AN ANALYSIS OF THE NATURE AND EFFECTS OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT ON SECONDARY SCHOOLGIRLS IN SOUTH AFRICA: A CASE STUDY OF FOUR CO-EDUCATIONAL SCHOOLS IN PIETERMARITZBURG, KWAZULU-NATAL.

Munira Subedar

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis is my own work unless specifically indicated in the text.

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Abstract

This study investigates the nature and extent of sexual harassment of girls in four co-educational secondary schools in Pietermaritzburg. It focuses on how boys sexually harass girls; how it manifests itself; the way it is perceived by the girls and the language they use to describe it; the strategies they use to deal with it; and the effects the behaviour has on their schooling. School policies and procedures in dealing with sexual harassment, or lack thereof, will also be analysed and recommendations made for policies and strategies for educators and learners.

The study locates sexual harassment as a form of gender-based violence against females and asserts that all the incidents of sexual violence, both in the public and private spheres, both overt and subtle forms, are linked because all these incidents are a manifestation of gender power inequalities. Sexual harassment at school is only part of the continuum of violence that females constantly face. The concept of a continuum enables the exploration of experiences that are subtle and covert, which are not easy to recognise, but are a key issue to be addressed if the problem of gender-based violence is to be tackled effectively.

The methods used in this research process are reflective of the ethnographic case study and acknowledge the complexities of the issues involved in the research problem. Thus, it develops a complementary relationship between qualitative and quantitative components so that tools necessary for deep exploration can be provided and the perspectives of the central subjects of the study can be brought in. In-depth group interviews were conducted with at least 10 girls, from diverse backgrounds aged between 16 to 18 years, from each school and questionnaires were administered to 150 girls from the four schools to investigate the nature and effects of sexual harassment on them. School managers were interviewed about school policy on sexual harassment and procedures that have been adopted to address the problem.

An analysis of the data reveals that despite the pervasiveness of the problem, it is surrounded by silence because the girls have difficulties in recognising and articulating their experiences of sexual harassment. It shows that the sexually harassing behaviour is rationalised as 'normal' whilst at the same time controlling the girls educationally, socially and emotionally Further, it shows that when gender intersects with race and class it can produce greater negative treatment for black, working class girls. The perpetrators, who are mostly males, act with impunity because the power relations inherent in the schools are gendered and, therefore, the schools are complicit in producing the inequalities in gender and power relationships that underpin sexual harassment.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

The last decade has witnessed a growing awareness of how widespread gender-based violence is in communities (Wood et al, 1998; Medical Research Council, 2000; Varga, 2000; Lovelife, 2001) and schools in South Africa (Wolpe et al, 1997; Vally, 1998; Mukasa, 1999; Human Rights Watch, 2001). This has largely been due to the attention that such practices have received from the press and media and the greater international awareness of the seriousness of gender-based violence at the workplace, in universities and schools world-wide. South Africa's transformation to democracy has given further impetus to concerns about women's rights, sexual violence and sexual harassment. Unlike many countries in Africa, South Africa's situation is significantly different because the right to gender equity is in the present constitution and there is an obligation to ensure that both males and females are accorded these rights. According to the constitutional Bill of Rights:

> The state may not unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds, including race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion conscience, belief, culture, language and birth. [1]

There is no doubt that the country has made great strides in achieving a legal framework where the rights of men and women appear to be equally guaranteed (Samuel, 2001). What is evident, however, is an emerging gap between policy and practice (Chisholm and Napo, 1999), between what rights are accorded to women and girls and what their lived experiences are. This shows that the principles of equality for women before the law remain meaningless because society's entrenched attitudes

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[1] South African Constitution, as adopted by the Constitutional Assembly on 7 May and Parliament on 8 May, 1996.

about gender have not changed. Despite the transformation that has taken place politically and legally, women and girls are still discriminated against. The *de jure* equality for women has not translated into a *de facto* one. Thus, it is evident that societal attitudes towards gender are not automatically internalised by what is espoused in the Constitution. These attitudes towards gender are diverse, complex, constantly evolving and misunderstood. This study hopes to bring out some of these complexities in interrogating the problem of gender-based violence in schools.

There is evidence of continuing gender conflict in South African civil society (Chisholm and Napo, 1999). It has the highest per capita figures for violent death of any country not at war and much of this violence is gendered (Human Rights Watch, 2001). Some researchers explain that this country has been left with a legacy of violence that underpinned the apartheid state for decades and that patriarchal violence was sanctioned and legitimated by the state (Epstein, 1998; Morrell, 1998c). This, combined with indigenous culturally endorsed violence toward women and girls led to extremely high levels of violence throughout the country (CIET, 2000). We also rank amongst the highest in the world for sexually violent crimes (Naidoo, 1998) and the 1995 Human Rights Watch Report on domestic violence and rape refers to South Africa as the 'rape capital of the world', with over 30 per cent of rape of schoolgirls (15 to 19 years) being perpetrated by school teachers (Medical Research Council, 2000).

In the past couple of years, and especially in 2001 and 2002, the South African public has been shocked and outraged by the numerous reports on sexual assaults on women, girls and babies. While there may be benefits to the victims from this type of reaction, we need to interrogate why the public reacts this way. Being shocked about the occurrence of these incidents implies that the information is new and unexpected. These incidents are treated by the media as if they are individual, unique cases, which stand in isolation from the systemic violence that is being experienced in wider society. We need to locate these individual acts of oppression or force as being embedded within some structure of power inequalities and ideologies of male

supremacy (Connell, 1987), and link these incidents to general sexual violence against women (Jones and Mahony, 1989).

Gender-based violence is not only a consequence of individual attitudes and beliefs. These acts are embedded in power inequalities and ideologies of male supremacy and are embedded in society and in the institutions such as schools in the way they are organised (Connell, 1987). The gendered violence reflects gender inequalities that exist in that society and the impunity with which these acts are perpetrated. As this study hopes to demonstrate, as institutions many schools help to reproduce the existing power imbalance between males and females.[2] One area that reflects this is the failure of schools to recognise the significant impact of gender- based violence on the lives of female learners and hence failing to intervene (Human Rights Watch, 2001).

Although girls in South Africa have better access to school than girls in sub-Saharan African states, they are confronted with high levels of sexual violence and harassment in schools that impede their access to education on equal terms with male learners (Wolpe et al, 1997). The Human Rights Watch Report (2001), commissioned by the National Department of Education to investigate school-based sexual violence, found that the harassment of schoolgirls, by both teachers and other learners, is widespread in South Africa and prevalent in all socio-economic groups and all race groups, A 1998 South Africa Demographic and Health Survey conducted by the Medical Research Council confirms this assertion (Jewkes et al, 2002). The Human Rights Watch report found that girls are fondled, subjected to aggressive sexual advances, and verbally degraded in schools, which leads to a destabilising effect on the girls' education. Girls who had experienced sexually harassing behaviour reported losing interest in school, transferred to new schools or left school altogether. Parents reported that their children had become depressed, disruptive, anxious and were not performing to their full potential. The attackers act with impunity because no one

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[2] Schools operate as important public spaces in which young people learn about and construct their sexualities and actively produce a range of masculinities and femininities (Epstein, 1994).

takes responsibility for the problem. The school officials said that they could not do anything because many of those who are affected choose to remain silent. Research has shown that girls are often unable to label this abusive behaviour (Mukasa, 1999; Bennet et al, 1998; Larkin, 1994). School officials also don't act against perpetrators because sexual harassment specifically is a difficult, intangible and elusive area of behaviour, often difficult to define, and especially subject to perception differences, and because it is considered as 'normal' male behaviour (Wise and Stanley, 1987; Herbert, 1989).

To adequately address the problem of gender-based violence in schools, it is necessary to have a holistic understanding of the causes of this violence, and solutions must factor in gender and sexuality and other relationships of power in race and social class dynamics. Such analyses will require focusing on the gender regimes of schools and also focusing on masculinity, given that the main perpetrators of violence are males (Kenway and Fitzclarence, 1997). Jewkes and Abrahams (2002) argue that the problem of gendered-based violence in South Africa has to be understood within the context of the very substantial gender power inequalities that pervade society. It is both a manifestation of male dominance over women and an assertion of that position.

Rachel Jewkes argues that South Africa has a culture of male sexual entitlement and a climate of relative impunity in which gender-based violence is perpetrated (*Weekly Mail and Guardian*, 8-14 November, 2002, p.13.). Jewkes says that the root of the problem of infant rape, as with the rape of girls and women, lies at more mundane doors. To begin to understand and address the problem of rape, she advises that the spectrum of sexual violence against women and girls be examined, as well as the more routine ways in which these gender inequalities are manifested. This widening definition of gender-based violence is supported by Kenway and Fitzclarence (1997) who argue that our understanding of violence has become more nuanced. It involves a 'continuous series of events that pass into one another and cannot be readily distinguished' (1997: 117) which is one of the reasons why it is difficult to disentangle harassing incidents from what is accepted as ordinary male-female interactions. Therefore, to redress issues of gender-based violence behaviour in school

and other contexts, it is necessary to examine the routine ways in which schoolgirls are intimidated and humiliated on a regular and recurring basis, and the extent to which this behaviour is normalised causing many girls to dismiss what they experience. Problems such as bullying, teasing and sexual harassment, if left unchecked, could be the antecedent of more serious forms of gender-based violence such as domestic violence. If it is left unchallenged at schools these serve as fertile practice ground and perpetuates the cycle of violence (Stein, 1995, 1999).

Schools operate as places in which young men learn about and construct their sexualities and actively produce a range of masculinities. Some of the dominant forms of masculinities serve to marginalise specific social groups such as women, girls, disabled people, black and minority groups and gays (Epstein, 1994). Schools also have their own gender regimes where there are arrangements of gender relations that distribute gender power (Morrell, 1998a). However, 'the school as an educational institution' within the South African judicial/legal context has an obligation to provide gender equitable education[3] to all its learners, and to do this it has to do respond, urgently, to the problem of sexual harassment. Ignoring the problem violates fundamental democratic principles because it is a form of discrimination that creates an obstacle to girls receiving gender equitable education, even though the Constitution guarantees it.

After South Africa's transition to democracy, the state played a leading role in focusing on gender inequalities in education. This is a significant development because the state is the single most important agent of change (Morrell, 2001a). The need to deal effectively with gender discrimination is even more imperative since gender equity has a place in the new constitution and the legislative frameworks based on this equity. The Ministry of Education has acknowledged sexual harassment as a major problem. In 1999 the department launched *"Tirisano"*, a nine-point plan of action to be implemented over five years with the broad aim of transforming the

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[3] Gender equitable education is the concept of equality of opportunity and outcome between boys and girls in education and the fair and just distribution of benefits from the school education system for all students taking into account the principles of gender equity.

South African school system.[4] *Tirisano* has a school safety component aimed at ensuring that all schools are free from crime, violence and sexual harassment (Department of Education, 2000a). The two key programmes were outlined thus:

Programme 1: HIV/AIDS

Strategic Objectives: To raise awareness and the level of knowledge of HIV/AIDS amongst educators, learners and students at all levels and institutions within the education and training system, including departmental employees; to promote values which inculcate respect for girls and women and recognise the right of girls and women to free choice in sexual relations.

Programme 2: School Effectiveness and Educator Professionalism

Strategic Objectives: Initiate safe schools campaigns, including awareness of violence, drugs and sexual harassment of girls and women, in conjunction with the community, NGOs, private sector and other relevant government departments.

Priority: Education managers, educators, school management teams, school governing bodies, teacher educators, curriculum specialists and learners all have a stake in creating schools and communities that are free of gender-based violence.

Another key priority in the *Tirisano* Implementation Plan is to 'deal urgently and purposefully with the HIV/AIDS emergency in and through the education and training system' (Department of Education, 2000b). Studies have shown that within the 15 to 19 years age group, the ratio of male to female infection is 1:6 (UNAIDS, 2000). Researchers point out that many young South Africans are sexually active at an early age, commonly have multiple partners, and do not practice safe sex (CIET Report, 2000). This raises questions about 'consent' in sexual intercourse, given the unequal

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[4]   A 'Sotho' word meaning working together.

power relations between males and females. Many young girls cannot negotiate safe sex and are being coerced into having sex by males who are their peers (Campbell, 1992; Gupta and Weiss, 1993; Jewkes and Abrahams, 2002; Varga, 2000). The National Department of Education acknowledges this coercion as a problem in schools. In their HIV/AIDS guidelines to educators, it sets out the role for educators to 'exemplify responsible sexual behaviour', and further outlines that 'there must be an end to the practice of male teachers demanding sex from schoolgirls' (Department of Education, 2000b). Research has also found a connection between the spread of HIV/AIDS and sexual violence (UNAIDS, 2000). All of these raise questions about the safety of girls in schools.

The Ministry of Education has recognised the fact that schools can no longer carry on with 'business as usual'. However, this political goodwill has yet to translate into concrete measures to tackle the problem. The South African education system is still in the process of transition and restructuring a very fragmented education system that was inherited from the previous dispensation. Another challenge that the Ministry will have to face up to is that gender reforms are not an easy undertaking (Unterhalter, 1999). Despite the considerable political will of the Department of Education to eliminate the problem of sexual harassment and any other form of discrimination against girls, it is going to face considerable hurdles. According to Chisholm and Napo (1999), the education bureaucracy is ambiguous about prioritising gender reform. High-profile structures and individuals express the commitment of the state to gender equity but, in practice, not much is being done to realise it. They argue that this is evident where the refusals to address gender at the structural and institutional levels are cast in the language of fiscal discipline and constraint (Chisolm and Napo, 1999: 35). This results in the state having a limited reach in dealing with the full complexities of gender relations and inequalities in schools. If something is not done to address these inequalities the reality is that we may not be able to provide gender equitable education for girls and their self-esteem, confidence and career aspirations will continue to decrease as they progress in their education (Wolpe, 1988).

The Minister of Education's state wide challenge to combat sexual harassment in schools is going to be mere rhetoric unless a complete strategy is proposed, including legislation and resources, both financial and human, to counter and eliminate sexism, sexual harassment and violence throughout the education system. Such policies and procedures should form part of a comprehensive and effective education programme providing information to learners and educators. But, before this happens, the problem has to be interrogated and researched. In order for the education system to play a significant part in tackling problems such as sexual harassment, these manifestations need to be acknowledged and recognised.

This study recognises the fact that even though the main perpetrators of sexual harassment are males (Kenway and Fitzclarence, 1997), gender inequalities in schools are not experienced exclusively by girls (Morrell, 1998a). It acknowledges that not all males sexually harass females and that there other types of sexual harassment such as girls harassing boys, boys harassing other boys whom don't fit in with a dominant masculinist image, and homophobia. While these behaviours have been discussed, they were not the focus of the study because according to research that has been conducted on sexual harassment, boys harassing girls is the most prevalent type of harassment (Wise and Stanley, 1987; Larkin, 1994; Wolpe, et al, 1997; Mukasa, 1999; Kenway and Fitzclarence, 1997).

1. Background to the Research Problem

The study begins with the position that sexual harassment is a product of socially constructed behaviour of some young South African males and that this prevents girls from fully participating in their schooling. However, it acknowledges that not all males sexually harass girls and that this behaviour is shaped significantly by factors such as race, class and the social location of the boys. As this study and others show, many girls who are sexually harassed see the problem as an individual one and have difficulty labelling and describing this unwanted behaviour, forcing them into an isolated, vulnerable and silent position (Human Rights Watch, 2001; Mukasa, 1999).

Much of the sexually harassing behaviour is normalised and this causes many girls to dismiss what they experience. This does not mean they do not resist, but the resistance is limited due to schools helping to reproduce the existing power imbalance between males and females, by failing to recognise the significant impact of sexual harassment on the lives of female learners and by failing to intervene.

The reasons for my choosing this topic are manifold. From my experiences as an educator, and from national and international studies conducted by Chisholm and Napo (1999), Herbert (1989), Larkin (1994), Mahony (cited in Jones and Mahony, 1989), Wolpe et al, (1997), Vally (1998), Mukasa, (1999), and Human Right's Watch (2001), it is evident that the sexual harassment that is taking place in secondary schools is so pervasive, that it has become 'naturalised' and considered normal. The routine ways in which schoolboys intimidate, humiliate and control schoolgirls on a regular and recurring basis needs to be examined in detail. While general recommendations have been made in South Africa to promote gender equitable schooling for girls, in terms of the *Report of the Gender Equity Task Team* (Wolpe et al, 1997), specific policies cannot be implemented without knowledge of the ways in which girls are discriminated against. The Report goes on to say that it will be necessary to establish detailed data on the nature of sexual harassment in schools because there is a lacuna in existing work in South Africa (Wolpe et al, 1997: 53 While there is already a significant amount of locally produced literature on gender relations in the educational context (Epstein et al, 2001; Epstein, 1998; Kenway and Fitzclarence, 1997; Morrell, 1998a; 1998b) and the literature on sexual harassment of schoolgirls is slowly beginning to grow (Chisholm and Napo, 1999; CIET, 2000; Human Rights Watch 2001; Mukasa,1999), there is, still, insufficient research conducted on which particular situations in the everyday lives of schoolgirls come to be labelled sexual harassment. There are also no figures provided on how routine and widespread the problem actually is. This study hopes to fill some of these gaps.

This project hopes to provide some data on the nature, extent and effects of sexual harassment; how girls construct this behaviour for themselves; what language they use to describe the harassment; the methods they use to cope with it and the strategies

they use to avoid it. In doing so, it recognises females' strength in survival and involves the girls in finding an explanation of their experience and being able to control their lives and make choices. However, this project also recognises how complex the problem is: there is evidence in the literature review to indicate that girls also play a role in perpetuating this type of behaviour by colluding with the boys (Larkin, 1994); and that girls are responsible for some severe forms of harassment (Herbert, 1989). These insights are useful in this study because it shows that the problem of sexual harassment is much more complicated than we anticipate it to be and, therefore, a multidisciplinary approach needs to be adopted in an attempt to show the flexibility in the thinking about sexual harassment and plural representations.

The findings of the research above resonate with the findings that have emerged in the international literature reviewed. Sexual harassment is pervasive in South African schools and the nature and effects of sexual harassment of schoolgirls in South Africa is similar to what our international counterparts experience. However, the findings differed in many ways because forces of race and class were brought to bear on the experiences of girls in South Africa, as well as historical influences, and their effects are very complex. New approaches to theorising gender were also introduced to broaden the gender analysis and these included the following: a relational understanding of gender; recognising that all boys don't behave the same way, that they too experience gender inequalities in school; and looking at the gender regimes of schools and how they perpetuate gender inequalities. This study also gives both boys and girls a sense of agency and recognises that they can critique and transform the social world they inhabit. The international literature was therefore moderated and adapted to suit the South African context by bringing in locally developed theory from researchers such as Epstein (1998), Morrell (1998 a, 1998 b, 1998 c, 2001a), Shefer and Ruiters (1998), Chisolm and Napo (1999) Mukasa (1999), Jewkes et al, 2002a, 2002b) and Wood and Jewkes (2001).

According to Boyd, sexual assault is learned at a young age and begins when school-age boys start calling girls by derogatory names (cited in Larkin, 1994). He says that such verbal abuse, when unchecked, can lead to other degrading acts such as boys

lifting girl's dresses and thrusting their hands between the girl's legs. The tendency in the past has been to dismiss much of this behaviour as 'boys will be boys' antics. But it is only a small step from the initial steps Larkin describes to more serious forms of sexual violence, such as rape, and if society and educators continue to tolerate the many ways in which females are diminished, we are making way for this progression (Epp and Watkinson, 1995; Stein, 1999; Mukasa, 1999). Because this study locates sexual harassment as one form among many forms of sexual violence against females, it seeks to connect routine forms of male violence to those that are more naturalised and less recognisable. Understanding that subtle forms of sexual harassment are part of the continuum of sexual assault against females is a key issue to be addressed if we want to tackle the problem.

The concept of a continuum will enable me to explore experiences that are subtle and covert, yet can be as damaging as the overt type because they all send the same disempowering message to females (Skaine, 1996; Larkin, 1994). However, this study is not suggesting that subtle forms of sexual harassment such as verbal abuse are equivalent to the more serious forms of sexual assault such as rape. Rather, it acknowledges that the impact of both these types of harassment can be equally as damaging to some learners. For example, continual verbal sexual harassment of a disabled learner could be as debilitating to her as another learner being sexually assaulted (Skaine, 1996). Furthermore, some researchers assert that subtle forms of abuse such as continual verbal harassment can be as debilitating to the recipient as the more covert types, such as those which involve a physical attack (Epp and Watkinson: 1995: xiii; Stein, 1999). If the subtle forms of sexual harassment are ignored, they argue, these incidents can escalate in severity (Epp and Watkinson: 1995; Mukasa, 1999; Stein, 1999). What this study attempts to do is to begin interrogating the covert, subtle forms that are difficult to define as problematic and not considered to be a problem in schools.

It is not going to be possible to provide learners with gender equitable education unless the problem of sexual harassment in schools is tackled, because it is one of the most powerful forces working against female learners (Wolpe et al, 1997). Unless we

acknowledge all the ways in which girls are set back and confront this problem, girls are not going to be able to achieve the ideals of gender equitable education. Sexual harassment needs to be framed as a matter of creating safe schools and infusing a concern for social justice and democracy into the schools (Stein, 1999: 94). If schools are to be the agents of democracy, helping to create citizens ready to participate in a democracy, we need to practice democracy in our schools. This means putting in the forefront conversations about sexual harassment and finding mechanisms for justice that are worthy of a democratic institution in a democratic society. This is a daunting task, but South Africa can lead the way for the rest of Africa (Wolpe et al, 1997).

2.   Statement of research topic

In this dissertation, I propose to investigate the nature and extent of sexual harassment in four secondary schools which are representative of the former Departments of Education, and to provide an analysis of the effects this type of behaviour has on girls' schooling.[5] While this study acknowledges that there are other forms of sexual harassment such as boys harassing boys and girls harassing girls, this will be not be the focus of this study. Rather, this study will concentrate on how boys sexually harass girls, how it manifests itself, how girls perceive and describe it and the effects that this has on their schooling

3.   Research Aims

Upon launching this study, the following were key aims:

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[5] The pre 1994 education system was racially divided into Departments of Education that represented the four racial groups. Thus, there was segregation in schools based on this racial categorisation. While many schools are now integrated, some still resemble the former dispensation.

3.1 To analyse the nature of sexual harassment in secondary schools internationally, nationally and locally, with particular reference to the Pietermaritzburg region.

3.2 To study the effects of sexual harassment on girls' schooling.

3.3 To analyse school policies and procedures in dealing with sexual harassment, or lack thereof, and make recommendations for policies and strategies for educators and learners.

It is beyond the scope of this research project to try to explore all the types of sexual harassment ranging from the least subtle to the most blatant manifestations of this behaviour. The focus will be, therefore, on the 'covert' subtle forms that are difficult to define and pinpoint as problematic and not considered to be a problem in schools. The small sample size constrains the generalisability of the results. Generalisations then arising from the data need to be contextualised (Schutt, 1996). The strength of this research approach and design lies with its attempt at developing a complementary relationship between qualitative and quantitative components and at bringing in the voices and perspectives of the central subjects of the study. The theories will suggest that some conclusions will be generalisable to the entire population.

4. Research Questions

These questions guided the research throughout, falling into 3 main groups:

4.1 What is the nature of sexual harassment in secondary schools?

To what extent is sexual harassment a problem in the four schools? What are the different ways in which boys sexually harass girls? How do girls describe this behaviour? To what extent do factors such as race, class and (dis) ability

affect the nature of sexual harassment and the differential power relations inherent in them. What is the relationship between hegemonic masculinity and sexual harassment?

4.2 What are the effects of sexual harassment on girls' schooling?

To what extent does sexual harassment prevent girls from participating fully in all aspects of their schooling? What are the ways in which it inhibits girls from fully participating in their schooling? How do the girls respond to this? What are the survival strategies do the girls resort to or devise? In what ways do the girls resist?

4.3 What are the school policies and procedures in dealing with sexual harassment?

What is the gender regime of the schools? Is sexual harassment dealt with adequately at each of the four schools in the case study? Does the school have a sexual harassment policy? How is the policy formally implemented? How can the findings of the research be used in making recommendations for strategies to educators and learners?

5. Conceptual framework underlying the research project

This section gives a synopsis of the conceptual framework for the investigation into sexual harassment that this thesis draws upon and that will be discussed in further detail in Chapter Two. A feminist poststructuralist perspective was found to be most effective as it allows a non-essentialist method of investigation into sexual harassment. It will not provide answers to all the questions and issues raised in this study, but it does provide a way of conceptualising the relationship between language, social institutions and individual consciousness which focuses on how power is exercised and on the possibilities of change. In particular, Michel Foucault's

contribution (1980) to poststructuralism will be drawn upon and this will be further enhanced by Weedon's (1987) theorisation of poststructuralist feminism.

I will also be drawing upon the framework of social constructionism which proposes that gender and sexuality is not innate, but rather learned or socially constructed (Weedon, 1987). The specificity of girls' education must, then, be understood within the set of social formations in which they exist. These include structures internal and external to the school (Wolpe, 1988). Apart from these structures, there are also other factors which create the environment in which learning occurs, for example, the disciplinary measures that the school adopts, and attitudes of parents to girls' schooling. This theory will be used as a source of deconstructing commonly held positions in schools, such as, that boys harassing girls is 'normal' behaviour. Approaching the problem of sexual harassment from the position of constructionist theory offers a less deterministic view of gender and allows for the possibility of change. This will be useful for the purposes of this research project because it enables resistance and counter-positions and possibilities for change.

This study recognises that no single theory can provide the tools to interrogate the complexities of sexual harassment and intends to use some of the important insights made by a variety of analyses, and to this end Kathleen Weiler (1988) has proved to be useful. Weiler has a sophisticated and well developed theoretical account that attempts to bridge the critical aspects of reproduction theory, and its emphasis on how wider social forms reproduce the class-specific dimensions of inequality, with those of feminist theory that stress the importance of consciousness, experience, and the subjective side of human relations. Like Foucault, she is not content solely with the language of domination, and shows the ways in which dominant social forms are contested, resisted and overcome. She rejects the polarities of absolute resistance and absolute domination and the notion that reproduction and resistance are dichotomous social practices. She argues instead that they are mutually informing relations of contradiction that produce forms of social and moral governance on the one hand, and the regulations of subjectivities on the other.

This thesis uses the insights of both Foucault and Weedon because they illuminate how the experiences of girls, along with the production of knowledge, meaning and values, can be best understood by analysing how specific practices within institutional sites function to produce contradictory social forms and relations. Therefore, schoolgirls can accept the existing order that denies their realisation, but the study also assumes that they resist and there are possibilities to change the order of things.

It is important to acknowledge schools as sites of cultural reproduction and their relationship to wider society. Schools are among the most fundamental socialising agents in society where young people learn to accept the gender divisions that exist in society (Kessler, 1987). They do so by interacting in ways that reinforce dominant ideas about gender or challenging them, thus contributing to the gender regime of the school. Schools are therefore probably the most important site for learners to negotiate and construct gender identities. Many researchers also suggest that schools are masculinising institutions and cultures (Mac an Ghaill, 1994; Kenway et al, 1998) and have become implicated in discussions about gender–based violence (Kenway and Fitzclarence, 1997). Despite evidence of male sexual abuse of females in schools, these males have remained 'cocooned within the collective security of the hegemonic gender/sexual power relations operating upon and within schools' (Mac an Ghaill 1991: 294).

Since schools occupy a critical social location to challenge the above assumptions and given the high rates of violence against girls and women (Jewkes et al, 2002; Lovelife 2001; Varga 2000; MRC 2000; Human Rights Watch Report, 2001; Mukasa, 1999; Wood and Jewkes, 1998; and Vally, 1998; and Wolpe et al, 1997), schools can act as key sites to address the violence and to develop an alternative politics of schooling and sexuality (Mac an Ghaill, 1991). While schools acts as sites of cultural reproduction this study also recognises that schools are also a site for intervention, change, acts of resistance and negotiation (Gilbert and Gilbert, 1998; Weiler, 1988). This study integrates both strands because it recognises that the schooling of girls is a complex process that contains both contradictions and points of resistance.

Below is the elucidation of some of the terms that will be used in this study:

Race

The study makes use of several recurring categories: black, White, 'coloured' and Indian. These terms are in use today in South Africa and have a long political history associated with regional, class, language, ethnic and legal statuses. These categories are still important aspects of South African social identity. These categories are not used here as self-evident or indicate personal agreement that people can or should be stigmatised or defined by race. This study views the concept of race as a social construct, and sees race identity as being complex, fluid and in a state of flux. It recognises that as a result of belonging to different socially constructed categories, the girls might perceive or experience sexual harassment in specific ways. The studies I draw on (Lovelife, 2001; Human Rights Watch, 2001) also use categorisations such as 'coloured', black and White, with some capitalised and others not, and when these studies are cited, it is reflected as such. Another factor to consider is that even though many schools have desegregated post Apartheid many are still divided along racial lines, for a variety of reasons, such as the historical locations of the schools. Therefore, despite my unease in using these categories, it is necessary to do so for the reasons above.

Gender-based violence[6]

Gender-based violence occurs when someone is abused because he or she is male or female and often it is related to a society's version of masculine or feminine behaviour. Gender-based forms of abuse range from everyday incidents of sexual,

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[6] The definition for gender-based violence, gender equity, equity and gender equitable education have all been taken from the definitions given in the *Report of the Gender Equity Task Team* (Wolpe et al. 1997), so that there is a common basis for understanding these concepts for the educators and principals who participated in this study.

racial and homophobic harassment to more extreme forms of sexual abuse, spousal abuse, sexual assault, gay and lesbian bashing, rape and femicide. Sexual harassment is one of many forms of gender-based violence.

Gender equity

Gender equity is concerned with the promotion of equality of opportunity and outcome for men and women in the personal, social, cultural, political and economic arenas. Gender equity entails meeting women's and men's, girls' and boys' needs in order for them to:

- compete in the formal and informal labour market,
- participate fully in civil society, and
- fulfil their familial roles adequately

without being discriminated against because of their gender.

Equity

Equity in schooling is the concept of equal access to school education and the fair and just distribution of benefits from the school education system for all learners. This does not imply equality of treatment, as there are many factors, which may disadvantage learners in achieving equitable outcomes, and assistance may be needed to be directed towards learners in need.

Gender equitable education

Gender equitable education is the concept of equality of opportunity and outcome between boys and girls in education and the fair and just distribution of benefits from the school education system for all students, taking into account the principles of gender equity.

Department of Education

The Department of Education formulates national education policy, has direct responsibility for higher education provision, and co-ordinates with provincial education departments, which are responsible for all pre-tertiary education provision.

Curriculum 2005

This is the proposed new curriculum by the Department of Education, which is to be gradually phased in by 2005 (Department of Education, 1995). In this document all the girls and boys in the schooling system are referred to as learners and all the teachers in the school system are referred to as educators. This nomenclature shift is reflected in all educational policy documents and reports. It is, therefore, appropriate to use these terms in this study.

Race

The study uses the different categories such as black, White, 'coloured' and Indian because of the long political history associated with these categorisations and people using these categories as a form of social identity. These categories are not used here as self-evident or indicate personal agreement that people can be easily boxed. This study views the concept of race as a social construct, and sees race identity as being complex, fluid and in a state of flux. It recognises that as a result of belonging to different socially constructed categories, the girls might perceive or experience sexual harassment in specific ways. The studies I draw on (Lovelife, 2001; Human Rights Watch, 2001) also use categorisations such as 'coloured', black and White, with some capitalised and others not, and when these studies are cited, it is reflected as such. Another factor to consider is that even though many schools have desegregated post

Apartheid many are still divided along racial lines, for a variety of reasons, such as the historical locations of the schools. Therefore, despite my unease in using these categories, it is necessary to do so for the reasons above.

6.   Chapter Outline

This thesis consists of 5 chapters: Chapter 1 examines the problem of sexual harassment within the Southern African context and presents arguments as to why South Africa is positioned to lead the way in addressing this problem. It analyses the National Department of Education's response to sexual harassment and presents some of the challenges that the department will encounter in dealing with the problem, such as: moving from policy to practice, dealing with the elusive nature of sexual harassment and complexities, and girls colluding with boys. It then presents the reasons for conducting this study which are: providing data on the nature of the problem and the effects it has on girls' behaviour, taking into account factors such as race, gender and (dis)abilities and connecting subtle and extreme forms of sexual harassment to gender-based violence generally. Thereafter, a feminist poststructuralist perspective is proposed as method because it allows a non-essentialist way of investigating the problem.

The second chapter explains the context and background of the study by critically examining and analysing the research that has been employed in the recent writing on sexual harassment locally, nationally and internationally. The literature is reviewed using the following themes: how sexual harassment has been defined and perpetuated; the nature of sexual harassment; and the effects it has on girls' behaviour. With these three themes in mind, this chapter seeks to critically engage the significant national and international literature on sexual harassment by bringing to bear upon it various issues and concerns which have arisen in the South African context. It suggests that sexually harassing behaviour needs to be defined as such even if the recipient doesn't label it as problematic. It also bears in mind the plurality of girls experiences and examines the literature for differences and commonalties in the way that girls perceive

and experience the problem of sexual harassment and takes into consideration that schooling is a complex process that contains contradictions and points of resistance.

In chapter 3 issues relating to the design, process and specific methods employed in the research are discussed. This chapter also deals with why an unusual and hybrid design is necessary, and particular but complementary strategies not normally used in other projects of an educational nature, are needed. A full discussion on the methods used in this research process which are reflective of the ethnographic case study is considered. It argues that ethnography is the preferred methodology because it starts with the premise that the actors should speak for themselves and that their interpretations are more important than those of the researcher. Thus the use of experiential accounts by girls will enable us to hear the subjective account of girls' experiences and the meanings girls give to their experiences. What is also suggested is that a complementary relationship be developed between qualitative and quantitative components so that tools necessary for deep exploration can be provided and the perspectives of the central subjects of the study can be brought in. It identifies the complexities of the issues involved in the research problem and research process and suggests suitable methods for investigating sexual harassment. A discussion of key limitations of the design and methods will also be considered.

Chapter 4 reports on research findings by focusing on data presentation, analysis and interpretation. This chapter presents the results of how young women came to recognise sexual harassment as a problem and describes how the participants' thinking about sexual harassment changed when they had the opportunity to share and speak about common experiences. It also discusses the different ways in which girls are harassed and the impact this has on their schooling. The schools' responses to sexually harassing behaviour are considered.

The final chapter reviews some of the limitations of this study and suggests some of the ways the current research could be carried forward. The main achievements of this thesis are summarised and the results obtained from the study are looked at with a view to provide conclusions and recommendations on how to deal with the problem of

sexual harassment in schools. It suggests that schools not only have an obligation to provide gender equitable education but are also best positioned to provide the sites to raise issues of gender justice. There also needs to be a locally, provincially and nationally driven education and development programs targeting learners, educators and the community at large. Lastly, recommendations for the National Department of education and schools are made.

Chapter 2 – Literature Review

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to explain the context and background of the study by assessing the research that has been employed in the recent writing on sexual harassment as a form of gender-based violence. There are a number of discourses on sexual harassment, some of which are feminist, although overlapping in some areas (particularly in their use of each other's research findings), offer positions which vary in their intentions, scope and capacity for change. To an extent these various discourses offer compatible explanations and programmes for action. This chapter seeks to critically engage with this national and international literature on sexual harassment by bringing to bear upon it various issues and concerns which have arisen in the South African context. Research on the nature and effects of sexual harassment, nationally and internationally, will be analysed and critically examined. In reviewing the literature, certain themes have emerged. These relate to how sexual harassment has been defined and perpetuated, to the nature of sexual harassment, and the effects it has on girls' behaviour. With these three themes in mind, this chapter asks of the sexual harassment discourse a number of questions and fields of enquiry. Sexual harassment is a new term but the practices, which constitute this behaviour, are commonplace. Before I proceed to assess the research that has been employed in the recent writing on sexual harassment, it is important to understand the key concepts, debates, problems and developments surrounding sexual harassment that will provide the theoretical backdrop against which this thesis will develop.

This thesis draws upon various different traditions that offer different ways of analysing sexual harassment. While it recognises that all these perspectives foreground the subordination of women, they are not compatible in terms of epistemology and methodology. However, despite these theoretical difficulties, it draws on all of them. The thesis draws upon a feminist poststructuralist perspective because it allows a non-essentialist, method of investigation into sexual harassment. It

finds reproduction theory and its emphasis on how wider social forms reproduce the class-specific dimensions of inequality useful. However, feminist theory that stresses the importance of consciousness, experience, and the subjective side of human relations is equally as important because it assumes that schoolgirls both accept the existing order that denies their realisation, and resist it. Radical feminism sees sexual harassment as male power, socialist feminism sees sexual harassment as part of class, race and gender power in the commodification and objectification of women that are part of the broader political economy. This study views both feminist and reproduction theoretical positions as mutually informing relations of contradiction that produce forms of social and moral governance on the one hand, and the regulations of subjectivities on the other. This is an importance conceptual advance for the purposes of this research project because it enables resistance and counter-positions and hence possibilities for change.

Poststructuralist Theory

1. Discourse and Power

Foucault's contribution to poststructuralist theory is considered by this research because of the non-essential way it relates the concepts of discourse, power and identity. His poststructuralist philosophical endeavour allows for opposition and the creation of counter discourses to dominant systems of thought and is therefore valuable for feminist political and theoretical practice. According to Foucault's analyses of discourse and power, discourses are considered as structuring principles of society, and as ways of constituting knowledge (1980). The term discourse brings into close association ideas of knowledge, power and identity. Power is always limited and shaped by systems of knowledge, which also shape the subjects and objects of power. Thus discourses articulate the subjects and put pressure on subjects to adopt particular identities. This articulation is, however, always part of a wider network of power relations.

The most powerful discourses in our society have institutional bases. Dominant discourses of female sexuality, which define it as naturally passive, can be found in schools. The conclusions drawn from such assumptions include the belief that females who are not sexually passive are 'asking for it'. What is at issue is the meaning of the ways in which girls behave or dress. If a girl is wearing a short uniform and is sexually harassed, it is interpreted as her being provocative. This is socially constructed as an ever-present, powerful thrust of male sexual drive, which females must hold in check by not being provocative. Discourses present political interests and are constantly competing for power. The sites of these power struggles are the subjectivities of the individual. These subjectivities are never fixed and are constantly contested as are the institutional bases and discourses that govern them. As the girls come into contact with alternative and conflicting discourses through the research process, offering new subjective positions, they may change or they may be reaffirmed in what is already familiar.

This study invokes Foucault's conceptualisation of power because his writings place sexuality as a locus of power (1980). Power, according to Foucault, is relational and can no longer be viewed as a monolithic entity possessed by one social grouping and used against another. Foucault argues that power is far more complex and fragmented in nature. Power is never fixed and always open to challenge. In Foucault's analyses, power acts differentially on subjects in different situations. Also, power acts differentially within the life of a particular subject as she moves from one social context to the next. Therefore, male power will not act uniformly on girls at all times. This multi-dimensional notion of power (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1986) is useful because it acknowledges that girls can sexually harass boys and other girls (Wolpe, 1988). It also allows for a more nuanced understanding of the experiences and behaviour of girls and boys.

The work of Foucault offers feminists an approach to understanding and contesting patriarchal power relations due to its insistence on the relationship between meaning and power, and the importance of subjectivity. According to Weedon:

Different forms of discourse imply different forms of subjectivity, and it is through subjectivity that social power is exercised. 'Expressing' experience involves attaching particular conscious meanings and values to social practices and the practical, emotional, and psychic involvement of the individual in them (1997: 52).

2. Subjectivities

The terms subject and subjectivities are central to poststructuralist theory, and mark a crucial break with the humanist conceptions of the individual being fixed and stable (Weedon, 1987). What is meant by subjectivities is the particular ways in which a person gives meaning to themselves, others and the world. This break that Weedon talks about is significant for this study because subjectivities are not governed by an essence, fixed and coherent, that makes an individual what she is (Weedon, 1987).

This study also draws on Weedon's (1987) theories, which help to locate sexual harassment discourses as material which works to constitute the subjectivity of females and which often limits their ability to see sexual harassment as a problem. According to Weedon (1987), poststructuralism proposes a subjectivity which is not fixed and stable, but fluid, and which is constantly being reconstituted and rearticulated through discourses each time we think or speak. This means then that girls and boys do not comprise homogenous categories. They are differentially located according to factors such as class positions, ethnicity, physical and other disabilities, and sexual orientation. In making our subjectivity the product of society and culture within which we live, poststructuralism insists that forms of subjectivity are produced historically and change with shifts in the wide range of discursive fields which constitute them.

Poststructuralism also insists that the individual is always the site of conflicting forms of subjectivity. As we acquire language, we learn to articulate and give meaning to

our experiences, and to understand it according to particular ways of thinking within discourses. These ways of thinking constitute our consciousness and the positions with which we identify and structure our sense of ourselves, our subjectivity. As we come into contact with alternative and conflicting discourses, we may find places to resist and to construct alternate discourses in which to rearticulate their subjectivities. This approach to subjectivity is useful because it explains the contradictory ways in which gender ideologies are experienced at various levels. For example, there may be a contradiction between girls' intellectual awareness about trends in society that are oppressive to females and yet may desire some of them.

3. Discursive construct

According to poststructuralist thought, the concept of gender is viewed as a discursive construct (Weedon, 1987). We become subjects through the acquisition of language. In other words, as we are born and raised into this world, we learn to think, feel and express ourselves with the linguistic means socially available. The language that we learn not only stipulates sexual difference, but also male power (Spender, 1980). Schoolgirls, therefore, will most likely express themselves in ways defined by males. However, in poststructuralist theory, discourse is never univocal or total but ambiguous and contradictory, a site of conflict and contestation (Weedon, 1987). The identity that emerges is fragmented and dynamic. Defined as such, gender is subject to continuous discursive struggle and negotiation. This implies that the disciplinary power of discourse, prescribing and restricting identity and experiences, can always be resisted and subverted.

4. Sexual harassment not a unified experience

An issue that has been of much concern for both feminist theory and for this particular study is the 'essentialism' versus 'plurality' debate. The dilemma, which has been the subject of intense debate in South Africa, concerns the following issues: the extent to

which females should be treated as a category or group; women's inequality understood as founded in some common processes related to all females; and the extent to which feminism recognises, and is sensitive to, valuing of plurality, and that women's oppression does not take a common form, but operates differently as one's race, class, ability differs (Hassim and Walker, 1992).

While this study values plurality and recognises that female oppression does not take a common form, but operates differently depending on as one's race, class and (dis) ability, it also takes cognisance of the fact that for policymakers to formulate meaningful policy there has to be some basis to develop generalisations about a category of individuals. According to Gondolf and Fisher, these generalisations are vital to formulating policy and effective programmes that must address large groups of people (cited in Reinharz, 1992).

Weedon argues that poststructuralism proposes a subjectivity which is not fixed and stable but fluid, and which is constantly being reconstituted and rearticulated through discourses each time we think or speak. Therefore, the experience of individuals is not homogenous and this means then that girls and boys do not comprise homogenous categories. They are differentially located according to factors such as: class positions, ethnicity, physical and other disabilities and sexual orientation. What an event means to a person depends on her way of interpreting the world and on the discourses available to her at that particular moment. The way a girl experiences and responds to sexual harassment will depend on the ways of understanding to which she has access. This will involve her cultural background, her self-image and conceptions of femininity and masculinity. If she sees males as naturally abusive or violent and herself as responsible for provoking sexually harassing behaviour, then she is unlikely to see it as an unacceptable exercise of illegitimate power, which should not be tolerated. If she sees masculinity and femininity as natural, fixed and not open to change, then sexual harassment will be a personal issue.

Schools are also not isolated from the dynamics of wider society and magnify the contradictions and tensions of a society marked by inequality and oppression. They

make sense of discourses according to their own histories and social location. Individuals will use, often quite unconsciously, their own power to make sense of, appropriate, or reject the situation. Aronowitz and Giroux (1986) argue that we need to understand humans as subjects who are complex and who may use the power of race, gender or class to counter oppression suffered through another aspect of their being. If boys face race oppression, they will want to hang on to their gender privilege. Thus, girls with different race subjectivities will have different experiences of sexual harassment. Black girls will have to deal with both racism and sexism. White girls may be empowered in part of their subjectivity while oppressed by another part. Empowering the girls means encouraging them to explore and analyse the forces that act on their lives.

Results of recent research have indicated that black women may use the sociocultural model to explain harassment rather than the natural/biological model. According to Tong (cited in DeFour, 1990) this is not to say that harassment is to be condoned depending on the race/ethnicity of the harasser. This is also not to imply that black girls feel less violated when the harasser is a black male. The implication is that when racism, sexism and classism combine, a qualitatively different type of sexual harassment is the result (Larkin, 1994). Her studies show that much of the verbal harassment inflicted on girls of colour was loaded with racist stereotypes. These images either portray the girls as weak and unlikely to fight back if harassed, or they are perceived as very sexual and thus desiring sexual attention (Larkin, 1994). These images and perceptions of girls of colour also increase their vulnerability to sexual harassment. She says that white boys also found white girls more appealing sexually than black girls. Black girls who are in a minority in a school are more disadvantaged because they are less likely than white girls to be defended by other learners.

Larkin (1994) says that girls from low-income families would have more limited options for coping with sexually harassing behaviour. Some may have parents who make great sacrifices to send them to school and would not want to disappoint them. Furthermore, for girls who are faced with limited financial resources, sexual harassment may be one more factor that discourages girls from pursuing their

education. According to Harrigan, girls who fall prey to harassment are often financially vulnerable (cited in DeFour, 1990).

If factors such as race, gender and class intersect with how girls perceive and experience sexual harassment then the same arguments can be applied to girls who are disabled or who are gay. According to a report in Larkin (1994), of all the types of harassment, being called gay or lesbian provoked the strongest reaction. It is interesting to note that boys were more likely than girls to be targeted this way. Suzanne Pharr (cited in Larkin, 1994: 73) notes how homophobia operates in tandem with male dominance:

> Women feel the necessity to distance themselves from lesbians by asserting how much they like men. Liking men is not the issue. Freedom from dominance and control is the issue.

Epstein and Johnson (1998) and Morrell (1997) argue that hegemonic masculinities are policed via homophobic abuse. The threat of being labelled gay or lesbian serves to force young males and females into assuming rigid socially constructed gender roles. This has serious implications for the way lesbians and gays will be treated in schools. The harassment will be qualitatively different. This would also apply to girls who are disabled in some way. Hastings (cited in Wolpe et al, 1997: 94) has this to say about victims who suffer some form of disability:

> There has been little research on the different needs and experiences of girls and boys with disabilities. International research, while not extensive, does suggest that the experiences of students with disabilities are affected by their sex. Australian research notes a high level of sexual harassment experienced by girls with disabilities and the failure of schools to prepare girls with disabilities to live independently or to negotiate sexual relationships.

While this study attempted to be as inclusive as possible it, unfortunately, could not include any lesbians and gay young men and women because of the problems

associated with identifying them in schools. However, any attempts to deal with sexual harassment must take into account that lesbians and gays and the disabled, as are others in minority groups, are more vulnerable.

From the literature, what emerged are the following forms of sexual harassment that affect schoolgirls: verbal, physical, visual and racial. One single incident of harassment could encompass a variety of different forms. For example, a black schoolgirl could be grabbed, called a 'black bitch' and be flashed at all at the same time. From the literature that has been reviewed, verbal harassment is most common, and there is a tendency to treat it as less serious than physical harassment. The literature also reveals that male learners are the most frequent harassers of girls in schools, (Jones and Mahony, 1989; Herbert, 1989; and Larkin 1994), and this is the focus of this study. However, harassment by male educators is also a serious problem in schools (Larkin, 1994). Larkin cites a study of 4200 girls of whom 3 per cent were harassed by educators. Human Rights Watch (2001: 16) reported routine sexual harassment in school by educators to engage in 'dating relationships'. In many cases they report that the girls acquiesce to sexual demands from educators for fear that they will be physically punished. In poorer areas abusive educators take advantage of the girls' economic situation to gain sexual access to them. The poverty and fear form a powerful combination making it difficult for the girls to resist and complain, contributing to their vulnerability. The power and authority held by the educator means that the negative effects on the girls could have a serious and long lasting impact.

5. Gender

In this study, gender is understood as the way in which women and men are socially constructed from birth and throughout their lives by institutions of family, civil society and state to adopt female and male identities (Wolpe, 1988). Neither women nor men are homogenous groups. When we talk of gender, therefore, we are using a term that needs to be unpacked according to what the term female or male 'gender'

describes in terms of the lived experience of women and men in specific contexts. Each individual's gender is influenced by factors such as class, ethnicity, race, religious beliefs, able-bodiedness, sexual orientation, age, current family roles (daughter, sister, wife, mother), exposure to alternative ways of being, and geographical location (Wolpe, 1988). Gender varies from culture to culture and over time because cultures are not static but continuously evolve maintaining certain traditions and developing new ones.

Approaching the problem of sexual harassment from the position of constructionist theory, which proposes that gender and sexuality is not innate but, rather, learned or socially constructed (Weedon, 1987), offers a less deterministic view of gender. This theory will be used as a source of deconstructing commonly held positions in schools such as boys harassing girls is 'normal' behaviour. It allows for change in such constructions and behaviours.

One of the main reasons why sexual harassment passes as unremarkable has to do with the line between what constitutes 'normal' male behaviour and that which is described as 'aberrant' (cited in Herbert, 1989: 23) The definition of 'normal and 'typical dress, speech, attitudes, actions and roles for women and men is largely influenced by what society has determined by femininity and masculinity. This claim is made in the context of assumption that this behaviour is sexually oriented and a natural display of males' sexual behaviour. Tangri et al (1982) identified this explanation as the natural/biological model of harassment. The natural/biological model interprets sexual harassment as natural sexual attraction between two people. This model maintains that harassing behaviour is a natural expression of males' stronger sexual drive and that the intention may not be to harass. According to Tangri et al (1982) the strongest evidence against this model is that those individuals that are most vulnerable, experience more harassment than others do, (such as those who are disabled, overweight). They found more support for a sociocultural model that posits that sexual harassment is only one manifestation of the much larger patriarchal system in which men are the dominant group (Tangri et al, 1982). They saw sexual

harassment resulting from the opportunities presented by power and authority relations as an issue.

A key criticism of the models presented above is that the gender absolutism inherent in them rigidly polarises women as victims who are often seen as powerless, oppressed, downtrodden and passive, and perpetrators as men who are often seen as undifferentiated powerfully, violent and controlling (Epstein et al, 1998). Instead of a dynamic and relational view of gender that stresses the complex and contradictory relations between diverse forms of masculinity and diverse forms of femininity, all men are lumped together in a very deterministic way. There are real power inequalities between men and women, but subscribing to a universalistic conception of patriarchy denies the complexities of men's lives and their agency to do anything constructive. There are also limitations and political consequences of particular conceptions of gender relations in old style feminist theory because discrimination and inequities amongst boys are being ignored. Feminist discourse, while engaging with masculinity in relation to gender power relations, has for the most part left masculinity out of the 'theoretical gaze' (Shefer and Ruiters 1998:39). The following comment by a male student epitomises the shortcoming of this approach:

> Gender work is against boys. Everyone's trying to tell me I'm wrong (Askew and Ross, 1988: 38).

Some boys are also disadvantaged in schools and many boys too are the victims of violence, especially if they do not conform to local versions of dominant masculinity, and particularly if they oppose or play no role in the harassment of girls (Wolpe et al, 1997). Much attention has been given to gender equity in education worldwide to improve the situation of females who have been victims of violence and discriminated against in schools and this needs to continue. However, increasingly, research is pointing to the fact that boys also experience gender inequalities in education (Connell, 1989; Mac an Ghaill, 1991; Morrell, 1998a; Wolpe, 1988; Kenway and Fitzclarence, 1997). Other researchers like Wolpe et al, (1997) and Willis (1977) argue that schools fail many working-class boys in the same way that they fail girls.

Gilbert and Gilbert (1998) also argue that while gender remains a key predicator of success, it is affected by a range of other factors such as socio-economic resources, geographical location, ethnicity and race. While they agree that some boys can be very disruptive in schools, they cite the research done in Australia, which shows that masculinist gender regimes in schools contribute to poor schooling outcomes for both boys and girls.

Current schooling practice, by failing to address the effects of a masculinist culture on boys, fails to account for the needs of male students (Fletcher, in Gilbert and Gilbert, 1998). Fletcher suggests that boys' location within this masculinist materialist culture directly affects their academic achievement at school and their school behaviour. He argues that the most serious educational deficiencies for boys are: their under-participation in all subjects with a non-technology focus; their failure to consider family, friendship and community aspects of preparing for a career; their dependency for self-esteem on traditional estimations of masculinity, such as sporting fighting skill, superiority over females and job status. Salisbury and Jackson (1996) add that traditional models of manliness are self-destructive because they prevent boys from taking emotional and sexual responsibility for their lives at a particularly dangerous time of AIDS and sexually transmitted diseases. He says that fear of unmanliness often leads to a contempt for condom use and other safer-sex, risk-reduction behaviours. This is exacerbated by the fact that many boys have a limited emotional vocabulary and would experience difficulty in negotiating safer-sex with their partners. Therefore new ways of theorising gender in education that take into account how gender inequality affects both boys and girls are necessary.

5.1   New ways of theorising gender

There has been a shift in theories of gender to encompass and address issues of masculinity (Morrell, 1998a). This new trend, which adopts a holistic approach, takes as its starting point that gender inequalities emerge and are enacted relationally, and offers the possibility of confronting gender power and working with both girls and

boys. This rethinking has been provoked by a recent expansion of critical men's studies literature, especially in the past decade.[7] The key themes of this rethinking are summarised as follows: There is not one but many forms of masculinities which are not stable, unified nor homogenous; these masculinities are actively negotiated through dynamic relational processes that are constantly shifting; there is a hierarchy between these varied forms of masculinities; masculine identities are complex and contradictory and shift across history and different cultures; boys and men have multiple masculine identities which are fragmentary and multifaceted and struggling for dominance; traditional, heterosexual masculinities are constructed by defining themselves in opposition to an excluded subordinated 'other'.

