female students' understandings of intimate partner violence at UKZN residences".

It is noted that you will be constituting your sample by performing interviews and/or focus group discussions with female students from the student residences on the Edgewood Campus.

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

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

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

Data collected must be treated with due confidentiality and anonymity.

Yours sincerely

PRÓFESSOR D JAGANYI REGISTRAR (ACTING)

Office of the Registrar

Postal Address: Private Beg XX-M071, Durben, South Africa
Telephone: +27 (0) 31 260 8006/2206 Facalmills: +27 (0) 31 260 7824/2204 Email: postare fluture access

Website: www.ukm.ac.za 1910 - 2015

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# Appendix D: Approval from Humanities and Social Sciences Ethics Committee



Full Approval – Full Committee Reviewed Protocol
With regards to your response to our letter of 01 December 2015, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics
Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol have been granted FULL APPROVAL.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference

Please note: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 3 years from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

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

Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)

/ms

cc Supervisor: Dr Shakila Singh

o: Academic Leader Research: Professor P Morojele o: School Administrator: Ms Tyzer Khumalo

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair) Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building Postal Address: Private Bag XX4001, Duban 4000

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#### **Appendix E: Informed consent letter**



Dear Participant

#### INFORMED CONSENT LETTER

My name is Thembeka Myende. I am currently studying towards my Master's in Gender Education in the School of Education at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Edgewood Campus. I would like to invite you to participate in a study that I am undertaking.

# A brief description of the study follows:

Title – Female students' understandings of intimate partner violence at UKZN residences. It is part of a larger project called 'Safer learning environments: Reducing GBV in universities and UKZN residences and schools'. The Safer learning environments project will involve work within the higher education sector and within schools. The School of Education residences have been selected because the population is mainly trainee teachers. Interventions focusing on reducing GBV have to move beyond strengthening of security measures and punishment, and to actively engage students and learners in reflecting on and challenging social and cultural norms that contribute to violent expressions and to develop alternatives with them rather than for them. The project will comprise three phases: the first phase will comprise a wide scale survey generating quantitative data that will be accessed through an electronic survey that will be sent to all students in the selected residences. This will enable us to understand the extent, the frequency, the location and the nature of GBV at the residences. The second phase will entail participatory action research (PAR), working collaboratively with men and women students to identify problems and work towards generating solutions in residences and consequently create safer learning

spaces in higher education and the third phase will comprise masters and PhD studies at

selected schools. I am requesting your participation in the second phase of the project.

Please note that:

Your confidentiality is guaranteed as your inputs will not be attributed to you in

person, but reported only as a population member opinion.

The interview may last for about 30 minutes and the focus group discussion about

90 minutes.

Any information given by you cannot be used against you, and the collected data

will be used for purposes of this research only.

An audio recorder will be used (of which permission will be requested from you

first). An audio recorder is useful to capture your exact words, strengthening the

trustworthiness of the study.

Data will be stored in secure storage and destroyed after 5 years.

You have a choice to participate, not participate or stop participating in the

research. You will not be penalised for taking such an action.

Your involvement is purely for academic purposes only, and there are no financial

benefits involved.

The results of the study and any publications arising from the study will be sent to

you by e-mail.

The study is not designed in to create any stress or anxiety but if your participation

gives rise to any anxiety or stress then you may contact the psychologist who is

based at the campus: Ms Lindi Ngubane. Her telephone number is 031 2603653

and e-mail address is ngubanel@ukzn.ac.za.

I can be contacted at: matombot@yahoo.com

Tel: 0766723122/0614235598

You may also contact the HSSREC Research Office through:

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

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

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

Thank you for your contribution to this research.

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# **Appendix F: Participant Declaration**

DECLARATION
I(full names of
participant) hereby confirm that I understand the nature of the research study being
undertaken and I consent to participate in the research study. I understand that I am a
liberty to withdraw from participating at any time, should I want to do so. I also
understand that I will receive feedback of the findings from my participation after th
study has been conducted.
SIGNATURE OF PARTICIPANT
DATE:

#### APPENDIX G: SAMPLE INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT

## **Individual Interview Participant 12 Zethu (pseudonym)**

Me: Where is home Zethu?

Zethu: Vryheid.

Me: Wow! That is my hometown. Got how long have you stayed at res?

Zethu: Two years now.

Me: The Institute for Security Studies conducted research in South Africa in 2015 and found that 74% of all murder-suicides involved an intimate partner of which 96% affects women. What do you think of that?

Zethu: That is probably true because in most cases you find that women are affected by abuse the most and they easily take things personally. I also lost a friend to suicide because she had problems with her boyfriend.

Me: Why are women more prone to commit suicide than men are?

Zethu: I think they lack independence. When they get disappointed in relationships they have worked hard for, they think it is the end of life since things have not work out between them and their partners. Sometimes there is a child among the partners and families are involved. Women are afraid of what people will say and cannot handle the pressure and then commit suicide.

Me: What increases the risk for women to experience IPV?

Zethu: Sometimes men know that they are powerless and want to use a woman to prove that they also can have power, since women are not that strong. They tend to be bossy.

Me: Why do partners fight at res?

Zethu: At res, many things cause partners to fight. Cheating is one of them and confronting him perpetrates violence. At other times, they fight because one of them is drunk or both of them.

Me: So alcohol is a factor.

Zethu: Yes, it is a huge issue at res. Even though the university tries to manage it but they fail. Some students bribe the security or put it in their school bags. Students also use drugs. A drug dealer uses students to sell drugs.

Me: That is hectic. Who is usually the perpetrator and victim of abuse in relationships?

Zethu: It can be both men and women but in most cases, men perpetrate violence because some do not respect women but they expect to be respected. If they do not get what they want, men initiate violence. I think men are ignorant to things they know are wrong but they do them and expect you to keep quiet and comply.

#### APPENDIX H: SAMPLE FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT

#### **FOCUS GROUP 3**

Participants: Zethu, Nokwanda, Zama, Angel, and Sammy (Pseudonyms).

I greet the participants, review the purpose of the study and ask the participants to read it and sign. I ask the participants to watch a video about Intimate Partner Violence in university residences.

Me: What did you think of the video that just played?

Zethu: I think the video was all about telling us about the different kinds of violence: physical, emotional and sexual violence.

Sammy: The video was telling us that violence has harmful consequences such as depression for women.

Nokwanda: We can say that people become violent when they are drunk or have resorted to drug abuse.

Me: Is that all? Is there anybody who would like to add anything else?

Zethu: Violence is rife, it exists and we cannot turn a blind eye on it. It happens, like in the video it said that every 9 seconds a woman is abused. We do not have to hear a person cry to know that they are abused but throwing hurtful words is violence itself.

Me: Does what we saw on the video happen here at your residence?

Sammy: Here at res, we have rules against it but it happens, just like in video when it said that violence is inflicted when a man is under the influence of alcohol. We have seen cases where couples would be drinking and then start fighting in the end. I have seen couples fight just because they were drunk.

Me: You spoke of rules, are we all aware of them?

All: No.

Nokwanda: It is my first time hearing that we have rules against violence.

Sammy: Violence occurs mostly between men, after they have had alcohol. IPV is not that exposed because couples hide in their rooms when they fight with one another. Emotional violence is also very common. I have seen it many times here where couples exchange harsh words.

Me: Ok.

Angel: Last year on campus, we witnessed a male student hitting his girlfriend in public. We all saw and heard him saying bad things to her because he was shouting. Apparently, he hit her because she was cheating.

# APPENDIX I: TURNITIN REPORT/CERTIFICATE