This new literature and these new ways of theorising gender draw attention to the transformative implications of plurality and difference, contradictions and fragmentation of boys' masculine identities. It allows us to see how some men and boys can actively work against conventional patriarchal power. Although most boys benefit from the institutional privileges of being a boy in the school system that is organised in the interest of male power, there are oppositional spaces within which to work. This shift in approach provides new insight because it enables gender to be examined holistically, it recognises that males can also be discriminated against in schools and suggests possibilities for change in discriminatory gender practices in schools (Morrell, 1998a: 219).

Within the South African context, there is growing literature with specific focus on gender and masculinities (Morrell, 1998a; Morrell, 2001a; Oyegun, 1998; Epstein, 1998; Shefer and Ruiters, 1998; Campbell, 1992; Jewkes et al, 2001; Jewkes, 2002). Morrell's work is useful because he argues that gender inequality is an intractable problem due to the effect of the complex ways in which gender power is structured and maintained (1998a: 219). He uses the concept called gender justice to tackle gender inequalities. It goes beyond the notion of gender equality (which placed stress

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[7] Books like Brod, H. (1987). *The Making of Masculinities*, London, Allen and Unwin: Kaufman, M. (1987). *Beyond Patriarchy:Essays by Men on Pleasure, Power and Change*, Milton Keys, Oxford University Press; Kimmel, M. (1987). *Changing Men*, Sage: Connell, R.W. (1987). *Gender and Power*, Cambridge, Polity Press; Connell, R.W. (1994). *Masculinities*, Cambridge, Polity Press

on equality of opportunity and outcome between boys and girls) to allow a broader engagement with unequal power relations. Julie Oyegun argues that gender justice is a pillar of democracy, and within an institution is a measure of its values and commitment to nation building and social transformation (1998).

5.2   Relational understanding of gender

However, gender justice can only be achieved if a relational understanding of gender is adopted as the new approach proposes (Morrell, 1998a). Walkerdine argues that the constitution of femininities and masculinities is not fixed or appropriated but 'struggled over in a complex relational dynamic' (1984: 183). Unlike femininity, which in a patriarchal society is ascribed, masculinity has to be achieved in a permanent process of struggle and confirmation. In this context, it is boys who are the most prone to construct and use gender categories. Not only do they have more at stake in such a system of classification, they also have to achieve manhood through the dual process of distancing women and femininity from themselves and maintaining the hierarchy and social superiority of masculinity. These understandings of what it is to be male and female are implicated in all aspects of social life and develop in relation to each other in particular historical and social situations. Gender only has meaning when 'the concepts of masculinity and femininity are recognised as a pair which exist in a relationship of complementarity and antithesis' (MacDonald, 1981: 160).

Masculinities and femininities are constantly shifting and more contradictory than we presume them to be. This means that there are more opportunities for changing gender inequalities. Educationists need to help learners to develop a range of acceptable versions of masculinity and femininities that support gender justice and assist learners to negotiate their way through these alternative and competing masculinities and femininities. Schools therefore need to be viewed as important arenas of power where masculine and feminine identities are actively made through a dynamic process of negotiation refusal and struggle.

5.3 Power and Masculinities

To adequately address the problem of gender-based violence in schools, it is necessary to have a holistic understanding of the causes of this violence. Solutions must factor in gender and sexuality and other relationships of power in race and social class dynamics. Such analyses will require focusing on masculinity, given that the main perpetrators of violence are males (Kenway and Fitzclarence, 1997). Connell's milestone work on *Gender and Power* (1987) showed how gender was a concept of power and being a man conferred power. However, not all men shared this power and not all men were responsible for oppressing women even though they all benefited from the system of patriarchy (Connell, 1995). He then developed this notion of many different masculinities and suggests that in Western societies there is one 'hegemonic' or 'socially dominant' masculinity with 'subordinate' variants (1997). The masculinity that is hegemonic succeeds in prescriptions of masculinity which are binding and which create images of what it meant to be a 'real man' (cited in Morrell, 2001a: 7). While masculinity is not static, nor automatically acquired, males are not entirely free to choose those images that please them. Epstein and Johnson (1998: 15) offer the following explanation:

> Human agents cannot stand outside culture and wield power precisely as they wish. Power is always limited and shaped by systems of knowledge which also shape the subjects and objects of power... power/knowledge position us as subjects of particular kinds. They put pressure on us to adopt particular identities...in this particular sense, power and knowledge as discourse 'constructs' social identities.

An important development in the theorisation of masculinities and schooling is to see that schools as social locations create the conditions for relations of power (Mac an Ghaill, 1991). Connell (1987) has provided one of the most productive accounts of how to incorporate power into an analysis of masculinity. He applied Gramsci's notion of hegemony to gender relations, and produced valuable analytic insights about

the nature of masculinity. Central to this notion of hegemonic masculinity is the subordination and control of women (Connell, 1995).

Masculinities as patterns of gender practice are sustained and enacted not only by individuals but also by groups and institutions. The way in which society is defined, it can be argued, represents a particular male hegemony; manifestations can be found not only in homes and schools, but also institutionalised in the media, the law and policies of the country. The dominant perspective of the world informed by this hegemonic masculinity is subscribed to by many, both males and females, even though it serves the interest of males. Connell also suggests that women may feel comfortable with this hegemonic masculinity partly because of the complementarity between dominant hegemonic masculinities and 'emphasised femininities' (Connell, 1987: 183).

There are different masculinities with differential access to power, practices of power and differential effects of power based on factors such as race, class, sexual orientation and ethnicity (Morrell, 2001a). The ascendancy of a particular type of masculinity is achieved through processes of persuasion, by having the power to define what is 'normal' male behaviour. In school there are various spaces of empowerment such as the classroom or the playgrounds where these masculinities are performed because male dominance is never secure, it must always be won (Mac an Ghaill, 1994: 59). Hegemonic masculinity has to work constantly in everyday social relationships that are sites of contestation. It has to adapt and change to remain dominant. Men have different ways of performing masculinities based on factors such as race and class and this performance is only possible within certain gender power structures which locate and place limits on their particular performance (Connell, 1995). This gives men a sense of agency because they can make and remake masculinity and they can challenge hegemonic masculinity and reconstitute it.

Defining masculinities in the way Connell has done has major implications for schools because hegemonic masculinity requires males sexually harassing girls to be viewed as 'normal' and 'typical' for that group of people. Schools are key sites where

some intervention can take place to ensure that young men could develop possible ways of being men that do not involve violence, racism, misogyny and/or homophobia (Epstein 1998: 58). This has been demonstrated in research conducted by Mac an Ghaill (1994) and Kenway et al, (1998) in Australian schools. What these studies show is that when males are given alternative constructions of masculinities, they resist hegemonic masculinity.

5.4   Development of black masculinities

Connell (1995: 83) argues that when there is a crisis tendency in the gender order (as has been the case in South Africa) violence can become a way of claiming or asserting masculinity in group struggles. Epstein supports this contention and adds that violence in South Africa is an everyday occurrence, much of it between men but more so from men to women, and that it has provided one of the dominant ways through which men can understand who they are and their place in the world (1998). According to Epstein (1998), within the South African context, masculinities have been implicated in forms of personal and institutional violence.

Morrell argues that the 'colonial divisions of race, geography, gender and space aided and sharpened by apartheid capitalism, have resulted in differing gender profiles' (1998: 8) with white men and black men having different masculinities. The masculinities are racialised, expressed through social class positions, and operate differently. Race and class are of great importance in determining how men understand their masculinity and how they perform it. Wood and Jewkes (2001) show that the unavailability of work, an essential part of working-class masculinities around the world, places greater emphasis on heterosexual activity, which confirms gender power inequalities and fuels gender violence.

In order to explore this further, I would like to explore bell hook's (1992) interpretative model of black phallocentrism to see to what extent it can be applied to black South African males. Hook asserts that under advanced capitalism it was the

wage-earning power that determined the extent to which a man could rule over a household. She then translates this into feminist terms:

> In feminist terms, this can be described as a shift from emphasis on patriarchal status (determined by one's capacity to assert power over others in a number of spheres based on maleness) to a phallocentric model, where what the male does with his penis becomes a greater and certainly more accessible way to assert masculine status. It is easy to see how this served the interests of a capitalist state which was indeed depriving men of their rights, exploiting their labour in such a way that they only indirectly received the benefits, to deflect away from a patriarchal power based on ruling others and to emphasise a masculine status that would depend solely on the penis.

> With the emergence of a fierce phallocentrism, a man was no longer a man because he provided care for his family, he was a man simply because he had a penis. Furthermore, his ability to use that penis in the area of sexual conquest could bring him as much status as being a wage earner and provider. A sexually defined masculine ideal rooted in physical domination and sexual possession of women could be accessible to all men. Hence, even unemployed black men could gain status, could be seen as the embodiment of masculinity, within a phallocentric framework (1992: 94).

This analysis shows that phallocentrism is an attempt to recuperate some degree of power under the subordinated conditions created by racism. While race is handled as a minority unit of analysis in the United States of America, this interpretative model can be applied to South African black males because of the overlap of race and class.

There is research which confirms that working-class black males resort to phallocentrism. A key study that looks at the construction of working-class masculinities and the tension between class alienation and gender power within the South African context is Catherine Campbell (1992). Campbell argues that violence is one of the compensatory mechanisms whereby black males have sought to reassert

their masculinity. She says that it was largely through men's roles in families that they were able to give expression to their masculinities in working-class communities. However, male power has been threatened on both material and decision making fronts due to unemployment and low wages. There is an increase in the number of female-headed households. Fathers who are unable to support their families are looked down upon by their communities and even their wives and children. The father is a victim of expectations that he is incapable of fulfilling. Families make demands on the basis of real needs, then attribute the father's inability to meet them to a personal inadequacy on his part. The father feels humiliated and emasculated given that the notions of provider, household headship and masculinity seem to be closely inter-linked in the township frame of reference. Campbell (1992) asserts that the behavioural option of violence is a socially sanctioned recipe for living which men use for the reassertion of their masculinity. She attributes the upsurge of violence in working-class black communities to masculinity being undermined. In a community where the opportunities for assertion of masculine power are limited, violence is the manifestation of the structural forces of patriarchy reasserting themselves when race and class oppression has dealt the status of adult men a severe blow.

According to Wood et al (2001) young black males have invested significantly in their sexual relationships and use to access position from their male peers. For these young men celibacy was unthinkable. A number of studies have explored the fragility of masculinity amongst township boys and the emphasis that they place on having girlfriends and engaging in heterosexal sex (Shefer and Ruiters, 1998; Wood et al, 2001). They lay great stress on sex borne out of desperation and vulnerability rather than power. Violence against women is seen not just as an expression of male powerfulness and dominance over women but also as being rooted in male vulnerability stemming from social expectations of manhood that are unattainable because of factors such as poverty. An inability to meet social expectations of successful manhood can trigger a crisis in male identity, and violence against women is used as a means of resolving this crisis because it allows expression of power that is otherwise denied (Jewkes et al, 2002b: 359,1424).

Thus, what has emerged is that there are different masculinities with differential access to power, practices of power and differential effects of power based on factors such as race and class. However, there are possibilities for alternative masculinities. Research conducted in two black working- class township schools in Durban revealed a high level of maturity and sensitivity among many of the boys. They prefer to have one girlfriend are concerned about their future and valued intimacy from both male and female friends and demonstrate the capacity for self-reflection (Epstein et al, 2001).

5.5   Homophobia

A feature of dominant masculinity is homophobia (Reddy, 1998). Recent ethnographic and qualitative research in schools has noted that masculine identities are produced and policed through homophobic performances (Salisbury and Jackson, 1996; Mac an Ghaill 1994; Epstein, 1994). These studies show how masculinities are constructed as relations of power around opposing discourses such as homosexuality. Boys' homophobia is seen as a set of activities through which they assert their hegemonic masculinity. Because of its status as non-masculine, homosexuality is associated with femininity and the construction of masculinity is underpinned by projecting this femininity onto particular boys who are singled out as gay or not particularly masculine. This homophobic obsession of boys shows how fragile masculinities are (Frosh et al, 2002). Epstein found that the homophobia expressed towards non-macho boys was in terms of their similarities to girls (1994). She indicates that it is by foregrounding and examining misogyny and homophobia and how they are interlinked that we can begin to address and deconstruct some of the generally accepted heterosexual masculinities. The dual 'others' to normative heterosexual masculinities in schools are femininities and homosexuality against which many boys seek to define their identities (Frosh et al, 2002).

In their study on the ways homophobia was expressed in a secondary school, Nayak and Kehily (1997) concluded that homophobia had a high profile in heterosexual male

students. They argue that homophobia was a kind of performance in which young men were constantly engaged, which gave masculinity the appearance of substance. Young men have been seen in the research study as being both powerful and vulnerable, oppressing others and at the same time clinging to their masculinities by repudiating 'non-hegemonic' aspects of themselves and projecting these unto others. They found that the school culture is homophobic and that boys take aggressive and angry stands against homosexuality. At times of feeling vulnerable and inadequate, men and boys buy into a fixed source of identity- dominant heterosexual masculinity. They therefore take up a homophobic and misogynistic stance, which reassures them that they have a grip on their male identity.

Students do not have to be gay to be affected by homophobia. According to Gilbert and Gilbert (1998), perpetrators of gay harassment target any male who does not conform to a dominant masculine image. This is supported by Epstein who argues that homophobia is not motivated simply by contempt for homosexuality; rather, it plays a key role in policing and constructing heterosexual masculinities in schools (1994).

5.6   Gender power and gender regimes in schools

As this study proposes that power be placed at the centre of an analysis of masculinity it is important to fully understand the complexity of this dynamic within institutional cultures. Morrell (1998b) argues that since masculinity is at play all the time it has social force within the workings of non-violent organisations and institutions too. He advises that to capture masculinity as part of this bigger picture requires locating masculinity within gender regimes. Connell (1989) noted that schools are of strategic importance in the making of masculinities. If gender power is to be understood in terms of the ways both boys and girls create gender identities and the school environment moulds these identities and gender relations (Thorne, in Morrell, 1998a), then it is necessary to interrogate how schools help the institutionalisation of masculinities. To facilitate this analysis, I use a conceptual apparatus presented by Connell (1987). He argues that individual acts of oppression or force are embedded

within some structure of power, a set of social relations with some permanence. He gives the example of rape, and the same argument can apply to sexual harassment, which is routinely presented in the media as individual deviance. However, he argues that this is deeply embedded in power inequalities and ideologies of male supremacy. Far from being a deviation from the social order, it is an enforcement of it. This connection of violence to ideology points to the multiple character of social power of which force is an important component. The force he refers to is not 'naked' force but a form of violence that appears as part of a complex that also involves institutions, such as schools, and the ways they are organised. Connell suggests that each school has its own gender regime where gender relations are arranged in a way that distributes gender power (1987).

Other researchers describe this concept of gender regime as the pursuit of a pattern of practices that creates an acceptable kind of masculinity or femininity among the members of an institution, ranks them according to status, and then divides labour within the institution on the basis of sex (Kessler, 1987). While schools have some autonomy in determining the nature of the gender regime, they reflect and contribute to the power relation in the macro-social ordering which Connell terms the gender order. He sees the gender division of labour as being a consequence of the interlocking of the gender order with the 'gender regime' at the institutional level. There are power hierarchies, which exist within the gender order, which define how the gendered groups relate to one another. The school and popular culture may define places in gender relations for boys to occupy, but masculinities and femininities are actively constructed not simply received. While boys and girls might pick up what is being offered to them, they can also decline the position of desire offered to them by the gender order (Connell, 1995).

The many structures and practices at the school which maintain the gender regime, such as the school's leadership structure, its rules and its extra-curricula programmes, are obvious; the contribution of other aspects, such as the requirement of a school uniform, is less apparent. The nineteenth-century educational pioneers used the insistence on conventional, ladylike dress in public as a strategy to gain acceptance

for higher education of girls and to avoid accusations of masculinity or impropriety (Delamont, in Heyward, 1995). The attitude towards sports also indicates the school's gender regime. Heyward argues that there are still assumptions at schools that boys' education requires expensive equipment. She says that this needs to be interrogated to determine whether or not it is just a cover- up for the persistent feeling that ultimately a boy's education is more important because he will use it in the wide world, whereas it is assumed that a girl might get married (1995). The existence of this proper 'football' education, thought to be so necessary for boys to gain the essential values of competitiveness, toughness and fear of losing, ought to be questioned because of the social construction of these values. Clearly, financial choices are being made on stereotypical assumptions about the sexes and this practice contributes to the kind of gender regime that exists at the schools today.

Connell (1987) argues that interpersonal manipulation, the threat of stigmatisation, bullying, and other social mechanisms may all be used to encourage boys to conform to accepted codes and values of the hegemonic masculinity in an institution. According to Richardson (2001), male sports may help to perpetuate gender discrimination and inequalities in institutions. Connell also contributes to this argument in the following way:

> The differentiation of masculinities occurs in relation to a school curriculum, which organises knowledge hierarchically and sorts students into an academic hierarchy. By institutionalising academic failure via competitive grading and streaming, the school forces differentiation on the boys. But masculinity is organised on the macro-scale around social power. Social power in terms of access to higher education, entry to professions, command of communication, is being delivered to boys who are academic 'successes'. The reaction of the 'failed' is likely to be a claim to other sources of power, even other definitions of masculinity. Sporting prowess, physical aggression, sexual conquest may do (1987: 292).

There are subtle ways in which the gender regime of schools works against women and girls resulting in them having less access to power and opportunities than males. However, groups of boys who do not conform or challenge hegemonic notions of masculinity are also disadvantaged (Morrell, 1998a). Morrell argues that the importance of Connell's approach is that it allows for gender to be examined holistically and recognises that males are also oppressed. Educators should therefore examine their policies, programmes and practices and make sure that they serve to undermine existing gender regimes and promote gender equality.

5.7   Gender and administration

Blackmore and Kenway further expand on the argument that Connell makes about administration becoming identified with particular 'masculinist' cultures, which are hegemonic in particular administrative contexts (1993: 29). They say that embedded in organisations are also subtle innuendoes, images and valuings that exclude many women, such as dominant 'masculinist' images of leadership and administration (Blackmore and Kenway, 1993: 29). Values, ideologies and structures associated with dominant theories of administration and associated cultural practices favour certain images of masculinity. Connell's analysis of the ways in which the state 'institutionalises hegemonic masculinity' through a 'very active gender process' also provides insight into this (1993: 183).

Schools which are managed in a bureaucratic way are characterised by a hierarchy of personnel with supervision from above, record keeping and paper work, impartial and impersonal rules and regulations rather than in a familial way characterised by feelings of community, belonging, cooperation and caring (Epp and Watkinson, 1995: 7). Epp and Watkinson argue that bureaucracies epitomise the unequal distribution of power and dominance between men, women and children. Larger schools, heavier and oppressive bureaucracies and higher student teacher ratios increase student isolation, alienation and frustration.

There are those who argue that the position of a school administrator from its very inception was based on power differentials. Blackmore (1989) suggests that the separation of the roles of administrator and teacher early in the 1900s was not an attempt to emulate scientific management theories but an excuse to give male teachers an added measure of authority. The gendered and hierarchical distinction between administrator and teaching as categories of work based on expertise, rather than as inextricably dependent and within the same field of practice, reinforces existing power relations and the ways in which femininity and masculinity are socially constructed and reproduced in schools (Blackmore, 1989: 109)

There is growing evidence that when women administer they are likely to do it differently than men (Blackmore, 1989). The emphasis in the 1980s on generic management skills and competencies has co-opted women's skills of emotional management, that is, the personal orientation, teamwork, listening, nurturing, acknowledging uncertainty, embracing error and more generally, a concern for human values, democratic principles and social equity (Blackmore, 1995). Female administrators may be changing the way authority is practised in schools (Epp and Watson, 1995). They argue that women should occupy school administrative positions in equal numbers to men because their presence would change societal expectations for the dominant-subservient positions of men and women, and encourage a changed view of authority. Although not alone in changing attitudes and processes, women are often credited with implementing change towards discipline, punishment and the treatment of young people. If women were placed in positions of power in the school system, it would affect pedagogy as well as the genderisation of schooling. When men run the schools and women work in them, boys are told that they will be bosses and girls are told that they will be subordinates even before they have opened a textbook. Standard ways of administering schools reinforce the dominance and subordination structure, which remains the basis of our social ordering (Epp and Watkinson, 1995).

However, women don't speak with the same voice, and this complexity and recognition of difference disallows any claim about the essentialist conception of their identity. As more women assume positions of power higher in the hierarchy, some will reflect institutional values and develop bureaucratic tendencies. In addition, some women in higher positions have what is termed a 'Queen Bee' attitude, which in essence prevents other women from advancing (Skaine, 1996:249). When women become bureaucrats they become part of the symbolic male order and they have to work through this contradiction. If they allow themselves to remain tangential, they are not going to be able to effect changes. They have to balance co-option and disruption of the symbolic male order. Some may play the game so that they have time to spend on substantive issues and others may develop bureaucratic tendencies.

While administration has become associated with a particular type of masculinity, that of a technically capable male, schools are also sites of contestation as there is no one unitary hegemonic masculinity to which all males have access and all females are excluded. While subtle innuendoes, images, and valuings embedded in these organisations exclude women, such as dominant 'masculinist' images of leadership and administration, they can be transformed undermined and replaced with more empowering visions of administration (Blackmore, 1995).

6. Dynamics of violence and school culture

In a study of violence and school culture, Anderson (1998) looks at factors that contribute to violence and factors that reduce violence in schools. Factors associated with violence include poverty and violence in families and communities. Evaluations of the effectiveness of initiatives such as curricular responses to violence, conflict resolution, administrative responses such as staff development, community responses such as outreach programmes, increased social services and joint projects with police are mixed.

When examining the dynamics of violence and gender violence within schools, research shows that there are a number of factors that contribute to violence universally. Price and Everett (1997) report that principals in the United States believe that lack of parental supervision and family involvement with the school contribute to violence in schools. Another factor contributing to violence appears to be the 'school climate' or school culture involving the personality and characteristics of a school such as clarity and fairness of rules (Welsh 2000). In the study by Welsh (2000), school climate was a strong explanatory factor in levels of school disorder. Kenway and Fitzclarence (1997) also point to implicit ideologies within school practices that promote masculine hegemony and encourage violence.

Altering a school's internal culture appears to reduce violence even in schools located in violent communities. Research indicates that violence is rare in schooling environments where there is an ethic of care and justice producing a nurturing, positive and supportive environment that promotes social connectedness and co-operative behaviour (Epp and Watkinson, 1995). It is not always easy for schools to address complex issues related to race and gender: partly through lack of perceived relevance or urgency; partly through lack of training and experience; and partly because much of the work relates to attitudes and values and, as such, is bound up in the 'hidden' curriculum rather than the overt measurable aspects of the school. Yet, if schools are aiming to promote social justice, human rights, respect and understanding of others, if they are valuing difference and helping to develop democratic, socially economically and politically aware citizens, then issues relating to race and gender need to be addressed in all schools and the principles of social justice needs to be promoted.

Schools need to understand that promoting a human rights culture is not something that is a separate topic that can be welded into existing practice. It must permeate all aspects of schooling. Unfortunately, within the South African context this is not the case. Even though corporal punishment is banned in terms of Section 10 of the South African School's Act because it is an infringement of a person's human rights, it is still an integral part of schooling for most teachers and students in South African

schools (Morrell, 2001b). Like sexual harassment, corporal punishment in schools is endemic (Vally, 1998). Gang violence is also becoming a serious problem in some schools (Mathee, 2002). While not enough research has been done about the connection between the violence that takes place in schools with what happens in South African society broadly, there is some indication that there is a link (Beinart, 1992).

Literature produced internationally and within the South African context points in the direction that schools have not been sheltered from the violence. Kenway and Fitzclarence (1997) assert that there are several bodies of research literature which support the following contentions: violence is widespread in schools, most often such violence is perpetrated by males and can thus be understood as a violent expression of certain types of masculinities. This is borne out by researchers in South Africa who also make the link between the violence against women and men's social construction of masculinity (Wood et al, 1998; Epstein, 1998; Morrell, 1998b, 2001a; Jewkes et al, 2002b). Male sexual violence is also central to the maintenance of male power by being structured into a model of masculinity which schools have done little to challenge. This aggressive form of masculinity is also reinforced in the way boys are socialised at homes, and the way males are portrayed in the media, including advertisements, television and movies where male violence is celebrated.

In discussing violence in schools it is important not to lose site of its racial dimension. African schools are worse affected by violence (Morrell, 1998a). This has to do with the political upheaval and politicisation of black youth. It also has to be understood in terms of historical developments in the lives of black people; their social exclusion and economic exploitation as they were transformed into a working-class during apartheid. Hart asserts that within the South African context, the violence has created a high level of militancy and politicisation of students. He asserts that the psychological effects of these experiences results in loss of self-esteem, depression, learned helplessness and aggression (1988).

7. Gender Relations in South Africa

Before beginning to discuss the term sexual harassment, it is necessary to locate it in the larger context of a society that tolerates violence against females. Within the South African context, patriarchies are deeply entrenched across all cultures (McEwan, 2001) and there is a pattern of male-female interaction that exists in which males routinely express their dominance over females (Wood and Jewkes, 1998; Varga, 2000; Lovelife, 2001). There is also strong discourse emerging in South Africa, the notion that sexuality between men and women is part of male domination and endemically a situation of power inequality in which a man is prepared to use violence towards women and other men to retain this power (Campbell, 1992; Shefer and Ruiters, 1998; Jewkes et al, 2002b). Epstein (1998) contributes to this discourse by noting that, historically, masculinities have been implicated in forms of interpersonal and institutional violence, and continue to have a stake in this. Such histories and structures leave traces which cannot be totally erased. McEwan says that South Africa has an appalling past in terms of the unbridled institutional racism, the consequences of which are still felt today (2001:48). Issues of race class, privilege and power that were epitomised by the old South Africa are still prevalent and continue to bedevil our new democracy.

Epstein (1998) argues that SA society has been structured by gender, race and class that are all interconnected. While difference between African, coloured, white and Indian and have been privileged by apartheid, she says that these differences have been socially constructed and are not monolithic. Furthermore, there are differences within each group of class, gender and language. However, certain generalisations can be made. According to Morrell, during the apartheid era 'a hierarchy of races was created by differential state spending which in turn determined that most Africans would be manual labourers, Indians and coloureds in more protected enclaves of the labour market and whites in supervisory and professional positions' (2001a: 17). Race and class were therefore manipulated by the state and all of these factors affected gender identity.

How much of this changed in the new dispensation? While new discourses of gender equality surfaced, discriminatory and violent gender practices continued. These practices were structured through racism, misysogny and homophobia while race and class were and continue to be linked and gendered (Epstein, 1998). Epstein argues that such structures and histories leave traces or residues which changes in politics cannot totally erase. She asserts that changes post-apartheid have been minor, the working-class and unemployed are black and the middle-classes are white. The emergence of a black professional class, which is taking place, has not changed these relations significantly. Problems of economic and social equality remain; the poor are still poor and are mainly black while the rich still own the vast majority of South African wealth and are mainly white.

With regard to gender, addressing the effects of gender inequalities in South Africa is clearly located within the broader national transformation project that seeks to alter the social and economic inequalities of a long history of systemic and structured race discrimination. However, even though gender relations underwent a major refashioning in Southern Africa and we have a structural framework that protects gender equality and has improved the lives of some women, in general, gender relations and constructing equal political, social and economic citizenship for women have failed to transform (McEwan, 2001) and the power imbalances have not been addressed (Gouws, 1999). While political power has passed to a black majority, gender power has been and continues to be in the hands of men (Morrell, 2001a). The remarkable durability of male power over women in the face of far-reaching social, political and economic change is a reminder of how deep rooted gender power is (Walker, 1990) and how deeply entrenched it is in all cultures (McEwan, 2001).

8.   Gender-based violence in South Africa

Many people in South Africa have been extremely brutalised by the political violence in the country's past, the disruption of families and communities, high levels of

poverty, and very high levels of violence in all forms (Jewkes and Abrahams 2002a; Morrell, 2001a). To understand why the level of violence against women is so high and understand its causes it is necessary to examine the dynamics of gender violence in relation to gender identity, particularly masculinity, gender power relations and the contribution of contextual factors including family and social structures, socio-economic and historical factors and other forms of violence. In this respect, social disintegration, political instability, breaking of social ties and relations and separation of generations are some of the factors that have been found to promote violent behaviour (Campbell 1992).

Research has explored connections between notions of masculinity and control over women's sexuality and coercive sex (Wood and Jewkes, 1998). The findings were that men beat women to maintain certain self-images and social evaluations (Wood et al, 2001). Other work has suggested that a combination of factors including political oppression under apartheid, changing household structures in which women take increasing decision-making and even social sanctioning of coercive male behaviour has led men to use physical violence against women within the family context as a means of asserting (or attempting to regain) masculinity and sense of self-worth (Campbell 1992).

In an attempt to explain the causal and contributory factors in sexual coercion, Jewkes and Abrahams (2002a) make reference to the 1995 Human Rights Watch Report on domestic violence and rape in which South Africa was dubbed the 'rape capital of the world'. They argue that the problem of rape in South Africa has to be understood within the context of the very substantial gender power inequalities which pervade society. It is both a manifestation of male dominance over women and an assertion of that position. They do not to argue that men are 'naturally' aggressive but rather assert that male control of women and notions of male sexual entitlement feature strongly in the dominant social constructions of masculinity in South Africa.

Both sexual and physical violence against women form part of a repertoire of strategies of control to fit in with dominant notions of masculinity (Wood and Jewkes,

2001). In a comparative cross-cultural study of rape, Reeves Sanday (1981) shows that there is a correlation with the degree of interpersonal violence and rape. In South Africa, rape and sexual coercion form one part of the broader problem of gender-based violence, which in turn is influenced by a general culture of violence that pervades society. According to Simpson (cited in Jewkes and Abrahams, 2002a), one of the consequences of decades of state-sponsored violence, colonialism and armed resistance is that physical violence has become for many people a first line strategy to resolve conflict. It is used in a variety of settings by teachers and pupils and colleagues in a workplace and in same sex relationships (Jewkes and Abrahams, 2002a). In a violent society, the use of sexual force to acquire desired relations becomes unremarkable.

Interpersonal violence and particularly violence against children is also common in South Africa. In a national survey of South African youth by the Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation (Lovelife, 2001), many youth report experiences of child abuse and it is the third greatest concern after crime and HIV/AIDS for youth in South Africa today. 64 per cent of Africans, 66 per cent of coloureds and 59 per cent of Indians name child abuse as one of their greatest concerns. Four out of ten Africans and three out of ten coloureds report being beaten by an educator. Family violence is also high. In the same survey, 29 per cent per cent of youth report beatings by mothers and 20 per cent by fathers. 8 per cent have witnessed someone beat their mother.

Poverty seems to be a factor in family violence with 42 per cent of youth reporting being beaten by their mothers where the household income is less than R1 000 per month (Lovelife, 2001). Burnett (1998) in a study of school violence in an impoverished South African community found that emotional erosion, negative self-concept and reactive violence are common manifestations of poverty. Material impoverishment promoted violence both at home and at school with children caught up in a cycle of violence they perceived as a normal means of empowerment in their situation. The role of the control of women must be understood in the context of the limited number of recreational opportunities available to poor township and rural youth. Competition over women has achieved overwhelming importance because it is one of the few available arenas where success may be achieved and self-esteem

gained. Whilst young people in all parts of the world are preoccupied with relationships, in this context poverty raises the stakes, and rape and violence may be more readily deployed to seek goals (Jewkes and Abrahams, 2002a: 1239)

9. Gender-based violence among South African youth

There is a growing body of research indicating that various forms of gender-based violence are common among South African adolescents and young women (Lovelife, 2001; Varga, 2000; MRC, 2000; Human Rights Watch Report, 2001; Wolpe et al, 1997; Mukasa, 1999; and Wood and Jewkes, 1998).

A number of South African studies have shown that the experience of forced or coerced sex is common among adolescents and young women. In a recent community survey of rural and urban youth in KwaZulu-Natal, close to 80 per cent of these girls stated that an acquaintance or boyfriend had forced them to have sex (Varga, 2000). Lovelife's national youth survey (2001) reported that 39 per cent of girls report being forced to have sex. Other studies among South African teenagers have recorded high levels of sexual violence. In a case control study of teenage mothers in Cape Town, 30 per cent reported that their first sexual intercourse was forced, and 11 per cent reported being raped (Wood and Jewkes, 1998).

Qualitative work confirms that coercive sex is characteristic of young people's sexual relationships. Physical violence in response to refusal of sex is not only common but also a frequently cited reason for girls not refusing sex and remaining in sexually abusive relationships (Wood et al, 1998). In a study among pregnant teenagers in rural and urban KwaZulu-Natal, Varga and Makubalo (1996) found that powerlessness, physical abuse and emotional manipulation characterised study participants' sexual experiences. While most girls (72 per cent) reported having attempted to refuse sex with their most recent boyfriend, the majority were unsuccessful in this endeavour and more often than not ended up being coerced into sex with their partners. While

this was partly due to the threat of physical abuse, it was also a result of girls' fear of rejection or abandonment by their partners if they did not agree to have sex. Those who did not refuse sex cited similar reasoning. Similarly, the Lovelife survey found that 33 per cent of girls said they were scared to refuse sex for fear of physical retribution (2001).

Research also suggests that to a certain extent young people consider forced sex normal and acceptable, a male mandate, and even an indicator of a partner's love and commitment (Wood et al, 1998; Varga, 1999). Girls were adamant that coercive sex was a reflection of boyfriends' love and represented the normality of an intimate love relationship. In another study, close to a third of adolescent respondents felt that under certain circumstances, such as infidelity or in the context of marriage, it was acceptable to force a woman to have sex (Varga, 2000).

10.   School-based research on gender violence

The South African education system is still in the process of transition and restructuring and educational officials are still working on stream lining a very fragmented education system that was inherited from the previous dispensation. While the South African Ministry of Education is committed to gender equity, this commitment has not translated into real equity in the classroom. There is much pressure from academics, civic organisations and progressive teacher unions for the department of education to move faster in addressing gender inequalities. According to Morrell, curriculum, classroom management, outcomes, achievement and dropout levels, pregnancy, sexual harassment, rape and violence all received sporadic interest from the state and union. It was left to isolated parents, teachers and pupils to raise these issues (1998a).

While a plethora of research on gender in South Africa has emerged, the literature on gender-based violence in schools is limited but significant and growing (Chisolm and Napo, 1999; Mukasa, 1999; Human Rights Watch Report, 2001; Vally, 1998).

School-based research on gender violence suggests that girls in South African schools experience similar forms, patterns and levels of violence to that experienced outside the school setting (Flisher et al, 1993; HSRC, 2001; Porteus et al, 1998; Van den Aardweg 1987).

A very crucial piece of research is the recent work by Human Rights Watch (2001) which focuses on various aspects of sexual violence in schools, including some of the worst cases of rape and sexual abuse which are often perpetrated by male educators and learners. The Report, commissioned by the National Department of Education, documents school-based sexual violence, reviews school and state responses to sexual violence, explains the discriminatory impact on girls' education rights, and sets forth recommendations to rectify the problems. The Report found that the sexual abuse and harassment of girls from all levels of society among all ethnic groups by both teachers and other learners is widespread in South Africa. It asserts that girls continue to be sexually harassed at school by male learners and educators. Schoolgirls have also reported being told that if they do not agree to have sex with their teacher they would fail the school year (Wood and Jewkes, 1998). A 1998 South Africa Demographic and Health Survey conducted by the Medical Research Council confirms this assertion (Jewkes et al, 2002). The researchers assert that educators are responsible for 33 per cent of rapes of girls between 15 and 19 years. This finding is also borne out in a study of violence of Umtata youths' sexual relationships which found that sexual relationships between educators and students were both common and characterised by gender-based violence (Wood and Jewkes, 1998). The study found that when male educators' advances were rebuffed, female students subsequently suffered discriminatory treatment in the classroom from these educators and even physical attacks after school.

The Human Rights Watch report not only highlights cases of sexual violence but also addresses the impact of school sexual violence on victims and the lack of institutional responses and systems to adequately deal with and prevent it. While the study does not measure prevalence, the shocking nature of the cases reported by HRW, exacerbated by the attitudes and responses of those responsible for helping victims,

highlights the seriousness of the problem and its negative impact on girls' access to education. However, education departmental officials have viewed the credibility of the report with some scepticism because the study relied on qualitative data collected from interviews with 36 schoolgirls. The criticism is that generalisations based on such a small sample cannot be made about the incidence of sexual violence and harassment nationally. Even though this is a valid criticism, the report needs to be taken seriously by the National Department of Education. The report is also significant for the purposes of this study because the findings in the report are consistent with the findings in my study. Since it is the only national study that has been conducted among schoolgirls in the South African context, it is a significant piece of work. However, despite its significance, there are many gaps in the report that will be covered in the last section of this chapter.

Chisholm and Napo (1999) document some of the emerging gaps between policy and practice in relation to gender violence in schools. While their focus was not specifically on sexual harassment as a form of gender-based violence, their insights on the discrepancy between policy and practice are useful. They argue that the discourse of gender equity is constructed through many official documents, which consistently acknowledge issues of gender equity. However, they assert that despite this political will, the intent to reform has been symbolic and not much has been done by the National Department of Education to realise gender equity. An interesting contribution that they make is that that gender violence in schools in South Africa is not a new phenomenon and was fuelled by the violence during the apartheid years. They caution that the existence of legislation alone is insufficient to address the problem of sexual harassment. Ultimately, a strategy to eliminate sexual harassment in schools needs to aim at transformation of the broader school culture. Dealing effectively with sexual harassment is much easier if a school has committed itself to infuse a spirit of equity and a critique of injustice into its curriculum and pedagogy (Stein, 1995: 159).

Mukasa's (1999) study of a school in Cape Town on educators' and learners' perceptions of sexual harassment is an interesting one. She asserts that while the

learners are clear about behaviours that they find unacceptable, these behaviours are not defined as sexual harassment because of the invisibility of the problem and the inability of the girls to articulate what they have experienced. If the girls complain, they are either disbelieved or blamed for the harassing behaviour. These findings support those of Stein, 1995; Larkin, 1994 and Herbert, 1989 and confirm the findings of my study. What is most significant about Mukasa's (1999) study is that the incidence of sexual harassment at the school was significantly low because the locus of definition was with the learners. As the project developed, a different picture emerged and both the researcher and girls came to realise how prevalent the problem was. This provided valuable insights for my research because it supported the contention that girls' understanding of sexual harassment is a social construction. Mukasa conducted group interviews with both the learners and educators to explore what they understood the problem to be. It was also useful because it connected the more subtle forms of sexual harassment to the more serious forms of sexual assault. However, one of the limitations was that the research was only conducted in one school. Mukasa also failed to take into account and recognise the complexities of race, gender, and (dis) ability and how these factors impacted on the girls' experiences of sexual harassment.

While school-based research within the South African context is limited, there is systematic research on the impact of violence and gender violence prevention measures in schools abroad and we can draw on some of the lessons that these studies provide. This study locates sexual harassment as a form of gender-based violence against females. In this study the meaning of violence has been expanded to include violence which interrupts the potential and expectation of learners to fulfil their personal potential and development. Kenway and Fitzclarence have proposed this broad definition of what constitutes violence:

> As people have become more aware of the extent of and consequences of domestic violence, childhood sexual abuse, sexual harassment, and homophobia, their understanding of violence has become more nuanced and the definition of violence has widened. It is increasingly understood that

violence occurs along a continuum and involves physical, sexual, verbal and emotional abuses of power at individual, group and social structural levels (1997: 117).

Another useful definition of violence comes from the Ontario Ministry of Education:

> Violence has the effect or potential of hurting the health and welfare of an individual. It can be physical, verbal (oral or written), emotional, sexual, or racial, and can be directed against an individual or a group of individuals... At the far end of the continuum of violence are criminal acts. However, if we are to reduce violence in schools and in society, incidents at all points along the continuum, even bullying, or continual verbal harassment (e.g., in reference to an individual's disability) can be as debilitating to the victim as a physical attack. If ignored, these incidents can escalate in severity (cited in Epp and Watkinson: 1995, xiii).

What is useful about these definitions is the notion that harm to individuals can be inflicted both physically and psychologically. However, as this study focuses on the sexual harassment of girls, I would like to insert a further qualification: that the violence defined be motivated by prejudice and discrimination of an individual based on their gender. Another useful concept that emerges in the definitions above is that the concept of a continuum will enable the exploration of experiences that are both overt and subtle and not easy to recognise. Several researchers argue that gender-based violence at school needs to be seen as part of a bigger picture and as only part of the continuum of violence that females constantly face (Jones and Mahony, 1989; Larkin, 1994; Epp and Watkinson, 1995). It is an expression of sexism which reflects and reinforces the unequal power that already exists between men and women in our patriarchal society. An important feature of sexual violence as a system of oppression of females by males is that all the incidents of sexual violence, both in the public and private spheres, both overt and subtle forms, are all inextricably linked (Jones and Mahony, 1989; Larkin, 1994; Epp and Watkinson, 1995) because they result from marked gender inequalities in our society.

11. Concept of a 'continuum'

When trying to conceptualise the range of male behaviour that girls experience as abusive, Liz Kelly's concept of a 'continuum' to express the connections between the 'typical' and the extreme (cited in Jones and Mahony, 1989: 149) forms the basis to my understanding. Kelly (1987) argues that violence involves 'a continuous series of elements of events that pass into one another and cannot be readily distinguished' but that, nonetheless, these different definitions even 'have a basic common character'. Several researchers (Hanmer, in Herbert, 1987; Jones and Mahoney, 1989; Larkin 1994; and Mukasa, 1999) also describe sexual harassment as part of a continuum of violence. The Kelly continuum was also used by Kenway and Fitzclarence in their research on masculinity, violence and schooling (1997). This concept of a continuum is also used by Rachel Jewkes, however, she calls it a spectrum.[8]

The concept of a continuum is important because it helps us see how various forms of violence are connected. Some researchers assert that sexual assault almost always begins with some type of harassment: a threatening comment, a menacing look, an unwanted touch (Stein, 1995; 1999; Mukasa, 1999). Stein, who has investigated sexual harassment of both boys and girls in American public schools for over twenty years, argues that sexual harassment must be seen as a form of gendered violence if educationists want to redress issues of violent behaviour in schools and other contexts (1995). Her studies revealed 'injustices of considerable magnitude and suggest that schools may be training grounds for the insidious cycle of domestic violence' (Stein, 1995: 148). The antecedents of harassment she suggests are found in teasing and bullying which if left unchallenged serve as fertile practice ground for sexual harassment and this, in turn, trains girls to accept battering and assault (1995, 1999).

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[8] In an article by Nawaal Deane entitled 'The reality behind child rape', in the Mail and Guardian, November 8, 2002, p.13.

12.   Defining Sexual Harassment

Before beginning my investigation into the literature, it is important to focus on previous definitions of sexual harassment and the inherent problems with conducting research into this phenomenon. Thus, the next section deals with a historical account of sexual harassment, descriptions of this behaviour, some of the problems with definition and labelling and the confusion which arises because of the similarity sexual harassment has with 'normal' male behaviour. One of the most persistent problems in the sexual harassment literature is the lack of a widely agreed upon definition of the concept, one that is both broad enough to comprehend the variety of experiences to which the construct refers, and yet specific enough to be of practical use (Paludi, 1990). According to MacKinnon (1979: 27):

> It is not surprising... that women do not complain of an experience for which there is no name. Until 1976, lacking a term to express it, sexual harassment was literally unspeakable, which made a generalised, shared and social definition of it inaccessible.

Related to this problem is the lack of a generally agreed upon operational definition, one which can be used in research and theory building in this area. Although many studies have been conducted, each had developed its own methodology, a practice yielding conflicting estimates of incidence rates and behaviours. This has led to a disarray in the literature, the diminishing credibility of such reports within the legal system and a missed opportunity for social science to contribute to social change. One of the factors contributing to this disarray in literature is that although numerous surveys and studies have appeared, each has typically constructed its own data collection instrument. A review of these studies (Gutek and Morasch, 1983; Ormerod, 1987) makes clear that it is difficult to construct items in such a way that they are interpreted similarly by all respondents. We have no way of knowing if the subjects' responses are stable, that is, if they would answer the same way again. Equally important is that they might not interpret the questions in the same way. Thus a large amount of error is introduced in the measurement. Therefore, asking subjects whether

they have been harassed or listing various sexually harassing behaviours and asking subjects if they have experienced this introduces systematic as well as random error into the procedure. Random error would be introduced because of the idiosyncratic definitions of harassment, systematic error because most women and girls have been socialised to accept many forms of sexual exploitation under the guise of jokes and compliments, thus reducing their rate of response. The likely result is lowering the true incidence rates.

I now wish to turn to an analysis of the process of defining sexual harassment in the late twentieth century in Western society. In the middle of this century, there was a growing interest in the understanding of power relationships between men and women. Simone de Beauvoir's (1949) analysis of women's oppression attributed its cause to society, and not biology, and this formed the basis for most debates up to and including the 1960s. In the late 1960s and early 1970s much attention was given to the same problem, the cause of women's oppression, and to understanding the construction of male power and dominance. Feminist writings were divided into two main strands. Both concentrated on finding the source of women's oppression in society, but one was academic and the other grew out of the Women's Movement and was more experiential in nature, focusing on the manifestation of male power through the use of direct and indirect violence (Herbert, 1989). This strand reinterpreted the personal experiences of women who had been victims of male abuse, challenging the previously accepted view that men's aggressive behaviour was 'typical' and 'normal', resulting in behaviour being viewed from a different perspective. It is this strand with which I am concerned. Attention up until the late 1970s was focused on extreme forms of violence against women (Brownmiller, cited in Herbert, 1989). By the end of the 1970s, however, women in the Western, developed world had become more interested in other less dramatic forms of female abuse, and the everyday intimidation and exploitation of women came under scrutiny. Sexual harassment was one of these issues.

There are a variety of definitions available to describe sexual harassment, all of which have been evolved in the last decade or so. Farley (1978: 17) described sexual

harassment as behaviour in the workplace which men use to gain power and which includes 'staring at, commenting upon or touching a woman's body, requests for acquiescence in sexual behaviour, repeated non-reciprocal propositions for dates, demands for sexual intercourse, rape'. Although Farley has been attributed to coining the phrase 'sexual harassment', there is evidence of it being used prior to this in Susan Brownmiller (1975). Farley coined the term because there was no appropriate phrase in current usage, revealing an absence of meaning, insight and naming for women in standard language (Brownmiller, 1975). She argued that any act of male aggression which contributes to the ultimate goal of keeping women 'in line' constitutes harassment. Whether the behaviour is demanding sexual favours or annoying behaviour that assumes familiarity, both are assertions for male power. She identified the protagonists of sexual harassment as men usually in positions of power and authority, whilst the victims are women who occupy relatively inferior positions. Farley's one-dimensional view of power enacted by those who have it (men) on those who don't (women) is problematic because this study draws on the more fluid, Foucauldian conceptualisation of power. Therefore, it does not view women and girls as either powerless recipients or victims of misused power.

MacKinnon's work took on a different perspective from that of Farley. She argued that:

> Sexual harassment ... refers to the unwanted imposition of sexual requirements in the context of a relationship of unequal power. Central to this concept is the use of power derived from one social sphere to lever benefits or impose deprivations in another...When one is sexual, the other material, the cumulative sanction is particularly potent (1979: 1).

The initial behaviour does not have to contain a sexual act and unlike Farley, who saw men's reward as power, Mackinnon argued that the reward is one of sexual gain. Her definition extends along a continuum of severity and unwantedness. It includes verbal sexual suggestions or jokes, leering and ogling, brushing against a person's body, squeezing, pinching, a quick kiss, the indecent proposition backed by the threat of

being sacked and forced sexual relations. The discrepancy between Farley and MacKinnon's over whether sexual harassment is a sexual act or one to gain sexual favours is confusing. MacKinnon's definition is a sexualised one, for it sees sex as an end in itself, as the goal of sexual harassment. This interpretation of sexual harassment from a radical feminist perspective makes her approach less useful because she doesn't see sex being utilised to gain power. While radical feminists such as MacKinnon have done well to expose the widespread sexism of male attitudes to women, and to implicate general sexism as a cause of harassment, they also lead people who are hostile to this kind of feminism to respond with charges of exaggeration (Brant and Too, 1994).

Up to this point, almost all the literature reviewed is research done in America and is confined to sexual harassment as a problem in the workplace. Studies in Britain on behaviour resembling sexual harassment cover a broader perspective than the American research. In 1978 an article by Hanmer (cited in Herbert, 1989), 'Male Violence and the Social Control of Women', discussed behaviour that resembled sexual harassment even though the term was not used. Hanmer's continuum of behaviour ranges from the covert use of force which may appear friendly or joking to violent forms of coercion such as rape, and enhances the concept of the continuum explained earlier in the chapter. The research was conducted in private houses and aimed to record the extent to which women were harassed in this setting. However, what is significant in Hanmer's research is the fact that the term sexual harassment was not used. This leaves one to conclude that the problem might be associated with experiences of women in the public sphere and not the private sphere.

By the early 1980s sexual harassment had become an employment concern and an issue for human rights campaigners. As time continued, the definition of sexual harassment became less exact. Wise and Stanley (1987) did not make any distinction between sexual or non-sexual behaviours because for them every aggressive male action constituted sexual harassment. However, this all-encompassing definition is dangerous. Harassment which is devoid of a sexual component but in which gender plays a part is different from sexual harassment and is known as gender harassment or

what Herbert describes as 'sexist harassment' (1989: 19). Franklin et al, (cited in Paludi, 1990), define gender harassment as a form of harassment consisting of remarks, jokes, innuendoes, unwanted comments, gestures and actions from a stereotyped assumption about the role of women, but with no actual sexual content. These behaviours may or may not be aimed at eliciting sexual co-operation from them. They are directed at the individuals whom the initiator deems inferior. Therefore, gender harassment resembles racial and ethnic slurs and epithets. This difference will aid differentiation and help to refine the definition of sexual harassment.

Dziech and Weiner's research (1984), of female students harassed by male professors also made the distinction between sexual and non-sexual behaviour. However, they argue that sexual harassment can only be regarded as having occurred if the protagonist is male and the victim is female, for they see power as being at the centre of such practices. Women, they argue, are relatively powerless. Because sexual harassment is a strategy used exclusively by those with access to the privilege of power, men, they indicate, are free from sexual harassment. This is a very limited notion of sexual harassment because, in schools, it is not only girls who are subject to sexual harassment, neither is it only males in traditional positions of power who can sexually harass (Herbert, 1989; Larkin, 1994; Jones and Mahony, 1989). If males do not conform to the dominant notions of masculinity they, too, can become victims of sexual harassment (Epstein, 1994; Kenway and Fitzclarence, 1997; Morrell, 1997). Not all males sexually harass females and this study acknowledges other types of sexual harassment such as girls harassing boys and boys harassing each other. This study draws on the multi-dimensional notion of power expounded by Aronowitz and Giroux (1986) that acknowledges that girls can sexually harass boys and other girls (Wolpe, 1988). It also draws on Foucault's analyses of power which is relational, and defining power this way means that it can no longer be viewed as a monolithic entity, as Dziech and Weiner (1984) describe it, possessed by one social grouping and used against another.

In reviewing the definitions described thus far, it becomes apparent that none is completely satisfactory for the purposes of this study for two reasons. Firstly, although social consensus is important and worthwhile to investigate, it cannot serve as a sole definitional basis of a construct as women could view the sexually harassing behaviour as 'normal' (LaFontaine and Tredeau, cited in Paludi, 1990). Secondly, the investigations reviewed up to this point have taken place within the university environment. It is important to study the research that specifically looks at the problem of sexual harassment in schools. Sexual harassment was located in schools by many researchers such as Chisholm and Napo (1999), Herbert (1989), Larkin (1994), Mahony (cited in Jones and Mahony, 1989), Wolpe et al, (1997), Vally (1998), Mukasa, (1999), and Human Right's Watch (2001). Researchers found numerous examples of sexual harassment or evidence of unwanted sexual behaviour in schools and they also found that sexual harassment was accepted as part of the hidden curriculum for female learners. Sexual harassment was either ignored as a problem or it was regarded as 'normal' typical behaviour.

The difficulty in pinning down particular actions and labelling them as sexual harassment has resulted in women and girls becoming confused with what is genuine and wanted sexual attention and what is unwanted sexual attention. Even by the mid-1980s many educators were not using the term 'sexual harassment', even though they were describing behaviour that clearly fitted the various criteria. The criteria for sexual harassment had not, it seems, been adequately clarified or recognised. Instead, what emerges from the literature is a confused and inconsistent range of behaviours. More often than not, behaviour which falls into this grey area is either described as 'normal' or is ignored. Whilst definitions of sexual harassment remain inconsistent or contradictory, gaps occur through which sexual harassers or sexually harassing behaviour may pass unnoticed. For example, to use the phrase 'unwanted verbal' advances makes the definition too broad because many girls receive unwanted verbal advances that would not be considered sexual harassment. Unclear definitions, therefore, enable the practice to continue (cited in Herbert, 1989).

There are further complications. There are many ways in which a girl can be sexually harassed. It could be an unwanted touch, or sticking out of the tongue. But in some instances, each of these actions could be sexual harassment, for each could embarrass, trivialise and humiliate. This study also has to consider this question: What if the male has no intention of embarrasing or humiliating a female; is he less culpable of sexual harassment? If a male sexually harasses a female 'by mistake', this is still harassment even though the usual interpretation excuses the man, and blames the woman for over-sensitivity or exaggeration. The question of intention must be side stepped so that the harassment can be more easily identified.

Larkin's analysis of sexual harassment is useful for the purposes of this study. According to her, sexual harassment is an expression of sexism that reflects and reinforces the unequal power that exists between men and women in patriarchal society (1994). This concept of sexual harassment as an instrument of male power contrasts with the popular interpretation of males' harassing behaviour as being a normal expression of their sexuality. She cautions us about not narrowing the definition of sexual harassment to such an extent that it disregards the more subtle forms. This type of behaviour is routinely dismissed as 'boys will be boys' antics and makes way for an escalation to more serious forms of assault. She writes about how girls broadened the definition of what is sexually harassing behaviour to as one of them put it:

> Sexual harassment is something that makes you feel uncomfortable about who you are… because of the sex you are (1994: 21).

While this is a useful definition, because it is stripped of all legal jargon and is articulated by a girl who was the recipient of sexual harassment rather than the researcher, this definition has no sexual aspect and is directed solely against one's sex. A major condition for it to be defined as sexual harassment, according to this definition, is that it is behaviour that is unwanted. But this means that it can only be sexually harassing behaviour if it is unwanted. Social consensus is important, but if girls have been socialised to accept harassment they may not recognise it when it

happens. Therefore, the high schoolgirls in Larkin's (1994) study do not consider sexual harassing behaviour unusual. Because of the pervasiveness of this type of behaviour, girls are not going to easily recognise it, especially in the more covert forms. Thus a definition is required that takes this into account.

Herbert's definition of sexual harassment is, therefore, useful:

> It is unsolicited and unreciprocated sexual male behaviour towards women or girls, which may be obscured by what is considered 'normal' behaviour (1989: 14).

This statement is significant because it proposes the behaviour will be regarded as being sexually harassing regardless of whether the recipient labels it problematic or not. A different conceptual strategy has been used by some researchers where a series of behaviours varying in severity, type and context are described and subjects are asked whether or not in their opinion, the situation constituted sexual harassment. Such a strategy thus shifts the definitional locus from the recipient to the 'observer'. Gutek et al (1983) reported one of the earliest and most influential studies of this type. Reviews of these and similar studies suggest that the more coercive behaviours are always seen as harassment, whereas the more subtle forms elicit much less agreement. The problem with this definition is that it does not take into account boys harassing boys, girls harassing boys and homophobic abuse.

What has emerged is that, while each of these definitions is useful, none is suitable for the purposes of this study because subjectivity affects accounts of sexual harassment: it is part of a continuum of violence which covers a range of behaviours from verbal abuse to sexual assault; it is unwanted, unreciprocated behaviour of a sexual nature; it may be obscured by what is considered 'normal' behaviour; and it is the misuse and abuse of power make the recipient feel vulnerable and uncomfortable. What we have ended up with is the above set of qualifiers rather than a precise definition. The problem of sexual harassment is much more complicated than we anticipate it to be. Recognition of sexual harassment as a phenomenon is tied up to how stories of sexual

harassment are accepted and understood. Therefore, there needs to be more flexibility in the thinking about sexual harassment and plural representations. How something is named is important, but it does not have to be fixed. Fixing names on problems such as sexual harassment can make analysis more rigid. For example, using terms such as victims or survivors implies that those who have been harassed have been overwhelmed or transformed by this behaviour and this might not be the case. Meanings and naming are reflective components of language, which both reflect and construct social life. What constitutes sexual harassment is ambiguous and a matter of how it is interpreted. According to Wise and Stanley (1987) it is a social construction and not a fixed thing or any finite set of behaviours for which tried and tested means of prevention exists. This analysis is useful for the purposes of this study because what is important is not so much the definition but discovering the links so that we can see the patterns that emerge from girls' accounts of what they experience.

13. Nature of Sexual Harassment

13.1   Sexual harassment seen as normal 'behaviour'

The argument that sexual harassment is considered normal behaviour in schools has become confused with behaviour that is considered appropriate for the 'standard' male, and behaviour that is abusive and controlling. The behaviour of males towards others, especially those more vulnerable, reveals that what is normal and aberrant becomes interchangeable. The difficulty in pinning down particular behaviour, and describing it as 'aberrant' and thus sexually harassing, is one reason why sexual harassment has been able to persist. In one setting, particular behaviour could constitute sexual harassment, but in the same setting with different characters the same behaviour could be wanted sexual attention. Many people assume that sexual harassment is a man 'naturally' flirting or giving attention to a female. This raises the question of why, if women don't like this behaviour, they fail to make this clear and speak out against it. Is it that they believe that this is the 'natural' way for males to

behave? Larkin (1994: 63) says that even when girls consider sexually harassing behaviour humiliating and degrading, their reaction contrasts with the perpetrator who treats it as a joke. Without any external validation from the harasser or from those who observe this type of behaviour at the school, the girls would be confused about their response and think they might be overreacting. Another reason the girls consider sexually harassing behaviour normal is that schools do not always act against the perpetrators.

13.2 Sexual harassment silenced

All the researchers that have been reviewed thus far concur that women and girls remain silent about their experiences of sexual harassment. Many of the explanations of the extent of sexual harassment tend to be satisfied with the results that pinpoint this issue within the individual rather than in the situation or social structure. This could be why girls who do complain about sexual harassment remain isolated. Silence and suppression are fundamental to the survival of societal-controlling mechanisms. Suppression is applied by others and silence is self-imposed (Herbert, 1989).

Females have a choice to make public what they experience, but often choose not to. What emerges from the literature is that there is a discrepancy between what is understood in theory, read about in the papers or policy statements, and what is experienced on a personal level. Herbert herself was unable to recognise that she was a victim of this phenomenon when she was sexually harassed, and yet, she is theoretically competent about the phenomenon (1989). To be able to describe sexual harassment in the abstract does not mean that people can automatically transfer that information into an understanding of the situation when it applies to them personally. It is possible that perceptions of 'normal' male behaviour, translated into justifications of 'he didn't mean that', persist. So how does one determine, then, if one is a victim of sexual harassment? Some feminists argue that sexual harassment occurs when a person feels she has been sexually harassed. For others, harassment has occurred

when behaviour that a girl experiences meets the 'objective' criteria of unwanted, unsolicited verbal or physical sexual abuse. However, these definitions are problematic because, even if the sexually harassing criteria are met, the victim might not feel like she has been harassed. Does this then mean that she has not been harassed? Who makes the determination if someone is harassed or not? Whose perceptions are accurate? There is such a wide range of situations in which sexually harassing behaviour takes place that no single statement can adequately encompass all these experiences or all the different interpretations of these experiences. This lack of a definition means that the behaviour is not going to be recognised when it presents itself. The girls are silent about it and the practice continues (cited in Herbert, 1989). Education, social conditioning, maturity, sexual experience and political awareness all play a part in a girl's perception of what constitutes sexual harassment.

Silence also stems from the fact that there might be repercussions and victimisation and this further isolates the girls. Some who try to break the silence are not believed or blamed for the harassing behaviour (Mukasa, 1999). They were told to forget what happened by parents, teachers, or the behaviour is trivialised. So, they then structure their lives around prevention (Larkin, 1994). Girls also remain silent because they believe that, in some way, they have provoked the harassment by wearing inappropriate clothes or being in the wrong place. Girls assimilate all these justifications for men's behaviour and they will continue to feel guilty and blame themselves for incidents of sexual harassment.

One of the outcomes of silence is that males are not challenged about the inappropriateness of their behaviour. The silence of females protects male behaviour and allows it to continue unchallenged. For males, this means that their behaviour is being condoned or is acceptable.

13.3 Inadequate language

While sexual harassment has been acknowledged as a problem, it is a difficult, intangible and elusive area with which to deal because of the subjective nature of the way this behaviour is perceived (Herbert, 1989), and girls' inability to name and label this abusive behaviour (Larkin, 1994; MacKinnon, 1979). This inability to recognise sexual harassment as a phenomenon has meant that it has had no place in the language. As language is one of the ways in which people describe and shape their understandings of the world, the absence of a label makes talking about something unnamed difficult (Herbert, 1989). According to MacKinnon (1979), it is going to be difficult for women (and girls) to complain of an experience for which there is no name.

Until 1976 the terms to express sexual harassment were lacking which made a generalised, shared and social definition of it inaccessible (MacKinnon, 1979). It is also a difficult issue to talk about because much of the sexually harassing behaviour is normalised and this causes many girls to dismiss what they experience. Many girls who are sexually harassed see the problem as an individual one and have difficulty labelling and describing this unwanted behaviour, forcing them into an isolated, vulnerable and silent position. Spender (1980: 172) argues that language is so powerful 'in structuring thought and reality that it can "blind" its users to the evidence of the physical world; objects and events remain but shadowy entities when they are not named'.

According to poststructuralist thought, the concept of gender is viewed as a discursive construct. We become subjects through the acquisition of language. In other words, as we are born and raised into this world, we learn to think, feel and express ourselves with the linguistic means socially available. The language that we learn not only stipulates sexual difference but also male power. It is only when the girls acquire the language that they will learn to articulate and give meaning to their experiences, and to understand it according to particular ways of thinking within discourses. One of the ways in which discussions about sexual harassment were curtailed was because of

namelessness. Having an inadequate language, or one that omitted various concepts, gave people the power to trivialise and ignore particular experiences that could not be described in the existing language. Up until recently, many women and girls who were sexually harassed were at a loss as to what to call this unwanted behaviour. Because of not being able to articulate what their experiences, there was an inability to express feelings adequately. Not being able to communicate the existence of such problems prevents girls from sharing the experience with others, forcing them into an isolated, vulnerable and thus silent position (Herbert, 1989). Spender argues that it is through their control over meaning that men are able to impose on everyone their own view of the world. She goes on to say that girls and women who are unable to symbolise their experience in the male language, either internalise male reality or find themselves unable to speak at all (1980). Despite the problem of Spender grouping all men together and portraying women as passive, these contributions are useful.

Many researchers have written about the monopoly that men had and have over language. Millet (cited in Herbert, 1989: 26) argues that 'every avenue of male power within society' lies within male preserve. Those who have power are in positions to generate more power, both for themselves and for the people they deem as belonging to their powerful group. She goes on to say that belonging or not belonging to the powerful group is the result of birthright and not ability. Having inherited power to construct reality, men are able to construct and represent the world in a way that makes sense to them. Spender (1980) and De Beauvoir (1949) make similar points. All naming, Spender argues (1980: 163-165), is biased because emphasis selection and omission in naming forms the core of the process. 'When one group holds a monopoly on naming and is able to enforce its own particular bias on everyone, ...bias is embedded in the name it supplies...'. From this it can be seen that those who have the power to name are in a position to influence reality. It is precisely because of this that this study has taken into consideration empowering the girls to be able to articulate what they are experiencing.

Sexual harassment came into conscious thought in the late 1970s when feminists began arguing that personal and intimate experiences were not isolated and individual

but were social, systemic and had political implications. Women in a research project organised by Farley (1978) began defining and labelling concepts. However, although sexual harassment had been labelled and defined, there were and still are many people who do not recognise it. Females have had little opportunity to create descriptions for themselves and when they do, the descriptions do not fit in with the male-defined way of looking at the world. Challenging the given labels in the language, and changing the emphasis on female-experienced phenomena, may reduce the incidence of sexual harassment in schools because it gives validity to female experiences. If sexual harassment is given a female-oriented definition, a higher number of sexual harassment cases will emerge.

Weiler (1988) points to the subtle ways in which language is used to regulate and silence learners. Trivialisation, incorrect naming and different perceptions result in silence and suppression. She also uses the concept of the voices of students as a means of enabling them to define themselves as actors of their own worlds. Voice represents those multiple subjectivities and experiences. She is sensitive to the importance of legitimising the voice of others while simultaneously holding such voices up for interrogation and critique.

Thus, for girls to recognise sexually harassing behaviour, they need to come into contact with alternative and conflicting discourses, offering new subjective positions. One of the ways in which behaviour of this nature remains silent is that those that it affects and society in general do not have the language to describe it. Once they acquire the discourse, they can fit practice to name. It must be stated, however, that even when one acquires the discourse it is easier to recognise when someone else has been sexually harassed (Herbert, 1989). Yet, while it is possible for subjects to grow up articulating and being articulated by certain discourses, it is possible to find places to resist and to construct alternate discourses in which to rearticulate their subjectivities. Schoolgirls cannot do this on their own. There has to be co-constructions of meaning, either with educators or with peers who have acquired the discourse. Epstein and Johnson (1998: 105) argue that the processes of interviewing and of being interviewed are not simply the receiving and giving of information but

also about solidifying and reconstitution of identities. The interview, or group discussion, is a discursive space within which meaning is co-constructed with the researcher and the researched.

14. Effects of Sexual Harassment

The consequences of sexual harassment are numerous and varied. Both Farley (1978) and MacKinnon (1979) show how sexual harassment acts as a control for many females, irrespective of race, class or colour. Farley argues that it keeps women subordinate by constantly reminding them of their perceived sexual vulnerability. Research in America and Britain describes how, as a victim of sexual harassment, a female's life is curtailed in many ways including her sexuality, her autonomy, her right to equal educational opportunity and her right to peace and happiness. The consequences for girls in schools have been noted in research projects by Jones and Mahoney (1989); Herbert (1989) and Larkin (1994). Although no fully satisfactory framework has been devised to grasp the relationship between sexual harassment and the effect it has on girls in schools, a number of useful insights have been generated by Herbert (1989) and Larkin (1994). Sexually harassing behaviour has the effect of controlling girls by making them more subordinate, less autonomous and less capable of resisting. They then develop a fear of school, a mistrust of adults, male teachers and men in positions of power, remaining silent about the experience because of the feared consequences the revelation might cause. This results in girls becoming preoccupied with other concerns, avoiding certain places and lessons.

How does all of this affect girls' learning? Herbert (1989:114), summarises it this way:

> As with adult women, depression, fear and feelings of guilt combine to act on the person making them miserable, lacking confidence and unable to perform

at their best. Women's strategies, which could more productively be used elsewhere, are spent on avoidance strategies or tense interactions.

Larkin asserts that sexual harassment is 'one of the most important ways in which inequality impacts on women's mental health' and the emotional consequences get played out in a variety of ways (1994: 103). A young woman's developing sense of herself as a valuable and autonomous person comes up against a formidable block when her sexual development becomes visible and she realises the danger of her developing sexuality. So while fending off male sexuality, she begins to think that she is to blame for whatever happens.

14.1   Psychological impact

Sexual harassment impacts on girls' mental health, and the emotional consequences get played out in a variety of ways (Jones and Mahoney, 1989; Herbert, 1989 and Larkin, 1994). The overall effect of sexual harassment at school creates a threatening and unsafe environment for female students. This leads to them feeling insecure and uneasy because they don't know when a mild form of harassment could become serious and threatening. They have to develop survival strategies and be constantly aware. This takes up much of their energy that would be better spent on their schoolwork. This compounded by the fact that they have to deal with adolescence, can have devastating consequences on young girls. Research conducted by Larkin (1994) has shown that the outspokenness and authority that is evident in young girls around eleven years of age diminishes as they grow older. The confident eleven-year-old is transformed into an apologetic, hesitant teenager who questions her own knowledge and sense of authority. Being harassed can exacerbate the situation by further eroding self-esteem and confidence. Herbert (1989) documented that girls between the ages of 13 years and 16 years lose confidence, become more passive, contribute less in class and lose their eagerness to participate.

Some studies have shown that the psychological trauma that results from sexual harassment has a lot to do with the girls' inability to articulate their experiences in a language that accurately reflects their feelings about these harassing events. Much of the behaviour they experience as demeaning, degrading and terrifying is distorted when it is filtered through a dominant discourse that sees these acts as nothing more than harmless and natural male behaviour. This is what many of them have been told and as a result they have developed a sense of false consciousness about what they feel. It creates, in a sense, a kind of splitting of the internal and external selves as, overtly, they pretend to dismiss, tolerate or even enjoy harassing incidents while at the same time struggling with the feelings of humiliation, anger and terror that arise from these events. Psychological trauma also stems from the fact that girls are unable to articulate their experience in a language that accurately describes how they feel because the dominant male discourse sees these acts as harmless and natural male behaviour. This is why so many girls will feel uneasy about the acts but laugh them off. The journal entries in Larkin's studies are testimony to the girls' suppressed anger (1994). The journals gave girls a safe place to express themselves without any fear of a backlash. A similar response from schoolgirls in this study is reported in Chapter 4.

14.2   Physical impact

Harassment also affects girls in physical ways. Backhouse and Cohen (cited in Larkin, 1994: 108), found that physical ailments such as nausea, headaches and insomnia could be the result of sexually harassing behaviour. Those who get teased about their weight could develop eating disorders. There is a growing awareness that girls' preoccupation with their body weight starts early and gets played out in the monitoring of food intake to perpetual dieting and full blown anorexia. The majority of girls who worry about their weight are well within the normal range for their height. Girls also limit their physical movement around the school. They will avoid the areas where they are most likely to be harassed and ensure they are always in the company of others.

14.3   Academic impact

Sexual harassment also impacts on the academic performance of the girls. From the literature reviewed the experience of sexual harassment influences their academic performance in two significant ways. First, in an effort to avoid harassing behaviour, they limit their discussions in class so as to not draw attention to themselves and are afraid to do presentations in class. Secondly, they avoid selecting certain courses that boys normally select like technical drawing and woodwork.

These classroom incidents, together with other harassing incidents that the girls' experience within school, create a debilitating learning environment for the girls. Girls, out of fear of being harassed, will develop identities that offer them protection. The avoidance strategies developed by these learners as they attempt to manoeuvre their way through a hostile learning environment have negative implications for their education. The practices of avoiding corridors, staircases, toilets, skipping classes and keeping quiet, offer them some protection from harassment but also makes school an unwelcome, menacing place (Larkin, 1994). They are struggling to deal with a problem that is not being acknowledged by those entrusted with their education, and they have to fend off these behaviours on their own.

When compared to the results of studies on sexual harassment in other high schools conducted in South Africa (Mukasa, 1999) and abroad (Herbert, 1989; Larkin 1994), these responses are typical. The most common reactions to sexual harassment are fear, not wanting to participate in class, being distracted, wanting to skip lessons and, in severe cases, wanting to change schools or leave school altogether. These are not the experiences of all the girls, but few are untouched by the persistent taunting, teasing and pestering. What is significant is that even when the girls say that the harassing behaviour is 'a fact of life' and that they can deal with it, they tend to underestimate the negative impact it has on them because they have learned to adapt by devising a variety of self-protective strategies. When one unpacks just how the behaviour affects them, it is significant indeed.

15.   Avoidance strategies and expressions of resistance

This study points out and analyses oppressive practices and ideology but at the same time insists that the schooling of girls is a complex process that contains contradictions and points of resistance. While girls are victims of sexual harassment, this study does not wish to portray them as helpless victims. Rather, it asserts that all people have the capacity to make meaning of their lives and to resist oppression. This is expressed in Giroux's remark that inherent in a radical notion of resistance is the "expressed hope, an element of transcendence"(cited in Weiler, 1988: 51). Resistance is an important concept in looking at the lives of girls because it highlights their ability as human agents to make meaning and to act in social situations as well as be acted upon. Reproduction theories that view females as simply the creation of male hegemony or sexist institutions obscure and fail to see the realities of women's strength and agency. Gaskell (cited in Weiler: 1988) says that there is a tradition in feminist scholarship that has emphasised that women's consciousness is not simply an internalisation of male forms but contains its own alternative interpretations, commitments and connections. The relation between women's consciousness and the world of men is complex and involves accommodation, resistance, and self-imposed and externally imposed silences. Both educators and learners constantly reposition themselves using whatever means they have at hand, and the power that they can employ to meet their needs.

What didn't emerge too clearly in the literature, and what is needed, is a more rigorous discussion of what resistance might mean in complex and overlapping situations of domination and oppression, and the fact that the capacity to resist and to understand is limited and influenced by class, race, (dis) ability and gender position. For women and girls who are excluded from the public sphere, the question of whether resistance can lead to change if it is only expressed individually or as a private opposition is a very real one. Anyon (cited in Weiler, 1988) points out that individual resistance to a problem (such as sexual harassment) leads to an acceptance of the status quo. She says that if girls individually resist everyday-felt oppression and conflict, this effort is isolated and fragmented from a group effort. Anyon (cited in Weiler, 1988: 49) argues

that girls employ a "simultaneous process of accommodation and resistance" in situations. Also, what might appear as passive behaviour, might be a form of resistance. Larkin (1994) says that girls are considered to be passive recipients of abuse. But much of what is labelled passive is actually a defence mechanism that girls adopt to protect themselves from further abuse. This should not be construed as a passive acceptance of the abuse. Rather, they should be seen as carefully crafted responses designed to reduce the impending threat of physical violence. What Larkin found was that, when it was safe to do so, many girls objected to being harassed. During the course of the study their voices became stronger and determined. One of the girls in her study explained it this way:

> The difference is now... I want to change. Before, if it happened I would ignore it.... Now it is like, "That is awful ... change, change, change." (Larkin, 1994: 121)

However, resistance must be used with caution. Epstein (1998) talks about the fact that resistance is not always positive. Her argument is that under the existing conditions of policy and practice, the resistance dynamic almost invariably produces negative outcomes. The regulation of clothing and make-up, the policing of masculinities via homophobic abuse, and the enforced invisibility of sexual harassment makes resistance more difficult.

What also needs to be taken into consideration is the fact that schools help to reproduce the existing power imbalance between males and females by failing to recognise the significant impact of sexual harassment on the lives of female learners and by failing to intervene. Can schools become a sphere for the encouragement and building of a critical counter hegemony for girls? By this is meant the creation of a self-conscious analysis of a situation and the development of collective practices and organisation that can oppose the hegemony of the existing order and begin to build the base for a new understanding and transformation of society. Schools can provide the site to raise issues of sexism and gender oppression and put forward an alternative vision of gender.

16.   Collusion

In examining some of the evidence in the literature review it is clear that even though sexual harassment is detrimental to females, they perpetuate this type of behaviour by colluding with the boys. What arises from sexual harassment is a division created between the females themselves. Not only do girls collude, but from Herbert's research (1989), it is clear that girls are responsible for some severe forms of harassment which creates much tension and distrust among the girls, and isolation for those that have been sexually harassed. Establishing an atmosphere of distrust and fear effectively isolates and maintains control of females whilst giving more power and authority to males. Girls also ostracise other girls who are victims because they feel they 'asked for it', or that they acted in a provocative way. Our society encourages females to align themselves with the male perception of what has happened, thus creating a situation in which women who do not conform are marginalised by other females. Thus it is evident that the girls become invested in certain ways of being in relation to the dominant discourses already in place.

There is also a tendency for girls to police each other with tools of their own oppression. It is common for girls to call each other 'sluts' and 'whores', thus colluding with their own sexual regulation. Girls who support the male system and 'police' other girls have more authority bestowed on them by males. They, in turn, will be harassed less. Koso-Thomas (cited in Herbert, 1989) says this in evident in how women perpetuate their own oppression by being supportive of traditional patriarchal demands such as female circumcision. They mete out punishment to non-conforming women and conduct hostile campaigns against passive observers. Similarly, schoolgirls regulate those who don't conform through criticism, ostracism and contempt. Herbert (1989) shows how through ideologies about femininity and masculinity there is an emphasis on the image of females through fashion, hairstyles, clothes and make-up. Both males and females consider girls who take these fashions seriously 'feminine'. Girls who do not are labelled 'unfeminine'. If they do this with success they are popular, if they don't they get ridiculed, if they overstep the mark and dress too provocatively they will be accused of trying to entice the boys. By

perpetuating beliefs that fit in with the dominant discourses already in place girls are successfully divided, and sexually harassed girls are unable to talk about what they experienced.

17.   Single-sex schools

According to Morrell (1998), worldwide, girls continue to suffer within education systems. This contention is borne out in feminist work on gender and education which has made increasingly visible, boys' monopolising of linguistic, social, psychological and physical space in mixed secondary schools (Spender and Sarah, 1982; Mahony, 1989; Deem, 1984). They argue that schools are places where boys' bullying, sexual harassment, physical and psychological abuse are seriously damaging to girls' emotional and physical lives, and to the lives of marginalised boys (gay, disabled, effeminate/heterosexual boys, and boys from minority groups).

Other researchers such as Salisbury and Jackson (1996) claim that boys' domination of physical and psychological space often prevents girls from fully participating in and making use of school resources in developing their own lives and careers. It is also clear from evidence that girls are disadvantaged in co-educational schools and that the schools fail to encourage them to develop to the best of their potential. Teachers give more attention to boys, prioritise their interests and encourage them more in the classroom (Goddard-Spear in Measor and Sykes, 1992; Spender 1982; Deem, 1984). Some boys dominate schools and classrooms and reduce girls' chances of success at school by their activities (Measor and Sykes, 1992; Deem, 1984). These researchers also argue that there is a higher achievement of girls in all girls schools attributable to the stimulation of girls' self-esteem by the role models provided by women teachers, the general ethos and philosophy of the school, and the absence of the pressure to conform to sexist patterns of behaviour. Girls acquire higher self-esteem, greater self-confidence, better examination passes especially in mathematics and sciences, more genuine subject choices, and more opportunity for leadership in all-girl schools (Burgess, 1990).

The research presented thus far paints a rather depressing picture of how girls are short-changed in schools. However, some of the complexities of the arguments above need to be clarified. Firstly, not all boys behave in a way that is detrimental to the well being of girls. It is those who subscribe to hegemonic forms of masculinity that are disruptive. Researchers like Wolpe (1988) point out that not all boys are noisy, demanding of the teacher's attention and likely to harass girls. Some boys may do this, but there are widespread differences in the way boys behave. In a study conducted by Willis (1977), a more complex picture emerged because he found that schools fail many working-class boys in the same way they fail girls. Earlier in this chapter, it was discussed how boys also experience gender inequalities in education (Wolpe, 1988; Connel, 1989; Mac an Ghaill, 1994; Kenway and Fitzclarence, 1997; Morrell, 1998a). Therefore, gendered barriers for both boys *and* girls need to be removed if educationists want all learners to reach their full potential.

Given the current situation, where not enough is being done in schools to promote gender justice, girls might benefit from being in all girls' schools. However, advocating all-girl schools is not a strategic solution to the problem for several reasons. Firstly, it problematises all boys and they are seen as being incorrigible and their behaviour unchangeable. Secondly, research has found that in all-boys schools, youth cultures develop whereby an imaginary female is constructed to delineate the borders between what is male and what is female (Arnot, 1984). These 'imaginary females' are males who don't fit in with hegemonic notions of masculinity. According to Morrell's (1997) work, the colonial education system shows that schooling for boys was largely provided by single-sex institutions. Morrell asserts that the cruel, tough experience of boys fed into violent interpersonal relations between black and white in the colony. So the answer to the problems that both boys and girls experience does not lie in providing single-sex schools for boys and girls. The shift in gender theory, to take into consideration and address issues of masculinity and adopting a relational approach to gender, necessitates finding solutions that do not ignore the barriers to learning that boys face in schools (Morrell, 1998a). If boys are a problem when they

are together in a group as has been argued, then having all boy schools serves to reproduce boys' problematic behaviour.

In research conducted in Australian schools (Kenway et al, 1998), it was found that when boys were given alternative constructions of masculinity and male-female relations, they begin to behave differently and that this could also be a source of empowerment and pleasure for the boys. Results of a study conducted on emerging masculinities in London schools show that girls' negative constructions of boys did not make simple and straightforward divisions between good and bad (Frosh et al, 2002). Some boys in this study were constructed as being 'nice' and, often, the girls attributed boys 'bad behaviour' to peer pressure with the implication that boys on their own are not bad (Frosh et al, 2002: 12). Furthermore, if femininity and masculinity is regarded as being relational then what do boys and girls have to work with if they are going to be separated? The process of identity construction depends on boys and girls relating to each other because they are interdependent.

18. School policies and procedures in dealing with sexual harassment

Something that emerges in the local and international literature that warrants discussion is that girls hesitated to report sexual harassment. Even if they could recognise sexually harassing behaviour and wanted to act on it, schools did not have policies and procedures in place to address the problem. Larkin's (1994) study cites examples of effective ways of dealing with sexual harassment. She lists three ways in which educators can respond effectively to student reports of sexual harassment: 1) confronting the harasser directly; 2) implementing school rules that limit harassing behaviour: and 3) initiating and supporting educational programmes about sexual harassment. She found that when school officials directly confronted harassers, the abusive behaviour often ended or was significantly diminished. Some examples of interventions worth noting are: a group of girls and school officials meeting with a

male educator who made anti-female comment; a school implementing a rule that prohibits display of visual material that degrades females and males; implementing educational programmes designed to address violence against females; a school board developing workshops on sexism for all educators and learners. She is also critical of the fact that, given the prevalence of sexual harassment in schools and the effects it has on girls' education, schools have not implemented policies to address the problem. She advises that a good sexual harassment policy should detail the kind of behaviour that constitutes sexual harassment, outline reporting procedures, define penalties, and incorporate an annual review process to ensure that the policy is working.

Putting a policy together is only the first step, however, and the implementation process is as important. Workshops need to be conducted so that educators have a clear sense of what sexual harassment is, how it feels to be sexually harassed and what to do about it. Policies also need to be publicised and school-governing bodies need to be educated about it. Involving students in the process of policy development is a way of enhancing the strength and potency of the document by ensuring that it is grounded in their experiences. However, those schools that are supportive are at a loss as to how to deal with the problem as there are no clear guidelines about what to do. Using the principles outlined by Larkin, this study will attempt to assist schools in developing policy on sexual harassment in Chapter 5.

19. Gaps, limitations and shortcomings of literature reviewed

I am deeply indebted to the insights that the literature reviewed provides for my study. However, despite the usefulness of the research for this study, there are some gaps, limitations and shortcomings. Generally, some of the local and international literature reviewed shares the limitations and shortcomings of social reproduction theories in that they fail to address individual consciousness and the possibilities of resistance (Human Rights Watch, 2001; Mukasa, 1999; Wolpe, 1988). However, the works of Morrell (2001a), Epstein and Johnson (1998), Larkin (1994), Herbert (1989), Jones

and Mahoney (1989), Weiler (1988) and Weedon (1987) draw attention to the need to take into account agency and production of meaning. There has been a tendency in the literature to treat the issue of sexual harassment in a universalistic manner and ignore the differences in which girls view and experience sexual harassment. The reproduction theory that Human Rights Watch and many other researchers use views girls as the creation of male hegemony or sexist institutions and fails to see the schooling of girls as a complex process that contains contradictions and points of resistance. Thus the realities of the girls' strengths and their sense of agency is diminished.

In the literature reviewed, schooling is presented as the imposition of ideology as a relatively smooth and almost mechanical process. This is not always necessarily so. Individual consciousness needs to be taken into consideration as it is likely to present possibilities of resistance. Also, schooling is an active exercise that involves the negotiation of meaning. It is important to acknowledge the role of schools as sites of cultural reproduction and their relationship to wider society. Documenting sexually harassing incidents, by itself, does not establish the basis on which particular situations in the everyday lives of schoolgirls come to be labelled sexual harassment. While the Human Rights Watch study is significant, it is not informed by theories of empowerment and gender transformation and, like Mukasa (1999), fails to take into account and recognise the complexities of race, gender and (dis) ability. What is also missing in Human Rights Watch study is a way of connecting routine forms of male violence to those that are more easily recognisable. Most of the research looks at the extreme forms of sexual harassment and the subtle forms are either minimised or ignored. Understanding that subtle forms of sexual harassment are part of the continuum of sexual assault against females is a key issue to be addressed if the problem is to be tackled effectively.

The sexual violence at school in the literature reviewed has also been dealt with through individualistic psychological approaches, which completely neglect the social and gendered dimensions of the problem. This kind of approach promotes the belief that individual perpetrators of violent or bullying behaviours do so because of some

individually based pathology which needs to be addressed to stop the behaviour. According to the CIET Report (2000: 51): by the age of 18, three out of ten sexually active males claimed to have had sex with someone without his/her consent; one out of every three schoolgirls has experienced sexual harassment at school, of whom only one in three said they reported the episode to someone; at the age of 15, three out of ten females claimed unwanted touching and one out of six claimed verbal sexual abuse. These are not isolated incidents but part of systemic violence against females.

The studies reviewed view gender as being stable and do not highlight the contradictions in the way both males and females position themselves. There is also a tendency to talk only about girls and they seen as simply parts of some mechanism of social reproduction. Most of the research on sexual harassment locally and abroad does not take into account new conceptions of gender and the insights provided by critical men's studies and the resultant new trends in gender theory that broaden the gender analysis. This study hopes to do this by adopting a relational understanding of gender, by examining gender regimes holistically, by looking at how class and race intersect with gender to create different experiences for girls, and by giving both boys and girls a sense of agency. It is important to see boys and girls as actors and agents in complex social sites where social forces powerfully shape the limits of what is possible. In this way, they can critique and attempt to transform the social world they inhabit. To empower girls to explore and act on the forces acting upon their lives means respecting and legitimising their voices. By attempting to do this, this study hopes to enhance and contribute something new to existing literature.

Chapter 3 – Research Methodology

Introduction: developing a research strategy

As I gathered ideas about establishing a research project on the sexual harassment of schoolgirls, I realised that it was going to be a difficult topic to study. The reasons for this were manifold. From my own experiences, I realised that the data I could collect might be ignored by school administrators and educators and I anticipated some resistance from them. Victims who lose confidence and self-worth choose not to confront the problem and this results in sexual harassment being silenced and unchallenged. Furthermore, the fact that some girls believe that sexual harassment is 'normal' male behaviour, or that they think they had provoked it, may hinder the collecting of information on this subject. In this chapter I will first discuss issues relating to the design, process and specific methods employed in the research are discussed. Then I will elaborate on the methods used in this research process which are reflective of the ethnographic case study. A discussion of key limitations of the design and methods will also be considered.

All naming, Spender (1980) argues, is biased because emphasis selection and omission in naming forms the core of the process. Those who have the power to name are in a position to influence reality. It is precisely because of this that this study has taken into consideration empowering the girls to articulate what they are experiencing. Thus, it was necessary to construct a specific methodology in order to cope with the problems of silence, suppression, guilt, embarrassment, intimacy, privacy, trust and the lack of language to name concepts and behaviour. It was with these problems in mind that I decided to design a research project to find out the extent to which the sexual harassment is a problem for girls, the ways in which it is happening, how they describe it and the ways in which they cope with it. Given the difficulties described above, and the multi-facetted nature of the study, an unusual and hybrid design was necessary and particular but complementary strategies, not normally used in other projects of an educational nature, were required.

The research design was influenced by several factors, the most crucial of which was how to collect data from schoolgirls on a phenomenon which Herbert (1989: 40) says they might not be able to 'see', might dismiss as 'normal' behaviour or label as 'flattery'. On the one hand, a finely tuned methodology was needed which was sensitive, yet which would also include an element of challenge and confrontation of 'normal' interpretations so that the girls could understand their situation. On the other hand, it had to be viewed as rigorous and valid by policymakers and educationists. For policymakers to formulate meaningful policy there has to be some basis to develop generalisations about a category of individuals. These generalisations are vital to formulating policy and effective programmes that must address large groups of people (Gondolf and Fisher, in Reinharz, 1992).

While this study acknowledges that female experience is never unified and universal as it is presumed to be, it recognises that theoretical tools are needed to address problems such as sexual harassment (Fuss, 1989). Therefore, while this study will take into consideration how race, class, gender and (dis) ability cause girls to have different experiences, it will also look at the commonalties of these experiences and make recommendations based on these findings. To do this, a complementary relationship had to be developed between qualitative and quantitative methods.

Mira Komarovsky, a feminist, has been using multiple method research for more than 50 years (cited in Reinharz, 1992). By using a combination of both qualitative and quantitative data, she enhanced the scientific status of her work and increased its potential utility to readers and policy makers. Quantitative research will yield information that is not readily apparent in everyday observations. However, there is a greater likelihood of the research findings making an impact and influencing decision making if both qualitative and quantitative techniques are used. While statistical descriptions blunt the experience of the girls, they serve to put the problem on the map by showing that sexual harassment is more widespread than previously thought, and also help to document the differences and similarities among the experiences of girls from different race and cultural groups. Statistics are powerful because they are

concise and can be easily communicated to reporters, policy makers and school administrators. Furthermore, social scientists Merton and Kendall caution researchers not to make a spurious choice between qualitative and quantitative data, and advise a combination of both (cited in Cohen and Manion, 1994). My decision to combine qualitative and quantitative research methods has been taken in order to construct a methodology that would be able to cope with the inherent problems of collecting data on sexual harassment, and it is from these methods that the principles and procedures which underpin this study are taken. Four research techniques were used: participant-as-observer; journals; in-depth group interviews; and questionnaires. This range gives me the security of the tried and trusted strategies (questionnaires) whilst allowing me the flexibility of experimenting with new ones (in-depth group interviews, participant-as-observer and journals).

The central focus of my research design was based on the ethnographic case study method located within the qualitative paradigm, from a feminist stance (Nielsen, 1995). The qualitative research methodology comes under the broad category of ethnographic research: contemporary ethnography; democratic research and feminist oriented research (Reinharz, 1992). Ethnography is the preferred methodology because it starts with the premise that the actors should speak for themselves and that their interpretations are more important than those of the researcher. The use of experiential accounts by girls that enable us to hear the subjective account of girls' experiences focuses on the meanings given to the experiences by the participants. This learner-centred, interpretative methodological approach prioritises the girls' own account of sexual harassment.

The ethnographic case study within the qualitative/interpretative paradigm allows one to escape from the language of theory, while contributing to theory, because the researcher makes use of certain abstractions from their interpretations of everyday contexualised situations within the learning environment (Mouton, 1996). The research essentially grows out of questions that one asks different pupils in different contexts and assumes that they have similar patterns of experience. While most case studies wish to establish certain generalisations, this case study hopes to understand

and explain the nature and extent of sexual harassment as seen through the eyes of schoolgirls. It also hopes to make 'analytic' generalisations rather than 'statistical' generalisations (Nunan, 1992: 81). Some feminist scholars would argue that women's vulnerability to sexual harassment is not an over-generalisation, but an unfortunate, universal fact, even though it might be perceived and experienced differently (Reinharz, 1992).

Ethnography is also an inherently collaborative and democratic form of multi-method research combining the range of strengths to compensate the weaknesses of each method. The multiple methods work by adding layers of information and by using one type of data to validate or refine another (Reinharz, 1992). The research methodology was informed by a feminist research perspective (hooks, 1991). I operated in a framework that empowered the participants to be actively involved in the construction of the research stance (Bhavnani, 1991). Using research techniques such as interactive interviews in which researchers self disclose, in-depth interviews, and negotiation of the interpretations, can help in the emancipatory process of participants. According to Lather, the research process can change people by encouraging self-reflection and a deeper understanding of their experiences, (cited in Reinharz, 1992). It was not intended to get neat, tidy composite views of the girls; they were encouraged to reflect on the contradictions they continuously experience.

The next section describes the broad field of ethnographic research and the strategies that were used. Thereafter, a description of the research methods used by feminists is outlined, followed by a discussion on the qualitative and quantitative techniques used.

1. Ethnographic Techniques

Ethnography is a broad category of social research and under this label come a variety of methods which researchers adapt to suit their needs. This broadness makes it difficult to define. It does not typically include testing or large-scale surveys or

methods identified with a positivist perspective in the social sciences. It is, therefore, better instead to focus on the kinds of features that are characteristic of ethnography. Perhaps the most striking feature is the utilisation of a wide range of sources of data which usually include observation, participation and interviewing, thus combining the strengths and weaknesses of each method. These alternative methods focus on interpretation, rely on the researcher's immersion in social settings, and aim for inter-subjective understanding between researchers and the participants.

An ethnographic case study demands a multi-method approach.

> This (triangulation) is at the heart of the intention of the case study worker to respond to the multiplicity of perspectives present in a social situation. Case study needs to represent and represent fairly, these differing, sometimes conflicting viewpoints. (Adelman et al, 1980: 277)

The advantage of this approach is that it retains considerable flexibility, allowing the research to be exploratory, and makes few claims for highly generalisable findings (Herbert, 1989). The choice of an interpretative framework which focuses on accounts given by the girls and, hence, language, is necessary for a study such as this because it requires interrogating the investment that a person has in taking up a position in a particular discourse. The two most important strategies that ethnography offered my research were those of participant or non-participant observer and the keeping of journals. These strategies will be elaborated in the section on research methods.

The ethnographic research techniques have a special value in school-based research. Many educators distrust much of academic research that is seen as aloof and distant (Hitchcock and Hughes, 1989). These techniques help to reduce the distance between the researcher and the participants since they help to do much of the research themselves. Furthermore, according to Garfinkel, ethnography pays attention to the most commonplace activities of daily life and seeks to learn about them as phenomena in their own right (cited in Carspecken, 1996).

2. Democratic Research

Norris asserts that democratic research originated from the tradition of ethnography but adapted the principles and practices to take into account sensitive and political issues (cited in Herbert, 1989). He goes on to describe how traditional ethnographic research expected the 'expert' researcher to enter the setting, collect the data, with or without the participant's approval and agreement, and with or without informing them what it was that they were documenting (cited in Herbert, 1989). In setting up a democratic research model, not only must the researcher understand what is happening but so must the participants. In keeping with these democratic research principles and the collaborative way in which I wanted to conduct the research, I made sure that the girls' parents or guardians also gave permission for the girls to participate in the study. This was done despite the fact that the principals at all four schools indicated that it was not necessary to get written consent from the parents or guardians of the girls. Therefore, in this research project, the process has been important and so are the key concepts of democratic research i.e. confidentiality, negotiation and accessibility.

All participants in the project, the principals, guidance counsellors and schoolgirls, had to be assured that the information given would be confidential, and that the data they provide would not be identified as originating from them. The second key concept, negotiation, happened on a number of levels. The school counsellor and school management were approached for permission to conduct research at the school. The terms of reference had to be negotiated with them so that they were comfortable with the research process. Thereafter, the schoolgirls and parents were approached for permission. While it was necessary to get permission from the parents, there also had to be an understanding that the information the girls provided would be confidential. Accessibility was the third key concept utilised in this project. In order to enter the research sites chosen, access to each site had to be negotiated. Participants at each site were approached and consulted about the research questions and the research design. This helped to make the study more relevant to the needs of the

school. School management was adamant that they wanted to benefit from the research project. Often in the past, researchers would collect the information, write up the research and not share it with the school. The main findings and recommendations will be shared with each of the schools and a guideline on how schools can develop a sexual harassment policy will be developed (see Appendix A).

Democratic research also forces the researcher to be transparent about their own personal and political stance. By being open about this political stance, by sharing information, by negotiating meaning of data and the release of it, one can ensure that the information is relevant. However, although democratic research had appropriate techniques for data gathering and presentation of the research findings, this method is not entirely trouble free (Herbert, 1989). There was no place in the democratic research process for intervention. As was discussed in chapter one, sexual harassment was often not seen as a problem because it is perceived as 'normal' male behaviour. Thus, an interventionist approach was included in the research process. I had to find some additional strategies for my research.

In preparing a methodology to investigate the sexual harassment of schoolgirls I was confronted with a silence surrounding the subject by both the girls and school administrators, the 'invisibility' of the problem and the behaviour being considered 'normal'. Therefore, I had to include principles of consciousness raising by incorporating girl-centred research methods for interviewing and recording, developing a political awareness in the participants and having group discussions to collectivise their experiences and to understand that their individual sufferings have social causes. For this I looked at research methods that feminist inspired researchers used. There is a problem with the term 'feminist research methodology' because there is neither one way of operating nor exclusive use of techniques. The research that feminists use is often an amalgamation of existing methods adapted to a particular topic.

3. Sampling Techniques

A mixed sampling strategy was used for the study. For the initial phase of data collection that involved five girls in each school keeping a journal, non-probability purposive sampling was used. In purposive sampling, the researcher handpicks the cases to be included so that specific needs can be fulfilled. This sampling method is based on the subjective judgement of the researcher. I wanted the sample to be as representative as possible and include girls who were physically disabled, overweight and from different racial groups. The selection was done on my behalf by the counsellor at the school. The great danger of this type of sampling is that it relies more heavily on the subjective considerations of the researcher rather than on scientific criteria. However, this type of sampling is adequate in the case of small-scale surveys and when it is a prelude to the main study, which was the in-depth interviews (Cohen and Manion, 1994). The sample size was limited to 5 girls because I had to do follow up visits with each of them individually and this was a conveniently small number to work with.

Non-probability purposive sampling was also used in the next phase of data collection, which was the in-depth interviews with the girls who kept the journals and another five to seven of their peers. Here again, the counsellors at each of the schools played a crucial role in identifying an additional five to seven participants who were articulate and who would be able to provide the data I was looking for. This method of sampling does not necessarily lead to a sample that is characterised by direct acquaintance and therefore does not lead to a selection bias. In this case, the sample size was 10 to 12 girls because it would have been difficult to give each girl an opportunity to talk if the group was any bigger.

Systematic random sampling was used to select girls to administer the questionnaires to. This involves selecting subjects from a population list in a systematic rather than random fashion (Cohen and Manion, 1994). In this case, the attendance register was used to select every third girl for a sample size of 30 per cent and every fifth girl for a sample size of 20 per cent depending on heterogeneity of the school. I tried to get a

sample of between 20 per cent to 30 per cent of the total girl population in grade 11 at each school for the questionnaires. Those schools that had a homogenous population in terms of race groups had a sample size of 20 per cent and in those schools that had a heterogeneous population I drew a larger sample of 30 per cent. According to Cohen and Manion, the greater the heterogeneity, the larger the sample that is needed (1994). 140 girls from the four schools were selected out of a total of 439 girls in grade 11.

4.   The Research Study

My research was conducted with girls from four local co-educational schools. To understand the various ways sexual harassment gets played out in young girls' lives, the research had to be carried out in schools that represented a variety of racial, cultural and economic backgrounds. I therefore selected schools that represented four different educational settings. This is in keeping with the researcher's stance that to be a black working-class learner is qualitatively different from an Indian working-class learner or a black middle class learner. As has already been elaborated on page 19, this study uses the different categories such as black, White, 'coloured' and Indian because it recognises that as a result of belonging to different socially constructed categories, the girls might perceive or experience sexual harassment in specific ways.

The selection of the four schools was based on the following factors: my access to them; they each represent the four former Departments of Education, i.e. Esther Payne Smith is an ex-House of Delegates School, Sobantu Secondary is an ex-Department of Education and Training school, Eastwood is an ex-House of Representatives school and Alexandra Secondary is a former white, urban, middle class Model C school; and the school administration's willingness to be part of this research project. All four schools are within the suburbs of Pietermaritzburg. Alexandra Secondary is the only school that had a mixed racial composition with girls from all four different race groups; Sobantu Secondary was homogenous in its racial composition with only black learners; Eastwood Secondary had predominantly black and coloured learners; and

Esther Payne Smith had black, Indian and coloured learners. Refer to Table 3 on P131 for the race breakdown of participants per school. Of the four schools none had a sexual harassment policy, three schools included sexual harassment in their code of conduct but did not actively enforce it, and one school made no reference to it in their code of conduct nor did it have a sexual harassment policy (see Appendix F for codes of conduct of the four schools).

My research was conducted with girls in Grade 11, all volunteers, whose age groups ranged from 16 to 18 years. I only wanted to interview those who were sixteen or older because I wanted to reassure them that the information they shared with me was confidential. I could not offer this assurance to girls under sixteen because I would be legally obliged to report any incident of abuse they might disclose during the interview. I was guided by the ethical standards document (see appendix D) and had made arrangements with a counsellor from the University of Natal- Pietermaritzburg for counselling the girls if the need arose. 140 girls from the 4 schools participated in the study. All 140 were involved in completing the questionnaires;[9] 20 girls (5 from each school) kept journals and between 8 to12 girls from each school participated in the group interviews; 2 girls requested individual interviews and I complied.[10]

5.   Research Conducted by Feminists

According to Weiler, there is a need for the researcher to locate herself in terms of her own subjectivity (1988). I would like to position myself at the outset as a feminist and a gender activist. Increasingly, the reflexivity that is encouraged in the research of feminist educationalists makes us become more aware of the complex construction of our work, the framework that we use and the questions we choose to prioritise. All of

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[9] Of a total of 140 questionnaires administered, 28 were incomplete and could not be used.

[10] I did not intend conducting individual interviews, however, two girls requested this because the information they wanted to share with me could not be revealed in a group interview.

this is shaped by our own concerns, struggles and subjectivities. I come from a working-class background and had developed a concern for social justice and educational reform through working with political organisations, civil society organisations and teacher unions. My life history and feminism, both shaped and were shaped by these commitments and formed the basis of my political, educational and professional experience. I come to the subject of sexual harassment in schools from several perspectives and vantage points. I first learned of the experiences of sexual harassment from listening to students in my nineteen years as an educator and practitioner in secondary schools. In trying to confront the sexually harassing behaviour that learners were experiencing, both they and I faced victimisation, ridicule and disbelief. It was this experience, and that of being a mother trying to explain to my seven year- old daughter why I could not ignore the fact that one of her classmates called her a bitch, that made me want to find out more about this rather ambiguous, harassing behaviour.

The purpose of this self-identification is to avoid applying a one-sided definition to all feminist researchers. Judith Lorber thinks that feminists see patterns, interrelationships, causes, effects and implications of questions that non-feminists have not seen and still do not see (cited in Reinharz, 1992). Self-identification is also preferable because feminism has changed so rapidly and feminists vary in their approaches. As a feminist doing research, I looked at groups that were formerly ignored, such as schoolgirls. I was also very conscious of not speaking on behalf of the participants and made sure that it was their voices being heard and not my own. While the methods adopted may not be original, feminist research is original in its choice of *samples* of girls to study (Reinharz, 1992). I have tried to be as inclusive as possible by selecting schools and participants that reflect diversity and take into account class, race, gender and (dis) ability to get a complete patchwork of cross-cultural and inter-cultural relations.

The fact that there are multi-definitions to feminism means that there are multiple feminist perspectives on social research methods. It is not the intention of this study to

explore and debate these perspectives. Australian Scholar Dale Spender aptly describes what underlies feminist research:

> At the core of feminist ideas is the crucial insight that there is no one truth, no one authority, no one objective method which leads to the production of pure knowledge. This insight is as applicable to feminist knowledge as it is to patriarchal knowledge, but there is a significant difference between the two: feminist knowledge is based on the promise that the experience of all human beings is valid and must not be excluded from our understandings, whereas patriarchal knowledge is based on the promise that the experience of only half the human population needs to be taken into account and the resulting version can be imposed on the other hand. This is why patriarchal knowledge and the methods of producing it are a fundamental part of women's oppression, and why patriarchal knowledge must be challenged and overruled. (Spender, 1985: 5-6)

Ethnography is an important method that feminists use to make the experiences that females have visible. Feminists have frequently used ethnographic research because letting the actors speak for themselves is a central principle in guiding their research. As such, it is an inherently collaborative and democratic form of research that does not seek to impose the researcher's ideas on those being researched. It is critical of mainstream knowledge that is said to be expert-based and hierarchical (Spender, 1985).

Mies (1983) argued that feminist research methods needed to include group discussions rather than individual interviews, if possible at repeated intervals to give girls an opportunity to describe their experiences in a shared supportive environment. She legitimised a form of intervention which politicised females and enabled them to name and reconceptualise what they had experienced. This technique was also used successfully by Farley (1978) in her research on working women. Consciousness-raising emerges from the girls sharing their experiences, getting more diverse information from other girls' experiences and making links between what they

experienced. This helps them to overcome their structural isolation and to understand that their individual problems have social causes and that other women experience these problems too. My role as researcher is to draw together the threads and make the connections, provide labels for what they describe, and make alternative discourses available to the girls. According to Giroux (cited in Weiler, 1988), it is the ability of each person to understand and critique his or her own experience and the social reality that any project of pedagogical and ultimately social transformation rests. It is important that the girls had the choice to rearticulate their subjectivity based on the alternative discourse that was provided or to choose not to change.

However, using some of the techniques outlined above is not without problems. As a researcher, it is very difficult to 'raise consciousness' on the one hand and not to impose one's views on those being researched on the other. I knew more about what I wanted to explore than the girls did and was aware that they were in a politically vulnerable position. I had this commitment to gather data and reveal girls' experiences within an educational system to those unaccustomed to consider anything other than hegemonic male experiences and world views. I also believed that young girls needed to have access to discourses that could position them differently in terms of adolescent femininity. To do this, it was necessary to widen the range of discourses available to girls, thereby extending the repertoire on which they draw in their constructions of femininities. However, while the latter was an important consideration, my primary goal was to gather data on sexual harassment. I had to find an appropriate method that would enable me to accomplish this without opening myself up to charges of manipulation, promoting propaganda and data contamination.

5.1   Personal Experience

According to Hammersley (1992), personal experience must be the foundation for feminist-oriented research. Rather than being unreliable, subjectivity and personal experience are the source of sensitive and insightful knowledge about the social world, a form of knowledge that girls themselves are most able to understand and

express. The girls should also be helped to shape the interpretation of the data and given the tools to help themselves understand what they experience. Research is most successful when it raises consciousness and transforms existing gendered relations. These themes clearly create a very different agenda from that of traditional approaches. However, like Reinharz (1992), Hammersley (1992) rejects the need of a distinct feminist methodology.

5.2   Consciousness Raising

Consciousness raising, according to Sarachild (cited in Herbert, 1989), gives girls the opportunity to describe their own experiences in a shared supportive environment. Some feminists such as Catherine MacKinnon view consciousness-raising as a unique feminist method. Other feminists like Reinharz (1992) prefer not to see it as a method but a political or educational activity that leads to a new way of thinking, naming or acting.

5.3   'Finding one's voice'

Many feminists have written that 'finding one's voice', for both the researcher and the researched, is a crucial process in their research and writing (Weiler, 1988; hooks, 1989; Reinharz, 1992). For Weiler, voice is related to the means whereby girls attempt to define themselves as active authors of their own worlds. Therefore, I have presented the voice of the researched subjects and the feminists whose work I have researched. However, I am also an active author in creating this piece of work and my values shape many aspects of the research process. Patriarchal thought is a 'detached disembodied voice that rarely uses a personal pronoun and implies that it has found absolute truth' (Susan Griffin, in Reinharz: 231). We perpetuate the myth that social research is free from bias by rigidly sticking to the scientific format when we write

and avoid acknowledging how our own subjectivities shape many aspects of the research process. By writing in the first person in many places and presenting my own voice, I want to consciously make the reader aware of my subjectivity. I wish to acknowledge and bring to the fore that my research, and the research of others, is not free from bias and has limitations. This should not be seen as deviating from prescribed notions of academic standards. Psychologists Stephanie Riger and Margaret Gordon refer to journals that have made the acceptable use of the first person singular "I" to refer to the researcher (cited in Reinharz, 1992: 212). Mikhail Bakhtin (cited in Weiler, 1988) tells us that the word always belongs to someone else and it becomes one's own when one appropriates the word, adapting it to one's own semantic and expressive intention.

5.4 The effort to create social change

Much feminist research is connected to social change and social policy questions. Conscious-raising and explicit policy recommendations are typical in feminist research (Reinharz, 1992). This connection to social change makes feminist research practical as well as scholarly. In the words of American sociologist Margaret Andersen,

> Feminist studies...are not intended to construct abstract empirical analyses of gender, nor to develop grand theories that have no relevance to the lives of actual human beings...[rather] their purpose is the transformation of gender relations and the society in which we live (cited in Reinharz, 1992: 252).

It is possible for feminist research to do all of the above, i.e. to construct abstract empirical analysis of gender, to develop grand theory and to transform gender relations and the societies in which we live. Participants can also be helped with information since the researcher has access to wider information than they do. The interviews can be used to share this information. Epstein and Johnson (1998: 105) argue that the processes of interviewing and of being interviewed are not simply about

the receiving and giving of information, but are also about the reconstitution of identities. The interview, or group discussion, is a discursive space within which meaning is co-constructed with the researcher and the researched. Therefore, I was not silent; I was directive, asked provocative questions, pointed out to the girls when they contradicted themselves. The collective discussion of personal problems and conflicts, often previously understood as individual problems, leads to a recognition that these are socially produced conflicts shared by many other girls. This process of discovery leads to a rewriting of personal experience in terms that give it social, changeable causes (Weedon, 1987).

5.5   Accessibility of information

Another crucial aspect of this research project is that I want it to be accessible to a large number of readers so that it can have a meaningful impact. The intention of this project is to find out about the nature and extent of sexual harassment in schools and make recommendations to the National Department of Education on policy and policy implementation. But, more importantly, my goal is to share this with the schools in which I have conducted the research, and to assist them in finding ways to address the problem. This was the basis on which permission was granted to me to work in the schools. I do not want to write in a way that alienates the participants of this project. Rather, I want to articulate what is emerging in the concrete everyday experiences of girls in a language that is not less complex and rigorous, but simply more accessible. bell hooks criticises feminist theory that is rapidly becoming another sphere of academic elitism and cautions feminists not to write in a linguistically convoluted way which makes our work inaccessible (1989). She implores us to continually assert the need for multiple theories emerging from diverse perspectives in a variety of styles. As a feminist, I regard research as a political activity and challenge the notion of feminist theory being confined only to feminist theory courses at universities.

5.6   Feminists use a multiplicity of research methods

My view of feminist research coincides with what Marilyn Strathern says:

> Much feminist discourse is constructed in a plural way. Arguments are juxtaposed, many voices solicited... Perspectives from different disciplines are held up to illumine one another... (cited in Reinharz, 1992: 246).

Valuing a multiplicity of perspectives and methods enables feminist researchers to be responsive to the people being studied and to illuminate previously unexamined or misunderstood experiences such as sexual harassment. It also increases the likelihood of research utility. The research that feminists use is often an amalgamation of existing methods adapted to a particular topic. Within the South African context, culture, race and class differences challenge and contest certain methodologies, not necessarily making them invalid but requiring these methodologies to be adapted. It was with this in mind that I used a multiplicity of research methods.

5.7   Feminist research strives to recognise diversity

This research project acknowledges that girls are all alike in some ways and dissimilar in others and tries to be as inclusive as possible in terms of race, class, and (dis) ability. The participants that were selected reflect these variations, but they were self selected rather than randomly selected. Culture, class and race difference challenged certain methodologies but did not make them invalid.

6.   Research Methods

I planned three modes of investigation; the first was to use the time-honoured techniques of participant as observer, and journal writing found in classic ethnographic research (Herbert, 1989). The second was to advance into the area of research methods that many feminists use, that is group interviews. And the third was to combine the above with a quantitative research methodology: one that is viewed by the public at large as rigorous and scientifically sound so that the problem of sexual harassment can be shown to be more pervasive than previously thought. Therefore, while this is essentially an ethnographic study, quantitative techniques were used for triangulation purposes and to corroborate findings.

6.1   Qualitative Approach

6.1.1   Participant-as observer

When doing the literature review for this study, I observed that Herbert encountered many problems with participant observation as a method to gather data (1989). The teacher and learners were unsettled by the knowledge that they were being observed and began to behave in an atypical fashion (Herbert, 1989). She also found that boys became particularly disruptive, trivialised the research and made the collection of data difficult. She found it to be an ineffective way to collect data. Another problem with participant observation is that people who know they are being observed may change their behaviour and become uneasy. Therefore, although observation is based on the assumption that the observer merely records facts without interaction with the observed, in reality, the observation itself introduces biases by the very fact of the observed person's awareness of being observed (Bles and Higson-Smith, 1995). Another reason why participant observation was inappropriate as a technique was the limited time in which the field research had to be done, and the fact that four schools were being used as a case study. Due to the sensitive nature of the area of study, I

believed that the research would have been compromised if overt methods of observation were used.

Given the fact that it was the girls' perceptions I wanted to document and their articulation of what they experienced, it was not appropriate for me to do the observations and recordings. This, together with the problems described above, prompted me to look for a research technique that would be appropriate. Goetz and Le Compte (1984) define four categories as participant observer: "participant-as observer"; "observer-as participant"; "complete observer" and "complete participant". To avoid indirect interference with the observed person, a more complex type of observation can be used where the observers do not reveal what they are doing. Since I could not become an insider, the only way to gain a deep insight into the research problem was to use girls who would participate in the interviews as observers or participant-as observers. I described to the participants what I expected of them and that was to unobtrusively observe and record what they thought were incidents of sexual harassment. Since it was the girls' perceptions, understandings and ways of dealing with the problem that were being focused on, this technique was preferable to me imposing my own interpretations. This was also in keeping with my intention to operate in a feminist framework of empowering the participants to be actively involved in the construction of the research stance (Bhavnani, 1991). This strategy of 'participant-as-observer' has been used successfully by Randall (1999).

I have already mentioned earlier in the chapter the participant-centred, interpretative methodological approach that prioritises the girls' own descriptions. Empowering the participants to take an active part in the research process should not be seen as a problem because the aim of this study is to hear their voices and their articulation of their experiences.

Use of learners as key informants gives us an insider perspective of their world. Woods argues that if the participants were not convinced that the information would be put to good use, they would not have co-operated in being part of the study and would have blocked access to it (cited in Herbert, 1989). This technique helped the

girls to play an active role in determining what information was made available to me. Playing such a crucial role also helped them to claim the research process as their own.

6.1.2   Informal Participant Observation

Another type of observation that was used is informal participant observation, conducted by me during my visits to the schools. It was done in an unobtrusive way and served to triangulate the observation of the participants. This was done by going to the schools during the breaks and walking through the corridors, going to the girls' toilets, spending time around the tuckshop area and making frequent rounds past the staircases that was a popular 'hang out' for many boys. These observations were then recorded in a journal and used as a basis for discussion during the interviews.

6.1.3   Journals

Within the broad category of ethnographic research, but also used by other researchers besides ethnographers, was the provision for keeping a journal. I decided to use this technique to collect data for two reasons, and from two perspectives. Firstly, I hoped this might help some girls overcome the embarrassment of articulating experiences of sexual harassment. Larkin (1994) cites this method as a strategy in her research project. I also wanted a tangible record of each girl's developing awareness of sexual harassment. The journals served as a useful tool to generate questions for the questionnaire and to generate discussion in the interviews.

Secondly, I employed the strategy of keeping a journal to record all forms of personal documentation, thoughts, events and feelings that I considered to be important. From a feminist perspective, the interpretative nature of the research process necessitates continuous awareness of personal assumptions on the part of the researcher (Stanley and Wise, 1990). This was useful in helping me to remain focused. My professional

life kept on getting in the way of my role as researcher, and it was difficult for me to move in and out of the different identities that I have to assume in the course of the day.[11] The journal helped me ease into my role as researcher and enabled me to continue from the point at which I previously stopped. It also served as an instrument of reflexivity and helping to re-direct the research process, thereby ensuring accountability to the participants and to the research process.

6.1.4 Interviews

i.   The semi- structured group interview

One of the major tools used in this study to obtain data was the semi-structured group interview. The structured interview is one in which the content and procedures are organised in advance. In contrast, in a semi-structured interview contents and procedures are carefully planned but there is greater flexibility and freedom to make modifications as the interview progresses (Cohen and Manion, 1994). The semi-structured interview employs open-ended questions and takes the form of a dialogue rather than an interrogation. This enables the multiple voices of the girls to come through. By listening to the girls speak it was possible to uncover a very neglected world of experience in the area of sexual harassment.

Reinharz asserts that semi-structured interviewing is a qualitative data-gathering technique that has become the principal means by which feminists have sought to achieve the active involvement of participants in the construction of data about their lives (1997). This offers the researcher access to the girls' thoughts and ideas in their own words rather than the words of the researcher. This method is also consistent with avoiding control of the girls and developing a sense of connectedness with them.

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[11] On a day that I had an important interview to conduct, my daughter had an unscheduled soccer match and I was torn between my commitment to both. I had to re-schedule the interview.

ii. Group interviewing

One of the strategies of getting participants to talk about personal experiences was to conduct the interviews in groups. The group interviews give the researcher an opportunity to bring together participants with varied opinions, or as representatives from different collectivities (Cohen and Manion, 1994). The collective discussion of problems such as sexual harassment, often previously understood as individual problems, leads to a recognition that these are socially produced conflicts shared by many other girls. This process of discovery leads to a rewriting of personal experience in terms which give it social, changeable causes (Weedon, 1987).

Group interviews also give the researcher an opportunity to share information with participants since the researcher has access to wider information. The interviews were used to share this information. Many of the participants, who initially said that they did not experience any sexual harassment, talked about not being able to recognise and name the problem. Once they participated in groups where experiences were shared, where there was a clarification of definitions, where feelings were exchanged and strategies for coping were shared, more clarity began to emerge around what sexual harassment is. The group sessions created an environment that was supportive of disclosures and validated their experiences. It was important to have same sex-disclosure in the group. Boys have a tendency to challenge, deny and dismiss the phenomenon of sexual harassment (Herbert, 1989). The disclosures serves two purposes: we get to know the long-term effects from the girls' own perspectives; theory can develop from autobiographical experience, or in other words, the 'personal can become political' (Herbert, 1989: 11). Naming and labelling the phenomenon of sexual harassment can serve as change agents in that it gives people the necessary tools with which to re-identify past experiences (Herbert, 1989).

I prepared a semi-structured interview schedule to take into account the different personalities of the participants (see Appendix C). Thus, while I had developed a general format as a basis for the interview, I had to adapt it for participants depending on the context. If the group was tense and reluctant to talk, I developed strategies that

put them at ease. One that worked very effectively was self-disclosure. My openness with them encouraged them to reciprocate and be open with me.

One of the requests I made to the management of the school was that the venue for the interviews had to be private. The reason for this was that I was known to some of the educators at two of the schools and this compromised the confidentiality of the participants. I also did not want the group to be disturbed by learners who were eager to find out what was going on.

One of the problems with the semi-structured interview is that it is difficult to remain focused, especially if participants want to steer it in different directions. Practicalities, such as an educator only giving 35 minutes to conduct the interview and transcription, demanded that a tight control had to be maintained on the length of the interviews. I also had to guard against the tendency to seek answers that supported my preconceived ideas. One of the main criticisms of this instrument is that the dynamics of the group might inhibit personal experiences being shared. For example, learners who speak English as their second language might be reluctant to speak as freely as first language learners. This is something that I have experienced as an educator.

6.1.5 Still Photography

Participants in two schools were very eager to capture what they experienced on camera. I realised that there could be a possibility of staged photographs. However, the participants assured me that they would do it as unobtrusively as possible. I have included several that capture what the girls described. It is a rich source of descriptive data but need to be seen as supporting the ethnographically derived data (Hitchcock and Hughes, 1989). The participants claimed the research process as their own by wanting to show in the form of pictures what they had been describing to me. Mihevec says that the participants have the first right to name reality, to articulate how social reality functions and to decide how issues are to be organised and defined (cited in McLaren and Giarelli, 1995). The photographs appear as Appendix E.

6.2 Quantitative approach

While this is essentially an ethnographic study, quantitative techniques were used to fill in the gaps and enhance and corroborate findings. By combining methods, feminist researchers are able to illuminate previously unexamined experiences such as sexual harassment and enhance the scientific status of the study, thereby increasing its potential utility to readers and policy makers. Feminists should not rely on any single method to conduct research because there is no one truth, no perfect methodology. According to Carlene Dephner (cited in Reinharz, 1992) combining the strengths of qualitative research methods with the strengths of quantitative research methods is the best way to avoid its weaknesses while utilising its power.

6.2.1   Questionnaire

The questionnaire was administered to 140 girls from the four schools from grade 11 to ascertain the nature and extent of sexual harassment. These girls were selected to represent at least 20 per cent of the total population of girls in grade 11 at the school if the population was homogenous and up to 30 per cent if the population was heterogeneous (this is discussed in greater detail on page 96 in the section on sampling techniques). The questionnaire was a self-administered one, filled in by the participants themselves. The researcher handed it out to them and collected it once it was complete. There are distinct advantages of handing out the questionnaires personally. The purpose of the study can be explained and there is greater co-operation with this type of personal contact.

While it was not the intention of this study to focus on the incidence rates, it took cognisance of the fact that females may not recognise many of the sexually insulting behaviours. Furthermore, according to Louise Fitzgerald, by telling the girls what is sexual harassment increases the error in measurement (cited in Paludi, 1990). Therefore I tried to avoid asking girls what is sexual harassment to reduce error in the

measurement. Substantial individual differences exist in the perceptions of what constitutes sexual harassment. Asking girls if they have been harassed, or labelling behaviours as harassment and asking whether they have experienced them, introduces error into the procedure because most girls have been socialised to accept sexually harassing behaviour under the guise of jokes or compliments, thus reducing their rate of response. Therefore, the research instrument focused on descriptions of behaviours that typify the phenomenon and participants were asked if they experienced or witnessed these behaviours. Responses were classified into the following categories: the demographic profile of the learner; their perceptions of a range of incidents which constitute sexual harassment; the nature and extent of sexual harassment; the effects it has on the learners; and the way it is dealt with.

The advantage of a questionnaire is that it tends to be more reliable because it is anonymous, and it encourages honesty. The disadvantage is that all girls may not interpret items in the questionnaires in the same manner. Questionnaires were more suited to the girls whose first language was English. Those who spoke English as a second language struggled to complete some of the open-ended questions in the questionnaires. There is no assurance that the girls' responses are stable and that is they would answer the questions the same way again.

6.2.2 Triangulation

Triangulation may be defined as the use of two or more methods of data collection in the study of some aspect of human behaviour (Cohen and Manion, 1994). Triangular techniques attempt to explain more fully the richness and complexity of human behaviour by studying it from more than one perspective and, in doing so, by making use of both qualitative and quantitative data. The problem is approached in a multi-faceted way, thereby acknowledging the value of different perspectives in the construction of meaning. Multiple definitions give rise to different understandings which, by being cross-referenced in the use of different techniques, clarify and validate the findings.

There is a greater proportion of triangulation of research methods by feminists because of the special relation triangulation has with feminist concerns. Multiple methods increase the likelihood of obtaining scientific credibility and research utility and express feminist commitment to thoroughness and the desire to be open ended (Reinharz, 1992). Feminist researchers combine many methods so as to cast their net as widely as possible in the search of understanding critical issues in girls' lives. The multiple method approach increases the likelihood that the researchers will have a better understanding of what they are studying, and that they will be able to persuade others of the veracity of their findings. Multiple methods work to enhance the understanding both by adding layers of information and by using one type of data to refine and validate another. The use of multiple methods reflects the multi-faceted identity of many feminist researchers. According to Phyllis Chesler, our multi-facetedness makes single-method research seem 'flat and inadequate' to explore and express the complexities of women's lives (cited in Reinharz, 1997: 202).

Research methods are experienced selectively by participants. Some learners might prefer the anonymity of questionnaires and some might feel more comfortable talking in a group interview. Filling in questionnaires was a problem for some of these learners because English is not their first language and they had never completed one before. However, they were very comfortable when being interviewed. Exclusive reliance on one method, therefore, may distort the particular slice of reality being investigated (Cohen and Manion, 1994: 233). Contrasting one method such as questionnaires with another such as interviews enabled me to produce a full and balanced study.

7. Geographic location of the schools.

The four schools that were selected are located in a black, coloured, Indian and a former white residential area. All four sites are located within the boundaries of the

Municipality of Pietermaritzburg and the black, Indian and coloured townships are about 4 kilometres from the city centre (see Appendix G for the map, which shows the geographic location of the schools). Alexandra High is situated in the centre of the city of Pietermaritzburg. Sobantu Secondary is located in Sobantu Village, Esther Payne Smith is located in the heart of Northdale and Eastwood Secondary is in Eastwood.

8.   Community profiles

Interviews were conducted with educators who had a long involvement with the school and community. They then helped me identify key community informants. In putting together a profile of the communities and schools, this study has been sensitive to issues of race, class and gender. While it still holds true that the reality of racism means that black people in South Africa have less access to resources compared to the other race groups, and that the majority of black learners are in poorly resourced schools, race by itself cannot be used as an indicator for educational advantage. Class is also a salient factor. Even though racism in the previous dispensation operated structurally to maintain black people in a state of relative powerlessness resulting in most of them being part of the working-class, there is a small but growing black middle class.

The majority of the learners at the former Model C school Alexandra Secondary are black learners who come from middle class homes. Even though many former House of Delegate and House of Representative schools have black learners who come from middle class homes, this is not the case at Eastwood Secondary and Esther Payne Smith Secondary which are located in a coloured and an Indian working-class area respectively. The majority of learners who attend these schools, black, Indian and coloured, come from working-class homes. There are some middle class families who live in close proximity to both Eastwood Secondary and Esther Payne Smith Secondary schools, however, those parents who can afford the fees have registered at

ex-model C schools in Pietermaritzburg (NED) or at other local ex-House of Representive (HOR) or ex-House of Delegates (HOD) schools that have predominantly middle class children. However, race still remains salient because apartheid dictated different levels of funding for learners from different race groups and this has resulted in huge discrepancies between the selected schools in terms of resources and the ethos of the school. The class nature of the schools is best revealed by looking at the location of the schools, the structure of the fees and the occupations of the parents.

Both Sobantu Village and Northdale are working-class townships established in the late 1920s to house black and Indian people who were forcibly removed from the city centre and from areas surrounding Pietermaritzburg. The working-class township of Eastwood was established in the early 1980s to accommodate the spillover of the coloured population from Haythorne, a coloured suburb in Pietermaritzburg. Haythorne was established after the enforcement of the Group Areas Act, which resulted in thousands of coloured families who were living in the city centre to move to the suburbs. Reports from community members in all three townships claim that the forced removals left many families feeling isolated, insecure and abandoned leading to a variety of social problems such as drug abuse, family violence and gangsterism.

While all three townships have similarities, apartheid divisions of geography, race and capital have resulted in huge qualitative gaps, measured in terms of facilities, municipal services and levels of poverty of the residents. All three townships have poor living conditions, but the deprivation in Sobantu Village is greater because it has been under-financed compared to Indian and coloured townships in the Pietermaritzburg area. In the 1988/1989 financial year, the now defunct Department of Development Aid had budgeted for an expenditure of R154.00 per person for those residents in the Indian and coloured townships and only R4.50 per person in Sobantu Village (Peel, 1987). This neglect and deprivation is evident from more shacks being visible in Sobantu Village, more overcrowding, poorer municipal maintenance of the area, more litter on the streets and a general starkness of the area. Hart (1988) in his

study on violence in the Pietermaritzburg area provides a description of the peri-urban areas, which includes Sobantu Village. He says that these areas are characterised by neglect, poverty, powerlessness, unemployment and underdevelopment and the educational facilities would reflect this neglect.

Presently, the township of Sobantu Village has black residents only. Eastwood has a predominantly coloured population with a growing black population in three informal settlements that are close by. Northdale has a predominantly Indian population and a huge informal settlement that houses only black dwellers. The socio-economic status of residents living in Sobantu Village is higher than residents in other black townships around Pietermaritzburg (Peel, 1987). During the 1930s the Pietermarizburg city council adopted a policy giving preference to Sobantu residents in the allocation of jobs especially within the municipal workforce because of the proximity of the township to the city centre (Peel, 1987). Compared to other townships to the west, Sobantu Village is well located to take advantage of urban opportunities, infrastructure and services. It is immediately adjacent to the Willowton Industrial area and is electrified and has running water (see Appendix G).

Most residents in all three townships experience poor living conditions. The type of housing ranges from shacks to small two-room and three-room box-shaped houses. There is evidence of residents with economic means who have extended and renovated their homes. Long-term housing shortages have resulted in severe overcrowding in all three townships, especially Sobantu Village where it is not unusual for as many as twelve people to live in a house consisting of two bedrooms. In all three townships, rooms are sublet to boarders or extended family members. Similarly, any available space in the backyard is used to erect a structure or wendy-house. The general standard of housing in these townships is not good. Windowpanes are either missing or broken and the majority of the houses are in need of maintenance and painting.

All three townships have very few recreational facilities and the few in existence are either vandalised or a hangout for gangsters. The parks are used as a hideout for

gangsters or gang fights. Weekend activities among adults involve smoking dagga, playing dice or cards, or drinking alcohol. The activities are often conducted outside, in the backyard, next to a block of flats or in the parks. All three townships have a soccer stadium, a public swimming pool, a police station, a clinic and places of worship. While these facilities appear to be in need of maintenance, they appear to be functioning.

Unemployment, alcohol abuse and violence are major problems in these communities. While there are no official figures, anecdotal information received from community members and educators who live in the communities say that unemployment figures probably range from 40 per cent to 50 per cent in Sobantu Village to about 30 per cent to 40 per cent in Northdale and Eastwood.[12] There are many out-of-school youth that loiter around the street corners.

Sobantu Village experienced great political and social trauma in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Political tensions and fighting between Inkatha Freedom Party and the African National Congress members led to instability, disrupted schooling, a high level of tension and anxiety and shifting school populations in the area (Hart, 1988). There was also an influx of black residents and learners who were fleeing the political violence in both Eastwood and Northdale but to a lesser degree compared to Sobantu Village. This led to increases in the population in all three townships creating pressure on existing resources and services, especially in Sobantu Village. All three townships were also affected by the massive retrenchments due to factories relocating to more politically stable areas and shoe factories closing down.

The inner city area around Alexandra Secondary is over a hundred years old. The buildings consist of flats, shops, churches, a hospital, hotels and offices. The population was historically white but since 1994 the community has become

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[12] In 1986 the Development Studies Research group based in Pietermaritzburg found unemployment levels to be a little over 30 per cent. It is likely that the figure may have increased since then due to the retrenchments in factories.

predominantly black. Alexandra Secondary draws learners from a number of different communities including inner city areas, townships and suburbs.

The streets in the inner city area have many street children. There are also drug dealers who operate here and target school children. Alcohol abuse is also a problem for some of the residents in this area. There are a few recreational facilities in the city centre such as a public library, movie theatres, restaurants and taverns. There is also a huge park and a big swimming pool. However, these places have become targets for rape, mugging and drug dealing and learners do not feel safe walking in the streets.

9.   Violence in the communities

All three townships experienced high levels of poverty, community impoverishment, unemployment, violence and gender-based violence in the 1980s and 1990s. Sobantu Village has also experienced political violence. There are no figures available, however anecdotal information from principals, educators, learners and community members reveals that levels of criminal and interpersonal violence across all four sites is particularly high. High levels of gender violence, particularly verbal abuse, beatings, and rape, are present in all these communities. Male relatives, neighbours, boyfriends and male members of gangs are the most likely perpetrators of the violence. All sites report that adults and children witness violence among criminal elements and gangs in their communities. Residents also witness violence and aggression among males belonging to gangs. The high schools in all three townships appear to be focal points for gangsters and out-of-school youth in these communities. They often gather at the school gates when school ends. Social gatherings within communities often turn violent, resulting in fights and verbal abuse. The problems become exacerbated by the use of drugs and alcohol.

The community in Sobantu Village is still recovering from the political violence between supporters of the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom. Party. Many children in the community were victims of the political violence and the school

was severely affected with both learners and educators being exposed to extreme acts of violence (Gultig and Hart, 1991). Educators at the school believe that this affected the culture of learning at the school and that the school and community have not returned to normal after the political violence. The research conducted by Gultig and Hart on violence in schools in the Pietermaritzburg area confirms this perception (cited in Unterhalter et al. 1991). Hart (1988) says that many students fleeing the political violence take up residence in Sobantu Village. Every time there is a conflict in their areas of residence, they become nomadic scholars. He argues that an overburdened system has serious negative implications for transformation at the school. Furthermore, the brutalising experiences of students results in loss of self-esteem, depression, learned helplessness and aggression, and the high level of militancy and politicisation of students exacerbates divisions between educators and pupils. The legacy of mistrust created by the violence will not be easy to resolve and is likely to remain a stumbling block in the promotion of a culture of learning at the school.

10. SCHOOL PROFILES

10.1 Sobantu Secondary

This is the only secondary school in Sobantu Village. It was founded in 1930 so that black children living in Sobantu Village did not have to commute to schools in the city centre (see Appendix E: 1 for photographs of the school). There are 842 learners with an even mix of boys and girls. Of the 25 educators, 16 are males and 9 are females. The educator: learner ratio is 1:33, much higher than that of the other schools. All the learners and educators at Sobantu Secondary are black. The matric pass rates are as follows: in 1999-38 per cent; in 2000-57 per cent and in 2001- 52 per cent.

The school management team comprises of five males, the principal, the deputy principal and three heads of department. This team is responsible for the academic organisation and standards, general organisation and discipline at the school. As is the case in all the four schools, there is a school-governing body (SGB) consisting of the principal, educators and parents. While parents play an active role in the SGB, parental involvement at the school is generally very low. Management claimed that they did not get the full cooperation of educators when it came to managing the school. Even though the violence and conflict among learners often occurred during unmonitored times, educators seldom go out on duty during breaks. Furthermore, despite the attendance of educators being monitored by management, the absentee rate was still fairly high and many educators did not report to class on time. While attempts were made to monitor the attendance of the learners, management said that it was difficult to control because the learners live very close by and go home for lunch. There was a tendency for them not to return to school after lunch on a Friday.

The school buildings are in a reasonable condition and the school grounds are relatively clean. There is evidence of vandalism, broken windows and graffiti on the school wall that was recently erected (see Appendix E: 2 for photographs of the school). Sobantu Secondary has running water and electricity but lacks the facilities that other schools have such as a sports field, a swimming pool, computer rooms and well equipped classrooms. As is the case in most black schools (Truscott, 1994; Morrell, 2001b), there are no facilities for sports or physical education in Sobantu Secondary. The school ground is a very small and boys use most of the space.

There are many gangs that operate in the area and the principal has to call in the police from time to time. Discipline is instilled through using various means of punishment such as temporary suspension. However, learners complained of random physical violence although this is against the school's policy. Management claims that they do not condone the use of corporal punishment, but are aware that educators administered it randomly. Learners claimed that educators are selective about whom they administer corporal punishment to. It is mostly the younger learners, both boys and girls, in grades 8 and 9 who are victims of this type of punishment. Boys who are

connected to gangs are spared, as are the bigger boys who could retaliate against the educators.

The pregnancy rate of girls is fairly high, at least five to six known pregnancies a year. The school management members said that girls choose not to attend school while they fall pregnant because other learners mocked them. This is supported by research conducted by Masuka (1998) in schools in Umlazi, Durban. Almost all the boys and at least a third of the girls surveyed favoured expulsion of pregnant schoolgirls. The girls are allowed back to school after the birth of the baby. This is the only school in the study where girls are responsible for keeping the classroom clean and this ritual takes place in the morning before school begins.

The fees structure at Sobantu Secondary is R200 per annum. According to management about 80 per cent of parents do not pay the schools fees in full because they cannot afford to. Information received from the principal reveales that the occupation of parents fall into the following categories: factory workers, domestics workers, shebeen/taverns owners, spaza shop owners, phone kiosks owners, hawkers of fruit and vegetables. He claims that many families have no income at all and rely on child grants or the grandparents' pension money.

10.2   Esther Payne Smith Secondary

Esther Payne Smith who was the daughter of the Dean of Canterbury founded the school in 1931 (see Appendix E: 3 for photographs of the school). It began as a primary school for the children of the railway employees in Pentrich, which was a residential area situated on the outskirts of Pietermaritzburg. In 1969, the Indian population of Pentrich was forcibly removed and the displaced community had to settle in Northdale (see Appendix G that shows the geographic location of the schools). In 1978 the school became a secondary school.

The school has 26 educators and 790 learners, 565 of whom are black, 203 Indians and 22 coloureds. The educator: learner ratio is 1:30. There is an even mix of boys and girls. The matric pass rates are as follows: in 1999- 46 per cent; in 2000- 39 per cent and in 2001- 42 per cent. The principal attributes these low pass rates in matric to a high rate of conditional transfers in Grade 11. Conditional transfers is a system of promoting learners into the next grade even though they have not satisfied all of the requirements in Grade 11.

Esther Payne Smith is situated in an area notorious for gang fights. Learners and educators are generally afraid of potential violence from the outside. Gang members have attacked both educators and learners. Two years ago, on sports day, the school made headlines in a local newspaper because an educator who tried to protect a learner was attacked by a gangster in full view of the rest of the school. There is a high incidence of gambling, alcohol and drug consumption on school premises.

The management team comprises of four males and adopt a relaxed attitude towards management and the discipline of learners. There is a general lack of communication among principal, educators, parents and learners. There is a very low involvement of parents at the school. One of the reasons why parental involvement is low is that many of the learners commute from outlying areas by taxi. If any school meetings take place at night, these parents have no means of getting to the school because there is no public transport at night. Many parents are also unable to take time off from work to attend school meetings during working hours.

Very little monitoring takes place on school premises and learners felt very unsafe to walk around the school especially at the toilets. The girls' toilets are very far away from the office area. Educators appear to have no plan on how to manage learners and how respond to violence. While there are many management and support structures, many educators do not use these effectively to try and inculcate discipline. They claim that much of the violence is the result of the drug consumption and drug pedalling at school and there is not much they can do to instil discipline at the school. Gangsters invade the school to collect money from learners to whom they have been

supplying drugs. Educators say that they were tired of the high levels of violence and police complicity in the violence. Lack of security has also discouraged the use of the school for studying purposes in the evening. There is random use of corporal punishment, mostly of younger male learners. Educators are afraid of getting beaten up by gangs in revenge attacks.

The school has fairly well equipped classrooms and a computer room. The school buildings are in a reasonable condition, but there is much evidence of neglect (see Appendix E: 4 for photographs). Part of the boys' grounds has been cordoned off and learners are not allowed to make use of it. The reason for this was that during school breaks learners bought drinks and cigarettes from houses across the fence. The swimming pool that was built in the late 1980s with funds sponsored by community members has been closed because the school could not afford the high maintenance costs. Unlike, Sobantu Secondary, the cleaning staff is responsible for keeping the classrooms and school grounds free of litter. Vandalisation of the school and its facilities has reached high levels.

All four schools in the study are fenced off from the local community and, with the exception of Esther Payne Smith, a security guard restricts access to the school. Esther Payne Smith is particularly vulnerable because the fence has been vandalised and the school cannot afford to repair it. Furthermore, learners at this school are not monitored during the breaks, making spaces within the school relatively unsafe. Not enough is being done at this school to create a peaceful learning environment thus making it more conducive to violent behaviour.

Unlike Eastwood Secondary and Alexandra Secondary, sport is not a priority at Esther Payne Smith and no provision is made for physical education. The boys' play area is twice the size of the girls' play area. However, this area has been fenced off for security reasons because it is too close to the residential area bordering the school. The boys now mill around the girls' play area. Like Eastwood, the pregnancy rate is considered high. Management claimed that at least six to ten girls a year fall pregnant. Most of them continue with their schooling until they reach the third trimester of their

pregnancy and then leave. At least half of them choose to return to schools after the birth of their babies. In one case a young mother, who lived close to the school, was been given permission to leave the school premises during breaks to go home to breast feed her baby.

The school enrolment is dropping drastically and school management has reduced the school fees from R450 to R200 to attract more learners to the school. According to school management, about 30 per cent to 40 per cent of learners cannot afford to pay school fees and receive a rebate. The records at Esther Payne Smith reveal that parents have the following occupations: work in factories, run businesses from home (mostly tuckshops, taverns or shebeens), drive taxis, hawk fruit and vegetables, salespeople, domestic workers, mechanics and builders. Many parents are unemployed, some live off their grandparent's pensions or disability grants.

10.3   Eastwood Secondary

Eastwood Secondary School is situated 4 kilometres outside of Pietermaritzburg (see Appendix E: 5 for photographs). It was established in 1983 as a co-educational school serving 390 learners and 17 educators. Since then the school has grown to accommodate 1530 learners and 50 educators all of whom are Coloured. The educator: learner ratio is 1:30. The principal claims that over 60 per cent of the learners are black and come from townships such as Eastwood, Edendale, Imbali and Panorama. There is an even mix of boys and girls. The school has become very popular amongst black learners because of a specialised Language Intergration Programme that was introduced to accelerate the learning of English (Mathee, 2002). The matric pass rates at the school for the past three years are as follows: 1999- 90 per cent; 2000-87 per cent; 2001- 86 per cent with a 96 per cent to 100 per cent pass rate in geography, biology and physical science.

The school is very orderly and well-managed by a team of five people, three of whom are male. The school management team is responsible for the academic organisation and standards, general organisation and discipline. The school and school garden are well maintained and the grounds are reasonably clean (see Appendix E: 6). The school is also well resourced in terms of sports fields with swimming pools, computer rooms, well-equipped classrooms and staff rooms. There are no learners loitering around between lessons. Unlike the other schools where the noise levels were fairly high, learners appeared to be very silent at Eastwood. The school is completely fenced and the gates are locked during school hours.

There are separate committees for sports, religious activities, cultural activities, including a teenage mother's support group due to the high rate of teenage pregnancy at the school. There are set structures and procedures to deal with every aspect of the running of the school. Educators adhere to strict professional conduct, attending classes and respecting time. The principal is very particular about punctuality and learners who do not make it to school on time are detained. Educators monitor school attendance very carefully. Rules govern every aspect of the school and discipline is consistently enforced. The principal, educators and learners report that corporal punishment is not used at the school. It is evident that there is a strong culture of learning at the school.

Communication among school management members and educators appeared to be functioning very well but there was a top down approach adopted at the school.. There was also a reluctance of learners and staff members to give me information about anything that pertained to the school unless the principal said it was permissible to do so. For example, the school secretary had to request permission from him to give me a copy of the school code of conduct.

The principal is a keen sportsman and prioritises many codes of sport for both boys and girls such as hockey, netball, soccer, swimming, basketball, athletics and lifesaving. While sports has been prioritised in Eastwood and Alexandra, there was an emphasis on boys' sport and the schools invested greater time and resources on boys'

sport. At both these schools, the entire school supported sporting events such as soccer and rugby. Girls are expected to turn up to watch the boys play and cheer them on. Boys are not expected to do the same for girls for sporting events such as netball. Boys' sporting accomplishments also receive more coverage in newsletters and brochures than girls sporting accomplishments. Eastwood Secondary (and Alexandra) pay more emphasis to boy's sports than girls' sports (see Appendix E: 7 for photographs).

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About 30 per cent or learners cannot afford to pay school fees, which was R660. The learners who cannot afford to pay are mostly from the three informal settlements that are close to Eastwood. Many of the parents of the learners work in factories, some work as domestic labourers, builders, painters, others drive taxis, run shebeens or taverns or hawk fruit and vegetables. Parental involvement at the school is fairly low.

10.4 Alexandra Secondary

Alexandra High School is located in an inner city area in Pietermaritzburg in approximately 4 hectares of playing fields and gardens and is situated close to the very scenic Alexandra Park (see Appendix E: 8 for photographs). The school was established in February 1960 to serve middle-class white boys. It was only in the June of 1991 that the first black student was admitted. In the beginning of 1992 it became a co-educational school Model C school.

The schools has 30 educators (27 white, 1 Indian and 2 black) and 935 learners of whom 550 are black, 82 are coloured, 71 are Indian, and 202 are white. The educator: learner ratio is 1: 31. Of the four schools, this is the only school where there is an unequal mix of boys and girls. Of the 935 learners there are only 329 girls. The principal explained that the reason for this is there were two all-girls schools in close proximity to Alexandra Secondary. The matric pass rates for the past three years are as follows: 1999-100 per cent; 2000-98 per cent; 2002-94 per cent.

The school and school garden are well-maintained and the grounds are meticulously clean. The school is completely fenced and the gates are locked during school hours. A security guard is posted at the entrance of the school. The school management team is made up of 5 members, 4 males and 1 female. The school is well-managed and there are set structures and procedures to deal with every aspect of the running of the school. Communication among school management members, educators and parents appears to be functioning very well. However, learners complain that educators are not very approachable when they have problems that are not subject related.

Parental involvement is fairly high and much greater than the other schools in the study. More feedback is given to parents about the learners' performances and behaviour through the year. Educators monitor school attendance very carefully. Rules govern every aspect of the school and discipline is consistently enforced. Educators adhere to strict professional conduct, attending classes and respecting time. There is a culture of learning and learners and educators appear to have good relationships although some learners feel that that the educators are racist. The school is very particular about uniforms and is strict about learners adhering to the school code of conduct (see Appendix F for school code of conduct). There are specific drop-off points for learners in the morning. Despite this very well-managed school, learners still do not feel comfortable enough to talk to educators about their problems. Management claims that corporal punishment has never been administered at the school since it became a co-educational school and learners, both boys and girls, bear testimony to this claim. About 1 to 2 girls a year fall pregnant. The school allows the girl to continue with their education if they choose to remain at school.

Unemployment is not perceived to be a problem by school management due to the number of learners who can afford to pay school fees, which was R4600 for the year. Due to the high fees structure of Alexandra, it draws learners from predominantly middle class homes. Most learners live with their parents who are educated professionals. A few live with their grandparents and there are also many single-parent families. However, there a small proportion of learners, both white and black, who come from working-class homes and who cannot afford the high school fees.

These learners get a rebate on their school fees. These learners make up less than 5 per cent of the total school population.

11. Composition of the research environment

Tables 1, 2 and 4, summarise the school race and age distribution of the sample (displayed as Figures 1 and 2). Table 3 gives the race breakdown of all the participants per school who contributed to the study by keeping journals, filling in questionnaires or taking part in the interviews.

Table 1: School distribution of sample

School	Frequency	Percent
Alexandra Secondary	50	45%
Eastwood Secondary	20	18%
Esther Payne Smith Secondary	25	22%
Sobantu Secondary	17	15%
Total	112	100%

Figure 1: School distribution of sample
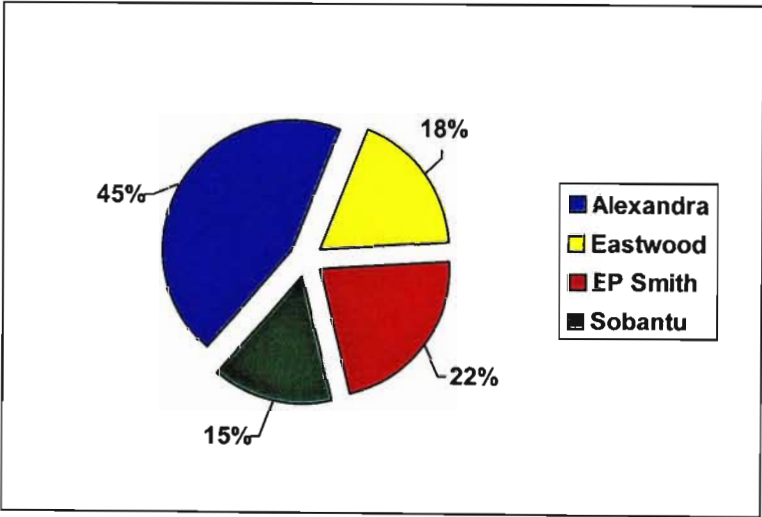
Table 2: Race[13] distribution of sample

Race	Frequency	Percent
Black	53	47%
Coloured	15	14%
Indian	16	14%
White	28	25%
Total	112	100%

Figure 2: Race distribution of sample

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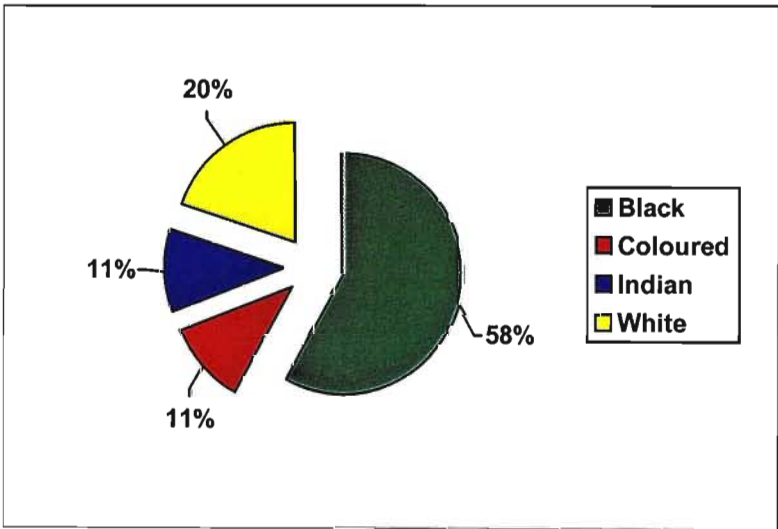
[13] Refer to the explanation of race as a social category on P 19.

Table 3: Race breakdown of participants per school (row percentages)

School		Race				Total
		Black	Coloured	Indian	White	
Alexandra Secondary	Count	18	2	2	28	50
	%	36%	4%	4%	56%	100%
Eastwood Secondary	Count	9	11	0	0	20
	%	45%	55%	0%	0%	100%
Esther Payne Smith Secondary	Count	9	2	14	0	25
	%	36%	8%	56%	0%	100%
Sobantu Secondary	Count	17	0	0	0	17
	%	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Total	Count	53	15	16	28	112
	%	47%	14%	14%	25%	100%

As can be seen in Table 3, the participants from Sobantu secondary are all black. In other schools the participants predominantly represent two race groups: Alexandra Secondary, black and white; Eastwood Secondary, black and coloured; and Esther Payne Smith Secondary, black, coloured and Indian. This is because the racial composition of the school is reflective of the composition of racial groups that live in the areas that surround the school.

Table 4: Mean age of respondents per school

School	N	Mean	Standard deviation	F value	Sig
Alexandra	47	16.96^a	0.88	3.936	0.011
Eastwood	20	17.35	1.14		
EP Smith	24	16.75^b	1.45		
Sobantu	16	18.06^{ab}	2.05		
Total	107	17.15	1.34		

[a, b] The mean difference is significant at the 0.05

The average age of the respondents was 17.15 years, with a standard deviation of 1.34. There is a significant age difference for the schools, with participants in Sobantu Secondary being significantly older (mean = 18.06) than those in Alexandra

Secondary (mean = 16.96) and Esther Payne Smith Secondary (mean = 16.75). The age scores in the sample ranged from 16 to 22 years.

12. The Research Process

The research was conducted in three phases. The first phase involved getting five participants from each school using purposive sampling to keep a journal of their sexual harassment incidents for a period of a month. This was done in a very discrete manner without it taking too much of their time. The journal entries were used to inform the types of questions that needed to be included in the questionnaires. The next phase involved administering the questionnaires to 140 girls, using purposive sampling, to ascertain the nature and extent of sexual harassment. The final phase involved conducting group interviews with 10-12 girls from each school, including in the group of the girls who kept journals. The school principal or representatives from school administration, two members of the community and least two educators from each of the schools were interviewed about school policy on sexual harassment and procedures that are adopted to address the problem.

I initially thought that because this is a controversial topic to investigate, finding schools in which to conduct the research would prove difficult. I spoke to colleagues at the teacher training college where I worked and was advised to contact guidance counsellors at schools that they helped me identify. Choosing the counsellor as my initial contact person turned out to be advantageous for three reasons: firstly, they had greater credibility than I had in the school so it was easier for them to convince the principal and staff to allow me to conduct my research; secondly, I needed their co-operation to gain access to learners; and thirdly, the guidance counsellors allowed me to use time allocated to them on the timetable to interview the girls and administer questionnaires to them so that I did not disrupt the school programme in any way.

My first contact with each of the counsellors at the four schools was telephonic, and thereafter we had at least one and in some cases two meetings to discuss the topic,

research methodology and what was required of them. Their response and interest in the study overwhelmed me. Consistent with the ideals of democratic research, each counsellor had to hold discussions with the principal and staff for approval.

The research process began with my contacting the guidance counsellors from each of the four schools, telephonically, requesting a meeting with them. Prior to the meeting, each counsellor was handed a package that contained a letter briefly outlining the study, what was expected of them, and a copy of my research proposal. Each counsellor was given a week to reflect on the contents and to decide if they would be willing to assist me. I was overwhelmed by the enthusiasm displayed by all four counsellors. This was crucial because the success of the research process relied very heavily not only on the support of the participants but also the support from the institutions from which they came. They played a key role in getting the approval from the school principals, identifying participants, organising private venues at the school for the interviews, identifying classes to whom the questionnaires could be administered to, and getting permission from educators and principals to have access to the girls during school hours.

Every school approved of the project. However, this was only after many searching questions were asked about confidentiality of the information and anonymity of the educators and learners. All were very keen to have the findings of the research study shared with them. The success of the research process largely depended on the co-operation of the participants and support from school management. I was pleasantly surprised to find that, despite the fact that the topic was controversial, all the schools, approached were extremely co-operative and eager to work with me.

The next phase, which involved getting five participants from each school to keep a journal of sexually harassing incidents for a period of a month, was a crucial one. I relied on the counsellors to identify girls based on several factors. Girls who were eager to be part of the research study were preferred as I assumed that they would be able to provide the data I was looking for. The girls had to come from varied backgrounds because the study acknowledges that not all girls have the same

experiences. As I wanted to see how issues of race, ability and weight affected the incidence of sexual harassment, it was important to have girls from different racial group, girls with disabilities and girls who were overweight represented in the group who were going to keep the journals. The guidance counsellors played a crucial role here because of their intimate knowledge of the girls and the trust the girls had in them. Once the counsellors identified the girls, I had a meeting to explain what was expected of them and how important their role is. They were then asked to share this with their parents/guardian who had to give them permission for them participate in the study.

13.   Implementation

I scheduled two group meetings for learners, in groups of five, at each of the schools. In my initial meeting with them, I focused on six issues: the nature and role of the researcher; my commitment to them; their voices and the significant role they play in my research; encouraging them to utilise this opportunity to be heard; the authenticity of their responses; and an explanation of confidentiality and anonymity. The girls were very excited because of the important role assigned to them and the topic of the study.

A week later I scheduled another meeting with each of the groups. The purpose of this meeting was to discuss what to record in the journals, how and when to record the entries. What they were asked to do was to document the behaviour of boys that had some sexual connotation to it and made them feel uncomfortable. They did not necessarily have to have an understanding of sexual harassment to do this. The incidents they recorded could be what they had been subjected to or had witnessed at school. It was emphasised to them that they had to behave in a way so as not to alert anyone about what they were doing. Only the participants (and a few people from school administration) were aware of this process. The journal entries were done in a discrete manner as part of homework. This observation process was conducted for a month.

After a week had passed I scheduled another meeting with them to give them an opportunity to share with each other their experiences. A few of the girls shared their entries with the group. What emerged was that the girls were initially at a loss when they had to observe and write in their journals. They had problems determining which behaviours made them feel uncomfortable and they also had a problem articulating what they experienced. During the group discussions later it emerged that at least two girls fabricated entries in their journal because they were unsure of what to write. When the other girls shared their entries with them, they were much more confident about what kind of behaviour to look out for. I anticipated that this was going to happen, which is why the follow up meetings with them were very important. Many of the girls were clearer about what to do after this group session. This was the first opportunity they had to talk about sexual harassment and their discussions generated questions I included in the questionnaires and group interviews I had with them later on. A final group meeting was held at the end of the observation period for the girls to hand in their journals and reflect on their experiences. The journal entries and subsequent discussions held with the girls were used to inform the types of questions that needed to be included in the questionnaires. The study was structured this way because I wanted to make sure that the information I collected was grounded in their experiences and not my own pre-conceived ideas (Larkin, 1994).

The next phase involved administering the questionnaires to 140 girls from the four schools, using purposive sampling, to ascertain the nature and extent of sexual harassment. The combined school population of girls in grade 11 in all four selected schools was 439. 140 girls were selected to represent at least 20 per cent of the total population of girls in grade 11 at the school if the population was homogenous and up to 30 per cent if the population was heterogeneous (this is discussed in greater detail in the section on sampling techniques). The final phase involved conducting group interviews with 10-12 girls from each school, including in the group all of the girls who kept journals. An important consideration for the size of the group is that if it was too small it would not be diverse enough, and if it was bigger than 12 then giving all participants an opportunity to talk would have been difficult. The school principal

or representatives from school administration and least two educators from each of the schools were interviewed about school policy on sexual harassment and procedures that are adopted by the school to address the problem.

14.   Ethical Issues that emerged

The decision to only interview girls from 16 years of age and above was guided by the fact there had to be confidentiality between the researcher and the learners. If the participants revealed information of a sensitive nature, then I would be legally obliged to report this. I, therefore, did not select girls under the age of 16 years. However, I had to ensure that ethical considerations were taken into account during the research process and was guided by an ethical standards statement (see appendix D). As a researcher, I also have a responsibility towards the participants if serious incidents of sexual harassment were revealed and the girls needed counselling. As mentioned previously, they would be referred to the counselling unit at the University of Natal where prior arrangements had already been made.

It is essential that the researcher ensures that the ethical considerations of the research process are adhered to at all times. I did not want to place the participants at risk. While I tried to remain secretive to protect their identity, there were times when educators entered the room while the interview took place. Also, once the findings are made known, I had to ensure that there would not be any retribution. The guidance counsellors from each of the schools were contacted to ensure that they monitored the situation. I received total co-operation from management. However, some gave their co-operation because they believed that I would not find any cases of sexual harassment at their school.

In one school, the girls, in desperation to sort out some of the problems they were experiencing, such as lack of safety when they went to the toilets, begged me to make the principal aware of the gravity of the situation. This posed a dilemma for me because I wanted to help the girls immediately. However, if I presented some of the

findings too soon it could have jeopardised my continuing to visit the school to gather more information. I resolved the issue by speaking to one of the educators at the school who was very supportive of my study, and asked her to raise the issue and explore measures to deal with the problem at the next staff meeting. My reason for not wanting to share the information with the principal before my study was complete was that I did not want to deal with any of the problems in a piece-meal way. My investigation had just begun and it would not have been possible to present a complete and accurate as possible scenario to him and his staff members with suggestions of what could be done. He was convinced that I would not find any cases of sexual harassment at his school. However, the issue of the harassment of girls in the toilets continuing was also of concern to me. I, therefore, resorted to trying to deal with the issue but in a way that was agreed to at the onset of the project.

I was also not at liberty to speak to the principal because I had already given the assurance to all the participants in the project, including the principal, guidance counsellor and schoolgirls, that the information given would be confidential and that the data they provide would not be identified as originating from them. I could not give them these reassurances and then break confidence. I was also conflicted about speaking on behalf of the girls rather than encouraging them to speak for themselves. But to expect girls who until very recently couldn't articulate what they were experiencing and feeling to suddenly feel empowered enough to speak to management is being unreasonable.

The idea of using learners as informers raises methodological issues as well as moral and ethical ones. Even though all the necessary precautions about parental consent were taken into account, the learners had the power to sabotage the process if they did not take it seriously. Fortunately, this was not the case in this study. This was why it was crucial that those who were identified were committed to the process and responsible.

One of the ethical considerations of using the method of participant-as observer was that, besides the participants, those who were being observed, both educators and

learners, were unaware of the process. While the principals at each of the schools discussed with members of staff and learners that research regarding gender relations was going to be conducted at the school, they were not given any details and were unaware of who was doing the observing and who was being observed. This type of covert observation raises ethical issues that are worth considering briefly. On the one hand, there are those researchers like Erikson (cited in Hitchcock and Hughes, 1989), who have argued that disguised observation actually compromises both the research and those observed to an unacceptable degree. In contrast, however, Douglas (cited in Hitchcock and Hughes, 1989) has defended what he describes as 'investigative social research' as being quite often relatively harmless, and sometimes even necessary, being the only way to research some locations and situations. I am more inclined towards the latter because the findings of this study will be made available to staff and learners and be a topic for professional development.

Using the technique of participant-as observer raises the question of validation. If I told the girls what I was looking for would they lie, fabricate or exaggerate about particular incidents? Would they try to be unduly helpful and give me responses that they think I might like? To circumvent this possibility, I used the method of triangulation of methods and sources of information to validate the data.

15.   General limitations of research design and methods

One of the main criticisms of qualitative ethnographic studies is that they are so particular, localised and small scale that the generalisations arising from the data needs to be contextualised (Schutt, 1996). However, this study is not concerned with making high-level generalisations. This does not mean though that it is not possible to look at particular cases and then apply what is observed here to a range of other social settings. General statements about the phenomena can be shown to operate across a range of particular situations (Hitchcock and Hughes, 1989). Another factor that constrains the generalisability of the results is that the case study had only four schools, all situated in an urban area. However, the sample size represented between

20 per cent to 30 per cent of the total female population in the selected schools which does make it possible to make generalisations about the schools and apply these findings to other schools. The exploratory nature will be suggestive and inferences may be generalisable to secondary schools in South Africa, situated in both urban and rural areas.

In terms of the quantitative techniques used, it is difficult to construct items in such a way that they are interpreted similarly by all respondents. There is no way of knowing if the subject's responses are stable; that is, that they would answer the same way again. Although numerous surveys and studies have appeared, each has typically constructed its own data collection instrument. The field is only now beginning to make the transition from survey to technique investigations. Edwards and Cronbach (cited in Paludi, 1990) describe the initial phase as one of survey research in which investigators attempt to identify and isolate variables of importance. This stage is followed by that of technique research, where the focus is on operationalising the variables in a reliable manner, a process that is necessary before research can proceed to the more advanced experimental and applied stages.

The methods used in this research process are reflective of the ethnographic approach located within the qualitative paradigm from a feminist stance and acknowledge the complexities of the issues involved in the research problem, while providing tools necessary for deep exploration. The strength of this research approach and design lies in its attempt at developing a complementary relationship between qualitative and quantitative components and bringing in the voices and perspectives of the central subjects of the study.

An omission in my work is that I did not include any boys in my study. This study acknowledges the vulnerability of boys and that they also experience and are affected by sexual harassment. However, this study focused on the sexual harassment of girls and their perceptions of it. The sexual harassment experienced by boys differs in aetiology and warrants a special and urgent focus that was not possible within the parameters of this study. When girls are harassed, it is often because they are girls,

when boys are harassed it is not because they are boys but because they are the sort of boys who subscribe to a subordinate version of masculinity (Jones and Mahoney, 1989). Even though males were not included in the study, it took into consideration that any intervention at school level to address the problem needs to include both boys and girls.

This following chapter will focus on data presentation, analysis and interpretation. It will report on research findings and provide a comprehensive summary, review some of the limitations of this study and suggest some of the ways the current research could be carried forward.

Chapter 4- Results and Analysis

Introduction

This chapter seeks to present the results of the enquiry into the problem of sexual harassment of schoolgirls and an analysis thereof. Firstly, it presents how the girls in this study defined sexual harassment. It does this by outlining the process by which the girls came to recognise sexual harassment as a problem, and describing how their thinking about sexual harassment changed when they had the opportunities to share common experiences. This section has been included since the process has been such an integral part of the study. Secondly, the girls speak out about their experiences of sexual harassment and describe how it affects their schooling. Thirdly, the policies and procedures of the schools in dealing with the problem of sexual harassment are presented and assessed. The chapter is structured so that the results are presented and the analysis follows immediately thereafter, so that the referencing of the results is made more easily. This is important because I want this piece of work to be accessible and relevant to both academics and non-academics. However, it will not affect the rigour of the presentation of results and the analysis.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the study used both qualitative and quantitative forms of enquiry to investigate the problem of sexual harassment. In this section the results from the qualitative and quantitative research have been organised into themes that, broadly, attempt to answer the questions outlined above. The results emerged from the following modes of investigation: participant as observer, journal writing, group interviews and questionnaires Depending on the type of questions, some techniques were more suited for eliciting certain types of information than others. Therefore, in certain themes, there might be a preponderance of a particular form of research enquiry. However, this does not mean one type is privileged and used to invalidate the other. Neither does it mean that any one form will be regarded as a 'true' version.

Where possible, both the qualitative and quantitative forms of enquiry will be juxtaposed to reveal more accurately the nature of the problem of sexual harassment. This multi-text analysis will enable me to look for oppositional readings.

1. Presentation of results and an analysis of the data

The aim of the analysis was to investigate the nature and effects of sexual harassment on schoolgirls, and school policies and procedures in dealing with the problem. The data were analysed to answer the following questions:

1.1 What is the nature of sexual harassment in secondary schools?

To what extent do girls perceive sexual harassment as a problem in the four schools? How do they articulate the discourse? What are the different ways in which boys sexually harass girls? To what extent do factors such as race, class and (dis)ability affect the nature of sexual harassment and the differential power relations inherent in them. What is the relationship between hegemonic masculinity and sexual harassment?

1.2 What are the effects of sexual harassment on girls' schooling?

To what extent does sexual harassment prevent girls from participating fully in all aspects of their schooling? In what ways does it inhibit girls from fully participating in their schooling? How do the girls respond to this? What survival strategies do the girls resort to or devise? In what ways do the girls resist?

1.3 What are the school policies and procedures in dealing with sexual harassment?

What is the gender regime of the school? Is sexual harassment dealt with adequately at each of the four schools in the case study? Does the school have a sexual harassment policy? How is the policy formally implemented? How can the findings of the research be used in making recommendations for strategies to educators and learners?

2. An Analysis of the Gender Regimes of the Schools

An analysis of the school profiles presented in Chapter Three reveals that in all four schools gender relations are arranged in ways that distribute gender power. They are structured along gender lines as there are many practices and structures that maintain a gender regime. While the schools are not producing these regimes in a direct, deterministic way, the way in which the schools are structured and managed is constructed in a masculinist way. This trend is evident in the leadership structures, sports programmes, uniforms and school rules.

While all schools had an almost equal mix of male and female educators, there is an asymmetric nature of gendered power relations. All the principals and the majority of the members of management were males. This confirms the assertion made earlier by Blackmore and Kenway (1993) that the administration and management of schools is a masculinist enterprise, which is different from teaching as a feminine enterprise. When it is predominantly men who manage the schools and women work in them, the message that is presented to the learners before they even open their books is that men are in positions of power and authority and women are subordinates. This militates against a culture of collective, shared learning both at the level of the teaching staff and in the classroom.

There is a distinct sexual division of labour among the learners and staff based on hegemonic notions of masculinities and femininities. This is evident as soon as one enters the schools. In all the schools tea is made and served to the educators by a female worker and males do the gardening. Another example that shows hegemonic gender patterns and how they are interwoven with race and class to shape girls' experiences differently, is that the girls at Sobantu Secondary have to sweep the classrooms every day. The three other schools employ cleaners for this purpose. In an attempt to cut down on the running costs of the school, the management at Sobantu Secondary taps into traditional notions of femininity and assigns chores to learners based on their sex.

There is also a definite gender dimension in the requirement that all the girls in these four schools wear dresses emphasising a traditional feminine image. The boys wear pants, shirts and ties as part of their school uniform emphasising a very traditional masculinist image. While this is a requirement in all four schools, there is a greater emphasis at Alexandra Secondary on the school uniform being worn correctly at all times because the learners are representatives of the school. School uniform is an emblem of class and the school invests much time in maintaining this emblem of separateness (Hayward, 1995). During my visits to Alexandra Secondary, I observed that educators spent much time and energy ensuring that learners were in proper school uniform.

The attitude that the schools displayed towards sport indicates the schools' gender regime and how it is intersected by race and class issues. Truscott's (1994) argument that most black schools do not have sports facilities holds true for Sobantu Secondary. Esther Payne Smith had sporting facilities but these are no longer accessible to the learners because the area is cordoned off for security reasons. Of all four schools, Sobantu Secondary has the smallest playing area for learners. However, the gender regime of the schools becomes apparent by comparing the size of the boys' play area

compared to the girls' play area. In all four schools, the play area for boys is much bigger than that for girls. The attitude towards sport, and particularly traditional masculine soccer and rugby at Alexandra Secondary and Eastwood Secondary illustrates these schools' gender regimes. In both these schools girls are expected to turn up to watch the boys play and cheer them on. Boys were not expected to do the same for girls for sporting events such as netball. This trend is also shown by the greater coverage that boys' sporting accomplishment received in newsletters and brochures (refer to photographs in Appendix E: 7). Embedded in each of these schools are images and values that exclude or under value girls. By placing more emphasis on boys' sport in Alexandra and Eastwood Secondary Schools a very active gender process is taking place.

There was also a racial bias in the appointment of educators at the schools. Even though Alexandra, Eastwood and Esther Payne Smith Secondary have mostly black learners, there are only two black educators appointed at Alexandra and none at the other two schools. There is also an almost complete silence from authority on violence or issues of gender equity or relationships between boys and girls. Educators say very little to boys and girls about acceptable behaviour and there are few public messages within the school that focus on these aspects. Despite the high levels of violence and gender-based violence at the schools, the schools have made no attempt to initiate or implement programmes on violence and safety in general. The schools do not initiate activities on special days such as National Women's Day or Human Rights Day. There is no emphasis in any of the schools on whole-staff training nor regular discussions on building positive strategies to deal with problems that are being encountered at the school.

All four schools claim to be promoting respect and understanding of each other. However the ethos in all four schools does not encourage attitudes and values conducive to the reduction of prejudice and promotion of social justice, respect and co-operation. Very little is being done in practice by the schools to promote values of

non-racism and non-sexism. Ironically, at a time of much pedagogical rhetoric about learner–centred teaching approaches, there appears to be little movement within schools to design whole school programmes of effective sex education that start with the learners' experiences and needs. Educators have therefore neglected to address many of the issues most central to the pupils' concerns such as their safety and boy-girl relationships. In fact, three out of the four schools are still administering corporal punishment even though it is banned in terms of Section 10 of the South African School's Act. It can therefore be concluded that these schools are not doing enough towards realising the vision of non-discrimination, tolerance and equality that is espoused in our Bill of Rights and Constitution.

From the discussions above, it is evident that the schools are typically structured in hierarchical ways making the execution of harassing behaviour possible. The schools bestow authority and power on management and educators while the learners have very little. All four schools have a masculinist culture where educators and school management tap into dominant discourses of masculinity which justify as normal the denigratory treatment of girls and boys who don't fit in with the dominant notions of masculinity. The power relations inherent in the schools are gendered and therefore the schools are complicit in producing the inequalities in gender and power relationships that underpin sexual harassment. There are also certain practices in schools such as the use of corporal punishment that foster a climate of violence. The lack of parental supervision and family involvement in all the schools except Alexandra is a factor contributing to violence in schools (Price and Everett, 1997). However, research has also shown that if the internal culture of the school is one that producing a nurturing, positive and supportive environment promoting co-operative behaviour, this ethic of care and justice causes the levels of violence to decrease. This is possible even if schools are located in violent communities. Therefore, to deal effectively with sexual harassment, these schools need to aim at transformation of the broader school culture and adopt a holistic approach that takes into account both the roles of boys and girls. It must be emphasised though that while schools are

responsible for producing and perpetuating inequality, they also have the capacity for being forces of emancipation (Morrell, 1998a).

3. What is the nature of sexual harassment in secondary schools?

3.1 Defining sexual harassment

During my initial visits to the schools, there was a wall of silence surrounding the subject by both the girls and school administrators. I thought that there might be a reluctance to talk about the problem. However what I found through my investigations was that the silence was due to the 'invisibility' of the problem and the behaviour being considered 'normal'. There was an eagerness to assist me with my research but the perception by both the learners and management was that sexual harassment was not a problem at their school.

The girls kept journals that were designed to be a record of incidents they considered to be sexual harassment. They were asked to document the behaviour of boys that had some sexual connotation to it and made them feel uncomfortable. They didn't necessarily have to have an understanding of sexual harassment to do this. The incidents they recorded could be what they have been subjected to or have witnessed at school. This observation process was conducted for a month. After a week had passed, I scheduled another meeting with them to give them an opportunity to share with each other, their experiences. A few of the girls shared their entries with the group. Several hadn't recorded anything after a week.

What emerged was that they found the task of recording harassing incidents to be very difficult because they didn't have a specific definition to guide them. Many girls seemed anxious and confused because they had problems determining which

behaviours made them feel uncomfortable. They also had a problem articulating what they experienced. Many of the girls were clearer about what to do after these group sessions.

This was the first opportunity they had to talk about sexual harassment. One girl wrote:

> I don't have anything to report, but I think that is because I'm not sure if what I write is correct or not. If I write about some of the silly things that boys do, it is going to fill up the whole book. So I didn't write anything.

Her uncertainty prevented her from making any entries. What she wrote also reveals how she dismisses and trivialises the routine behaviour of the boys. While this was the case with the majority of the twenty girls who kept journals, some were quite clear about what to write and had made many entries in their journals. It was through the sharing of these entries that the other reinterpreted incidents they hadn't formerly considered. There were many exclamations such as: 'Oh, is *that* sexual harassment?'; 'I didn't know that was sexual harassment or I would have included it in my journal'; ' That happened to me too'; 'But that happens to me all the time. That can't be sexual harassment'. For many girls the testimony of other girls led them to recall certain behaviours that, until that point, they had not identified as harassment. One girl was so taken aback at the revelation that she put her hand over her mouth and said, 'Oh my God, it is been happening to us all the while and we didn't even know it.'

During the initial discussions, I began introducing terms to the girls to label certain types of harassment that they discussed by saying things such as, 'that is a good example of verbal harassment'. I was hoping that they would pick up on some of the terminology in the sexual harassment discourse in their subsequent entries and in the group interviews. I did not describe to them what the different types of sexual harassment are and provided labels only after they described it:

Marcia: Sexual harassment doesn't only mean like someone touches you where you don't want to be touched, it can also be someone saying things to you that you don't like.

Bunny: Saying what kinds of things?

Marcia: Like saying things that make you feel uncomfortable and embarrassed.

(Long silence)

Bunny: So from what you are saying Marcia, besides the physical forms of sexual harassment that Yolisa spoke about, there is also a verbal form. We will come back to discuss this in greater detail later on. But, I want to know from the others, besides the physical and verbal forms of sexual harassment, do you think there are other types of sexual harassment?

It is the girls' sharing experiences with each other that is key to framing and shaping their understanding of what is sexually harassing behaviour and raising their consciousness of it. It is this very process of sharing experience that leads to recognition and the terms with which they understand them are not fixed. Experience is not something language reflects. Language offers a range of ways of interpreting the lives of girls, which imply different versions of experience. In the process of interacting with each other, the girls give meaning to things that they experience. Yet is possible to change the meaning of experience by bringing a different set of assumptions to bear on it. Whenever they looked to me for acknowledgement of whether a particular type of behaviour was sexually harassing or not, I turned the discussion back to them or used probing questions to illicit a further response from them:

Marcia: What if you like a boy, and he behaves in a way toward you that is sexual? Is that sexual harassment?

Bunny: I am not saying that it is sexual harassment or not. What do you think?

Marcia: I think that if you like the boy then it is not sexual harassment but I'm not too sure.

Bunny: Let's look at the following example: If a boy that you like comes over to you and pinches your bottom, are you going to feel good or bad about that? (Long silence)

Marcia: I won't make a big deal about it. But I won't feel bad.

Bunny: A boy that you don't like does the same. Will you feel bad about that?

Marcia: Yes I will.

Bunny: What about the rest of you?

Nokuthula: I will feel bad even if I like the boy.

Bunny: Now we see that Marcia feels good and Nokuthula feels bad about the same type of behaviour. So then, how do we decide if it is sexually harassing behaviour if two people view the same behaviour differently?

These initial feedback meetings were designed to make sure that the girls captured accurately what they were experiencing in school so that I could include more relevant questions in the questionnaire and group interviews. These were conducted after I had administered the questionnaires. This was a month after the girls had recorded their journal entries and I had a clearer perspective of what they experienced.

The nature of the entries changed significantly after the feedback sessions. Clearly, for some, it was not a new phenomenon. It was only after they had begun to focus on it and label it that they tended to notice it more. Some of the girls began using the terminology that I had used during our previous discussions and were now distinguishing among the different types of sexual harassment such as verbal, visual and physical. There was also a significant increase in the reporting of the more subtle forms of harassment. This is a journal entry for one of the girls who didn't have anything to say in the first couple of weeks:

> This boy calls me quite often and breathes heavily on the phone.... I've been ignoring it for weeks. I laughed and put the phone down. I now know that it is sexual harassment, the verbal kind, and swear at him. I don't think it is funny anymore. I mean I used to laugh, but that didn't mean I like it. I just thought this is what boys do. But, I'm seeing it different now.

Many of the girls confided in their journals that while they didn't like what was happening to them, they responded in ways that were in sharp contrast to these feelings, by either not showing their anger, or 'laughing it off'. However, the pent-up anger and frustration showed up in the journal entries and in the subsequent group sessions. Keeping a journal helped the girls to think and reflect without any fear of the backlash they commonly experience from boys, other girls and educators. In the journal entries, not only were they beginning to record present incidents, but they also recalled incidents from the past. Many expressed the anger that they felt. Perhaps the anger had been suppressed or perhaps it was only after they had realised that this was harassing behaviour that they felt anger. Suppression of anger can produce feelings of frustration and helplessness. Expressing this anger was a healing process for many of the girls and keeping the journal was almost therapeutic. One of the entries reads:

> Whenever, I look at him he moves his tongue from side to side. I always looked away, but I should have slapped him. I just wish I slapped the bastard hard. This is meant for the researcher (please forgive me for writing such a vulgar thing, but I'm so cross and this is how I feel. You said we must also write what we feel and so I feel like hitting and swearing. I won't actually do it but I feel better by just writing it down).

The final phase of data collection involved conducting group interviews with 10 to 12 girls from each school, including all the girls who kept journals. Initially, at the group interview, it was the girls who kept the journals who were more eager to talk than the others. Having focused on the problem for an entire month, being able to label their

experiences and having had the opportunity to share their experiences at the feedback sessions made them become more perceptive, have greater insight and be more articulate than the others who were talking about sexual harassment for the first time. They used the group interviews to show off their newly acquired insights and were at times a little over exuberant. When a participant asked, apprehensively, about whether what she had experienced was sexual harassment, one of girls who kept the journal retorted, rather abruptly:

> Of course, that is sexual harassment. Aren't you listening to what we are saying? That is physical sexual harassment.

I intervened immediately and shared with the girls how important it was not to ridicule anyone making disclosures even when they didn't agree with what is being said. However, once the process began, and once they had acquired some of the discourse, there was an outpouring of episodes from girls who initially believed that they were never sexually harassed. The telling of one incident triggered the memory of another. Some of those who were aware that they were harassed were a little apprehensive about sharing their experiences with the others for fear of being ridiculed. When they began to discover that others had similar experiences they began opening up. As they shared similar stories, they began to identify as harassment the behaviour they had been previously unable to separate from their ordinary interactions with males. This was the response from one of the girls:

> He's my own brother and he behaves that way. I didn't realise that even my own brother can sexually harass me. I thought because he's my brother I have to put up with him. But, then, he's not the only one. Even my cousins (implying male cousins) behave like that. This means I've been sexually harassed for as long as I know them.

Despite the pervasiveness of sexual harassment and how negatively it impacted on the lives of the girls, the group interview was the first place where they spoke about it openly. It was when they became equipped with a language that was rooted in their own experiences that they could speak about the harassment in their lives. Most of the girls who were silent and reluctant to talk eventually spoke up when they heard accounts of what had happened to other girls.

As has been mentioned already, when I first began the study, most of the girls said that sexual harassment was not a problem at the school. However, the boys did behave in a way that made many of them uncomfortable. This is illustrated in the Figure 3 below:

Figure 3: School x Male pupils behave in a way that makes girls uncomfortable (Expressed as percentages)
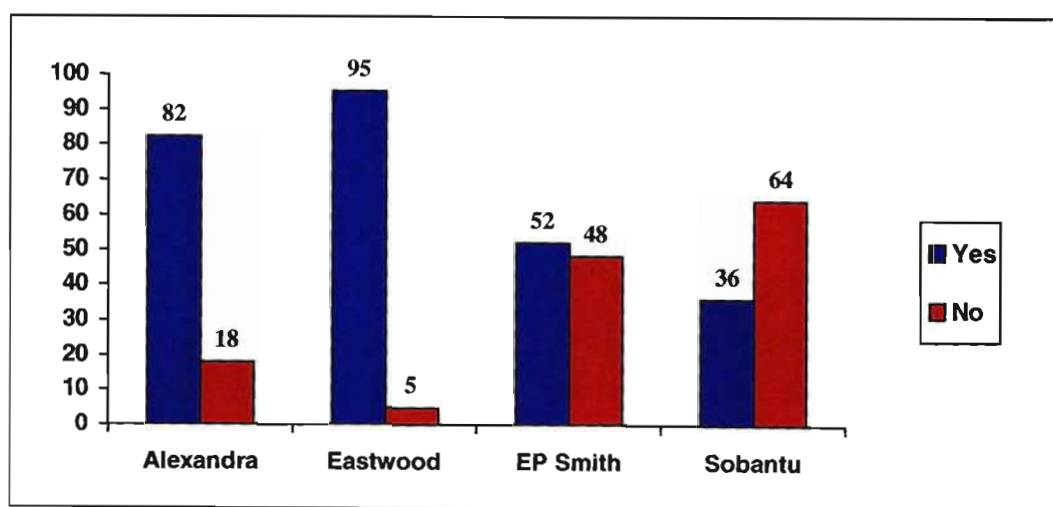
It is evident from the table that with the exception of the girls from Sobantu, the majority of the girls feel uncomfortable about the way in which boys behaved. However, does this mean that the girls from Sobantu do not experience sexual

harassment? In fact, as the data reveal, even though they do not feel uncomfortable about the boys sexually harassing behaviour, it is more prevalent at their school than at any other school, as the results show in Table 5. This time, instead of asking them about their comfort levels with sexually harrassing behaviour, I put to them a series of behaviours, varying in severity, type and context, and asked them whether they experienced these behaviours.

Table 4: Girls' responses to whether they experience the following behaviours

Behaviour		Yes	No	Total
Say things that mock females	Count	95	17	112
	%	85%	15%	100%
Called you or anyone else a bitch	Count	88	24	112
	%	79%	21%	100%
Pat/pinch any part of your body	Count	77	35	112
	%	69%	31%	100%
Making jokes about females that are sexual	Count	71	41	112
	%	63%	37%	100%
Teasing you or anyone else about some aspect of your body	Count	66	45	111
	%	59%	41%	100%
Talk about sex in a way that makes you feel uncomfortable	Count	55	56	111
	%	50%	50%	100%
Touched you or anyone else in places you don't want to be touched	Count	49	62	111
	%	44%	56%	100%
Constantly brush against you	Count	48	64	112
	%	43%	57%	100%
Called you or anyone else a lesbian	Count	44	67	111
	%	40%	60%	100%
Male pupil continuously touches you while talking to you	Count	44	67	111
	%	40%	60%	100%
Males pupil shows you a photograph of a naked woman	Count	43	68	111
	%	39%	61%	100%
Demanding sex in exchange for a favour	Count	19	92	111
	%	17%	83%	100%
Male teacher asks you for a date several times	Count	12	99	111
	%	11%	89%	100%

What the figures reveal in Table 4 is that up to 85 per cent of the girls in the study experience verbal sexual harassment and up to 69 per cent experience physical forms

of sexual harassment by the time they are 16 years of age. An analysis of the data in the table above reveals that four of the five behaviours with the highest frequencies, ranging from 50 per cent to 85 per cent, can be classed as verbal harassment and physical harassment has the fifth highest frequency. Thus, one can conclude that verbal and physical forms of sexual harassment are prevalent at all four schools in the study. Table 5 gives a breakdown of percentage of positive responses for each school.

Table 5: Schoolgirls' responses to whether girls experience the following behaviours (breakdown of percentage of positive responses for each school).

Behaviour	Alexandr	Eastwood	EP Smith	Sobantu
Say things that mock females	88%	90%	80%	76%
Called you or anyone else a bitch	84%	75%	80%	65%
Pat/pinch any part of your body	62%	80%	64%	82%
Making jokes about females that are sexual	66%	80%	60%	41%
Teasing you or anyone else about some aspect of your body	57%	60%	64%	59%
Talk about sex in a way that makes you feel uncomfortable	43%	45%	64%	53%
Touched you or anyone else in places you don't want to be touched	40%	50%	56%	65%
Constantly brush against you	34%	55%	32%	71%
Called you or anyone else a lesbian	42%	10%	44%	63%
Male pupil continuously touches you while talking to you	31%	70%	24%	53%
Male pupil shows you a photograph of a naked woman	27%	40%	56%	47%
Demanding sex for a favour	10%	10%	32%	24%
Male teacher asks you for a date several times	4%	15%	8%	29%

The girls from Sobantu reported the highest incidence of physical harassment, 82 per cent. Yet, when asked if boys behaved in a way that made them feel uncomfortable, the response in Figure 3 is only 36 per cent for Sobantu. The girls from EPS reported

an 80 per cent incidence rate for one type of verbal harassment. Yet, in Table 3 only 48 per cent said that the boys' behaviour made them uncomfortable. The same does not hold true for the girls from Eastwood and Alexandra where their levels of discomfit match very closely with the sexual harassment incidence rates. Asking subjects directly whether they have been sexually harassed, or whether the behaviour makes them uncomfortable, introduces error into the procedure. This is because the girls have been socialised to accept many forms of sexual exploitation under the guise of jokes and compliments, thus reducing their rate of response. The likely result is lowering the true incidence rates. Listing the various sexually harassing behaviours and asking subjects if they have experienced these behaviours gives a truer reflection of the extent and nature of the harassment.

3.2   The invisibility of sexual harassment

The analysis of Figure 3 illustrates that while the girls may experience these sexually harassing behaviours, most tend to be dismissive of the behaviour and not recognise it as unusual, as is evident with the girls from Sobantu. What is also very significant in comparing the data in Figure 3 and Table 5 is that the biggest discrepancy between the incidence rates of sexually harassing behaviour and comfort levels of girls is with the girls from Sobantu, who are black learners. This leads one to question if girls from the different race groups have different perceptions of sexual harassment and experience harassment differently. A comparison of the responses of girls from different race groups from the four different schools was done to answer this. According to the results of the Fisher's Exact Tests that were performed, none of the cross tabulations is statistically significant (Sig. = 1.00, 0.45 and 1.00, respectively). In other words, the race groups within a particular school do not experience the harassment by male pupils differently. This is according to the statistical analysis done on the quantitative data.

Why is it that despite this high prevalence rate of sexual harassment at Sobantu Secondary, the girls do not perceive it perceive it to be a problem? To answer this question, one has to look at not only the racial dynamics at Sobantu Secondary but also the class and gender dynamics. While the girls in all four schools experienced sexual harassment, there were different constructions of femininities and masculinities, which were gendered, racialised and classed and complexly connected to shape the girls' experiences differently. The girls at Sobantu Secondary were positioned differently compared to girls from the other schools due to a combination of factors. Firstly, the research has revealed that while all schools had a masculinist culture, both learners, educators, and the school management at Sobantu Secondary used more traditional discourses of femininity and masculinity. This was evident in the fact that the girls were responsible for sweeping the classrooms. Secondly, the analysis of black working-class girls presented by Epstein et al (2001) is pertinent here. The girls' personal histories, their experience of widespread sexual assault, and the patriarchal gender regimes they inhabited at home, at school and in their communities, made it less possible for them to use their knowledge in emancipatory ways and to develop gender identities that enlarge the scope for choice and transformation of their lives. All these result in the girls having a narrower range of discourses available to them within which the construction of femininity takes place. This does not mean that it is not possible for them to resist. However, their gendered subjectivities are limited and stereotypical and unlikely to challenge the patriarchal gender order because they will encounter difficulties in going against the grain.

The following excerpt on sexual harassment illustrates of this:

> It is happening in the streets where we live, in school... it is even going to happen when we go out to work. We are girls; there is nothing we can do.

Thirdly, the girls also said that they viewed the behaviour as normal because it happened so often, that they had come to accept it as natural part of life. They thought it was just boys being boys. Even if girls found some of the harassment bothersome, the tendency to dismiss it seemed to express the girls' tacit approval that a certain

amount of sexual taunting was an inevitable consequence of being female. The girls experienced and responded to sexual harassment depending on the ways of understanding to which they had access. This was influenced by their self-image, conceptions of femininity and masculinity, and their social context and class. The girls' perception of male behaviour was informed by the predominant interpretations prevalent within their social context.

Fourthly, and the most significant reason for the findings presented in Table 5 is the distinct history of Sobantu Village. The social and economic exclusion and political turmoil that the community experienced as described in the gender and community profiles in chapter three, served to undermine working-class black masculinity. Thus, in a community where opportunities for the assertion of masculine power was limited, there was an upsurge and a normalisation of violent behaviour (Campbell, 1992). This trend was evident in the findings presented above and it demonstrates that when gender intersects with race and class, it can produce worse treatment for black working-class girls.

It is evident in the quantitative data collected that even though the girls had difficulty in recognising this degrading behaviour and describing it, this should not be mistaken for its non-existence. Whether they thought they are being sexually harassed or not was contingent on the extent to which they viewed boys' sexually harassing behaviour as normal. The initial group discussions at all the schools, with learners and with educators, revealed that sexual harassment at their school was not considered a problem. Yet, what the quantitative data revealed was that sexual harassment was being experienced at all these schools. This behaviour must be regarded as a problem regardless of whether the recipient labels it problematic or not. Marcia below captured this very eloquently:

> Nokuthula: I think that sexual harassment does exist. Sometimes one male harasses another male; sometimes one female harasses another female. In

most cases, it works like, you know a secretary, her boss sometimes asks for something else. Some people don't mind and some people do mind.

Bunny: you mention a very important point and that is that some people mind and some people don't mind. Now, if there were a whole lot of things that go on at this school that people don't mind, would that be sexual harassment?

(Silence)

Bunny: Maybe I need to explain what I mean. Let's assume that boys continually pinch your bottom, and wink at you, and show you photographs of naked women and say things to offend you. If you don't mind then does that mean that this behaviour is not sexual harassment?

Marcia: It is. But some girls think it is and some girls think it is not. What they think is important but I think that even if they think it is not sexual harassment, it does not mean that it isn't.

The research methods were experienced selectively by participants based on the girls' racial background and class. Many of the black learners, who were part of the study, spoke English as a second language. The girls from Sobantu Secondary struggled to complete some of the open-ended questions in the questionnaires and were not used to filling in questionnaires. This is the reason for the girls from Sobantu Secondary not featuring in Table 7. However, they were very comfortable when being interviewed. I did not rely exclusively on one method and contrasting one method such as questionnaires with another such as interviews enabled me to produce a full and balanced study.

3.3   Broadening the definition of sexual harassment

As the girls acquired the appropriate language they learned to articulate and give meaning to their experiences. Thus, when girls took time to remember, discuss and analyse their experiences, a remarkable pattern emerged. Those who came to these

discussions thinking that they had never been sexually harassed rediscovered during the discussions, or sometimes after them, buried memories of repeated sexual harassment or confusing encounters. This process of sharing experiences with other girls led to the understanding that the terms in which they understood things were not fixed. Language offers a range of ways of interpreting different experiences. In the process of interacting with the world the girls gave meaning to things by learning the linguistic process of thoughts and speech, drawing on the ways of understanding to which they had access. Yet, it was possible for the girls to transform the meaning of their experiences by bringing a different set of assumptions to bear on it. As they came into contact with alternative and conflicting discourses, offering new subjective positions, some of them changed and some of them were reaffirmed in what was already familiar, resisted change and identified their interests in what they knew and felt. While they grew up articulating and being articulated by certain discourses, some of them found places to resist and to construct alternate discourses in which to rearticulate their subjectivities.

In order to understand how the girls broadened the range of what they considered to be sexually harassing, it is necessary to look at what how they had defined sexual harassment. Thus, this next section is concerned with the respondents' perception about what constitutes sexual harassment. One way in which this was assessed was to ask the participants for a definition of sexual harassment, not to determine the incidence rates but to understand how they articulated the discourse. Various responses were obtained, which I have coded according to the four categories in Table 6.

Table 6: Examples of definitions of sexual harassment

Category	Examples
Verbal only	• I think sexual harassment is when a boy asks you to have sex with him even if you don`t know him. • It is when you feel embarrassed about what other people say about your sexuality.
Physical only	• Doing something physically to a girl which she doesn`t feel comfortable with. • Touching, fiddling with people's private parts without their permission. • When someone forces you to have sex or beats you if you don`t want to.
Verbal & physical	• Anyone who speaks to you or touches you in an alarming way; this can include sexual gestures. • When someone makes one feel uncomfortable with touches - places which should not be touched – or say things that hurt the person. • When a male touches you in a way you don`t like or if he says sexual things to make you feel uncomfortable.
Broadly defined	• It is when somebody whether it be male or female goes against your wishes concerning sexuality. • A guy doing anything to a girl that she doesn`t want him to do with sexual connotations. • I am not sure but I think it is when males treat females in a very bad way.

The distribution of responses (per school) for these four categories appears in Table 7.[14]

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[14] Sobantu is not included because most learners did not complete this question. All of the girls were second language learners and experienced problems in interpreting some of the questions.

Table 7: School x Definitions of sexual harassment (column percentages)

Definition of sexual harassment	School						Total	
	Alexandra		Eastwood		EP Smith			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Verbal	1	2%	0	0%	1	5%	2	2%
Physical	17	35%	12	63%	11	52%	40	46%
Verbal and physical	22	46%	3	16%	4	19%	29	33%
Broadly defined	8	17%	4	21%	5	24%	17	19%
Total	48	100%	19	100%	21	100%	88	100%

As can be seen in Table 7, only 2 (2 per cent) of the definitions included the verbal component of sexual harassment, almost half (46 per cent) of the 88 definitions highlighted only the physical aspects of sexual harassment. One-third (33 per cent) stressed both physical and verbal components. There was a tendency to assume that verbal harassment was less serious than physical harassment. In many instances, all three types could get played out in a single sexually harassing incident. Or, the harassing could begin verbally and visually and then progress to a physical level. Table 4 shows that verbal taunting was the most frequent way the learners were harassed although physical and visual harassment were also common.

The respondents' perception about what constitutes sexual harassment was further assessed by asking them to indicate for each of the 21 behaviours whether it could be seen as an instance of such harassment. The responses are shown in Table 8.

Table 8: Behaviours seen to be sexually harassing (row percentages)

Behaviour		Yes	No	Total
Male pupil demanding sex in for a favour	Count	96	15	111
	%	86%	14%	100%
Your boyfriend forces you to have sex	Count	94	15	109
	%	86%	14%	100%
A boy that you go out with for the first time forces you to have sex	Count	94	15	109
	%	86%	14%	100%
Rape	Count	91	18	109
	%	83%	17%	100%
A male pupil in your class deliberately lifts Dress	Count	90	19	109
	%	83%	17%	100%
A male pupil that you don't like pinches Bottom	Count	88	21	109
	%	81%	19%	100%
Having any part of your body patted and pinched by a male	Count	84	28	112
	%	75%	25%	100%
Male pupil continuously touches you while talking to you	Count	80	32	112
	%	71%	29%	100%
A male pupil jokes that girls are not good in the classroom but are good in the bedroom	Count	80	29	109
	%	73%	27%	100%
Male pupil talks about sex in a way that Makes you feel uncomfortable	Count	76	35	111
	%	68%	32%	100%
A male pupil that you have been admiring some time pinches your bottom	Count	71	38	109
	%	65%	35%	100%
Males at school constantly brush against you	Count	70	42	112
	%	63%	38%	100%
Male pupil teasing you or anyone else about some aspect of your body	Count	66	44	110
	%	60%	40%	100%
A male pupil calls you a lesbian or a Bitch	Count	60	52	112
	%	54%	46%	100%
A male pupil stares at you in a way that makes you feel uncomfortable	Count	60	49	109
	%	55%	45%	100%
Male pupil shows you a photograph of a naked Woman	Count	54	57	111
	%	49%	51%	100%
Male teacher asks you for a date several times	Count	54	56	110
	%	49%	51%	100%
A female pupil calls you a lesbian or a Bitch	Count	49	63	112
	%	44%	56%	100%
Female pupil teasing you or anyone else about some aspect of your body	Count	45	64	109
	%	41%	59%	100%
Boys whistling at girls	Count	39	70	109
	%	36%	64%	100%
Boys admiring girl's legs	Count	29	79	108
	%	27%	73%	100%

Here again, a similar pattern emerged. An inspection of Table 8 showed that more coercive behaviours such as rape and fondling were more likely to be seen as instances of sexual harassment, than the more subtle forms such as whistling or teasing/mocking. Whether they liked the perpetrator or not also played a role. There are more girls (88 per cent) who viewed a boy that they did not like pinching their bottom as sexual harassment than a boy that they liked doing the same thing (65 per cent). Girls found it difficult to disentangle harassing incidents from what they have come to accept as ordinary male-female interactions. Behaviours such as boys whistling at girls and admiring their legs is seen as so much part of how boys relate to girls that some of the girls thought this was flirting and not sexual abuse. They decided that if they did not want the attention and it made them feel bad then it was sexual harassment and if it the attention made them feel good, it was not sexual harassment.

The difficulty in pinning down particular actions and labelling them as sexual harassment resulted in girls becoming confused with what was genuine and wanted sexual attention and what was unwanted sexual attention. While the definition of sexual harassment was unclear, gaps occurred through which the sexually harassing behaviour might pass unnoticed. The following excerpt shows how girls were unsure about sexual harassment because they did not know how to define it:

> Bunny: Let's look at some other issues. What is emerging here is somewhat different from your responses in the questionnaires. I picked up that many of you did not view the more subtle forms of behaviour that we discussed earlier as sexual harassment. Let's take an example. Many of the girls responded that boys constantly brushing against you is not sexual harassment.
>
> Marcia: But that is sexual harassment because that is not what you want.
>
> Bunny: That is significant Marcia. How does that relate to what we said earlier about sexual harassment?

Yentle: What some girls don't want may be different from what other girls don't want. We know that sexual harassment exists out there, but it is very difficult to define. This is why we are so unsure.

Since the girls were having difficulty in naming and labelling sexually harassing behaviour, they were unable to express their feelings about the problem adequately. Not being able to communicate the existence of such problems prevented girls from sharing the experience with others, forcing then into an isolated, vulnerable and thus silent position. Trivialisation, incorrect naming and different perceptions resulted in silence and suppression. When girls went through a process of acquiring the discourse of sexually harassing behaviour, their range of how it should be defined was broadened. The following is an excerpt from a group discussion with the girls. The three participants in this discussion were part of the group that kept journals. What is evident is the confidence and ease with which they talked about sexual harassment. Yet, at the beginning of the study, Marcia and Yolisa were very confused and had confessed to me that they fabricated incidents in their journal entries:

Yolisa: I think that sexual harassment is like sexual abuse, because someone is touching your body where you don't want to be touched. It can be abuse by your boyfriend; it can be abuse by other boys in the school. It happens everywhere, not only in schools.

Bunny: OK, thanks for that. So, from what you are saying, sexual harassment and sexual abuse have some link, it can be done by both strangers and someone whom you are actually very close to and it is something that is very pervasive in society. What do the others think?

Marcia: Sexual harassment doesn't only mean like someone touches you where you don't want to be touched, it can also be someone saying things to you that you don't like.

Bunny: Saying what kinds of things?

Marcia: Like saying things that make you feel uncomfortable and embarrassed.

Bunny: So from what you are saying, Marcia, besides the physical forms of sexual harassment that Yolisa spoke about, there is also a verbal form. We will come back to discuss this in greater detail later on. But, I want to know from the others, besides the physical and verbal forms of sexual harassment, do you think there are other types of sexual harassment.

(Long silence)

Bunny: Let's consider a case where someone shows you something, like for example a photograph of a naked women, would you consider that sexual harassment?

(Several voices in the group say yes)

Yolisa: If a man calls you to his house and shows you a picture of a naked woman, it is sexual harassment, because you never asked for that and you did not go there to see the picture. Some girls are too young to see that but he is showing it to you to satisfy him.

Nokuthula: I think that if someone makes eyes at you and his eyes follow you, then that is sexual harassment.

Bunny: What is emerging is that we started out with the initial definition of sexual harassment being physical. We then added that it can be verbal and now there is another dimension of it being visual. What is also emerging is that some of you are including examples that indicate that sexual harassment can include behaviour that is subtle, if we consider Nokuthula's example, to more severe forms of sexual abuse which Yolisa mentioned.

There are several issues in the excerpt that I would like to comment on: Yolisa made the connection between sexual harassment and other forms of sexual violence; they were able to identify the different forms of harassing behaviour; and Nokhutula was able to identify a subtle form of visual harassment. What was also significant was the role of the researcher in directing the discussion, assisting the girls with the labelling,

using the words and experiences of the girls and helping them to articulate what they have experienced.

Naming actions means that harassing behaviour can be identified. Acquiring appropriate discourse helps inform girls about the nature of sexual harassment. It is also empowering because language can make forms of behaviours visible, particularly so in the case of sexual harassment because verbal harassment is one of the ways in which this problem manifests itself. By the end of the process of collecting data the girls were fairly fluent in labelling certain behaviours as sexually harassing, distinguishing between subtle and covert forms and identifying the different forms of behaviour compared with their inability to do so at the beginning of the study. Their range of sexually harassing behaviour had been` also very narrow. While they were familiar with the term, they disregarded all the subtle forms of sexual harassment and only included the extreme physical forms. It was through participating in the study that they changed their thinking about sexual harassment. Each encounter that they had, whether it was keeping journals, the feedback sessions or the group interviews, broadened the range of what they considered to be sexually harassing. The 'opening up' didn't come very easily though, and was part of a long process outlined earlier. It was only after taking the girls through a particular research process that one was able to get an accurate reflection of what was going on at their school.

The prerequisite for any discussion about, or action around, sexual harassment is that girls should recognise its existence. Girls were really 'breaking the silence' when they began to speak to each other about what they had experienced. Naming provided women with words and a form of analysis. Names contain within them a definition of experience as social and shared, thus challenging the previous construction of sexual harassment as private and personal. This process has served to dispel the myth that sexual harassment is rare, and only committed by a few aberrant males. In the process of naming and documenting girls' experiences, one becomes aware of how the 'common sense' ideas did not reflect the girls' experiences, but rather a male- centred

one. Females have had little opportunity to create descriptions for themselves and when they do, they will find that the descriptions does not fit in with the male-defined way of looking at the world.

3.4 Sexual harassment viewed as a 'natural' display of males' sexual behaviour

One of the recurring themes in the group interviews is that sexual harassment is viewed as 'normal' behaviour. Many girls' notions of sexual harassment was informed by the predominant notions of masculinity among the males, in which aggression towards females is central and therefore sexual harassment is sexually oriented and a natural display of males' sexual behaviour. One learner explained it this way:

Bunny:	Do you think it is something that can be controlled?
Nokhutula.	Yes.
Yolisa:	I think boys can't control their urges.

Another said:

Lindiwe:	If I tell my teacher like for example someone was looking at me and I'm feeling uncomfortable. She would say, 'nonsense, man, he's doesn't mean any harm, he's just fooling around with you. Being a boy.'
Claire:	Sometimes we are unsure ourselves about whether it is sexual harassment or not, so we don't know how to react.

The incidents above raise several important issues. Firstly, the staff was largely unsupportive and saw the boy's behaviour as a 'natural' expression of adolescent

youth. Secondly, the boy had apparently learned that one of the ways of asserting his power was to sexually harass Lindiwe. The way in which the issue was handled can be interpreted that it was not important enough to warrant any action against the boy. The boy was also given the license to act with impunity and so he would continue to behave this way. It is unlikely that this was his first transgression but because of the silence that surrounded these incidents, it was unlikely that this would be his last because he was probably never openly confronted. Although he was aware that this was inappropriate behaviour he would continue to try the same approach with other girls. Thirdly, Claire's comment about their "not being sure" was going to made them ignore the behaviour even though it makes them uncomfortable. So the girls pretended to dismiss, and tolerate, the harassing incidents while at the same time struggling with feelings of humiliation, anger and terror that arose from these events. The harassment got worse when they reported it, especially if it was not treated seriously and nothing was done about it. The resistance to abuse will be met with further abuse. Lastly, there was the issue of perception. Even though Claire considered the boys' behaviour humiliating and degrading, her reactions contrasted with that of the perpetrator and educator who treated it as a joke. Without any external validation from those who observed this type of behaviour in the school, the girls were confused about their response and thought they might be overreacting. Girls who were treated as if they were overreacting when reporting sexual harassment are more likely to learn that to have faith in their own perceptions is dangerous. Because of this influence, they are encouraged, albeit tacitly, to perceive sexual harassment as 'normal' and 'typical' male behaviour and, as such, unremarkable.

Furthermore, what constitutes sexual harassment and how it is interpreted, becomes a matter of deciding which perspective is taken into account. If sexual harassment is considered as 'normal' behaviour, then it is seen to reflect the feminine and masculine divide of gender roles. If it is seen as 'aberrant', then it is seen as a product of socially constructed behaviour of young South African males. The following Table 9 gives us more insight into what the girls think about males' sexual behaviour. They were asked

to express their agreement or disagreement with three statements on the sexual urges of boys and girls, and one statement on the equality of the sexes.

Table 9: Sexual urges and equality of the sexes (column percentages)

Statement		School								Total	
		Alexandra		Eastwood		EP Smith		Sobantu			
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Boys' need to have sex is greater than that of girls	Yes	34	68%	9	45%	16	64%	3	20%	62	56%
	No	16	32%	11	55%	9	36%	12	80%	48	44%
	Total	50	100%	20	100%	25	100%	15	100%	110	100%
Boys can control their sexual urges	Yes	11	23%	7	35%	13	52%	10	63%	41	38%
	No	36	77%	13	65%	12	48%	6	37%	67	62%
	Total	47	100%	20	100%	25	100%	16	100%	108	100%
Girls can control their sexual urges	Yes	45	90%	18	90%	24	96%	12	86%	99	91%
	No	5	10%	2	10%	1	4%	2	14%	10	9%
	Total	50	100%	20	100%	25	100%	14	100%	109	100%
Males and females should be treated equally in society	Yes	48	98%	20	100%	23	92%	13	87%	104	95%
	No	1	2%	0	0%	2	8%	2	13%	5	5%
	Total	49	100%	20	100%	25	100%	15	100%	109	100%

The complexities and contradictions expressed with regard to their sexuality are evident in their views about boys' and girls' need for sex. The data reveals that 56 per cent of the girls think that boys' need to have sex is greater than that of girls. Only 38 per cent believed that boys could control their sexual urges as opposed to 91 per cent saying that girls can control their sexual urges. An overwhelming 95 per cent believe that males and females should be treated equally. The discourse that emerges is positioned within the context of boys in the heterosex. Central to this discourse is the notion that there is a greater need for males to have sex than females and it is ultimately a biological urge outside of their control. The problem with this discourse is that as long as girls see the sexually harassing behaviour of boys as being a natural urge and not socially constructed, they are going to accept it as 'part of life' and something that cannot change. Such a perspective then would lead to girls being

blamed for having 'caused' or 'aroused' males' sexual responses. Gailen's comments reflects this view:

> Gailen: Some girls encourage it
>
> Bunny: What do you mean?
>
> Gailen: OK, some girls are to blame because of the way they carry on. There are some girls who deliberately were their uniforms short. They are encouraging the boys to sexually harass them.
>
> Bunny: I would like to point out to you that what I'm picking up here is that some of the girls are being blamed for the boys sexually harassing them. Aren't you now holding these girls responsible for the boys' behaviour?
>
> (Silence)
>
> Yolisa: Girls tell the other girls look at the short dress that the girl is wearing and they also tell the boys. The boys then tease the girls. I avoid walking past certain areas because I want to avoid passing the boys. But still a boy came over to me and touched my private part. I wasn't even wearing a short dress. I have a boyfriend in school, so I know how to control myself. When I see a group of boys I don't pass them because I know what is going to happen

Gailen's comments allude to a code of behaviour for girls which, if they follow, it will spare them from sexual harassment. Anyone who steps out of it deserves abuse. If you behave in a certain way, the boys will respect you and not harass you. If you show negligence you 'have asked for it'. Because of the way in which society depicts women and men, women who are sexually attacked are the 'provocateur' and men who are the assailants are viewed as having 'normal' urges. This fits in with the dominant discourses of female sexuality, which define it as naturally passive. The conclusions drawn from such assumptions include the belief that girls who are not sexually passive' ask for it'. If girls dress in an inviting way then it is a provocation to male sexuality. This is socially constructed as an ever-present, powerful thrust of sexual drives which females must hold in check by not being provocative. Yolisa' s

comment about 'I wasn't even wearing a short dress' is part of this discourse where females accept and adopt the male standpoint. She thinks that because she avoided certain areas and did not wear a short dress, she did not deserve to be sexually harassed, implying that other girls who do this bring it upon themselves. Irrespective of the nature of the assault, be it indecent touching or 'rape', responsibility is transferred to the victim and often rests on the girls' previous reputation. A girls' innocence is diminished if it can be shown that she was dressed inappropriately or her behaviour was provocative. All these factors help to remove from males full responsibility for their actions, transferring blame to females.

Girls have no way of describing their experiences except to use the dominant male perspective since the language they have at their disposal does not take into account their experiences and their perspectives. Therefore, they will blame girls for provoking harassing behaviour rather than blame the boys. This is not uncommon, for women are rewarded for agreeing with the dominant male perspective, even at the expense of their autonomy. Having these attributes will ensure that woman will continue to enjoy male protection, as long as she agrees not to challenge the dominant male perspective.

3.5 Homophobia as a type of verbal and sexual harassment

A significant issue that emerged in the data is the use of homophobic abuse to force boys and girls to assume rigidly defined gender roles. The threat of being labelled gay or lesbian, and the fear that this generated, served to force girls and boys into assuming their socially constructed roles:

> Renusha: I think that sometimes we give boys a taste of their own medicine. When we tease them, they make it a big issue, but when they tease us, they

think it makes them a man. So we need to feel like women and tease them back.

Bunny: You say, 'they feel like a man when they tease us'. We haven't yet spoken about why some boys behave this way. Shall we explore that?

Gailen: Some boys when they are in a group with their friends, they push each other. Like they would say, 'you're a 'moffie', you haven't got the guts to interfere with that girl'. So, some boys behave in this way, just so that their friends don't call them a 'moffie'.

Bunny: So, what I am hearing is that some boys' behave this way because this is how they define themselves as men?

Gailen: Yes, yes, they go around saying, who's a man?' (Laughter)

Ideologies of femininity and masculinity are part of the dominant discourses of female and male sexuality and help to maintain the invisibility of sexually harassing behaviour. Most boys and girls conform to the socially constructed gender roles because they will be ridiculed if they do not. Girls are labelled 'butch' and 'unfeminine' and the boys are labelled 'moffies' and 'gays'. Not only is the girls' behaviour sexualised but it is constructed with a view to keep the girls in line. For e.g., if the girls ignore the boys, they are 'frigid bitches', if they allow the boys to do anything, they are 'whores' and 'loose', if they fight back, they are 'lesbians' and 'tight-assed'.

Homophobia is thus used to ensure that both boys and girls will exhibit behaviour in keeping with the dominant notions of femininity and masculinity. The assimilation of masculine 'non-macho' behaviour to feminine behaviour is evident by the use of terms like 'wimp'. The 'macho' stereotype is often seen as the ideal for boys; when the boys fail to subscribe to this particular version of masculinity, then homophobic insults are common.

Girls said that many young males as individuals were friendly and considerate, yet they were abusive in a group with other male students. They participated in sexually harassing rituals to be part of the group. The hegemonic version of masculinity has also succeeded in prescribing a notion of masculinity that is aggressive and violent. Males will, therefore, engage in aggressive behaviour as a way of defining themselves as men, and homophobic abuse and sexual harassment are very much part of this display of aggressive behaviour.

3.6 Sexual harassment of boys

While this was not the focus of this study, it recognises that girls and other boys also sexually harass boys.

Table 10: Girls harassing boys

Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	46	55%
No	38	45%
Total	84	100%

Table 11: Boys harassing boys

Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	65	74%
No	23	26%
Total	88	100%

Table 11 shows a strong tendency for boys to tease one another (74 per cent of girls said that it is the case at their school. The teasing mostly concerns sexual attributes and sexual performances). Girls also tease boys (55 per cent of girls in Table 10 said yes) but this is less common than instances of boys teasing boys or boys teasing girls.

However, when a boy is harassed, it is not because o̟
not the sort of boy who fits in with the dominant notion
at the school. He may therefore be labelled 'queer'. Instead
gentleness and sensitivity, he is regarded as a 'wimp'. For him
is how to be a *real* man, dominant and not subordinate. For ₜ
different, they get harassed for being girls. It is that of subordination.

Boys who don't display sufficient evidence of masculinity, or those who rarely
challenge the sexist attitudes of other boys, are prime targets for bullying. Therefore,
it is doubly in their interest to adopt dominant patterns of male behaviour or at least
pretend to. The point is, though, that all boys benefit from patriarchy whether they
want it or not, because their access to educational resources are maintained this way,
whether it is more attention from the educators or more space around the school.

4. Multiple voices of girls

What the study has found is that the girls' experience of sexual harassment does not
take a common form in terms of their race, cultural background, school location or
class background. While girls from all of these contexts had common experiences,
they spoke with a multitude of voices in each of the categories such as race, class and
social location.

The girls experienced and responded to sexual harassment depending on the ways of
understanding to which they had access. Their self-image and conceptions of
femininity and masculinity, social location and class influenced this. More girls at
Sobantu than any of the other school saw males as naturally abusive or violent. This
was because of the particular way in which the sexual harassment discourse is
constructed at the school.

In order to establish whether respondents of different race groups experience the harassment by male pupils differently, it was decided to compare the responses of black and white respondents in Alexandra Secondary, those of black and coloured respondents in Eastwood Secondary, and black and Indian respondents in Esther Payne Smith Secondary. These sets of comparisons are self-evident, given the uneven distribution of race groups within each school in Table 3. Tables 12 to 14 give the results.

Table 12: Comparison for Alexandra

Race		Do some male pupils at your school behave in a way that makes you feel uncomfortable?		Total
		Yes	No	
Black	Count	15	3	18
	%	83%	17%	100%
White	Count	24	4	28
	%	86%	14%	100%
Total	Count	39	7	46
	%	85%	15%	100%

Table 13: Comparison for Eastwood Secondary

Race		Do some male pupils at your school behave in a way that makes you feel uncomfortable?		Total
		Yes	No	
Black	Count	8	1	9
	%	89%	11%	100%
Coloured	Count	11	0	11
	%	100%	0%	100%
Total	Count	19	1	20
	%	95%	5%	100%

Table 14: Comparison for Esther Payne Smith

Race		Do some male pupils at your school behave in a way that makes you feel uncomfortable?		Total
		Yes	No	
Black	Count	5	4	9
	%	56%	44%	100%
Indian	Count	7	7	14
	%	50%	50%	100%
Total	Count	12	11	23
	%	52%	48%	100%

According to the results of the Fisher's Exact Tests that were performed on Tables 12, 13 and 14, none of the cross tabulations is statistically significant (Sig. = 1.00, 0.45 and 1.00, respectively) for most of the responses. In other words, the race groups within a particular school do not experience the harassment by male pupils differently. A similar test was done with a variety of other responses, and, in each case the results are the same.

Even though the girls had many commonalities in their experiences, factors such as race, cultural background, class and social location intersect with girls' experiences of sexual harassment and how they perceive and articulate their experiences. Yentle mentioned an incident where a black boy harassed her in class and the teacher pretended that she didn't see. She said she felt terrible. I then asked if she would feel the same way if an Indian boy did that to her and here is what she said:

> Yentle: Yes, I would feel worse about a black boy doing it.
> Bunny: Why?
> Yentle: Because the others would tease me because a black boy interfered with me. They will say things like, 'Don't hang out with us because that black boy touched you.'

Bunny: So, together with sexual harassment, there is also a racial element that is emerging here. The way you perceive it is affected by what race group the male who harassed you belongs to. So, if the same behaviour is displayed by a black and an Indian male, you would view it differently?

Yentle: Yes (we did not continue with the discussion because Yentle indicated she wanted to stop, as she was uncomfortable).

What emerges here is that schools are not isolated from the dynamics of wider society and magnify the contradictions and tensions of a society so marked by inequality and oppression. Yentle's racist attitude affects the way she perceives sexually harassing behaviour from males belonging to a different race group. The excerpt below shows how individuals will use their own histories and social location to make sense of, appropriate, or reject the situation:

Nokhutula: I am very scared because I was beaten up once in the area where I live by some black boys, so I'm scared that it is going to happen here.

Bunny: So, are you scared of the boys in this school because of that.

Nokhutula: Yes

Bunny: All the boys or only the black boys.

Nokhutula. The black boys

Bunny: Now help me out here, are you saying that the black boys behave differently from the Indian boys?

Nokhutula: Yes, many of them are not disciplined and treat the female teachers with no respect. This school is for Indians its not for them.

Bunny: I need to ask something, when I came in earlier, I was told that at least 60 per cent of the children in this school are black, why do you then say that this school is for Indians when you are in the majority?

Nokhutula: We are like foreigners here, even though we are more, we have to behave and become like them, not the other way around. Like the Indian boys don't smoke dagga like the black boys.

(Loud shouts of disagreement from other Indian members of the group)

Marcia: Indian boys are just as bad (some other members of the group approve)

Yolisa: Yes, they may do it too, but the black boys are worse.

Bunny: I need to know if you think that black girls get treated differently compared to Indian girls, by the black boys

Yolisa: (and the other black girls in the group) Yes, we get treated worse. They may say bad things to the Indian girls but with us, they touch us all over and think that we belong to them. The teachers also ignore it because they say we are black girls and they think its okay.

Bunny: Do the Indian boys treat you differently compared to the way they treat the Indian girls.

Nokhutula: No, they don't harass us as much, they are scared. But the black boys harass all the girls, only with us, its worse. I wish I could change the whole thing at this school, but I can't.

Bunny: Let's explore further what stops the Indian boys from harassing the black girls but not the Indian girls.

Nokhutula: If they (Indian males) interfere with us, we tell the black boys and they fight with the Indian boys. So the Indian boys are scared to interfere with us.

Marcia: It is racial.

Bunny: what do you mean? (Silence)

Gailen: If the Indian boys interfere with the black girls, they know they will get hit by both the black boys and the black girls.

Bunny: Do the black girls agree with that?

Nokhutula. Yes, I'll hit the boys if they are Indian (laughter). But with the black boys I can't do that. If I do, they will come with their gangs and get me.

Gailen: The black girls can go to the black boys and get protection from them if the Indian boys interfere with them.

Bunny: Do the black boys feel that they can harass you but the Indian boys mustn't harass you?

(Black girls in the group nod and reply in the affirmative)

Nokhutula: They think they own us. They can harass us but no one else from another race group can.

Several issues emerge from the discussions above. Yolisa makes a comment about black girls being abused both physically and verbally by the black boys whereas the black boys only harass the Indian girls verbally. A similar pattern emerges with the Indian boys and girls. The girls' perceptions are also loaded with stereotypes, and make certain assumptions based on these stereotypes. Yolisa comes to this conclusion based on her own prejudices and stereotypes based on these prejudices. She thinks that the Indian boys don't smoke dagga, but the Indian girls in the group refute that. There was initially also this perception amongst some of the black girls that the harassing behaviour was something confined to their experiences only. Yolisa is also scared of black boys because of her previous experience. However, as an educator who taught at the school, I am aware of incidents where both black and Indian girls were beaten up by Indian boys in the area. As a result of girls not coming together to share their experiences, they think that their experience is unique to them or to their particular race group.

Boys from the both these race groups harass the Indian and black girls; yet the black girls get protection from the black boys if they get harassed. They are not protected from harassment generally, only when being harassed by the Indian boys. However, this might limit the incidence of harassing behaviour from the Indian boys, but it doesn't stop it. Similarly, even though the Indian boys, due to their racist attitudes, find the Indian girls more appealing sexually than the black girls, it does not stop them from harassing black girls. This is because sexual harassment is not a display of males' sexual behaviour, but of power and dominance. The multiple subjectivities of the black boys are also an issue that emerges. The Indian and black boys are united by

their common goal to maintain some form of power and control over the girls, but the black boys will use their racial subjectivities to unite with the black girls if the Indian boys are harassing them. Here is a good example of how boys act in a united way:

> Sam: Okay, I'm a big girl. I get told that I will be a great rugby player. We also get called 'bitch', 'caravan', and some words in Zulu.
> Bunny: Let's go to these Zulu words. Is it only the black boys who use them?
> Elaine: No, they teach the white boys these words, now they all use it.

What is interesting is how race and gender intersect in how both the girls and the educator react to sexual harassment. If an educator thinks 'it's okay' for a black girl to be sexually harassed because of the stereotype of black girls being very sexual and thus desiring sexual attention, this could increase black girls' vulnerability to sexual harassment. There is also an image of Indian boys being weak which is why Nokhutula would hit an Indian boy and not a black boy who harasses her. In her view, black boys were constructed to be particularly masculine, powerful and to assert their physical strength and prowess; Indian boys are constructed as being relatively weak in comparison. This shows how black masculinities often become constructed along lines of classical hegemonic ideals. So even when a girl resists, how she does so is not consistent but based on multiple relations with other forms of power.

Nokhutula's account of the school being for Indians even though the black learners are in a majority, is a discourse of racialised exclusion from the school. Despite being in the majority they see themselves as a minority and as being excluded. These are markers of cultural as well as racial otherness. The profile of the school shows that not much is being done to address issues of racism at the school. Despite the fact that there are mostly black learners, not a single black educator has been appointed at the school.

Besides the multiple voices that emerged, the girls also displayed contradictory subject positions:

> Bunny: Do you feel that you have the power to control whether you have sex or not?
>
> Marcia: Yes.
>
> Yolisa: I think it is harder for us black girls to say no, because the boys tell us they have to have it, it is a natural thing.
>
> Bunny: Do you think it is something that can be controlled?
>
> Nokhutula: Yes.
>
> Yolisa: I think boys can't control their urges.

Both Yolisa and Nokhutula are black girls. They speak with different voices and have different positions about whether boys can control their sexual urges. Despite Yolisa's position above, she ended up changing her mind and believing that there were possibilities for change, not only for black males but all males. Girls contradicting themselves and each other was a recurrent theme in this study. There were many other girls who also changed their positions once alternative discourses were presented to them.

If factors such as race and gender intersect with how girls perceive and experience sexual harassment, then the same arguments can be applied to girls who are disabled or who are lesbian or gay. Just as black girls are more vulnerable to harassment based on the stereotypes that people have about black girls, so too would be lesbians, gays and the disabled. I was unable to include lesbians and gays in the study because of the difficulties with identifying who is lesbian and gay and sensitivity surrounding it. However, there were several girls who had some form of disability who shared their experiences with me.

Gailen has an eye problem, which has resulted in a severe squint. She believes that the harassment she experienced is worse than that which the other girls experience. Her degradation and humiliation is more acute due to her physical disability and this has a devastating impact on her self-esteem and her academic education. Males have told her on several occasions that a good bout of sex will correct the problem. Another physically disabled black girl had similar experiences and said that boys always associate some sexual connotation with her disability. They say things such as, 'she got banged too much', 'or her boyfriend pushed it in the wrong direction'. The girls with disabilities explained to me how vulnerable they were to mostly verbal abuse and how scared they were to resist because of further abuse they might receive. They have to deal with both the sexism, racism and being discriminated against because of their disability. They experience all the negative effects of sexually harassing behaviour that the other girls do, but in a much more profound way. The same would apply to gays, and any girl who is considered to be different. Any attempts to deal with sexual harassment must take into account that gays and the disabled (as are others in minority groups) are more vulnerable. This must be taken cognisance of when dealing with sexual harassment.

We need to understand humans as 'multi-layered subjects' who are complex and who may use the power of race, gender or class to counter oppression suffered through another aspect of their being. By adding the categories of race and class to that of gender, we can begin to reveal the diversity and complexity of girls' experiences. If boys face race or class oppression, they will want to hang on to their gender privilege. Thus girls with different race subjectivities will have different experiences of sexual harassment. Black girls will have to deal with both racism and sexism. Gays and the disabled will have to add to race, class and gender discrimination they face as a result of their sexual preferences or disability. White girls may be empowered in part of their subjectivity while oppressed by another part. Empowering the girls means encouraging them to explore and analyse all of these forces that act on their lives.

5. Sexual harassment of girls by educators

Figure 4: Sexual Harassment of girls by educators
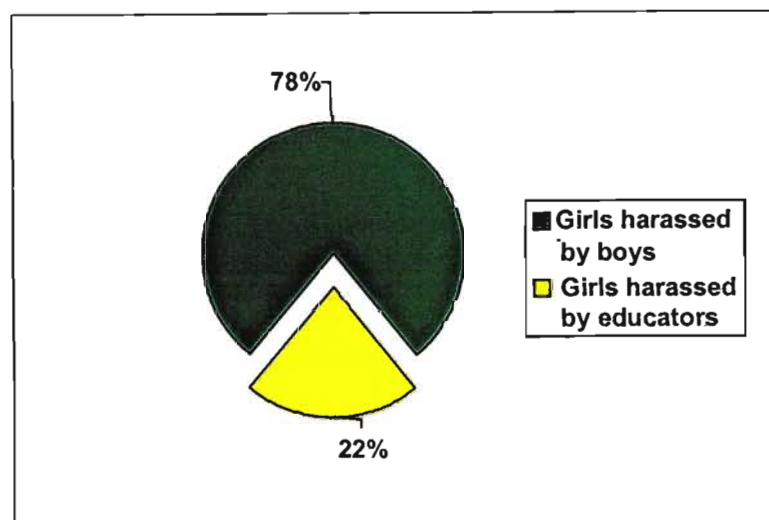
In figure 4, 78 per cent of girls said that it was the behaviour of the boys that made them uncomfortable, as compared to 22 per cent who said so that it was male educators. While the study did not specifically focus on male educators harassing girls, it acknowledges this as being a problem in schools. Some of the girls mentioned this and it was intended to include this in the investigation. However, I was aware from my preliminary investigations that many of the girls would not be willing to talk about it openly in the group interviews because they feared what the repercussions might be. This is because they were aware of how great was the power and authority held by educators. Despite the silence surrounding the problem, the harassment of girls by educators must not be underestimated. The power and authority held by educators mean that the damaging effects of their behaviour can have profound and lasting effects. Being humiliated by an educator can be devastating for young girls, far more so than being humiliated by their peers.

6.   Effects of sexual harassment on gi

The study shows that sexual harassment of girls creates a thre environment for them at school. They feel insecure and uneasy t   ..t know when a mild form of harassment could become serious and th. ~atening. It acts as a control for the girls irrespective of race or class and curtails their freedom of movement and speech. It has the effect of controlling girls by making them more subordinated, less autonomous and less capable of resisting. They then remain silent about the experience because of the negative consequences and spend much of their time being preoccupied with their physical and psychological safety. They have to develop survival strategies and be constantly alert.

How does all this affect girls' learning? Sexual harassment impacts on girls' mental health and the emotional consequences get played out in a variety of ways.

6.1   Psychological Effects

6.1.1   Name-calling

One way in which girls' self esteem is continually eroded is through the verbal put-down by boys. This emerged in the study as the most common form of sexual harassment as is reflected in Table 4.
Here's what some girls had to say:

> Yentle: When we walk past they call us names.
> Bunny: What kind of names?
> Yentle: None of the boys call me by my name, they call me 'Mental Yentle'.
> Bunny: Are there any other names?

Marcia: 'Bitches'.

Bunny: Yes?

Yolisa: They call us bitch in Zulu and they do it all the time. They say 'Isifebe'.

Bunny: Is it the Zulu-speaking boys who call you this name?

Yolisa: Yes.

Bunny: Do they call the Indian girls this name?

Group: Yes

Yolisa: If they call a girl and she doesn't come, they call her this name.

Sexual harassment by way of verbal abuse reminds girls of the difficulty of living life on their own terms. It reminds them that primarily they are defined in sexual terms. After continuous reinforcement of this name-calling, the girls begin to internalise what it means. For example, Yentle is called 'Mental Yentle' because she gets very emotional when the boys harass her. Therefore, she is regarded as being mentally unstable and 'abnormal' for not accepting the attention she gets from the boys. Verbal harassment is not just a reflection of power relations between males and females; it reconstitutes it by pressuring girls into going out with the boys as a way of seeking protection from the abuse of the rest.

6.1.2 Self-esteem

The girls' descriptions of themselves yielded 98 responses (i.e. 88 per cent of sample), that were coded in terms of either internal or external characteristics. Typical examples of internal and external characteristics are given in Table 15.

Table 15: Examples of internal and external self-descriptions

	Internal characteristics	External characteristics
Positive	Confident, self-assured, not shy	Nice body, attractive, slender
Negative	Lacking confidence, shy	Overweight, ugly, big head
Mixed	Combination of positive and negative	Combination of positive and negative

As can be seen in Table 15, both the internal and external description could be positive, negative or a mixture of both positive and negative characteristics. The actual distribution of internal and external responses among the 98 respondents (per school) appears in Table 16.

Table 16: School x Respondents' description of self (column percentages)

Description		Alexandra		Eastwood		EP Smith		Sobantu		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Internal	Positive	16	36%	6	30%	3	14%	1	25%	26	29%
	Negative	15	34%	11	55%	14	64%	3	75%	43	48%
	Mixed	13	30%	3	15%	5	22%	0	0%	21	23%
	Total	44	100%	20	100%	22	100%	4	100%	90	100%
External	Positive	18	67%	8	53%	13	72%	0	0%	39	64%
	Negative	6	22%	4	27%	4	22%	1	100%	15	25%
	Mixed	3	11%	3	20%	1	6%	0	0%	7	11%
	Total	27	100%	15	100%	18	100%	1	100%	61	100%

Of the 98 responsdents 90 (i.e. 92 per cent) involved internal characteristics and 61 (i.e. 62 per cent) external characteristics. This shows the prominence of internal self-descriptions over external descriptions, although the latter seems to be more positively stated than the former. The finding that 64 per cent of the external descriptions involved positive characteristics, compared to only 29 per cent of the internal descriptions backs this.

What these figures reveal is very significant. It means that even though girls feel more positively about their bodies, their self-image does not reflect this. The internal descriptors can be used to as proxy indicators of the girls' self esteem. If the external descriptors were as low as the internal ones, one might deduce that the negative external descriptors could influence the girls' self image. However, this is not the case, as is evident from the results. The girls from Sobantu showed very high response rates to both the internal and external descriptors. However, due to the small number that responded to this question it is not possible to make any deductions from this. Other factors, one of which is sexual harassment, are contributing to girls having a low self-esteem. Continuous sexual harassment could exacerbate the situation by further eroding their self-esteem and confidence. This compounded by the fact that they have to deal with adolescence could have devastating consequences on young girls.

The response of the girls being asked how sexual harassment affects them is given in Table 17 which gives the frequency distribution of the responses and Table 18. Sobantu is not included because most of the girls did not answer this question.

Table 17 : The effect of boys' behaviour on girls (actual accounts)

| Effect | School | | | | | | Total | |
| | Alexandra | | Eastwood | | EP Smith | | | |
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Scared/uncomfortable	9	33%	3	50%	1	11%	13	31%
Angry/disgusted	7	26%	0	0%	2	22%	9	21%
Self-conscious/ashamed	11	41%	3	50%	6	67%	20	48%
Total	27	100%	6	100%	9	100%	42	100%

Table 18: Examples of the effect of boys' behaviour on girls (actual accounts)

Category	Examples
Scared/ uncomfortable	• I don`t feel comfortable if a male teacher is talking about • I feel uncomfortable and try to stand up for the females by telling bad male joke • It makes me scared. I don`t like to walk by myself anymore when I have to, I get really scared especially if I have to walk town.
Angry/disgusted	• I feel disgusted towards the males. • Frustration, anger, hatred towards men. • I began to dislike the teacher. I never used to speak to him.
Self-conscious/ ashamed	• It makes me feel bad and embarrassed. • You think bad things about yourself, you don`t like yourself for you are and look like, you want to change your appearance. • It makes me feel ashamed of being who I am.

What is significant in the above two tables is that 67 per cent of the girls from Esther Payne Smith responded that the boys harassing behaviour made them feel self conscious about themselves and ashamed. If we go back to Table 16 we see that their response rate for negative internal self descriptors is high (64 per cent). Therefore, we can conclude that there is a connection between the boys sexually harassing behaviour, and their low self- esteem. Marcia's comments supports this:

> Bunny: How do you feel when boys treat you this way?
>
> Marcia: I feel embarrassed and ashamed.

6.1.3 Fear

Another issue that emerges in studying the responses in Table 18 is that the response rate for girls being angry/disgusted with the boys is fairly low. Only 26 per cent of the girls from Alexandra, which has the highest incidence rate, felt angry and disgusted at

the boys' behaviour. Here again, we have to take into account how they view much of this behaviour as being 'normal'.

At least half the girls in Eastwood and 31 per cent of the total number of girls, who responded, said that they were scared. For these girls, sexual harassment was a strong and persistent presence in their school lives. The overall effect was to create a threatening environment for them. This maked them feel insecure and uneasy because they did not know when a mild form of harassment could become serious and threatening. Here is what one of the girls said:

> Mandisa: The worse thing that happened to me was a boy putting his hand up my dress. What made it worse, was that a teacher was in class. I looked at her and said, aren't you going to do something? She did nothing. (Black girls relating the incident)
>
> Bunny: How does that make you feel?
>
> Juanita: I am so scared and terrified. He makes it seem as if there is nothing we can do.
>
> Bunny: Does it affect your schoolwork in any way.
>
> Juanita: It is there in the back of my mind, like a kind of worry. Especially during breaks and things, when we have to go to the tuck-shop or walk up the stairs.

The girls are told that this is nothing more than acts of harmless and 'natural' male behaviour. As a result they have developed a sense of false consciousness about what they feel. They pretend to dismiss and tolerate harassing incidents while at the same time they struggle with feelings of humiliation, anger, and terror that arise from these events. They also begin to question the validity of their feelings which conflict with what they are being told.

6.2 Physical impact

Being harassed also affects girls in physical ways. When the girls were asked how the sexually harassing behaviour affected them, 53 effects were described. These were coded into three categories and appear in Table 18 below. The percentages of these categories (total expressed out of 53; Alexandra Secondary out of 29, Eastwood Secondary out of 11, Esther Payne Smith out of 12, and Sobantu Secondary out of 1) do not add up to 100, as some responses included more than one effect.

Table 19: The effect of boys' behaviour on girls

Effect	School								Total	
	Alexandra		Eastwood		EP Smith		Sobantu			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Dress code	19	66%	8	73%	7	58%	1	100%	35	66%
Mental & emotive state	9	31%	7	64%	1	8%	0	0%	17	32%
Other	8	28%	0	0%	6	50%	0	0%	14	26%

An explanation of the categories can be found in Table 20.

Table 20: The effects boys' behaviour has on girls

Category	Examples
Dress code	• It affects the way I dress because I cannot wear short things because they will comment or mock me. • I like to wear pants because I don`t want my body being looked at as though it is only a sex symbol like some girls I know who wear only short clothes. • When I wear short skirts they say I want them to love me or I want attention towards boys.
Mental and emotive State	• Makes me feel cheap even though I have respect for myself. • It affects you in a way that you begin to feel that males have no sense of dignity nor pride that makes you feel useless. • It makes you feel weary and in a sense frightened to be around males.
Other	• To go alone to the toilet – that no good for me cause some boys goes in our toilet at school. • I do not participate in sport anymore. • It affects the way you react when you see that person.

66 per cent of the girls responded that the harassing behaviour affected their dress code. While the psychological impact is significant, the results reveal that more girls find that the harassing behaviour impacts on their dress code than on their mental and emotive state. The probable reason for this is because it is easier for girls to gauge the effects of sexual harassment on physical tangible measures such as how long or short they wear their uniforms, than on their emotional state. Therefore, one cannot conclude that one type of effect is more significant than the other. They are all inter-related. The girls' psychological thinking is going to affect how they dress, where they go to and how they perform academically. The excerpt below, further illustrates how the harassing behaviour impacts on their dressing:

Gailen: I love wearing short skirts, but I dare not at school.

Nokhothula: I cannot wear short skirts because I don't like showing my body, I am big.

Bunny: Okay, help me understand this. Do you feel there is anything wrong with your body, or do others make you think this?

Nokhothula: If I show my fat thighs to them (laughter) they will tease me.

Bunny: So you think that you are fat?

Nokhothula: Yes, but I don't have a problem with that. I would still like to wear shorts. I am only not wearing it because they will tease me.

Yolisa: I come to school wearing long uniforms.

Bunny: When you do physical education at school, do you cover up or do you wear shorts?

Renusha: I will never wear shorts in school. I wear a long track pants or tights and a long T-shirt.

Bunny: What about taking part in sports...(loud shrieks from some members in the group)

Do boys teasing you affect your participation in sport?

(Three members of the group respond yes)

Marcia: We are very self-conscious and don't want to be teased.

Bunny: What about your participation in class activities, for example giving a speech? Would the teasing make it more difficult for you?

Renusha: Yes, because when you go to the front, the boys 'eye' you and make you feel uncomfortable.

Bunny: Do you become self-conscious about your body? I remember being teased about my breasts and made sure that I was wearing a jersey, or had my hair in front to cover up. Do you resort to doing such things?

Gailen: I would definitely cover up with a jersey.

Nokhutula: I will not cover up.

Firstly, the girls dress in a way so as not to draw attention to themselves and try to cover up as much as possible when participating in sport. Gailen said that she would not wear a short skirt for fear of being ridiculed. Yet, she doesn't have a problem with being fat, but is scared of being ridiculed and humiliated. Another girl said that she dreaded passing a group of boys because they teased her about her weight. This made her feel physically sick for the rest of the day whenever such an incident took place.

She is now constantly preoccupied with her weight. Personally, like Nokhutula, she is happy with the way she is, but, since she is continually perceived to be overweight by some males, she wants to lose weight. There is a growing awareness that girls' preoccupation with their body weight starts early. However, this is not a self-induced problem but a paranoia that develops from being teased and ridiculed. Yet, researchers found that the majority of girls who worry about their weight are well within the normal range for their height. This awkwardness that they feel about their bodies also makes many of them uncomfortable when they have to appear in front of the class for presentations.

Another issue that emerges here and in many other places is the fact that the girls do not speak in one voice and also tend to contradict themselves. When Gailen spoke about covering herself with a jersey, Nokhutula had the opposite point of view and was adamant that she will not cover up when she had to appear in front for presentations. Yet, at the beginning of this excerpt, she said that she couldn't wear a short skirt because she does not want to show her legs. These contradictions reflect the different subjectivities and complexities that the girls have, and how they continually reposition themselves.

What the excerpt also contains is an example of one of my disclosures. I did this several times during the group interview sessions because this was part of breaking the silence. I wanted them to feel that they were not the only ones experiencing harassing behaviour and that it was quite acceptable to talk about it. Since this was the first time that some of them were doing this, I wanted to reassure them and put them at ease.

6.2.1 Detrimental effect on girls' physical well- being

Sexual harassment has a detrimental effect on the girls' physical well- being, besides limiting their physical movement around the school. Many would avoid areas of the

school where they were likely to be physically or verbally harassed. Corridors, staircases and the girls' toilets during the breaks were identified as sexual harassment zones that were to be avoided (see Appendix E: 9). Some girls developed deliberate alternate routes around the school to limit the possibility of harassment sometimes to the detriment of their well-being.

Gailen: We are always being teased about menstruating. They keep on saying that there are blood spots on our dresses.

Bunny: Does this embarrass you? (group-yes)

Bunny: So would you feel awkward to go to the toilet in the middle of the lesson to change.

Gailen: We don't go to the toilet.

Bunny: Let's talk about that for awhile.

Gailen: We have no privacy. They walk in and out of the toilet. (Much interruption from other members of the group, many want to talk)

Bunny: OK let's do this one at a time.

Marcia: There are no lights in the toilet.

Yolisa: The boys hang around right outside the toilet.

Gailen: When you go in, they follow. I'm too scared to even take someone with me during lessons. It makes no difference even if many girls go, because there is always a big group of boys

Bunny: So what do you do, if you have to use the toilets?

Marcia. We just don't go. We wait until we go home.

Bunny: Is this just you, or do the others do this as well?

(Most of the girls nod their heads)

Bunny: But, how do you survive, why don't you do something about it?

Marcia: There is nothing we can do, the school is doing nothing about it.

Bunny: What do the boys do?

Gailen. They right in and push us against the wall and even try to kiss us.

Yolisa: But some girls encourage it. Because they bunk their lesson and this is where they meet the boys.

Marcia: But that doesn't mean that it is okay for them to harass us.

Renusha: We actually get messed sometimes when we are menstruating and some of us get bladder infections from not going to the toilet.

Bunny: Does this happen occasionally or is this a recurring problem?

Gailen: It happens all the time. The toilet is like a meeting place for boys and girls. We have absolutely no privacy.

Bunny: Does this include boys and girls from all race groups?

Group: Yes

Gailen: We also have no privacy in class because our bags get searched by the boys for tampons and pads. Once a boy found a pad and taped it onto a girl's back. She didn't know and walked around like that for quite some time. The worse thing is that some girls in the class encouraged the boy to do that. The girl was so embarrassed and ended up getting a bad name.

Bunny: So despite not having done anything wrong, she gets a bad name?

Gailen: Yes. So we actually scared to bringing pads and things to school. We can only change when we go home and that is why many girls end up getting messed. When we go to the secretary for a pad, we get scolded.

I think that of all the things the girls told me, this was *the* most revealing disclosure for various reasons. Firstly, from what the girls described, they could not even perform their basic bodily functions without having to worry about if they were going to be safe. Secondly, the poor management of some of the schools has profound effects on the girls. It is the school's responsibility to make sure that toilets are well lit, that there is always toilet paper available, and that girls can have access to sanitary pads at school. The school administrators need to be in touch with some of the difficulties that the girls are experiencing so that they can provide support and assistance. Not having an understanding results in girls being reprimanded for leaving the school premises to use toilets outside the school, or being scolded for not carrying

sanitary pads. It is the schools' responsibility to create a safe environment for all the learners. Thirdly, all this has serious implications for the girls' physical safety and well being. Some girls said that they didn't drink fluid the entire time they were at school so that they didn't have to visit the toilets, hence the bladder infections. Each of those who is affected deals with the problem privately and is too ashamed to speak about how it impacts on their lives. They are made to feel so ashamed, by both the learners and staff, when their dresses get soiled during menstruation and yet it is not their fault. The girls are even ashamed about bringing pads to school for fear of being ridiculed.

All of this confirms the 'normality' and 'invisibility' with which the sexually harassing behaviour is viewed, and how the girls view this as something they just have to contend with because they are females. The boys violate the girls' privacy by invading the toilets and also by searching their personal belongings (see Appendix E: 10.) Yet their behaviour is not challenged as being deviant. Instead, the girl in whose bag they found the pad gets a bad name.

All of the above will no doubt impact in some way on the girls' academic performance. From the group interviews, the following were the either the most common responses, or ones worthy of mention: girls in all the schools spoke about how they limited their discussions in class to avoid drawing attention to themselves; I was told of girls who left school because they could not deal with the harassment or were humiliated to such an extent that they could not return; boys continually disrupted the lesson and their presentations; educators used a disproportionate amount of time disciplining the boys; the girls missed out on lessons because they bunked school on the days that they menstruated or when they had to appear in front of the class for a presentation; those girls who excelled were teased and ridiculed.

When compared to the results of studies on sexual harassment in other high schools conducted in South Africa (Wolpe et al, 1997; Vally, 1998; Mukasa, 1999; and

Human Right's Watch, 2001) these responses are typical. The most common reaction to sexual harassment was fear; not wanting to participate in class; being distracted; wanting to skip lessons and, in severe cases, wanting to change schools or leave school altogether.

These classroom incidents together with other harassing incidents that the girls' experiences within school create a debilitating learning environment for thems. Many said that they would be able to improve their results if there was no sexual harassment in school. However, this needs to be treated with caution, because there are other factors which cause girls to under-perform, such as boys getting more attention and encouragement from the educators.

However, these are not the experiences of *all* the girls. Some form of harassment affected an overwhelming majority of the girls. Table 4 shows that up to 85 per cent of the girls experienced verbal harassment, up to 69 per cent experience physical harassment. What is significant is that even when the girls said that the harassing behaviour is 'a fact of life' and that they can deal with it, they tend to underestimate the negative impact it has on them because they have learned to adapt along the way by devising a variety of self-protective strategies. The avoidance strategies developed by these learners as they attempt to manoeuvre their way through a hostile learning environment have negative implications for their education. The practices of avoiding corridors, staircases, toilets, skipping classes and keeping quiet, offered them some protection from harassment, but also makes school an unwelcome, menacing place. They are struggling to deal with a problem that is not being acknowledged by those entrusted with their education, and they have to fend off these threats on their own.

7.   How girls deal with sexual harassment

7.1   What survival strategies do girls resort to or devise?

With the exception of Sobantu Secondary, which took action if boys were responsible for sexually harassing girls, the girls from the other schools felt unprotected by the school authorities. According to the school principal at Sobantu, if a girl complained that a boy was sexually harassing her, the boy would initially get a warning and/or punishment such as picking up litter. If the allegation was of a more serious nature then he would be suspended or expelled. However, to date no boy had been expelled. This did not mean that the boys at Sobantu did not display sexually harassing behaviour. There was greater tendency for the girls there to view it as normal behaviour and hence they did not report the more subtle forms of harassment to the school authorities. However, the girls from Sobantu were the only ones who felt that the school intervened on their behalf when they encountered problems of sexual harassment. In the other schools, the school authorities were dismissive and, therefore, the girls were forced to deal with the problem themselves. The following are some of the strategies the girls used.

7.1.1   Silence

Besides using silence as a survival strategy the girls were also silent because of a variety of other reasons. Silence is chosen as a viable option because their past experiences have been denied or trivialised and they have witnessed others receiving disbelief, hostility and blame for disclosure. Both these treatments warn girls to keep silent. Those girls who were outspoken were labelled 'being full of themselves' or 'liking to draw attention to themselves'.

Gailen: I think that when you report it to the teachers, they don't take it seriously. They make it seem that you are making up this whole thing. For them sexual harassment is like when someone rapes you. They think you are drawing attention to yourself.

Here is an excerpt, which includes other reasons why girls are silent:

Suzy: The girls like, if something happens, they don't want to talk about it. I don't know why. They don't tell the teachers about it.

Bunny: Do you regard it as a personal, private problem that you have to deal with on your own? Is this why you are silent about it?

Daniel: No, I don't think so, because, people try to blame you for the problem when you go to them. They try to cover up what has happened.

Bunny: I think it is important that you are talking about it now.

Daniel: I think that they don't talk because if they say the 'boys fondled me in the bathroom', they will get a bad name.

Bunny: Now that is interesting, the boys do the fondling but the girl gets the bad name?

Suzy: You get the bad name and you might feel like maybe it is me. Is my skirt too short?

Bunny: That is also very interesting. The girls are looking at themselves to see what they have done wrong rather than holding the boys responsible for their behaviour.

There are also many overt and covert ways of deflecting responsibility for males' behaviour on to females. Understanding this helped the girls explain why they often blame themselves for being harassed by boys. 'Victim blame' usually contains a variable combination of essentialist ideas about male sexuality (that males have uncontrollable urges) and the assigning to women of responsibility for setting limits

on boys behaviour. Girls are aware of the many ways in which they can be deemed to be 'asking for it'.

An analysis of the episode demonstrates how the following two factors maintain the silence: the fear of guilt and the fear of losing one's reputation. Girls remain silent because they believe that in some way they have provoked the harassment by wearing inappropriate clothes, or being in the wrong place. Girls assimilate all these justifications for men's behaviour and they will continue to feel guilty and blame themselves for incidents of sexual harassment. The interpretation of these behaviours is clearly influenced by the way society 'normally' interprets such cases. Daniel argued that a girl who was fondled got a 'bad name' because the implication was that she was 'loose' and allowed the boys to have their own way. Therefore, she had no right to protection or to claim sexual harassment. The boys' behaviour was acceptable because it is 'normal' for them to behave that way. The incidents are, therefore, trivialised.

Girls are also very fearful of their reputations. The boys have the power to spread rumours about their sexual promiscuity and this has devastating effects on the girls. When a girl is sexually harassed, it is her part in the incident that gets questioned and her character is scrutinised. The infringement on the part of the male is largely regarded as 'normal' behaviour and cleared by his peers. It is the individual girl's job to protect her own reputation; the others would not do it for her.

Therefore, the girls' choice to remain silent is a viable option. One girl said that she did not want to be silent, but had no choice:

> Juanita: The girls are not silencing themselves. The school is silencing them by not giving them a hearing.

The group interviews were, in a way, 'breaking the silence'. The problem was no longer seen as a private/individual one, but, through interacting with each other, they realised that this had happened to many girls. The girls also came to the realisation that the harassing behaviour is not normal, rather, it is a wider social problem. Keeping incidents of sexual harassment hidden and silent is to tacitly accept that nothing can be done. Challenging the normality of the attacks, sharing the experiences, discussing who was really to blame, and for each girl to reach an understanding that she was not responsible, was to break down the silence and suppression which controlled and isolated the girls, hid the practices and normalised the behaviour.

> Nokhutula: I am very scared because I was beaten up once in the area where I live by some black boys, so I'm scared that it is going to happen here.
> Bunny: So, are you scared of the boys in this school because of that.
> Nokhutula: Yes

What was also revealed in the group interviews is that while girls may not like the sexually harassing behaviour of boys, they were scared to 'fight back' because of the resultant backlash. Girls didn't respond directly to the harassment as they felt that the abuse would worsen if they did.

> Nokhutula: We are also scared of reporting it because the boys can get us after school.

Anyone who confronted the boys had to brace himself or herself for further harassment, which was more severe than what they had initially experienced. As a result, those girls who did speak out often felt isolated because the others were too intimidated to offer their support. Some of the backlash was quite demeaning because the boys tried to annihilate the girls by making disparaging comments about their looks and their bodies. Others feared similar attacks. Those who reported the incidents

to the school authorities were not only subjected to further harassment but also labelled as being 'sell-outs'. The girls, therefore, do not have very many options available.

7.1.2 Colluding with boys

Even though sexual harassment is detrimental to females, they perpetuate this type of behaviour by colluding with the boys. Not only do girls collude with boys, but also girls themselves are responsible for some severe forms of harassment. What emerged in the group discussions was that even though male-female harassment was far more common, females being harassed by females was very prevalent and sometimes vicious.

> Renusha: They call some girls 'dingbat'
>
> Bunny: What does that mean?
>
> Renusha: Dingbat is like when a girl pretends to like a boy and she doesn't really like the boy. Like she's a tease.   Girls also call each other by this name. The boys encourage the girls to tease each other.
>
> Bunny: And do the girls do what the boys ask them to do.
>
> Group: Yes
>
> Yolisa: The boys are not the only ones encouraging the girls, some girls also encourage other girls to call each other names.
>
> Sunisha: Some girls actually go up to the boys and give them information about the girls. The boys then use this against the girls and give them a bad name.
>
> Bunny: So their behaviour is just as bad and hurtful as some boys' behaviour?
>
> Group: Yes.
>
> Gailen: Sometimes even worse.
>
> Bunny: So do you think that the girls are mimicking what the boys do?

Gailen: Not necessarily. Some girls can be even meaner than the boys.

Yolisa: Ma'am, there are some girls, who if they don't like you, go up to the boys and tell them to call us a lollipop in Zulu. It means that you have a funny shaped body, big on the top, with thin legs.

What is clear from this excerpt is that girls are willing to police each other with the same tools that the boys use to oppress them. Some girls assist the boys in harassing the girls by giving them information that the boys could use against them. When girls take on servicing roles then harmony prevails, but as soon as they challenge, then there is a problem. One could view this as a strategy some girls adopt in return for protection and less harassing behaviour from boys. It is also common for girls to call each other 'bitches' and 'whores' thus colluding with their own sexual regulation. Just as boys regulate the behaviour of non-conforming girls so, too, some girls. They can be as vicious as the boys in meting out punishment to girls who don't conform, through criticism, ostracism and contempt. Gailen thinks that sometimes it is worse.

Some girls choose the dominant social construction of femininity as a form of protection, and behave in ways that please men, or which at least do not challenge them. Girls who opt for this survival strategy may see girls who choose to resist and challenge the constraints of femininity as the ones who 'ask for it'. In fact, neither route protects girls from sexual harassment, nor from being held responsible for men's behaviour.

Another reason why girls collude is that the 'normal' point of view makes sense of men's experiences and their interests, yet claims to represent the female perspective as well. Because it is the standard way of seeing the world, women are forced to accept this view too. So women have to fit into a model that does not take the female perspective into account. It is this way of constructing meaning that causes girls to say that they 'were forced to make love' when it is actually rape. Let's look at what the girls say:

Nokhutula: With black boys, if we go out and he pays for everything, he expects to have sex. If we don't give it, he says we don't love him and even beats us to make love to him.

Bunny: Are you talking about boyfriends here?

Nokhutula: Yes.

Bunny: How do you feel about that? Do you accept it?

Nokhutula: No I don't want to. But if I don't give in, I am going to be lonely.

Bunny: Why do you say that he 'forced you to make love'? It is not possible to force someone to make love. If you don't want to do it it is rape.

Nokhutula: I don't believe that it is rape.

Bunny: Why not?

Nokhutula: Because he's my boyfriend, he loves me.

Bunny: Husbands and boyfriends can also rape. Rape is when someone has sex with you without your consent. Whether they love you or not has nothing to do with it.........(Silence). Are we feeling awkward to talk about this?

Marcia: Well no. It is just that with Indian boys, they try their luck to have sex, but don't force us. Actually, we can say no we don't want to so they have to listen.

Nokhutula was quite taken aback when I told her that being 'forced to make love' was actually rape. I regretted having made this intervention because it exposed the nature of a particular person's relationship in the presence of others. While Nokhutula made public that she is sexually active, being told that what she experienced as 'love making' was rape, and expecting her to deal with this in the presence of other girls was unfair. I did talk to her at length afterwards to make sure that was able to deal with this information.

What is evident in the discussion above is that girls live under the threat of coerced sex with a boyfriend which they do not define as rape. Having a boyfriend meant

either having sex with him or losing him. What investment does a person make to take up one position as opposed to another? Nokhutula doesn't want to be lonely so she 'gives in' and does whatever her boyfriend wants her to do. Some girls invest heavily in particular forms of femininity and destabilising it can be disruptive to them emotionally and psychologically. Subjectivity is more readily recognisable and acceptable when the subject position offered is compatible with a number of dominant and powerful discourses which carry with them social approval.

When Nokhutula's says that her boyfriend expects sex, she is subscribing to the notion of male sexual entitlement which features strongly in the dominant social constructions of black masculinities in South Africa (Wood and Jewkes, 2001). She also does not feel free to forego her relationship with her boyfriend even though he beats her. What is her investment in taking up this position? Part of her investment is in her own identity. Her boyfriend is necessary because loneliness is understood within the discourse of being attached to someone from the opposite sex. Having a boy to keep her from being lonely is a key defining feature of Nokhutula's femininity. In order to feel herself as gender-appropriate she feels driven to be in a couple relationship with a boy. This need to be with someone revealed her to be passive and having constructed her identity according to the male sexual drive discourse in heterosexual sex. Her sexuality and gender were reproduced in the practices, which were a product of male sexual drive. The take-up of a position as object in the discourse of male sexual drive, motivated by the interest in being attractive, constructs the practice of heterosexual sex.

In describing their experiences, the some of girls tend to position themselves as powerless victims, while the boys are presented as the perpetrators of violence. This position confirms dominant discourses that identify a general acceptance and normalisation of violence in black communities. This example also shows how girls from different race groups and cultures use their own social location to make sense of their experiences. The girls are not simply victims. There are complexities and

contradictions with which they express their sexuality. While Nokhutula uses aspects of the discourse of violence, she does not approve of what her boyfriend does thereby refusing the identity ascribed to her. However, her capacity to act as she would like to, is constrained by the gender identity and regime she inhabits.

7.1.3 Avoidance Strategies and Expressions of Resistance

What possibilities of resistance do young women have to the dominant images of femininity and how might resistance be strengthened through the introduction of alternative subject positions? Some girls avoid harassment by deliberately not entering the public space in which they become vulnerable, or by entering it on male terms. There are others who refuse either of these options and choose to resist. Confrontation is only for the select few who can stand up to the boys. Considering that the situations can be very hostile, silence then would be a reasonable strategy for the girls' safety. Most of the girls have evolved a system of avoidance as a form of protection. Here are some examples of this:

> Marcia: We have to avoid the tuck-shop area, and the stairs, certain parts of the corridor. When we walk past they call us names......

As is evident, some areas are clearly out of bounds for these girls. They then end up having less space to manoeuvre in.

> Gailen: I love wearing short skirts, but I dare not at school.
> Nokhothula: I cannot wear short skirts because I don't like showing my body, I am big.
> Bunny: Okay, help me understand this. Do you feel there is anything wrong with your body, or do others make you think this?
> Nokhothula: If I show my fat thighs to them (laughter) they will tease me.....

Renusha: I will never wear shorts in school. I wear a long track pants or tights and a long T-shirt.

The strategies of regulating what they wear, avoiding certain areas and participating less actively in class were practical ways to avoid being harassed, but not very empowering.

While girls are considered to be passive recipients of abuse, much of what is labelled passive is actually a means that girls adopt to protect themselves from further abuse. Nokhutula is scared that the boys will 'get her' after school. This should not be construed as a passive acceptance of the abuse. Rather, these strategies are carefully crafted responses designed to reduce the impending threat of physical violence.

Another significant point is that the girl who is on the receiving end, will usually be on her own because her classmates are too scared to back her up. Therefore, the girls are prevented from acting collectively. However, girls also tried to get back at the boys and tried to embarrass or humiliate them. What this study has found is that when it was safe to do so, or when the girls were very angry, they objected to being harassed as is evident from the following journal entry:

Early this morning when I was standing in the car park, I saw this boy standing with a stick in his hand. I was walking with another girl. This boy lifted up her dress with the stick with the intention of showing her panty. This girl started running but the boy ran after her. The girl got angry and gave the boy one clout out of anger. I think the boy was very embarrassed.

Something happened to these girls as a result of their involvement in the study. Their voices became stronger and more determined as they shared common experiences and gained a better understanding of the problem. During the course of the study they became more determined to take action. Here is the response of one of the girls:

Juanita: I will make sure that I am going to be heard. I feel more confident now that I know that so many of us have the same problem. I thought I was the only one being harassed. We are stronger in a group....

Elaine: I am not the one with the problem, it is him. I am going to the principal if it happens again and tell him to take a step in the right direction. If he doesn't know I will show him.

8. Single-sex schools?

The Report of the Gender Equity Task Team (1997) makes recommendations for single sex schools to be provided. The girls in this study were vehemently opposed to this notion of single sex schools as this did not equip them to deal with the real world and merely postponed their interaction with boys.

Figure 6: Do girls prefer a mixed sex school or not?
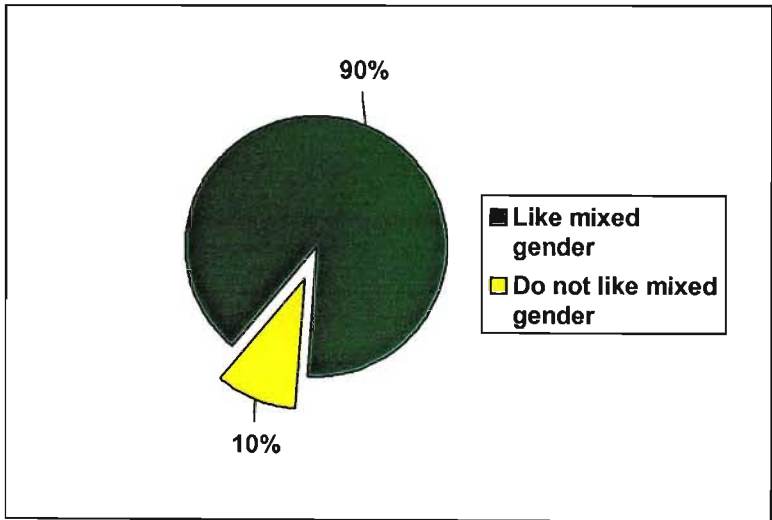
Despite their claims of being teased and harassed by boys, the overwhelming majority of respondents (90 per cent of 111 - Figure 6) said they liked being in a school that included both boys and girls. They were adamant that not all boys behaved badly and that it was possible to have relationships with boys who were sensitive, caring and respectful towards them. Here's what some had to say:

> Bunny: Let's see what the others think, there are thirteen of you. How many of you will cover up? (5 put up their hands) And the rest of you feel OK? (They nod and some say yes). There's something that I would like to ask you. How many of you would like to go to an all-girl school? (No response) Would you prefer Esther Payne Smith being an all-girl school? (Only two girls put up their hands, the rest say no quite emphatically). Tell my why?
>
> Gailen: Because even though some of the boys give us a hard time, it is not all of them. There are some who are very nice to us and we get along very well. We do have some good times too.
>
> Bunny: So the rest of you feel that despite whatever we have discussed there are more factors that would keep you here than make you want to go to an all-girl school. Do you like boys being at the school? (Most members of the group respond yes) Okay, let's discuss what it is about them that you do like?
>
> Yolisa: I like most boys. There are some that tease you but there are some who are very nice (group laughs). If there were no boys in the class, then it would be very boring. There are boys who can be very loving.
>
> Bunny: Okay, so help me out here, these boys whom we had spoken about earlier, are they in the minority?
>
> Group: (a few voices in the group) Yes.
>
> Bunny: What do the others think?
>
> Nokhutula: I love being around boys because some of them are very kind. I'd rather be with a group of boys who are kind than with a group of girls.
>
> Bunny: There are certain classes at this school that are all girl classes. How do you feel about all girl classes in a co-ed school?

Several members of the group responds: 'No, we don't like it.'

Nokhutula: You can't always judge a book by its cover. Sometimes the boys can be very nice.

Their responses to these questions raised many issues. When girls said they liked to be with boys, they meant those boys who interact with them in isolation from the "group of boys". Not only were boys on their own seen as much better, they were also regarded as more authentic. The implication was that boys' bad behaviour was not an expression of aggressive impulses, but derived from weaknesses and anxieties. This contradicts what some of them said earlier about males having uncontrollable sexual desires. When they spoke of some boys being 'loving', they were also deconstructing popular forms of masculinity and indicating alternative empathetic non-competitive masculine identities even though these only could be lived by boys in isolation from other boys. Constructing boys as being susceptible to peer pressure was a common way in which the girls positioned themselves as being more mature than boys.

A key issue that is raised in this excerpt is the girls' rather emphatic response to an all- girl school. Despite the evidence that the girls presented about how some boys sexually harassed them and the detrimental effects this behaviour had on them, most of them still wanted to be in a co-educational school. The research on single-sex schools for girls reviewed earlier suggests that girls perform better and are more successful in these schools. However, the girls' response that they did not prefer a single-sex school raises issues such as who should make the decision that it is better for them. Should educationists make this determination or should the girls decide what they prefer? Who defines what is 'success' and how is it defined? Have the girls developed a false consciousness that leads them to believe that they want to be in a co-educational school despite the harassment? Do they know what is best for them? I think they do. Their academic performance might improve at an all girl school, but is this at the expense of other aspects of the girls' development? The girls' seem to think so and we need to listen to their voices. Despite the harassing behaviour of boys, the

girls do have meaningful relationships with some of them, including those who harass them (see Appendix E: 11).

If the constitution of femininity and masculinity is not fixed or appropriated but struggled over in a complex relational dynamic as the study proposes, then identity and gender construction stand in a dynamic relationship to one another. Rather than separating boys from girls, it is better to work on offering both boys and girls alternative subject positions from which they might position themselves differently. A critical awareness of the social construction of femininity and masculinity is an essential first step for change in gender relations. Spaces in the classroom need to be explored for such reconstruction.

9. School policies and procedures in dealing with sexual harassment

With the exception of Sobantu, what the girls have to say below epitomises how sexual harassment is dealt with in schools.

> Bunny: What do you think can be done about the situation?
> Gailen: Nothing.
> Bunny: Do the others agree?
> Group: Yes.
> Bunny: Why?
> Marcia: We have complained so many times, but nothing has been done. Eventually the problem becomes worse because we're on our own.
> Bunny: Do you feel this is your individual problem, or does the school need to address it?
> Renusha: We feel like it is our own problem, but it shouldn't be that way. The teachers don't care enough to do something about it. If their children were at this school, then maybe they would have reacted.

Of the four schools, none had a sexual harassment policy, while two of the four schools included something on sexual harassment in their code of conduct for learners. Only one school, Sobantu, took responsibility to deal with sexual harassment, confronted the harasser directly, and implemented school rules that limited harassing behaviour. While this minimised extreme forms of sexual harassment, this did not decrease other forms of sexually harassing incidents such as fondling and teasing. Still, the girls at Sobantu were all united in their belief that they felt protected at their school for two reasons. Firstly, dealing with sexual harassment was the responsibility of the school administrators and not theirs. Secondly, if the girls reported anything to the school administrators, action was taken against offenders. The boys knew it too. They stopped the extreme forms of sexual harassment that were easily recognised as unacceptable behaviour, but continued with what was normalised. The subtle forms of harassment continued because of this stance. The other schools either ignored the problem or/and dealt with it in a very haphazard way. They rarely challenged the behaviour and when they did, they actually exacerbated the problem by confronting the males and then leaving the female to deal with them afterwards on their own.

Actions at school level have also shown a lack of coherence partly because of a tendency to see sexual harassment and violence, in general, as different and unrelated phenomena. Furthermore, bullying and violence at school has, increasingly, been dealt with through individualistic psychological approaches, which completely neglect the social and gendered dimensions of the problem. This kind of approach promotes the belief that individual perpetrators of violent or bullying behaviours do so because of some individually based pathology which needs to be addressed to stop the behaviour. However, the high incidence warrants a more systemic approach in schools.

Given the prevalence of sexual harassment in these schools, and the effects it has on girls' education, the schools ought to have implemented policies to address the problem. This shows a lack of institutional support for learners who experience the problem and leaves to learners the responsibility of dealing with the issue. However, those schools that are supportive are at a loss as to how to deal with the problem because there are no clear guidelines. The schools were not averse to the idea of developing a sexual harassment policy but did not know how to go about formulating one. The management at three of the schools said that they didn't develop one because they did not receive any complaints. It was therefore assumed that sexual harassment was not a problem for learners. However, all four schools said that should the need arise to develop such a policy, they would need some type of guidance on how to do it. One of the conditions of my being allowed into the schools was to make very clear and specific recommendations about what goes into a sexual harassment policy. This is discussed in chapter 5.

This final chapter will review some of the limitations of this study and suggests some of the ways the current research could be carried forward. It then summarises the main achievements of this thesis, looks at the results obtained from the study and provides conclusions and recommendations on how to deal with the problem of sexual harassment in schools.

Chapter 5: Conclusions and Recommendations

In this section some limitations of the data-gathering techniques, interview analysis and interpretation will be highlighted, with suggestions as to how some of these criticisms could be addressed in the further development of this work. The remainder of the chapter summarises the achievements of this thesis in answering the questions it set out in chapter one.

Limitations and the way forward

In this thesis research, many questions were raised along the way, not all of which could be anticipated at the start. The extent of sexual harassment by male educators was a key issue I could not fully explore in the frame of the study I had undertaken. I also found that a limitation in the interview procedure included a possible social desirability effect in answers. In addition to the under-representation of disabled girls and lack of representation of gays, there was also geographical bias because I had not included rural schools in the sample. In hindsight, I found that there was an under representation of responses relating to what could be done to address the problem of sexual harassment at schools from the girls' point of view. With regard to the use of questionnaires, the limitations were as follows: not administering it in both English and Zulu; too many open-ended questions; too many superfluous questions; the poor questionnaire layout (in an attempt to save paper). Notwithstanding these limitations, and given that very little research has been done in this area in South Africa, both the interview and questionnaire procedure are felt to be successful, and to have rendered a valid account of the problem of sexual harassment of girls in schools.

One of the conditions outlined in the negotiation of the interview procedure guaranteed confidentiality and anonymity. Therefore, the names of the girls had been changed to protect their identities. However, guaranteeing confidentiality prevented me from including in this report any information that the girls did not want to be made

public. While this did not affect the study significantly, it precluded me from adding certain bits of information that would have enhanced the research. The schools have not been renamed in the study because I received permission from the principals to include them by name. Every attempt has been made to ensure that the analysis and interpretation of data was consistent with the theoretical assumptions and procedures outlined in chapters 1 and 3. The analysis and interpretation contained in this thesis is consistent with the theories and methods that are used.

One of the main criticisms of qualitative ethnographic studies is that they are so particular, localised and small scale that the generalisations arising from the data needs to be contextualised. However, this study did not prioritise making high-level generalisations. This does not mean though that it was not possible to look at particular cases and then apply what was observed here to a range of other social settings. General statements about the phenomena of sexual harassment can be shown to operate across a range of particular situations. An example of how I did this in Chapter 4 was to look at the racial, class and gender dynamics at Sobantu Secondary. I used the analysis on black working-class girls presented by Epstein et al (2001) to show how the girls at Sobantu Secondary were positioned differently compared to girls from the other schools due to a combination of factors: their personal histories; their experience of widespread sexual assault; and the patriarchal gender regimes they inhabited at home, at school and in their communities, made it less possible for them to have used their knowledge in emancipatory ways and to have developed gender identities which enlarged the scope for choice and transformation of their lives. While the girls in all four of the schools experienced sexual harassment, there were different constructions of femininities and masculinities, which were gendered, racialised and classed and complexly connected to shape the girls' experiences differentially. So, it was possible to look specifically at black working-class girls at one particular school and then apply what was observed here to black working-class girls at other schools.

The generalisability of the results was further constrained by the fact that the case study had only four schools, all situated in an urban area. However, the four schools selected represented a variety of racial, cultural and economic backgrounds. This was in keeping with my stance as a researcher that to be a black working-class learner is qualitatively different from an Indian working-class learner or a black middle class learner. The sample also included girls who were physically disabled, overweight. The exploratory nature will suggest that inferences may be generalised to secondary schools in South Africa, situated in both urban and rural areas.

Initially, the study was conceptualised as a qualitative one, using the quantitative methods to fill in gaps, enhance and corroborate my findings. However, as the study progressed, and the information was gathered and analysed, both methods proved to be equally beneficial to the project. There were some aspects of the questionnaire that the girls from Sobantu, being second language learners in a Zulu medium school, struggled with because they were not proficient in English. Other second language learners did not have a problem because they were in English medium schools and fluent in English. Despite this, the questionnaire revealed statistical information that enabled me to make conclusions about their experience that would not have been possible with only group interviews. Had quantitative techniques not been used, it would have been very difficult to conclude that sexual harassment was, in fact, a very big problem at Sobantu because the girls did not initially perceive it as a problem. The quantitative data revealed that sexual harassment was prevalent at Sobantu even though the girls gave me information to the contrary. So developing a complementary relationship between qualitative and quantitative components served to close the gaps and address the shortcomings of each method. Researchers need to take this into consideration for future projects.

An important way forward for researchers who intend working in this area is to build into the research design pre-interview and post-interview questionnaires to assess to what extent the girls' understanding of sexual harassment was transformed. Also, it is

important to hold subsequent discussions about the research findings and the implications thereof with all participants concerned, to consolidate what the girls had learned and to answer new questions that may arise. Learning new perspectives and discourses can be empowering, but equally debilitating if there are insufficient follow up discussions. Another extension of the current research could involve an investigation into the extent to which boys are affected by sexual harassment and the impact it has on them. The recent expansion of critical men's studies literature and new ways of theorising gender recognises that males can also be discriminated against in schools (Morrell, 1998a). Since it is more common for girls to experience sexual harassment, this has been the focus of most research studies. However, further research needs to be conducted on boys' experiences of sexual harassment if a picture of the extent to which young people are affected by sexual harassment is to become clear.

While the study did not specifically focus on male educators harassing girls, a significant outcome of this study is that this is a problem in schools and an area that needs some investigation. It was my intention to have included this in my investigations into the problem of sexual harassment. However, I was aware from my preliminary investigations that many of the girls would not be willing to talk about it openly in the group interviews because they feared what the repercussions might be. Also, at least two principals said that I would not get the co-operation of staff members if I focused on educators. One way to get girls to talk about the problem is to do 'one-on–one' interviews with the girls. Therefore this must also be built into any future research design.

Future researchers are cautioned not to conduct research in a way that only lets the definitional locus of sexual harassment rest with the learners. This lowers the true incidence rate compared to when it shifts to the 'observer' because of the idiosyncratic definitions of harassment, and due to the fact that women and girls have been socialised to accept many forms of sexual exploitation under the guise of jokes

and compliments, thus reducing their rate of response. Thus, some error is introduced in the measurement. It is evident in the quantitative data collected that even though the girls could not recognise sexually harassing behaviour, this should not be mistaken for its non-existence. The girls from Sobantu Secondary reported the highest incidence of physical harassment, 82 per cent. Yet, when asked if boys behaved in a way that made them feel uncomfortable, the response was only 36 per cent. To ascertain if the learners are being sexually harassed it is best, therefore, to list the various sexually harassing behaviours and ask the subjects if they have experienced these behaviours. This behaviour must be regarded as a problem regardless of whether the recipient labels it problematic or not. One of the girls captured this very eloquently:

> Marcia: …Some girls think it is sexual harassment and some girls think it is not. What they think is important but I think that even if they think it is not sexual harassment, it does not mean that it isn't.

The final issue dealt with here relates to the validity of the disclosures made by the girls. While the quantitative data served to corroborate the findings, the disclosures made by the girls cannot be validated in the usual sense of the word. People that read this thesis will find resonance with these accounts because similar things have happened to them and people whom they know. For the girls, it was much easier to remain silent than to disclose in an environment that is generally hostile to such claims. But this 'normal' way of creating 'truths' must not be allowed to continue to persist and dominate research where corroborative evidence is not possible. If society does not want to know about the extent of sexual harassment, one way to remain blinded is to invalidate and, thus, silence and suppress research findings of this nature. We should not fall into the trap of denying that sexual harassment is a serious problem in schools because we don't have reliable statistics available. It is not only the frequency of these events that make them horrible but the nature of the acts themselves.

Summary and Conclusions

An analysis of the data revealed that sexual harassment of schoolgirls is prevalent in the secondary schools in which the research was conducted. Up to 85 per cent of the girls in the study have experienced verbal sexual harassment and up to 69 per cent experience physical forms of sexual harassment by the time they are 16 years of age. I have already given examples of other research projects where sexual harassment has been identified as a problem in schools abroad (Herbert, 1989; Jones and Mahony, 1989; Larkin, 1994) and in South African schools (Chisholm and Napo, 1999; CIET Report, 2000; Human Rights Watch Report, 2001; Mukasa, 1999).

The study clearly shows how sexually harassing male behaviour is excused and rationalised as 'normal', whilst at the same time controlling those it affects in a variety of ways. Girls are unable to recognise the sexually harassing behaviour when it presents itself. The predominant notions of masculinity among the males in which aggression towards females is central inform many girls' notions of sexual harassment, and implies that sexual harassment is a 'natural' display of males' sexual behaviour. Furthermore, it shows why so many girls accept this behaviour and how, in most cases, the perpetrators act with impunity because the schools do little to intervene. There is a lack of institutional support for learners who experience the problem; they are left to deal with it alone. Actions at school level have also shown a lack of coherence because of uncertainty of what to do.

Despite the pervasiveness of the problem, it is surrounded by silence. The girls accept the harassing behaviour as being 'normal' and acceptable even if it is distasteful, because they are not heard or not believed. There are also many overt and covert ways of deflecting responsibility for the boys' behaviour onto the girls. What emerges is that the 'victim blame' usually contains a combination of essentialist ideas about male sexuality, that the males have uncontrollable urges, and that girls are assigned the responsibility of setting limits on boys' behaviour.

One of the reasons why behaviour of this nature remains silent is that those that it affects, in society and in general, do not have the appropriate language to describe it. This has been the case with the girls who were part of this study. They were unable to describe their experiences except to use the dominant male perspective since the language they had at their disposal did not take into account their experiences and perspectives. Being unable to communicate about the existence of the problem of sexual harassment forces them into an isolated, vulnerable and silent position. Trivialisation, incorrect naming, and having different perceptions from the boys also results is silence.

> This boy calls me quite often and breathes heavily on the phone.... I've been ignoring it for weeks. I laughed and put the phone down. I now know that it is sexual harassment, the verbal kind, and swear at him. I don't think it is funny anymore. I mean I used to laugh, but that didn't mean I liked it. I just thought this is what boys do. But, I'm seeing it different now.

The above underlines how once the girls acquire the discourse through sharing of experiences their range of how the behaviour should be defined broadens, and the silence and suppression which controlled and isolated the girls, hid the practices and normalised the behaviour, is broken. By the end of the research process the girls had become fairly fluent in labelling certain behaviours as sexually harassing, distinguishing between subtle and covert forms, identifying the different types of behaviour compared to not being able to recognise it at the beginning of the study.

In chapter 4, the theme of homophobia was flagged in statements such as the one below:

> Some boys when they are in a group with their friends, they push each other. Like they would say, 'you're a 'moffie', you haven't got the guts

to interfere with that girl.' So, some boys behave in this way, just so that their friends don't call them a 'moffie'...they go around saying, who is a man?'

The use of homophobic abuse to force boys and girls to assume rigidly defined gender roles emerged as a significant theme in the data. The threat of being labelled gay or lesbian, forces girls and boys into assuming their socially constructed roles for fear of being ridiculed if they do not. Homophobia is thus used to ensure that both boys and girls will exhibit behaviour in keeping with the dominant notions of femininity and masculinity. The hegemonic version of masculinity also succeeded in prescribing a notion of masculinity that is aggressive and violent. Many males therefore engage in aggressive behaviour as a way of defining themselves as men, and homophobic abuse and sexual harassment is very much part of this display of aggressive behaviour. The study also finds that boys, who do not display sufficient evidence of masculinity, or those who challenge the sexist attitudes of other boys, are prime targets for bullying. Other prime targets for sexually harassing behaviour were the girls who had some form of disability. They had to deal with sexism and being discriminated against because of their disability. They experience all the negative effects of sexually harassing behaviour that the other girls do, but in a much more profound way and are therefore more vulnerable than other girls.

The experiences of the girls in Sobantu Village show that when gender intersects with race and class, it can produce greater negative treatment for black working-class girls. This trend is evident in the findings presented which showed that physical forms of sexual harassment is greater at Sobantu Secondary than at other schools. The different constructions of femininities and masculinities which were gendered, racialised and classed, complexly connected to shape the girls' experiences differently. The girls at Sobantu Secondary were positioned differently to girls from the other schools. The research revealed that while all schools had a masculinist culture, both learners, educators, and the school management at Sobantu Secondary used more traditional

discourses of femininity and masculinity, yet, at the same time, were willing to take a stand.

From the girls' perspective, the controls that are forced on them are educational, social and emotional. Their autonomy is being controlled, as is their integrity. Educationally they do not work well in class because they do not know when they are going to be humiliated and degraded. They are learning that it is mostly males who have power and they are relatively powerless. Ideologies of masculinity and femininity are being constructed that confine them into fairly rigid notions of gender and limit their true potential. Emotionally they are learning that whatever feelings they have must be ignored or redefined. Sexual harassment also constrains their freedom of movement and choices of activities. This results in intimidation, poor levels of participation in learning activities, forced isolation, low self-esteem and self-confidence, dropping out of education or from particular activities or subjects, as well as or other physical, sexual and/or psychological damage. Sexual harassment erodes the basis of equal opportunity realised through equal access to education.

The group of girls I have identified in this study have been ignored by most other literature because their experiences have seldom come to light before, and never from their own perspective, using their own words. What can be done about girls who experience sexual harassment but who have no one with whom to share experiences? It is necessary for education authorities to begin to understand that there may be learners in every classroom, girls and boys, who are being sexually harassed.

This raises a further problem. If sexual harassment of girls is so common, yet so hidden, what is the incidence of boys' sexual harassment? Do guilt, embarrassment, fear, blame, isolation, disbelief, trivialisation and charges of fabrication or threats of repercussion also silence them? Further research must be conducted in this area if we are to get a better understanding of the nature and extent of the sexual harassment to which young people are subjected.

What is important however for boys and girls, is that educators need to teach young people that if they are harassed, it is not their fault, and that it should not be silenced and suppressed. Educational managers at all levels need to understand that the sexual harassment of girls, and possibly boys, is more prevalent than currently accepted, and that they need to facilitate development of policy at school level, and training of educators in dealing with such incidents. Education programmes must also be devised and written to challenge and change the power relationships between boys and girls and to provide an environment that is not predicated on gender conditioning and stereotyped assumptions.

This study has focused on the nature of sexual harassment of girls in four secondary schools which are representative of the former Departments of Education, how the girls perceived their sexual harassment, how it manifested itself, and the effects that it has on their schooling. While this study acknowledges that there are other forms of sexual harassment such as boys harassing boys, these were not the focus of this study. The harassment of girls is the most prevalent type and it acts as a barrier to their access to gender-equitable education. This study also focused on the 'covert' subtle forms of harassment that are difficult to define, and which are considered 'normal'.

Furthermore, the study locates sexual harassment as a form of gender-based violence against females. It asserts that all the incidents of sexual violence, both in the public and private spheres, both overt and subtle forms, are inextricably linked because all these incidents are a manifestation of gender power inequalities. Sexual harassment at school is part of a bigger picture and only part of the continuum of violence that females constantly face. This enables the exploration of experiences that are subtle and covert, that are not easy to recognise but can be damaging. It is through making this connection between sexual harassment and other forms of gender-based violence that we can begin to deal adequately with the issue of sexual violence against females.

The research methodology was a synthesis of a number of relevant research strategies, some orthodox, others more experimental, and was a fundamental aspect of the data that was collected.. The design incorporated 'participant-as observer', journals, interviews and questionnaires. The latter two were the prime methods for collecting the data.

However, this study found that even though girls had difficulty in recognising and describing this degrading behaviour, this should not be mistaken for its non-existence. The prerequisite for any discussion about or action around sexual harassment is that girls should recognise its existence. This is why using girl-centred research methods for interviewing and recording the information are imperative. It was the keeping of journals and group discussions that gave the girls an opportunity to describe their own experiences in a shared supportive environment. This led to a recognition that they were experiencing socially produced conflicts shared by many other girls. Once the learners were equipped with a language that was rooted in their own experiences, and strengthened by the support they had received from other young women in the group settings, the girls began to speak out about the harassment.

Girls were really 'breaking the silence' when they began to speak to each other about what they had experienced. In the process of naming the sexually harassing behaviour girls become aware that the 'common sense' ideas reflected the perspective of the boys rather than their own experiences. Challenging the given labels in the language, and changing the emphasis to female-experienced phenomena may reduce the incidence of sexual harassment in schools by giving validity to female experiences. If sexual harassment is given a female-oriented definition, a different proportion of sexual harassment cases will emerge.

The strategies that were used in the group interviews were: intervention in the form of asking questions that a researcher is not usually expected to ask; confrontation with the 'normal' way of perceiving the world; reciprocity in sharing with me personal

experiences with me; information which gave them more awareness of the ways in which society is male-dominated; names with which to match experiences with practice; and a safe, supportive atmosphere for disclosure. A methodology has been created which was unique in design, technique and implementation.

One of the most successful components of my approach to the research was that the girls became more and more confident about including their own ideas in the research. It was their idea that the photographs be taken and included in the thesis. They wanted me to capture what they experienced with words, but they were adamant that the photographs would enhance the document. They were so used to being disbelieved that they wanted some form of tangible proof of what they were experiencing.

This study also had a great emphasis on feedback and follow up. However, in addition to this, it was my intention to assist each of the schools in developing their own sexual harassment policy by holding workshops with the staff members. Unfortunately, I had to move to another city and was unable to conduct the workshops. I have compensated by including a very detailed guidance document on what schools need to include in a sexual harassment policy (see Attachment A).

This study has shown that sexual harassment prevents girls from receiving gender-equitable education. It is not the only reason, but it contributes significantly in undermining their full potential. Much needs to happen at schools because this is a site where many oppressive practices still occur and also where values conducive to the principles of anti-racism and anti-sexism can be inculcated. By ignoring the problem of sexual harassment in schools, we are actually allowing schools to continue promoting values that undermine the wellbeing of many learners. Schools can provide the site to raise issues of gender justice, to address sexism and gender oppression, and to put forward an alternative vision of gender that ensures that young men develop ways of being men that do not involve violence, racism, misogyny and/or homophobia (Epstein 1998; Morrell, 2001a).

While it can be concluded that sexual harassment is pervasive in these schools, it is the *nature* of the problem that needs to be understood. For educationists to address the issue they have to take into account the rather complex pattern of gender relations that emerges in this study. Some of these complexities relate to issues of race, gender, social context, sexual preferences, physical and mental abilities, and how these impact on sexually harassment. Another is the complicity of the girls. Even though sexual harassment is detrimental to them they perpetuate this type of behaviour by colluding with the boys. They are also responsible for some severe forms of harassment. Unless all of these complexities are taken into consideration when putting together a strategy and plan of action to address the problem, these plans will not come to fruition.

One of the most important points about the acquisition and reinforcement of sexist ideas in schools is that scholars learn about them in an unexamined manner. In educational terms this is not acceptable. The difference between education and indoctrination is that education should involve learning ideas by engaging and reflecting on their practices. Schools are responsible for assisting learners to understand, in an informed way, the broader processes and structures that contribute to gender-based inequality. Education is incompatible with the inculcation of unexamined beliefs and implicit values. Since educators play a crucial role in transmitting forms of knowledge, including those parts that reinforce gender inequities, it is necessary for educators too to learn to question their own unexamined beliefs and values. This is crucial as educators have the potential to be the main agents of change in a transformation process.

A very significant finding in the study is that the schools are typically structured in hierarchical ways making the execution of harassing behaviour possible. All four schools have a masculinist culture where educators and school management tap into dominant discourses of masculinity which excuse the denigratory treatment of girls and boys who don't fit in with the dominant notions of masculinity. The power

relations inherent in the schools are gendered and therefore the schools are complicit in producing the inequalities in gender and power relationships that underpin sexual harassment. There are also certain practices in schools such as the use of corporal punishment that foster a climate of violence.

Schools are uniquely positioned to effect changes in the most meaningful way because they have a captive audience. As such the learners can be introduced to ideas relating to human justice and gender equity. Research has shown how successfully children can learn about alternative solutions to inequitable practices among their peers. It is at school level that values and ideas already established by the time the learner arrives at school are redefined and reinforced. New values are also transmitted. Girls and boys in the earliest years of schooling have already acquired traditional gendered forms of behaviour, some of which are oppressive. These negative behaviour patterns can be confronted and changed at school.

With the results obtained from the study, this section aims to provide solutions, guidelines, and procedures that the National Department of Education and schools can adopt to deal with the problem of sexual harassment.

Response to the literature

There is insufficient research conducted in South Africa, particularly qualitative research, on which particular situations in the lives of schoolgirls come to be labelled sexual harassment. There are also no figures provided on how routine and widespread the problem is. This study contributes to the literature in the area. It does so in two ways. Firstly, by providing data on the nature, extent and effects of sexual harassment, this study provides insight into the key issues such as how girls construct behaviour they see as sexual harassment for themselves and the language they use to describe the harassment. In telling the story of these girls through their journals, through analyzing their questionnaires, and by conducting individual and group

interviews, this study gives voice to their experiences and struggles. In doing so, this study has gone some way to filling the gaps that characterise the literature on the sexual harassment of schoolgirls in South Africa. The second way in which this adds to global literature is that as the study was initiated it was anticipated that the nature and effects of sexual harassment of schoolgirls in South Africa would be similar to what our international counterparts experience. The findings of this research bear testimony to this assumption. This study can therefore be situated in relation to relevant literature from other contexts which similarly engages the key problems and debates surrounding the problem of sexual harassment. However, the findings of this study also offer points of contrast. Here in South Africa, forces of race and class, historically rooted and still highly influential, were brought to bear on the experiences of the girls in South Africa. A close examination of these forces revealed that when gender intersects with race and class, it can produce even greater negative effects especially for black working-class girls.

As will be seen, this study drew on Spender's suggestion that all naming is biased because those who have the power to name are in a position to influence reality. Spender argues that it is through their control over meaning that men are able to impose their own view of the world. Therefore, this study had taken into consideration the ethical obligation of the researcher. In this work I attempted to empower the girls by creating structures and situations for the girls to share ideas and discuss their experiences, and to create a supportive atmosphere in which their more confident reflections could emerge, and this led to a greater degree of articulation on their part The girls' sharing experiences with each other is key to the way that I frame and shape my analysis of their understanding of what sexually harassing behaviour is, and this in turn is what provides me with the basis for consciousness raising communication with them..

While finding Spender's views, and some of the local and international literature reviewed which draws upon Spender's work (Human Rights Watch, 2001; Mukasa,

1999; Wolpe, 1988) very helpful, I feel that these theorists share the limitations and shortcomings of social reproduction theories in that they fail to address individual consciousness and the possibilities of resistance. There has been a tendency in the literature reviewed to treat the issue of sexual harassment in a universalistic manner and ignore the differences in which girls view and experience sexual harassment. The reproduction theory that Human Rights Watch and many other researchers use fails to see the schooling of girls as a complex process that contains contradictions and points of resistance. Thus the realities of the girls' strengths and their sense of agency is diminished. In response to this gap, I engaged with the works of Morrell (2001a), Epstein and Johnson (1998), Larkin (1994), Herbert (1989), Jones and Mahoney (1989), Weiler (1988) and Weedon (1987) and drew attention to the need to take into account agency and production of meaning. What was found useful in these texts is that they highlighted the contradictions in the way both males and females position themselves and recognised that they can critique and transform the social world they inhabit.

Following this, I suggested that the Foucauldian conceptualisation of power is useful because it is both productive and repressive, both enabling and constraining and acts differentially on subjects in different situations. Such a conceptualisation suggests that the sexual harassment of schoolgirls needs to be understood within a series of power relations operating at different levels, and between and within sites of power in which the balance of power is constantly shifting. This study showed that even though sexual harassment was detrimental to the girls, they perpetuated this type of behaviour by tacitly colluding with boys who were harassers and thus they were also responsible for some of the forms that even the most serious sexual harassment took. The study further revealed that the power relations inherent in the school are also gendered and therefore schools are often also complicit in producing the inequalities in gender and power relationships that underpin sexual harassment.

While the Human Rights Watch study is significant because it documents sexually harassing incidents of schoolgirls in South Africa and provided key insights for this study, it is not informed by theories of empowerment and gender transformation. Like Mukasa (1999), it fails to take into account and recognise the complexities of race, class, gender and (dis) ability. What is also missing in Human Rights Watch study is a way of connecting routine forms of male violence to those that are more easily recognisable. Most of the research looks at the extreme forms of sexual harassment and the subtle forms are either minimised or ignored. This study attempted to show that understanding subtle forms of sexual harassment are part of the continuum of sexual assault against females and is a key issue to be addressed if the problem is to be tackled effectively.

Most of the research on sexual harassment locally and abroad does not take into account new conceptions of gender and the insights provided by critical men's studies and the resultant new trends in gender theory that broaden the gender analysis. Critical men's studies literature was useful because it highlighted the transformative implications of plurality, difference, contradictions and fragmentation of masculine identities. This shift in approach was useful in providing new insight because it enables gender to be examined holistically and recognises that not all males sexually harass males, males can also be discriminated against in schools and suggests possibilities for change in discriminatory gender practices in schools. Following this, I suggested that a relational understanding of gender is a more useful one because it captures the complexities of the girls' experiences. By examining gender regimes holistically, by looking at how class and race intersect with gender to create different experiences for girls, and by giving both boys and girls a sense of agency, this study has contributed something new to existing literature.

Recommendations

General Recommendations

The Minister of Education's state-wide challenge to combat sexual harassment in schools is going to be mere rhetoric unless the Ministry of Education proposes a complete strategy to address the problem. This needs to include the following:

- Legislation, to counter and eliminate sexism, sexual harassment and violence throughout the education system. While this study deals with sexual harassment in particular, and recommends education-specific legislation, it does not take the position that such legislation should be separate from legislation dealing with anti-discrimination. What is needed is legislation that promotes a human rights environment which is highly conscious of discrimination and harassment issues, and which recognises the human, social and economic costs of such behaviour.

- However, legislation alone would be an ineffective approach to change. There is a need for a range of policies and public campaigns, which build on the struggles of women and other historically oppressed groups. Education policies, professional development, curriculum and management measures need to be seen as part of broader policies and programmes, including those from NGOs. Legislation then, needs to be linked to policy and planning in all government departments for a broad comprehensive change to attitudes and values across the various communities in South Africa. Community leaders of all kinds need to become involved.

- There must be a clear-cut policy combined with a grievance procedure that includes effective punishments for perpetrators. Such policies and procedures however should form part of a comprehensive and effective education programme

providing information to students. There needs to be a locally, provincially and nationally driven education and development programme targeting learners, educators and the community at large.

- Transformation programmes need to be situated within the broader context. Unless the broader community and social institutions acknowledge that gender inequity is a problem, the strategies will not be effective. Therefore, 'whole school development' approaches involving representatives of school administrations, educators, learners, parents and culturally significant institutions such as churches need to become involved in addressing the problem. This approach contrasts with that which leaves change to individual educators, which is regarded as voluntary activism rather than as part of a school programme.

- In order to address the problem of gender-based violence in schools, it is necessary to have a holistic understanding of the causes of this violence. Solutions must factor in gender and sexuality and other relationship of power in race and social class dynamics.

- Transformation of the broader school culture is needed. A holistic approach that takes into account both the roles of boys and girls needs to be adopted. The transformation ought to include an internal culture of the school to create an ethic of care and social justice, producing a nurturing, positive and supportive environment promoting cooperative behaviour.

- Educators must be the main agents of reform, and will need the community behind them, affirming their professional status and principles of respect, equality and non-violence in gender relations. Because learners do not learn about gender in isolated classroom contexts, school-based programmes to teach boys and girls the knowledge and skills for equal and respectful gender relations need also to engage with parents and communities. Leaders at national, provincial and district level,

school management and school-governing bodies are all essential stakeholders in this transformation process. Socially sanctioned practices that devalue women and girls and deny them their basic human rights need to be interrogated, and schools are places where this can be carried out.

- Individual boys and men cannot be held totally responsible for the way masculinity is represented in social institutions. If gendered violence is to be eliminated, public institutions that have a mandate to generate change can be held responsible for the way change can be most effectively led. Only when the responsibility for countering gendered violence is taken up as a managerial priority at institutional level will there be an environment conducive to individual perpetrators taking personal responsibility for their actions. A majority of approaches to harassing behaviours in educational institutions focuses on individuals who perpetrate it. Such approaches fail to take into account that that society constructs masculinity as 'naturally' aggressive. By dealing with gendered violence as an individual pathology only, educational institutions can inadvertently legitimise and naturalise systemic violence associated with unequal gender relations. Everyday language, roles and practices of the institution condone these unequal power relations.

Specific Recommendations

The National Department of Education needs to do the following:

- Adopt a National Plan of Action on Sexual Violence and Harassment in Schools. This should be developed with all the key stakeholders including learners, educators, School Governing Bodies, parents, government officials and NGOs working in this area.

- The Director-General in Education should explore all steps to develop legislation to make explicit the legal responsibilities which education authorities have in relation to upholding the rights of the learners to be free from discrimination and harassment as set forth in the Constitution. Such legislation should set out the responsibility of all governing organisations and managers in educational sites in terms of legal accountability for:

  - Actively planning to prevent all forms of discrimination and harassment.
  - Taking positive, methodical steps to redress the effects of discrimination and promote a human rights environment.

  Sexual harassment should be defined in legislation, and should be made unlawful in all contexts in educational settings. The legislation should provide guidelines for educational managers to implement such steps as: a public statement of policy – from the macro to the micro levels; an effective awareness programme; establishment of procedures for dealing with acts of harassment.

- Formally appoint in every provincial department, a director responsible for implementing policy on gender-based violence in schools, with appropriate authority and a sufficient budget.

- Provide compulsory training for all managers of educational sites to ensure that they are conversant with legislation on harassment; that all complaints of sexual harassment are treated seriously and confidentially; that those complaining are not victimised, and that they are able to monitor that workplace and school behaviour supports the Department of Education Policy.

- Provide guidelines to schools detailing appropriate responses on how to develop sexual harassment policies and suggest appropriate procedures on how to deal with the problem.

- Make clear the definitions of the kinds of behaviours, which constitute sexual harassment.

- The National Department of Education should also take on the development of:

  - A training package for educational managers (including school governing bodies, educators and school administrators), on their responsibility to prevent any form of harassment.

  - Curriculum packages for various institutional types, which include resources to enable educators to incorporate learning about gender and violence into the curriculum at all levels of education.

- Establishing institutional procedures, at system as well as institutional level, to deal with complaints of harassment.

- A communication and monitoring strategy for all stages in the development of the above recommendations.

Recommendations for School and Educators

- All schools need to develop a sexual harassment policy with clear reporting procedures and a strong educational component. While the guidelines need to come from the National Department of Education, schools can take the

initiative to come up with something in the interim (see attachment A which is a guideline for the schools in the study. The guideline gives some detail of what needs to go into such a policy).

All the participants need to play an active role in creating the school policy, because then they are more likely to support it. All members of the school community should be familiar with the information and procedures outlined in the policy and know persons designated to handle the complaints.

- The development of such a policy should be a secondary issue and not an end product in itself. This is only the first step of implementation. Schools also need to invest time and effort into developing anti-racist and anti-sexist curricula, provide in-house training courses and other opportunities for staff to develop skills and understanding in identifying and dealing with sexual harassment in the learning environment, and monitoring how the policy is being implemented and whether it is effecting changes.

- One way of encouraging collective confidence is through the provision of single-sex facilities and programmes for girls. Girls need to be given the opportunity to talk about their experiences (in girls-only groups) so that they develop a language they can use to articulate sexually harassing behaviour and have a wider understanding of the context of male violence.

- Boys also need the opportunity to talk and to learn alternative ways of being male i.e. alternative constructions of masculinity. Educators need to reward those who display gentle and sensitive behaviour.

- School Governing Bodies in consultation with learners and staff should devise effective whole school policies for dealing with disclosure of sexual violence

within the family and at school. This must be given support by welfare institutions.

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APPENDIX A

School Policy on Sexual Harassment

A sexual harassment policy with clear reporting procedures and a strong educational component is one of the best ways to confront the problem of sexual harassment in schools. In South Africa, sexual harassment is recognised under the law as unfair labour practice. Under the Employment of Education Act of 1998, No 21783, an educator can be charged for misconduct for behaving in a way that is sexually harassing while on duty. Based on the principle of vicarious liability embedded in common law, people with delegated responsibilities, such as principles, may be found liable for sexual harassment of learners in their working environments. This means that administrators must take all reasonable steps to prevent sexual harassment in their schools.

Reasonable steps include the development of a sexual harassment policy that covers all members of the school community. A policy is a strong public statement that schools consider sexual harassment to be a serious offence and that complaints will be taken seriously. But this is only the first step. The implementation process is crucial. Policies need to be posted and publicised, and members of the community need to be educated about them.

There are many benefits to having a school policy on sexual harassment. A policy increases personal safety at school by defining harassing behaviour and outlining consequences for those who offend. When individuals are provided with clear guidelines for reporting harassing incidents the level of school violence may decrease.

The Whole School Approach

Although School Governing Bodies should take the lead in developing sexual harassment policies, all members of the school community should participate in the process. Undertaking a sexual harassment survey of learners, educators and other school staff will provide the data which can be used to create guidelines and procedures tailored to the needs of specific schools. The inclusion of local data will provide examples of the kinds of harassment occurring in schools and will provide the evidence that a policy is needed.[14]

Members of the school community can share the roles and responsibilities for developing, implementing and monitoring the sexual harassment policy. Undertaking the sexual harassment survey, developing a definition of sexual harassment, reviewing provincial and national policies, writing the policy procedures, conducting an annual review, and organising educational workshops are some of the specific tasks. Taking a whole school approach to dealing with sexual harassment will give educators, learners and parents a sense of ownership in their policy.

What should be included in the policy?

School-based sexual harassment policies should be in line with provincial and national education legislation. The Employment of Educators Act, the Code of Conduct for Learners, The South African Schools Act, and the constitution are

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[14] However, it is evident in this study that even though learners had difficulty recognising and describing sexually harassing behaviour, it should not be mistaken for its non-existence. Since the boys' sexually harassing behaviour is viewed as normal, the definitional locus of sexual harassment must not rest with the girls. This behaviour must be regarded as a problem regardless of whether the recipient labels it problematic or not. Therefore, the true incidence rates will only emerge if learners are given a range of sexually harassing behaviours on a checklist and are asked if they experience these behaviours.

important reference documents. Before implementation, policies should be reviewed by the legal division of the Department of Education, and the District Office, to ensure they are not in violation of national or provincial policies.

The policy should be user-friendly and reflect the distinctive features of the school culture. A good sexual harassment policy will address the following questions:

1. What is Sexual Harassment?

The policy should include a definition of sexual harassment with clear examples. Legal definition can be confusing. In general, sexual harassment is " any unwanted behaviour or conduct of a sexual nature" (Larkin.1994). Listing the kinds of behaviours of a sexual nature that make learners uncomfortable by both learners and educators is the best way to clarify the meaning of sexual harassment.[15] The kinds of sexually harassing behaviour documented in schools must include:

- Derogatory comments about gender
- The display of sexually offensive pictures, graffiti or other materials
- Insults and/or unwanted jokes of a sexual nature
- Touching, ogling, or sexually suggestive comments
- Harassing letter, phone calls or visits
- Demands or dates for sexual favours
- Threats of a sexual nature
- Stalking
- Sexual assault

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[15] Since learners and educators view much of the covert forms of harassment as 'normal' behaviour, the National Department of Education's Gender Equity needs to prepare a guideline for schools. This guideline should contain some information on the background and context, which explain how the behaviour is linked to violence in general, how it is viewed as normal, the different forms, the overt and

- Rape.

Sexual assault and rape are included because they are extreme forms of sexual harassment. These are examples and do not encompass all the sexually harassing behaviour. When developing a school policy, the results of the school sexual harassment survey will determine the kinds of behaviour that should be included on the list. The nature and extent of sexually harassing behaviour may vary from school to school.

2.   **Who is covered by the policy?**

The policy should cover all members of the school community and include a statement that harassment by learners, educators, administrators and school staff will not be tolerated.

3.   **Who can you talk to?**

The policy should list an initial contact person who can explain the options available to someone who is harassed. This person does not attempt to solve the problem. Their role is to provide information and support. This person can be called the Sexual Harassment Resource Person (SHRP). This person must receive training on developing sexual harassment education programmes in schools.

4.   **What can you do?**

The policy should list a variety of options for dealing with sexual harassment. There are two options: the informal complaint process and the formal complaint process.

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covert types of harassment, a sexual harassment checklist for learners, and some criteria for determining that the behaviour is sexual harassment.

The informal complaint process

Informal procedures involve letting the harasser know their behaviour is offensive by confronting them directly, through a contact person or in writing. Telling the person their behaviour is offensive may resolve the problem if they are unaware that the behaviour is offensive. This may be the case for learners who are just beginning to sort out mixed and confusing messages about sexuality. A note documenting the date and time of the meeting, the name of the offender, a description of the incident discussed, and a record of the conversation should be kept in case a formal complaint is necessary.

In many cases an informal approach will stop the behaviour. If it persists, is serious, or the targeted person fears some reprisal, they can lodge a formal complaint. Rape and sexual assaults can also be prosecuted as criminal acts.

The formal complaint process

The policy should name the official responsible for receiving formal complaints. This person may be the principal, vice-principal, district superintendent or appropriate district official. The person lodging the complaint should document the incident to the best of their ability. Young learners may need someone to record the incident as they describe it. The sexual harassment contact person or SHRP can assist in the composition of the note and may accompany the person to the designated official who will initiate the investigation.

An investigation involves interviewing the complainant, the alleged offender, as well as any witnesses. The policy should include a time line assuring prompt investigation and action on complaints.

If the official determines that harassment has occurred, both the offender and the victim will be notified. The official will contact the parents/guardians of any offender or victim under the age of 18 years. The offender will be subject to disciplinary action as outlined in the policy.

An appeal process should be built into the policy to allow complaints or the alleged offender to have the investigative process reviewed for perceived irregularities. The appeal should be initiated within seven days of the receipt of the decision. The designated official should keep a detailed record of their view and be prepared to put the decision in writing.

5. What are the consequences for the offenders? When determining the consequences for the offender, the designated official should consider a variety of factors:

- The impact of the offence of the complainant
- The seriousness of the offence
- The offender's history of sexually harassing behaviours
- The persistence of the behaviour, particularly if the offender had been informed that the behaviour was offensive
- The age of the offender and of the victim
- The power imbalance between the offender and victim
- The requirements of the school district policy and the general disciplinary policy of the school.

Depending on whether is a learner or staff member, the official designate may recommend one or more of the following disciplinary actions:

Learners:

- Inform the parents/ guardians that the learner has been found guilty of sexual harassment
- Recommend the learner for counselling
- Draw up a letter outlining the decision in the learner's file
- Recommend that the offender write a letter of apology to the victim
- Remove privileges at school
- Temporarily assigning the learner to an alternate supervised location, such as the principal's office
- Recommend restitution if any property of the victim or school was damaged
- Transfer the learner to another school in order to provide a more comfortable environment for the victim
- Report the incident to the police if it is a criminal offence

Staff Member

- Inform the staff member that they have been found guilty of sexual harassment
- Recommend the staff member for counselling
- Draw up a letter outlining the decision in the staff member's file
- Recommend that the offender write a letter of apology to the victim

- Transfer the staff member to another school in order to provide a more comfortable environment for the victim. The principal at the other school must be made aware of the offence
- In cases of serious and/or persistent harassment, recommend that the staff member be dismissed from the board
- Report the incident to the South African Council of Educators
- Report the incident to the police if it is a criminal offence

TRANSCRIPT

Group Interview at Esther Payne Smith

Bunny: Thank you for coming to this interview. It is been a month since you filled in the questionnaires. You've probably forgotten some of the questions you were asked to respond to. I am going to let each one of you have a copy of a questionnaire to refresh your memories. I have studied your responses in great detail and would like to ask you questions about what you have written. We had initially started out with you recording in your journals the examples of behaviour of males of a sexual nature, in this school, that makes you feel uncomfortable. Some of you were not too certain about what to write and we had some discussions about this. Once you had some understanding of what you had to do, it became a little clearer that we were investigating sexual harassment. However, I never told you what it is because I want to know more about what you think it is. Let's begin with talking about what you think sexual harassment is?

Yolisa: I think that sexual harassment is like sexual abuse, because someone is touching you body where you don't want to be touched. It can be abuse by your boyfriend; it can be abuse by other boys in the school. It happens everywhere, not only in schools.

Bunny: OK, thanks for that. So, from what you are saying, sexual harassment and sexual abuse have some link, it can be done by someone whom you are actually very close to and others and it is something that is very pervasive in society. What do the others think?

Marcia: Sexual harassment doesn't only mean like someone touches you where you don't want to be touched, it can also be someone saying things to you that you don't like.

Bunny: Saying what kinds of things.

Marcia: Like saying things that make you feel uncomfortable and embarrassed.

(Long silence)

Bunny: So from what you are saying Marcia, besides the physical forms of sexual harassment that Yolisa spoke about, there is also a verbal form. We will come back to discuss this in greater detail later on. But, I want to know from the others, besides the physical and verbal forms of sexual harassment, do you think there are other types of sexual harassment.

(Long silence)

Bunny: Let's consider a case where someone shows you something, like for example a photograph of a naked women, would you consider that sexual harassment?

(Several voices in the group say yes)

Yolisa: If a man calls you to his house and shows you a picture of a naked woman, it is sexual harassment, because you never asked for that and you did not go there to see the picture. Some girls are too young to see that but he is showing it to you to satisfy himself.

Nokuthula: I think that if someone makes eyes at you and his eyes follow you, then that is sexual harassment.

Bunny: What is emerging is that we started out with the initial definition of sexual harassment being physical. We then added that it can be verbal and now there is another dimension of it being visual. What is also emerging is that some of you are including examples that indicate that sexual harassment can include behaviour that is subtle, if we consider Nokuthula's example, to more severe forms of sexual abuse which Yolisa mentioned. What are your views on behaviour that is more subtle? Is that sexual harassment? Nokuthula gave her views. How do the rest of you feel?

Marcia: What if you like a boy, and he behaves in a way toward you that is sexual? Is that sexual harassment?

Bunny: I am not saying that it is sexual harassment or not. What do you think?

Marcia: I think that if you like the boy then it is not sexual harassment but I'm not too sure.

Bunny: Let's look at the following example: If a boy that you like comes over to you and pinches your bottom, are you going to feel good or bad about that?

(Long silence)

Marcia: I won't make a big deal about it. But I won't feel bad.

Bunny: A boy that you don't like does the same. Will you feel bad about that?

Marcia: Yes I will.

Bunny: What about the rest of you?

Nokuthula: I will feel bad even if I like the boy.

Bunny: Now we see that Marcia feels good and Nokuthula feels bad about the same type of behaviour. So then, how do we decide if it is sexually harassing behaviour if two people view the same behaviour differently?

Nokuthula: I think that sexual harassment does exist. Sometimes one male harasses another male; sometimes one female harasses another female. In most cases, it works like, you know a secretary, her boss sometimes asks for something else. Some people don't mind and some people do mind.

Bunny: You mention a very important point and that is that some people mind and some people don't mind. Now, if there were a whole lot of things that go on at this school that people don't mind, would that be sexual harassment?

(Silence)

Bunny: Maybe I need to explain what I mean. Let's assume that boys continually pinch your bottom, and wink at you, and show you photographs of naked women and say things to offend you. If you don't mind then does that mean that this behaviour is not sexual harassment?

Marcia: It is. But some girls think it is and some girls think it is not. What they think is important but I think that even if think it is not sexual harassment, it does not mean that it isn't.

Bunny: Let's look at some other issues. What is emerging here is somewhat different from your responses in the questionnaires. I picked up that many of you did not view the more subtle forms of behaviour that we discussed earlier as sexual harassment. Let's take an example. Many of the girls responded that boys constantly brushing against you is not sexual harassment.

Marcia: But that is sexual harassment because that is not what you want.

Bunny: That is significant Marcia. How does that relate to what we said earlier about sexual harassment?

Yentle: What some girls don't want may be different from what other girls don't want. We know that sexual harassment exists out there, but it is very difficult to define. This is why we are so unsure.

Gailen: Some girls encourage it

Bunny: What do you mean?

Gailen: OK, some girls are to blame because of the way they carry on. There are some girls who deliberately wear their uniforms short. They are encouraging the boys to sexually harass them.

Bunny: I would like to point out to you that what I'm picking up here is that some of the girls are being blamed for the boys sexually harassing them. Aren't you now holding these girls responsible for the boys' behaviour?

(Silence)

Yolisa: It happens to both males and females. I can say that some girls like to be touched by boys. Especially us (implying black girls). Some of the girls feel bad and you feel sad about what happened to you, so you go to the teacher, but she laughs. Maybe she wants that to happen to us.

Bunny: Yolisa, you touch on some very important points and they are that it is not only girls who are sexually harassed but can also be sexually harassed. The other is that the teacher is not doing anything about the sexually harassing behaviour. You also mention specifically black girls being liked to be touched by boys. (Nokhutula

frantically waving her hand to be given an opportunity to talk) We will come back to some of these issues later on in our discussion, but let's hear what Nokhutula has to say.

Nokhutula: Wearing a short dress doesn't mean that the boys can sexually harass you. In our culture, girls don't have to cover their bodies. The traditional dress is not to have anything on the top and just to have something to cover the private parts in the front. And nothing happened to these girls. There was no sexual harassment, but now why must boys harass me when I wear a short uniform.

Marcia: I agree with Nokuthula. A girl should be able to wear whatever she wants to.

Yolisa: Girls tell the other girls look at the short dress that the girl is wearing and they also tell the boys. The boys then tease the girls. I avoid walking past certain areas because I want to avoid passing the boys. But still a boy came over to me and touched my private part. I wasn't even wearing a short dress. I have a boyfriend in school, so I know how to control myself. When I see a group of boys I don't pass them because I know what is going to happen.

Bunny: OK there are two things that you have mentioned that I want to pick up on. The one thing is that you say you were not wearing a short dress when the boy touched you. I get the impression that some girls tend to blame themselves when boys sexually harass them. There seems to be a tendency to look at what have I done wrong to encourage the boy to behave this way. The other issue is that if she sees a group of boys, she tries to avoid passing them. Let's explore the kinds of things girls do to try to avoid being sexually harassed. How do girls adapt their behaviour or change their behaviour to avoid being harassed by boys?

No Name: I ignore them and take no notice of them when they call me.

Yolisa: You can't ignore them. But if you walk away from them, and they call you, you have to keep away from them. If you keep on passing them, they think you want something. So if you ignore them, it doesn't help. There are some girls who like the attention from boys and keep on walking pass them, the boys then notice them and interfere with them. But some girls like it because they keep on going back and want to make friends with the boys.

Bunny: So you are saying that the girls need to avoid certain areas if there are boys hanging around these areas. Which areas do girls have to avoid areas if they don't want to be harassed by the boys?

Marcia: We have to avoid the tuck-shop area, and ...er the stairs, certain parts of the corridor.

When we walk past they call us names.

Bunny: What kind of names?

Yentle: None of the boys call me by my name, they call me 'Mental Yentle.'

Bunny: Are there any other names?

Marcia: Bitches

Bunny: Yes?

Yolisa: They call us bitch in Zulu- and they do it all the time. They say Isifebe.

Bunny: Is it the Zulu-speaking boys who call you this name?

Yolisa: Yes.

Bunny: Do they call the Indian girls this name?

Group: Yes

Yolisa: If they call a girl and she doesn't come, they call her this name.

Renusha: They call some girls 'dingbat'.

Bunny: What does that mean?

Renusha: Dingbat is like when a girl pretends to like a boy and she doesn't really like the boy. Like she's a tease. Girls also call each other by this name. The boys encourage the girls to tease each other.

Bunny: And do the girls do what the boys ask them to do.

Group: Yes

Yolisa: The boys are not the only ones encouraging the girls, some girls also encourage other girls to call each other names.

Sunisha: Some girls actually go up to the boys and give them information about the girls. The boys then use this against the girls and give them a bad name.

Bunny: So their behaviour is just as bad and hurtful as some boys' behaviour?

Group: Yes.

Gailen: Sometimes even worse.

Bunny: So do you think that the girls are mimicking what the boys do?

Gailen: Not necessarily. Some girls can be even meaner than the boys.

Yolisa: Ma'am, there are some girls, who if they don't like you, go up to the boys and tell them to call us a lollipop in Zulu..... It means that you have a funny shaped body. Big on the top, with thin legs.

Bunny: So it seems that girls also do a lot of teasing. Do they tease the boys also? Let's talk about this for awhile.

Group: laughter

Bunny: Do boys get teased?

Renusha: I think that sometimes we give boys a taste of their own medicine. When we tease them, they make it a big issue, but when they tease us, they think it makes them a man. So we need to feel like women and tease them back.

Bunny: You say, 'they feel like a man when they tease us'. We haven't yet spoken about why some boys behave this way. Shall we explore that?

Gailen: Some boys when they are in a group with their friends, they push each other. Like they would say, 'you're a moffie, you haven't got the guts to interfere with that girl'. So, some boys behave in this way, just so that their friends don't call them a moffie'.

Bunny: So, what I am hearing is that some boys' behave this way because this is how they define themselves as men?

Gailen: Yes, yes, they go around saying, ' who's a man?'

Group: laughter.

Bunny: All this has been very interesting and I would love to explore each of the issues you've raised at length, but we need to move on, because there are some other issues I want to cover. Do you find that you have to change your behaviour, or the way you dress because of the way some boys behave?

Gailen: I love wearing short skirts, but I dare not at school.

Nokhothula: I cannot wear short skirts because I don't like showing my body, I am big.

Bunny: Ok help me understand this. Do you feel there is anything wrong with your body, or do others make you think this?

Nokhothula: If I show my fat thighs to them (laughter) they will tease me.

Bunny: So you think that you are fat?

Nokhothula: Yes, but I don't have a problem with that. I would still like to wear shorts. I am only not wearing it because they will tease me.

Yolisa: I come to school wearing long uniforms.

Bunny: When you do physical education at school, do you cover up or do you wear shorts?

Renusha: I will never wear shorts in school. I wear a long track pants or tights and a long T-shirt.

Bunny: What about taking part for sports...(loud shrieks from some members in the group)

Do boys teasing you affect your participation in sport?

(Three members of the group respond yes)

Marcia: We are very self-conscious and don't want to be teased.

Bunny: What about your participation in class activities, for example giving a speech? Would the teasing make it more difficult for you?

Renusha: Yes, because when you go to the front, the boys 'eye' you and make you feel uncomfortable.

Bunny: Do you become self-conscious about your body? I remember being teased about my breasts and made sure that I was wearing a jersey, or had my hair in front to cover up. Do you resort to doing such things?

Gailen: I would definitely cover-up with a jersey.

Nokhuthula: I will not cover up.

Bunny: Let's see what the others think, there are thirteen of you. How many of you will cover up? (5 put up their hands) And the rest of you feel OK? (They nod and some say yes)

Bunny: There's something that I would like to ask you. How many of you would like to go to an all-girl school? (No response) Would you prefer Esther Payne Smith being an all-girl school? (Only two girls put up their hands, the rest say no quite emphatically). Tell my why?

Gailen: Because even though some of the boys give us a hard time, it is not all of them. There are some who are very nice to us and we get along very well. We do have some good times too.

Bunny: So the rest of you feel that despite whatever we have discussed there are more factors that would keep you here than make you want to go to an all-girl school. Do you like boys being at the school? (Most members of the group respond 'yes') OK let's discuss what it is about them that you do like.

Yolisa: I like most boys. There are some that tease you but there are some who are very nice (group laughs). If there were no boys in the class, then it would be very boring. There are boys who can be very loving.

Bunny: OK so help me out here, these boys whom we had spoken about earlier, are they in the minority?

Group: (some in the group say yes). What do the others think?

Nokhuthula: I love being around boys because some of them are very kind. I'd rather be with a group of boys who are kind than with a group of girls.

Bunny: There are certain classes at this school that are all-girl classes. How do you feel about all girl classes in a co-ed school?

Several members of the group responds, 'No we don't like it.'

Nokhutula: You can't always judge a book by its cover. Sometimes the boy can be very nice.

Bunny: I am very pleased with your responses and need to go on to other areas. What are the kinds of things that males generally tease you about?

Renusha: Your legs, your breasts.

Bunny: What about other parts of your body?

Nokhuthula: Flat bums, they say I have flat bums.

Bunny: What about the colour of your skin? (Many shout out yes) What do they say?

Gailen: They tease people that are dark-skinned. Call them pots (laughter). But girls are also guilty of this type of behaviour.

Bunny: We will come back to this point later. What I need to ask you is how you react when boys tease you?

Renusha: We tell the teachers but they do nothing about it. Sometimes they tell us that we are over reacting.

Nokhutula: We are also scared of reporting it because the boys can get us after school.

Bunny: What else do you do?

Nokhutula: I go home and tell my mother.

Renusha: I tell my mother and she comes to school to sort them out.

Bunny: What would you do about the problem? Would anyone in the group try to sort out the problem themselves?

(There was no agreement within the group- went back and forth- can do something and can't do anything about the problem.)

Name: No, because the boys in this school are wild.

Bunny: How do you feel when boys treat you this way?

Marcia: I feel embarrassed and ashamed.

Bunny: Do you begin to believe some of the things they say about you?

Yolisa: When they say that I am full of water, I feel very bad.

Bunny: What does that mean?

Yolisa: It means that you are taking contraceptives and they have a way of knowing when you are.

Nokhutula: I am very scared because I was beaten up once in the area where I live by some black boys, so I'm scared that it is going to happen here.

Bunny: So, are you scared of the boys in this school because of that.

N. Yes

Bunny: All the boys or only the black boys.

N. The black boys

Bunny: Now help me out here, are you saying that the black boys behave differently from the Indian boys?

N. Yes. Many of them are not disciplined and treat the female teachers with no respect. This school is for Indians its not for them.

Bunny: I need to ask something, when I came in earlier, I was told that at least 60 per cent of the children in this school are black, why do you then say that this school is for Indians when you are in the majority?

N. We are like foreigners here, even though we are more, we have to behave and become like them, not the other way around. Like the Indian boys don't smoke dagga like the black boys.

(Loud shouts of disagreement from other Indian members of the group)

Marcia. Indian boys are just as bad (some other members of the group approve)

Yolisa: Yes they may do it too, but the black boys are worse.

Bunny: I need to know if you think that black girls get treated differently compared to Indian girls, by the black boys.

Yolisa: (and the other black girls in the group) Yes. We get treated worse. They may say bad things to the Indian girls but with us, they touch us all over and think that we belong to them. The teachers also ignore it because they say we are black girls and they think its OK.

Bunny: Do the Indian boys treat you differently compared to the way they treat the Indian girls?

Nokhutula: No, they don't harass us as much, they are scared. But the black boys harass all the girls, only with us, its worse. I wish I could change the whole thing at this school, but I can't.

Bunny: Let's explore further what stops the Indian boys from harassing the black girls but not the Indian girls.

N: If they (Indian males) interfere with us, we tell the black boys and they fight with the Indian boys. So the Indian boys are scared to interfere with us.

Marcia: It is racial.

Bunny: what do you mean? (Silence)

Gailen: If the Indian boys interfere with the black girls, they know they will get hit by both the black boys and the black girls.

Bunny: Do the black girls agree with that?

N. Yes, I'll hit the boys if they are Indian (laughter). But with the black boys I can't do that. If I do, they will come with their gangs and get me.

Gailen: The black girls can go to the black boys and get protection from them if the Indian boys interfere with them.

Bunny: Do the black boys feel that they can harass you but the Indian boys mustn't harass you?

(black girls in the group nod and reply in the affirmative.)

N. They think they own us. They can harass us but no one else from another race group can.

Bunny: Do you think sexual harassment is a big problem at this school?

Group: Yes.

Gailen: We are always being teased about menstruating. They keep on saying that there are blood spots on our dresses.

Bunny: Does this embarrass you? (Group: Yes)

Bunny: So would you feel awkward to go to the toilet in the middle of the lesson to change.

Gailen: We don't go to the toilet.

Bunny: Let's talk about that for a while.

Gailen: We have no privacy. They walk in and out of the toilet. (Much interruption from other members of the group, many want to talk.)

Bunny: Ok let's do this one at a time.

Marcia: There are no lights in the toilet.

Yolisa: The boys hang around right outside the toilet.

Gailen: When you go in, they follow. I'm too scared to even take someone with me during lessons. It makes no difference even if many girls go, because there is always a big group of boys.

Bunny: So what do you do, if you have to use the toilets?

Marcia. We just don't go. We wait until we go home.

Bunny: Is this just you, or do the others do this as well?

(Most of the girls nod their heads)

Bunny: But, how do you survive, why don't you do something about it?

Marcia: There is nothing we can do, the school is doing nothing about it.

Bunny: What do the boys do?

G. They push us against the wall and even try to kiss us.

Yolisa: But some girls encourage it. Because they bunk their lesson and this is where they meet the boys.

Marcia: But that doesn't mean that its OK for them to harass us.

Renusha: We actually get messed sometimes when we are menstruating and some of us get bladder infections from not going to the toilet.

Bunny: Does this happen occasionally or is this a recurring problem?

Gailen: It happens all the time. The toilet is like a meeting place for boys and girls. We have absolutely no privacy.

Bunny: Does this include boys and girls from all race groups?

Group: Yes

Gailen: We also have no privacy in class because our bags get searched by the boys for tampons and pads. The once a boy found a pad and taped it onto a girl's back. She didn't know and walked around like that for quite some time. The worse thing is that some girls in the class encouraged the boy to do that. The girl was so embarrassed and ended up getting a bad name.

Bunny: So despite not having done anything wrong, she gets a bad name?

Gailen: Yes. So we actually scared to bringing pads and things to school. We can only change when we go home and that is why many girls end up getting messed. When we go to the secretary for a pad, we get scolded.

Bunny: What do you think can be done about the situation?

Gailen: Nothing.

Bunny: Do the others agree?

Group: Yes.

Bunny: Why?

Marcia: We have complained so many times, but nothing has been done. Eventually the problem becomes worse because we' re on our own.

Bunny: Do you feel this is your individual problem, or does the school need to address it?

Renusha: We feel like it is our own problem, but it shouldn't be that way. The teachers don't care enough to do something about it. If their children were at this school, then maybe they would have reacted.

Bunny: I'm still stunned by what you have said. While I recover, let's talk about why you think males behave this way?

Name: I think they learn from their parents.

Nokhutula: ....

Bunny: If I ask you to tell me what you think ought to be done to control, stop or prevent this type of behaviour, what would you suggest?

Gailen: Any boys with a police record should not be accepted at the school.

Marcia: Put lights in the toilets.

N. The teachers should make sure that the students are more disciplined. There is a lack of discipline here which is why it is so easy for the boys to behave this way.

Bunny: I'm very curious to know whether boys flirting with you and harassing you can easily be distinguished?

Yentle: There is a big difference, it is not the same.

Marcia: If a boy likes a girl, he goes up to her and tells her.

Bunny: So you can tell the difference.

Gailen: Oh yes.

Bunny: Do you think that girls can control their sexual needs?

Group: Yes

Bunny: Do you think that boys can control their sexual needs?

Group: Yes's and no's

N. With black boys, if we go out and he pays for everything, he expects to have sex. If we don't give it, he says we don't love him and even beats us to make love to him.

Bunny: are you talking about boyfriends here?

N Yes.

Bunny: How do you feel about that? Do you accept it?

N. No I don't want to. But if I don't give in, I am going to be lonely.

Bunny: Why do you say that he 'forced you to make love'? It is not possible to force someone to make love. If you don't want to do it it is rape.

Nokhutula: I don't believe that it is rape.

Bunny: Why not?

Nokhutula: Because he's my boyfriend, he loves me.

Bunny: Husbands and boyfriends can also rape. Rape is when someone has sex with you without your consent. Whether they love you or not has nothing to do with it. (Silence). Are we feeling awkward to talk about this?

Marcia: Well no. It is just that with Indian boys, they try their luck to have sex, but don't force us. Actually, we can say no we don't want to so they have to listen.

Bunny: Do you feel that you have the power to control whether you have sex or not?

Marcia: Yes

N. I think it is harder for us black girls to say no, because the boys tell us they have to have it, it is a natural thing.

Bunny: Do you think it is something that can be controlled?

N. Yes.

Yolisa: I think boys can't control their urges.

Yentle: If he respects you he will listen to you when you say no.

Bunny: Do you think that talking about sexual harassment has helped you understand it better?

Group: Yes

Yolisa: To hear what others feel inside, it is good. So you know that you are not the only one who feels that way.

Bunny: Is this the first time you are talking about it.

Group: Yes.

Bunny: When I went through your questionnaires, I picked up that many of you thought that the examples of sexual harassing behaviour that I had outlined was normal behaviour.

N. No, it is not normal behaviour.

Bunny: We haven't touched on male teachers at this school and sexually harassing behaviour. Is it a problem here?

Group: No.

N. But I did experience it at the primary school that I came from, but not here.

Gailen: What about teachers asking pupils out?

Bunny: Is that sexually harassing behaviour?

Marcia: No. The girl doesn't have to go out. Why does she agree? She is at fault for accepting a date.

Bunny: Do you think that the teacher has more power than the pupils and that may influence her decision?

Gailen: Yes. She may be scared to say no.

Yolisa. Well I don't agree. I've experienced male teachers staring at me in a way that makes me feel uncomfortable.

Bunny: Initially, you told me that it is not common for teachers to sexually harass females at this school. But from what Yolisa is saying, it does happen here.

Gailen: I know of a teacher who made a girl pregnant. She had a crush on the teacher and he used her.

Bunny: Would this be sexual harassment.

Gailen. I don't know, because she liked him.

Bunny: Something about the difference in their level of power and how this may have influenced the situation.

Yentle: What if he failed her if she didn't go out with him?

Gailen: I think the teacher took advantage of her because he knew she like him.

Bunny: What about things like sexual jokes in class?

Group: No.

(But with more probing and specific examples, a different picture emerged.)

Gailen: Related examples of how girls behaviour was sexualised, if they didn't perform well in class. Used to control them. Their private lives were continually being mentioned by both male and female teacher, especially their relationships with boys. The same did not apply to boys. What also emerged was that if sexually harassing behaviour occurs in class, teachers ignore it.

Yentle then mentioned an incident where a black boy harassed her in class and the teacher pretended that she didn't see. She said so felt terrible. I then asked if she would feel the same way if an Indian boy did that to her and she said yes, but feels worse about a black boy doing it.

Bunny: Why?

Yentle: Because the others would tease me because a black boy interfered with me. They will say things like, 'Don't hang out with us because that black boy touched you.'

Bunny: So, together with sexual harassment, there is also a racial element that is emerging here. The way you perceive it is affected by the race group of the male who harassed you?

So if the same behaviour is displayed by a black and an Indian male, you would view it differently?

Yentle: Yes (some awkwardness here.... Yentle was reluctant to elaborate because the black girls in the group were getting visibly upset with her, so I stopped that discussion.)

Bunny: If I asked you for advice about what needs to happen to help address some of these problems, what would you say?

Yentle: You can't do anything because the behaviour will still carry on.

Bunny: Is there anyone who wants to talk to me privately?

Gailen's and Yentle's disclosure- they said that the worst harassment comes from girls. They mentioned girls in the group. Both were on a diet because of the relentless teasing from others. They considered themselves to be overweight.

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Alexandra Secondary School

Bunny: Let's begin with what you think sexual harassment is.

Elaine (B): ER. I think it is anyone who says something to offend you or just something that a boy does to offend you.

Bunny: So is it something that only boys do to girls?

(Several voices in the group shout out- No!)

Elaine: Well...I think that girls can also do things to offend you.

Name: I think sexual harassment is when a male touches a part of you in a way that makes you feel uncomfortable with what he does to you.

Juanita (W): It doesn't necessarily have to be male it could be female.

Phumla: Sexual harassment is not only about touching, it doesn't only mean that a male touches your body to make you feel uncomfortable, it could also be females doing it and it could also be other things.

Bunny: What do you mean?

(Long silence)

Bunny: What if someone shows you photographs of a naked woman. Would that be sexual harassment?

Phumla: No

(Some in the group say yes)

Bunny: What if someone looks at you in a certain way that makes you feel uncomfortable? Would that be sexual harassment?

Phumla: No. They are admiring you. It doesn't mean if they are looking at you that they are meaning any harm.

Bunny: OK. Let me put to you the following. A group of boys look at her (gesturing towards Phumla) and she likes it. The same group of boys then stare at Elaine and she doesn't like it.   Would what Elaine experiences be sexual harassment?

Name: Yes. It depends on what Elaine thinks. It is a very personal thing.

Bunny: So are you saying two different people could view the same situation differently?

Name: Yes.

Elaine: Well, if Phumla liked it then how can it be sexual harassment?

Bunny: Can we explore a bit why some girls like this type of behaviour?

Juanita: Could there be a possibility that some girls like it because they think that maybe the boys are interested in them. They think that the boys are flirting with them and not harassing them?

Bunny: What do the others think?

Name: It doesn't mean that because the girls like this behaviour that it is ok for the boys to behave this way. I agree that a lot has to do with what the girls' think- but we can't say that it is only sexual harassment if only the girl says so. Some girls don't know what sexual harassment is.

Bunny: That is a very insightful comment. We have touched upon so far, that sexual harassment is not only physical, it can also be verbal and visual, and that both girls and boys can be subjected to it. There are other aspects to sexual harassment that I would like to bring to your attention and that is it could have racist undertones. For example, if someone tells a black girl, 'I hear that black girls are good in bed.' Is this something that you have experienced or witnessed at this school?

(Long silence- some girls shake their heads)

Bunny: Is sexual harassment a problem at this school?

Elaine: I think it is a problem in this school, but you have to really look.

Bunny: Do you mean that it is subtle and not easily noticeable?

Elaine: Yes.

Bunny: Let's us talk about this for a while.

Name: The girls like, if something happens, they don't want to talk about it. I don't know why. They don't tell the teachers about it.

Bunny: Do you regard it as a personal, private problem that you have to deal with on your own? Is this why you are silent about it?

Daniel: No, I don't think so, because, people try to blame you for the problem when you go to them. They try to cover up what has happened.

Bunny: (Nodding) I think it is important that you are talking about it now.

Daniel: I think that they don't talk because if they say the boys fondled me in the bathroom, they will get a bad name.

Bunny: Now that is interesting. The boys do the fondling but the girl gets the bad name?

Name: You get the bad name and you might feel like maybe it is me. Is my skirt too short?

Bunny: That is also very interesting. The girls are looking at themselves to see what they have done wrong rather than holding the boys responsible for their behaviour.

Priscilla: I can say, it is hard for me to go to the principal and say. The boys have been sticking their tongue out or something. I also can't show him that the boys did (she vigorously moves her tongue from side to side and there is much laughter.)

Bunny: So you have a problem articulating or expressing to the principal exactly what you've experienced. Are lacking the words to say what you've experienced or are you embarrassed to talk to him about it? I just want to understand what you mean?

Priscilla: It is because he is a man. It is better if you go to a lady.

Name: You know the problem is that some guys do these things to you. And then, you tell them I don't want you to do this thing to me. And they say, I'm just doing. What's wrong with you? And the next day, they do the same thing again. They make it seem like we are over-reacting.

Bunny: Is it easier to ignore the behaviour than to confront the boys about it? Do you get teased more if you confront them?

Name: Yes...

Mandisa: I think that when you report it to the teachers, they don't take it seriously. They make it seem that you are making up this whole thing. For them sexual harassment is like when someone rapes you. They think you are drawing attention to yourself.

Bunny: Something that I would like to share with you is that the perception of teachers in the schools that I have been to is that the girls are fine. There is no sexual harassment. But what is coming from you is that it is a problem. They are unaware of what you are experiencing.

Name: But they don't really want to know. They deny what happens to us.

Lindiwe: If I tell my teacher like for example someone was looking at me and I'm feeling uncomfortable. She would say, 'Nonsense man he's doesn't mean any harm, he's just fooling around with you, being a boy'.

Claire: Sometimes we are unsure ourselves about whether it is sexual harassment or not, so we don't know how to react.

Bunny: I know what you mean. Even at my age, I found it difficult to pinpoint incidence of sexual harassment whenever it was happening to me. I only realised long after it happened that it was sexual harassment. When I tried to do something about it, it was trivialised. I was partially blamed for having accepted a lift from this person who held a senior position at the school where I taught. I was told that if I want it to stop, I must avoid him. You are probably told, don't wear short skirts, or avoid the staircases etc. So it is us trying to avoid the problem rather than looking at the problem itself.

Daniel: Maybe teachers don't want to do anything about it will give the school a bad name.

Bunny: From what you have told me thus far, I would be interested to know what you do to avoid being harassed by boys. How do you adapt your behaviour? What do you change about yourself to avoid this type of behaviour?

Sam: I come early in the morning in a bad mood, as a warning to the boys to just leave me alone (laughter).

Bunny: What else do you do?

Juanita: You tend not to talk to guys anymore, you tend to go into a shell.

Bunny: Do girls harass girls?

Name: Girls give the boys lots of stories about other girls. This then goes around the school and the girls gets a bad name. People look at you differently and you feel bad about yourself. You loose your self-esteem.

Bunny: That is one of the effects of sexual harassment.

Bunny: Would you prefer to be at an all-girl schools.

Mandisa: Girls in an all girl school won't be able to survive in the real world. They won't learn the skill to survive.

Bunny: What skills are you talking about?

Mandisa: I try to ignore the boys. Sometimes I fight back.

Elaine: we show them that two can play the same game.

Bunny: Do you pay a price for resisting.

Juanita: You get it back, worse.

Bunny: What about the names you get called?

Sam: Ok I'm a big girl. I get told that I will be a great rugby player. We also get called bitch, caravan, and some words in Zulu

(The buzzer sounds- girls have to leave some volunteer to stay behind)

Bunny: Let's go to these Zulu words. Is it only the black boys who use them?

Elaine: No, they teach the white boys these words, now they all use it.

Bunny: Do the black girls in the group feel that your experiences of sexual harassment is different from what the white girls experience?

(Many yes's from the group).

Elaine: I was caught between the railing and I was screaming but nothing was done to help me. It is almost as if the teachers feel that black boys behave this way.

Bunny: The sexual harassment you experience (to black girls,) is it mostly from the black boys?

(black girls say yes)

Elaine: With the white boys-the sexual harassment is mostly word, like bitch etc. but with the black boys it is that and touching.

Bunny: So it is both verbal and physical (deliberately using these terms, to help them articulate)

Juanita (W): Black boys seem to have in their head that women are inferior. So when women say no, they feel they have the power over them to do whatever they want.

What emerged here is that black boys harass both white and black females, but for the white females it is more verbal and for the blacks it is more physical. With black girls the white boys harass them too, but its more verbal than physical.

B. How bad are some of the extreme examples of sexual harassment

Elaine: being forced to kiss the boys. Also being threatened to get raped.

Mandisa: The worse thing that happened to me was a boys putting his hand up my dress. What made it worse, was that a teacher was in class. I looked at her and said, aren't you going to do something? She did nothing. (black girls relating the incident)

Bunny: How does that make you feel?

Juanita: I am so scared and terrified. He makes it seem as if there is nothing we can do.

Bunny: Does it affect you school work in any way?

Juanita: Its there in the back of my mind, like a kind of worry. Especially during breaks and things, when we have to go to the tuck-shop or walk up the stairs.

Bunny: Do all boys do this?

Group: No, only some.

Name (B): Today I swore one of the boys in my drama class.

Discussion on how all their behaviour is sexualised. For example, if the girls ignore the boys, they are frigid bitches, if they allow the boys to do anything, they are whores and loose. If they fight back, they are lesbians and tight assed.

Bunny: Does it affect you participation in schooling activities?

Juanita: I will dare not take part in a swimming gala, because I will be worried about what the boys are saying, 'Fuck me like a dog.'

B: Is the school doing enough?

Elaine: I don't think so. I went to the principal once to complain, and all he did was give the boy detention.

Juanita: In standard 6 there was a black boy who was harassing the white girls, they moved him to another class with mostly black girls, but he still harassed them. The problem was not really addressed.

B: Is this behaviour we have discussed normal behaviour for boys?

Group answers no.

B: Why do they do this?

Whole macho thing. Juanita thinks that they (the boys) think it is normal behaviour, not the girls

B: Boys and girls sexual needs- both boys and girls can control. It is learned behaviour, can be unlearned.

What can we do- have sexual harassment policies- workshops.

B: Differentiate between flirting and sexual harassment. Can they tell the difference?

Juanita: We can tell the difference from the way we feel.

Then a discussion on how loving and caring some boys can be.

Also how sensitive they have become to incidents. One girl who kept a journal said the incidence increased, as she became more aware. But at first it was difficult.

I told them management is not aware. Elaine said that they are not silencing themselves, but the school is silencing them by not giving them a hearing. Girls are blamed for boys harassing them.

Asked for recommendation- they said. Listen to us. Juanita says that there needs to be some common understanding about since they have different views they said the subtle ones are hard to deal with, but can easily identify the overt ones.

Here again, the teachers were defining their behaviours sexually. They are threatening to tell parents about their girlfriends.

How will you do things differently now?

Juanita: I will make sure that I am going to be heard. I feel more confident now that I know that so many of us have the same problem. I thought I was the only one being harassed. We are stronger in the group.

Elaine: I am not the one with the problem, it is him. I am going to the principal if it happens again and tell him, to take a step in the right direction. If he doesn't know I will show him.

Bunny: Whose responsibility should it be to address these problems?

APPENDIX C

QUESTIONNAIRES

1.What race group do you belong to? _____

2.How old are you? _____

3.How many brothers and sisters do you have? _____ brothers

_____ sisters

4.Do you have or ever had a boyfriend/partner? _____

5.List below three characteristics that you would like your boyfriend/partner to have:

_____

6. For each of the following roles, write down whom you think should be responsible for them. Only males, only females or both males and females

Housework_____

Taking care of children _____

Asking someone for a dance_____

Cooking _____

Proposing marriage _____

Making decisions about how money is spent in the house _____

7.The following are names that some boys call girls. Tick the ones that you don't like:

dame, broad, chick, sugar, bitch, stekkie, flame, cherry, baby

7.1Are there any that males in your school use that you can add to the list?

8.What are some of the terms that boys in your school use to describe girls' bodies?

For e.g. nice ass, nice tits, sexy legs

_____

_____

9. Do males at school generally tease you about any of the following? Tick whichever

applies. Your physical appearance; your weight; your height; colour of your skin;

race group; any disability, any other (please write it down)

_____

_____

_____

10. How would you describe yourself? (for example, attractive, shy, overweight,

lacking confidence etc.)

_____

_____

_____

11.Would each of the following give you a bad feeling or a good feeling? In the

space provided, write next to each either good or bad.

A male opening the car door for you _____

A male paying for everything during a date_____

Males whistling at you as you pass them in the corridor during breaks_____

All the male pupils in your class vote you as the winner in a 'sexy

boobs'competition_____

12. The following questions require a yes or no answer.

Do you like being in a school which has both boys and girls

_____

Boys' need to have sex is greater than girls' need to have sex

_____

Boys can control their sexual urges

_____

Girls can control their sexual urges

_____

Males and females should be treated equally in society

_____

Do some male pupils at your school behave in a way that makes

you feel uncomfortable?

_____

Do some male teachers at your school behave in a way

that makes you feel uncomfortable?

_____

13. Have male pupils at your school done any of the following to you? (tick only

in the spaces provided for you on the left i.e. below the asterix *)

                                                         *

a. Making jokes about females that are sexual   ____ ____

b. Say things that mock females   ____ ____

c. Called you or anyone else a lesbian   ____ ____

d. Called you or anyone else a bitch   ____ ____

e. Pat/pinch any part of your body   ____ ____

f. Constantly brush against you   ____ ____

g. Demanding sex in exchange for a favour   ____ ____   *

h. Male pupil continuously touches you while talking to you.   ____ ____

i. Male pupil shows you a photograph of a naked woman   ____ ____

j. Male teacher asks you for a date several times.   ____ ____

k. Talk about sex in a way that makes you feel uncomfortable   ____ ____

l. Touched you or anyone else in places you don't want to be touched   ____ ____

m. Teasing you or anyone else about some aspect of your body   ____ ____

14. Any other behaviour that you would like to write about

_____

15. Go back to number 13, and for each of the behaviours tick those you consider as

normal behaviour for males in the space provided for you on the right.

_____

16.Why do some males behave in the ways described in 13?

_____

_____

_____

17. From the list below, tick off what you think is sexual harassment in the space provided

A male pupil calls you a lesbian or bitch

_____

A female pupil calls you a lesbian or bitch

_____

Having any part of your body patted and pinched by a male

_____

Males at school constantly brush against you

_____

Male pupil continuously touches you while talking to you.

_____

Male pupils demanding sex in exchange for a favour

_____

Male pupil shows you a photograph of a naked woman

_____

Male teacher asks you for a date several times.

_____

Male pupil talks about sex in a way that makes you feel uncomfortable

_____

Male pupil teasing you or anyone else about some aspect of your body

_____

Female pupil teasing you or anyone else about some aspect of your body

_____

A male pupil that you have been admiring for some time pinches your bottom

_____

A male pupil that you don't like pinches your bottom

_____

A male pupil stares at you in a way that makes you feel uncomfortable

_____

A male teacher/pupil jokes that girls are not good in the classroom but are good in the bedroom

_____

A male pupil in your class deliberately lifts your dress

_____

Your boyfriend forces you to have sex

_____

A boy that you go out with for the first time forces you to have sex

_____

Rape

_____

Boys whistling at girls

———

Boys admiring girl's legs

———

Any other behaviour you would like to add?

_____

_____

18. Describe any effects the above behaviours have on you (for example, does it affect the way you dress, your participation in sport, or going alone to the toilet). If there is none, leave this section blank

_____

_____

_____

19.Are there any areas of the schools that you avoid because you don't want the boys to interfere with you? If your answer is yes, please list the areas.

_____

_____

20.Write down why you would/or would not want to go to an all girl school.

_____

_____

_____

21. Read the following case which is a true account:

A new girl called Jen goes to Leyds High in the middle of the term. Many of the boys take an interest in her. On her first day at school, she wears a skirt which is part of her old school uniform. It is shorter than what most of the girls in Leyds High wear. During the break, one of the male pupils tells her that he would like to see what's under her skirt. Jen tells him to 'get lost'. The boy gets cross and calls her a bitch. Jen complains to the teachers , but is told that there is nothing they can do because she caused the problem by wearing such a short skirt.

What are your views on the following?

21.1 Jen being called a bitch

_____

21.2. The boy whistling at Jen

_____

_____

21.3. The teachers' response

_____

_____

21.4.Whose responsibility is it to deal with the problem, the girl or the teacher or the school or the parent?

_____

21.5.What advice would you give to Jen about how to deal with the problem?

_____

_____

22. Do some of the boys behave in a similar way at your school? If your answer is

yes, please give some

detail_____

_____

22.1.If your answer is yes to the question above, do your teachers/HODs/principal do

enough to help the girls? _____

23. Is it common for boys to tease other boys at your school? If your answer is yes,

please give some detail

_____

24 Is it common for girls to tease boys at your school? If your answer is yes, please

give some detail.

_____

_____

_____

25.What is your definition of sexual harassment?

_____

_____

26. Is sexual harassment in this school a big problem? Give some detail whether your answer is yes or no.

_____

_____

27. Describe some of the behaviour of male pupils that makes you feel uncomfortable. Where possible include how have you reacted to this behaviour.

_____

_____

_____

28. Write down some of the effects the above behaviour has on you.

_____

29. What have you done about the problem/s you have outlined above

_____

30. What are some of the things you do to avoid being teased by males?

_____

_____

Use the space below for any additional information you may want to give me.

APPENDIX D

ETHICAL STANDARDS STATEMENT IN RESPECT OF RESEARCH

1.   Contract with participants

    1.1.   Expected number of participants: **Min- 100   Max-150**

    1.2.   Age range   :   **15 - 20 years**

    1.3.   Features of population from which participants will be drawn:

    schoolgirls from different racial, social and economic classes.

2.   Information provided to participants

    2.1.   Participants will be informed that participation is voluntary and given something printed to this effect.

    2.2.   Participants will sign a written consent form.

    2.3.   Participants will be provided with a general description of the aims and nature of the study that will be an honest and open description

3.   Legal concerns regarding consent

    3.1.   Consent will be obtained from the school administration and governing body to use participants in this research project.

3.2.   As the participants are under 21 years consent will also be obtained from parents.   Parents will not be given specific details of the project.   The reason for this is that participants will be making journal entries of a confidential nature at home as part of their homework. The Participants themselves will decide how much detail they want to divulge should they choose to.

4.   Privacy, anonymity and confidentiality of data

4.1.   All data will be collected anonymously and there will be no record of participants' names.
Participants may be observed unobtrusively in school.   They will be fully informed when this occurs.

4.3.   In order to ensure anonymity of participants, personal details identifying information will be deliberately altered in the report. The way in which this will be done will be discussed with the participants concerned and their agreement will be obtained.

5. Feedback to participants

5.1. A written summary of the main findings of the study will be offered to participants and sent to those who provide their names and addresses.

5.2. Participants will be invited to read the full report once it is written. Feedback meetings will be held in order to share the results of the study and to facilitate implementation of recommendations arising from such findings with individual participants and with participants as a group.

6. Potential Risks

6.1 There is no risk of harm to participants or to the community at large. However, third parties may be implicated due to the nature of this study. The researcher is bound by confidentiality with participants. In such a case the participant who is the victim will be referred to the Child Counselling Centre based in Pietermaritzburg where they will be advised about how to proceed. Arrangements have already been made to accommodate such participants.

7. Potential benefits

7.1. Benefits are expected to accrue to the participants and to the community. It is hoped that in workshopping, observing, and documenting sexual harassment, the participants will be able to have a better understanding of this problem. Recommendations of how to deal with it will empower them to act against this practice.

I accept responsibility for conducting the research project in the manner described herein.

_____   _____ ___

M. Subedar   Date

Appendix E- Photographs

Appendix E: 1 Sobantu Secondary School

Appendix E: 1 Sobantu Secondary School

Appendix E- Photographs

Appendix E: 2 Sobantu Secondary School- Poor Maintenance

Appendix E: 2 Sobantu Secondary School- Poor Maintenance
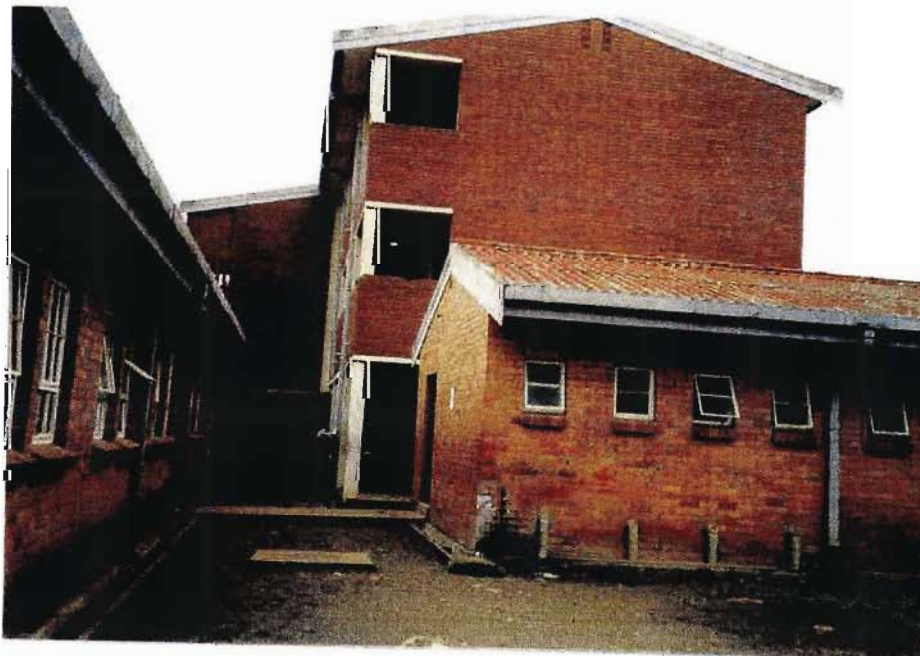
Appendix E- Photographs

Appendix E: 3 Esther Payne Smith Secondary School

Appendix E: 3 Esther Payne Smith Secondary School

Appendix E- Photographs

Appendix E: 4 Esther Payne Smith Secondary School- Poor Maintenance

Appendix E: 4 Esther Payne Smith Secondary - Poor Maintenance

Appendix E- Photographs

Appendix E: 5 Eastwood Secondary School

Appendix E: 5 Eastwood Secondary School

Appendix E- Photographs

Appendix E: 6 Eastwood Secondary School -Schoolgrounds

Appendix E: 6 Eastwood Secondary School- Schoolgrounds

Appendix E- Photographs

Appendix E: 7 Emphasis on Sports for Boys

YOUNG STARS: The school's under-15 soccer team at the MTN soccer challenge last year

Appendix E: 7 Emphasis on Sports for Boys

TO THE RESCUE: Eastwood Secondary swimmers who have been awarded their bronze certificates in lifesaving

Appendix E- Photographs

Appendix E: 7 Girls Cheering Boys

Appendix E- Photographs
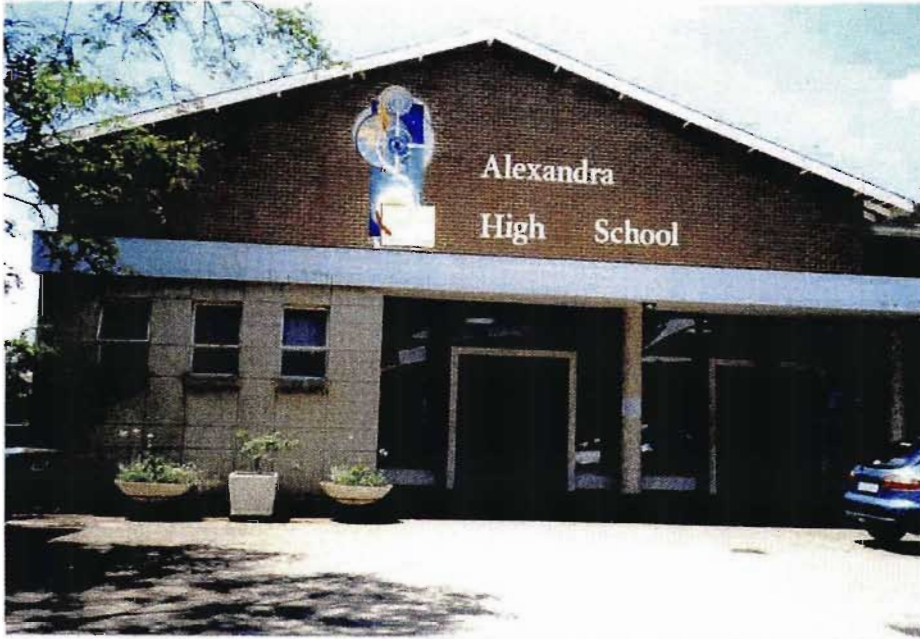
Appendix E: 8 Alexandra Secondary School

Appendix E: 8 Alexandra Secondary School

Appendix E- Photographs

Appendix E: 8 Alexandra Secondary School

Appendix E: 8 Alexandra Secondary School

Appendix E- Photographs

Appendix E: 8 Alexandra Secondary School

Appendix E: 8 Alexandra Secondary School

Appendix E- Photographs

Appendix E: 9 Boys Congregating in Corridors

Appendix E: 9

Appendix E- Photographs

Appendix E: 10 Boys Congregating Outside Girls' Toilets

Appendix E: 10 Boys Congregating Outside Girls' Toilets

Appendix E- Photographs

Appendix E: 11 Meaningful Relationships

THE CODE OF CONDUCT FOR SOBANTU SECONDARY SCHOOL

SECTION A

PREAMBLE

The democratic process of consultation has resulted to the birth of this code of conduct through which the collective will 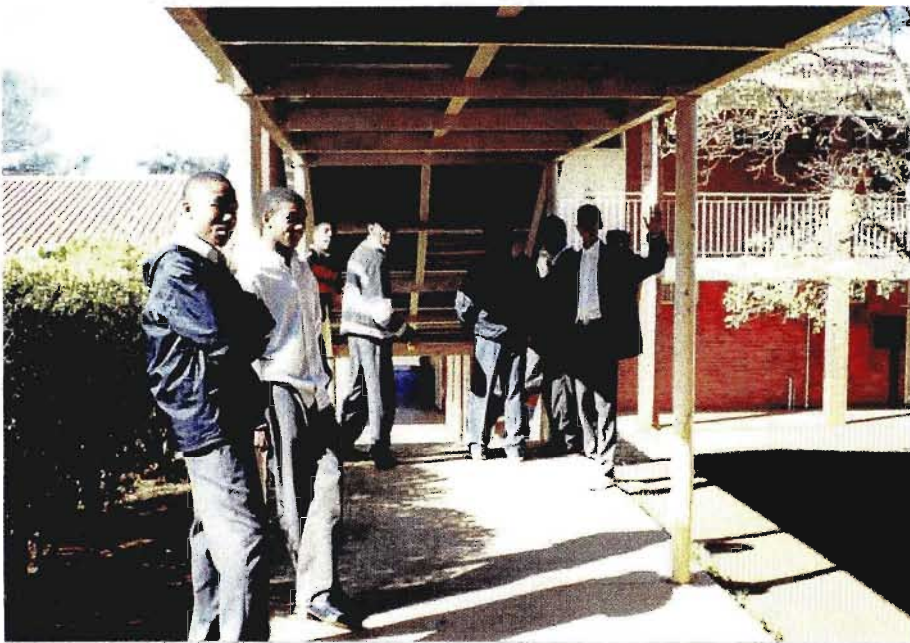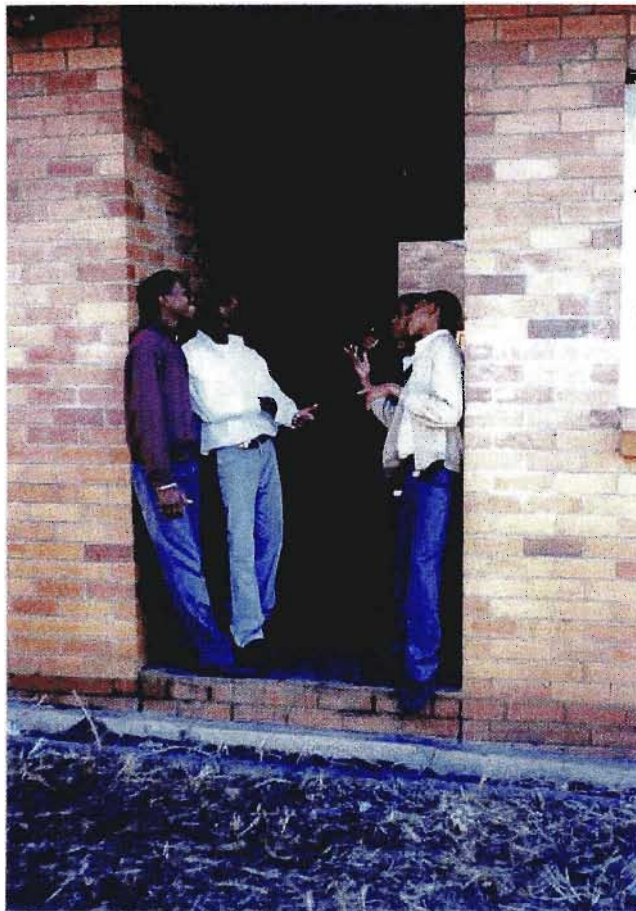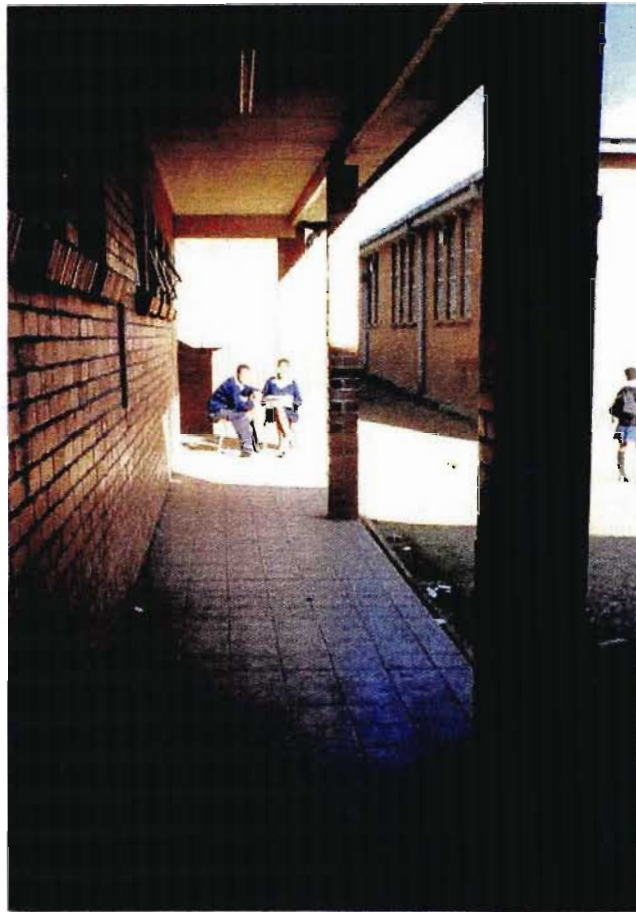of the school community is expressed. This collective will expresses itself as a desire for a pleasant safe school environment, an environment which is conducive for effective learning and teaching. This code of conduct intends to promote both a sense of pride and belonging to the school and a desire for an atmosphere which is conducive to effective teaching and learning.

The Code of Conduct is therefore, the set of rules by which the learners' conduct is regulated in order to achieve these aims, and it also sets out the disciplinary procedures, communication channels and grievance procedures which are available. In terms of the Schools' Act, learners are compelled to comply with the provisions of the Code of Conduct.

1. MISSION STATEMENT

Our mission to our country is to be proactive, and effective in meeting the society's needs for relevant secondary school education.

Our mission to our pupils is to strive to provide the best and most suitable tuition possible and to promote the status of their secondary school education.

Our mission to the local community is to help wherever possible with our facilities and expertise to improve the quality of their lives and thereby to make them proud to have this school in their midst.

Our mission to our staff is to provide, through a stimulating and satisfying work environment, a sense of job satisfaction.

2. VISION

The following are the aims and objectives of the school. It is on the basis of these general aims and objectives that annual objectives may be formulated.

HOW TO ACHIEVE IT

2.1 To reinstate the culture of teaching and learning.
2.2 To recommit the community to the education of its children.
2.3 To extend the commitment of the private sector in the education of its potential employees.
2.4 To improve and maintain the highest pass rate possible.
2.5 To improve the quality of education of the pupils.
2.6 To improve working conditions of all staff members.
2.7 To encourage self discipline among pupils and staff.

2.8 To increase the level of competence among staff members.

2.9 To encourage staff and pupil exchange among neighbouring schools.

2.10 To be committed, effective and efficient in educational cause.

SECTION B

UNIFORM AND GENERAL APPEARANCE

This applies at all times that the learner is wearing a uniform of the school. The breaking of this rule will be treated seriously.

1. Learners should regard the wearing of their school uniform as an honour and should be proud of their school, and neat in their dress and appearance. Should learners not be able to wear the correct uniform on a particular day, they must have a letter of explanation from their parents or guardians. This letter must be taken to the Head of Department for that learner's Grade for the H O D to note and sign, and must then be kept on the individual's person at all times. Hats are forbidden within the school premises, if one is seen with the hat either on or off, hats will be confiscated.

2. Ties must be worn at all times except in the classroom where they may be removed with the permission of the staff member concerned. When a tie is worn the top button of the shirt must be done up.

3. Jewellery includes any decorative adornment worn on the body, like rings, earrings, necklaces, bracelets or anklets.
   a) Boys may not wear any visible jewellery, other than watches and medical bands.
   b) Girls may also wear watches and medical bands.

4. The following rules apply to HAIR:
   Boys

   a) Hair will be clean, neat and tidy at all times.
   b) Exotic hairstyles do not conform to the school rules.
   c) Faces shall be clean shaven on a daily basis.
      (i) There will be no moustaches or attempts to grow beards.
   d) Should it become necessary for cultural or other reasons to deviate from the norms set out above, please contact the Principal.

   Girls

   a) Hair will be clean, neat and tidy at all times.
   b) Girls are allowed to have their hair relaxed and combed backwards.
   c) Exotic hairstyles do not conform to the school rules.
   d) Should it become necessary for cultural or other reasons

6. The following rules will apply to civvies days:

    a) As these days are a privilege, not a right, the Principal reserves the right to restrict the general appearance of learners.

    b) Learners should remember that they are at school, and avoid wearing outfits or items of clothing which may be inappropriate for this context or which may cause offence (eg. T-shirts with obscene logos and/or designs).

    c) Headgear may not be worn on civvies days.

    d) The rules that apply to jewellery for boys also apply on civvies days.

SECTION C: IN ADDITION TO SECTION B THE FOLLOWING IS MADE KNOWN

Repeated contravention of the following will be regarded as Serious Misconduct (See Suspension under the list of Offences)

1. Learners are expected to use their common sense at all times and must not do anything that will bring the name of the school into disrepute. Therefore any behaviour that is detrimental to the tone and good name of the school or is harmful to other people, is against the Code of Conduct.

2. Learners should be well-mannered and courteous at all times. Learners must not slouch around with their hands in their pockets and must always stand up and greet adults in a cheerful manner.

3. If the teacher fails to arrive after five minutes one learner is to report to the front office. If a teacher has been announced as being absent, learners should report immediately, at the start of the lesson to their batting teacher/s.

4. Learners who arrive at school late MUST REPORT to the front office before they go to their lessons.

5. Learners MAY NOT go to the toilet between lessons or in class-time without written permission from the teacher. Staff are asked to be circumspect in this regard.

6. Learners must move quickly and quietly between lessons and must be at their lesson promptly.

7. All school property, including text books, is to be treated with respect. Any broken or damaged property must be reported immediately. The grounds and classrooms must be kept free of litter.

8. The staffroom and the corridor outside the staffroom is OUT OF BOUNDS as are the secretaries' offices during lesson time.

9. Except in cases of emergency no appointments during school time, with doctors or dentists. So Should such appointments have to be made then proof of this must be produced at school.

10. When learners have been absent from school they must bring a letter, on the first day they return to school, from their parents or guardians, explaining their absence.

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11. Homework is an essential part of school work and must be recorded in a homework notebook and thoroughly done by the due date. Parents of learners are required to sign the notebook nightly to indicate they are satisfied with the homework done.

12. All learners are expected and encouraged to participate in the wide variety of extra-curricular activities offered by the school.

13. Once learners have committed themselves to an extra-curricular activity they are obliged to continue with the activity until the end of the season/year (as applicable). Learners must attend all scheduled practices unless personally excused by the teacher-in-charge beforehand. Learners chosen for school teams to compete in inter-school matches must meet this obligation unless excused by the teacher-in-charge at least two days prior to the match. They will be excused only if their other commitment is deemed to take precedence over their school obligation. Mundane arrangements such as a weekend vacation are not deemed to take such precedence.

14. It is expected that all learners show an interest in the sporting and other extra-mural activities by regular attendance both as participants and spectators.

15. The prefects will inform the earners of out of bounds areas.

16. The use or possession of tobacco, is strictly forbidden on the school premises, in school uniform or at any time when such behaviour is disrespectful or detrimental to the name of the school.

17. Other peoples' property is to be left strictly alone. Anyone in possession of other peoples' property without permission will be severely dealt with.

18. Possession of keys which gain entrance to school property is strictly forbidden.

19. Possession of potentially dangerous articles (eg. knives) is strictly forbidden. Should these be brought to school for any reason they must be handed in at the front office...

20. Being on the school premises after sunset,will be regarded as trespassing and prosecution could result.

21. Physical contact is not allowed in the normal course of events.

SECTION D: LIST OF OFFENCES DESERVING OF A WARNING, SUSPENSION OR EXPULSION

WARNING AND PUNISHMENT	SUSPENSION (SERIOUS MISCONDUCT)	EXPULSION (SERIOUS MISCONDUCT)
1. Use of vulgar language in public.	1. Use of alcohol at school.	1. Serious assault: educator non-educator learner.

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WARNING AND PUNISHMENT	SUSPENSION (SERIOUS MISCONDUCT)	EXPULSION (SERIOUS MISCONDUCT)
2. Cheating in class.	2. Theft-major	2. Repeated defiance of the school authorities.
3. Petty theft.	3. Cheating in tests/ examinations.	3. Use and/or sale (peddling) of drugs, pornographic material and similar morally debilitating actions.
4. Lying.	4. Blatant dishonesty	4. Theft involving violence.
5. Bringing school's name into disrepute	5. Threats to educators	5. Guilt proven in a court of law.
6. Damage to school's property – minor.	6. Deliberate and serious undermining of the authority of the principal and educators.	6. Possessing a weapon at school e.g. firearm, knife with blade longer than 4cm, dagger, panga, stick, etc.
7. Damage to property of others-minor.	7. Threats of violence to fellow-learners.	7. Any act, which in the opinion of the disciplinary tribunal, endangers the life and safety of others.
8. Sexual harrassment: 8.1 Sexual remarks. 8.2 Snapping of bras. 8.3 Groping bodies. 8.4 Pulling down of shorts. 8.5 Flipping up of skirts 8.6 Sexualised jokes in mixed company.	8. Intimidation of others to enforce acquiescence.	8. Sexual coercion: aggressive action aimed at procuring sexual flavours.
9. Persistent disobe-dience.	9. Actions provoking racism.	9. Sexual assault: sex-related crimes/mis-conduct-inclu-ding rape and sexual assault.
10. Unsporting behaviour	10. Repeated gender harrassment	
11. Persistent non-co-operation with an educator or with the school authorities.		

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WARNING AND PUNISHMENT

12.   Smoking at school.

13.   Actions obviously aimed
      at humiliating educators
      and fellow-learners.

14.   Distribution of obscene/
      pornographic material.

15.   Hurtful, nasty personalized
      graffitti.

SECTION E: DISCIPLINARY MEASURES

All disciplinary measures will be undertaken with due regard to a
learner's right to be treated with dignity. Learners will have,
in all circumstances, the right to appeal.

1.   Letter Of Warning: If a learner is guilty of misconduct which
     the Principal regards as serious enough to inform parents about,
     a letter of warning may be issued. This letter would serve as
     an indication that future misconduct by the learner will result
     in serious disciplinary measures being taken. NB. A learner
     is warned 3 times in 1 year. After these warnings, suspension
     is deemed fit.

2.   Suspension: Suspension is a disciplinary measure that is
     available for dealing with serious misconduct (as outlined in
     Section D). The following points are the guidelines to be
     followed.

     a)   The Governing Body may order the suspension of a learner -
          (i)   as a correctional measure for a period not longer than
                one week after being found gruilty of misconduct;

     b)   The Governing Body may order the suspension of a learner
          before misconduct charges are put to a learner if the
          following requirements are met.

          (i)   the learner is being accused of serious misconduct
                 on or off the school premises which could lead, if
                 the truth of the charge is established, to the
                 expulsion of the learner from the school;

          (ii)   it is the opinion of the governing body that the
                 continued presence of the learner-

          either endangers the maintenance of discipline or social
          well-being at such school,

          or hinders or prevents the investigation into his/her conduct.

     c)) Before making an order for the suspension of a learner in
          terms of sub-regulation (b) above, the Governing Body must-

(i)

    (i)   inform the learner and the parent of –
        firstly, the allegations made regarding the miconduct of
        the learner, and secondaly, the reasons why suspension is
        being considered;

    (ii)   afford the learner and the parent an opportunity to
        advance reasons why the learner should not be suspended
        pending the outcome of an enquiry in terms of regulation 6.

  d) If the Governing Body, after consideration of the
     representations referred to in sub-regulation (c), decides
     to order the suspension of a learner,   it must–

    (i)   inform both the learner and the parent in writing of its
        decision, and

    (ii)   ensure that charges are put to the learner within two
        school days after the day on which the suspension takes
        place.

3.   Expulsion: Expulsion would be the last resort as a disciplinary
    measure, and would be considered on the recommendation of the
    Tribunal which conducts disciplinary hearings. All the offences
    listed in Section D: Serious Misconduct are considered to be
    potential grounds for expulsion. Reference will always be made
    to The Schools' Act 84 and Act 3 of 1996.

DRESS CODE

Pupils will wear the following School Uniform:

GIRLS: A navy blue skirt
         A white short or long sleeved shirt or;
         A gold short or long sleeved shirt
         Navy blue socks
         Black shoes (laced)
         A school tie (navy blue with gold stripes)
         A navy blue jersey
BOYS: A navy blue/grey pair of trousers
         A White shirt
         Navy blue socks
         Black shoes (laced)
         A school tie (navy blue with gold stripes)
         A navy blue jersey

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EASTWOOD SECONDARY SCHOOL CODE OF CONDUCT

e learners of Eastwood Secondary School are expected to uphold our school
tto of "Loyalty, Honour and Truth'. As ambassadors of our school we expect
emplary behaviour at all times.

SCIPLINE

The maintenance and enforcement of discipline at Eastwood Secondary
School (hereinafter referred to as the school) is an essential element
of the school's function and future existence.

Our school has a long and proud tradition and learners are expected to
uphold these values and to recognize the convictions, cultural traditions
and especially the dignity of their fellow learners.

Parents/Guardians and learners are therefore enjoined to assist the
management and staff of the school in protecting these traditions and
values and in ensuring that all learners, at all times, are able to
freely explore their academic potential and sporting abilities in a safe,
clean and law abiding environment.

To this end, school rules and more particularly, a code of conduct has
been drafted to guide the behaviour of the learners and those responsible
for their conduct at school. This code of conduct is simply a set of
rules by which the conduct of learners at school is regulated.

By applying this code equally and fairly, misconduct or unacceptable
behaviour will be discouraged, the fundamental rights of the school
community will be protected and a safe and disciplined environment for
quality education will be ensured.

HTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

At Eastwood Secondary School learners have:

the right to be listened to and taken seriously
the responsibility to listen to others

the right to be respected and protected from harm
the responsibility to show others respect and caring

the right to make mistakes
the responsibility to learn from their mistakes

the right to receive attention for special needs
the responsibility to be the best person possible

the right to have a safe and comfortable school
the responsibility to keep it clean and neat and treat it with respect

the right to be proud of their school, their family traditions and
beliefs
the responsibility to respect the traditions of the school and other
people

the right to work and learn without being disturbed by other
the responsibility to be considerate to others while at work

the right to be forgiven and given a second chance
the responsibility to be forgiving and tolerant of others.

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CODE OF CONDUCT

A. GENERAL

1. Learners are required to observe official school hours : they must arrive at school before the 08:00 bell and may not leave the school until dismissed by a staff member following the final bell.

2. Any absence from school, during official hours, must be explained by a written note from the parent/guardian. Absence on medical grounds of 3 days or more must be explained by a doctor's certificate. These notes must be presented immediately on the learner's return to school.

3. Learners are expected to deliver all notices to parents promptly.

4. Learners are expected to take pride in the school and to respect and protect its good reputation.

5. The behaviour of all learners is expected to be exemplary at all times.

6. Learners are expected to be friendly, courteous, tolerant, considerate and respectful in their dealings with the public, staff members, fellow learners and especially visitors to the school.

7. Learners are expected to be responsible for their own possessions and to respect the possessions of others.

8. Learners are expected to complete the work assigned to them to the best of their ability.

9. The school is Christian in character and learners should respect these values and traditions.

10. Learners are expected to honour their extra-curricular commitments and any absence therefrom must be explained by a written note from the parent/guardian or doctor, as the case may be.

11. Learners are expected to be obedient and all instructions from the principal, educators or prefects/monitors, must be carried out promptly and properly.

12. Learners are expected to obey all other existing school rules and those which from time to time may be incorporated or amended.

B. DISCIPLINARY OFFENCES

Any learner who:

1. disobeys or disregards lawful instructions, school rules, safety rules and regulations or standing orders;

2. is absent from school without a valid reason;

3. is insubordinate, by word or conduct;

4. deliberately misuses or damages school property;

5. steals any property

6. is dishonest or deliberately misleads or lies to a staff member or fellow learner.

7. litters whilst on school premises, or whilst attending or taking part in an official school function or whilst on an official school excursion.

8. conducts himself/herself immorally whilst on school premises, or whilst attending or taking part in an official school function or whilst on an official school excursion.

9. engages in fighting, intimidation, bullying or ill treatment of others;

10. uses indecent and/or obscene language, written or verbal, on school premises or whilst attending or taking part in an official school function or whilst on an official school excursion;

11. possesses indecent and/or obscene matter in any format, whilst on school premises, or whilst attending or taking part in an official school function or whilst on an official school excursion.

12. possesses dangerous weapons whilst on school premises, or whilst attending or taking part in an official school function or whilst on an official school excursion.

13. possesses or consumes intoxicating liquor or narcotics on the school premises or whilst attending or taking part in an official school function or whilst on an official school excursion;

14. performs or assists in the performance of any act which is contrary to the interests of the school ......

shall be guilty of an offence and subject to one or more of the prescribed punishments.

PUNISHMENT

Violations, may attract one or more of the following sanctions:

1. Verbal warning by an educator

2. Verbal or written warning by the principal

3. Extra Homework / *DETENTION*
   This will be constructive in nature and will be carried out after official school hours.

4. In house suspension
   The learner will still attend school but will be isolated and may be given additional tasks to perform.

5. Suspension

(1) The Governing Body may order the suspension of a learner:

   (a) as a correctional measure for a period of not longer than one week after being found guilty of misconduct;

   (b) pending a decision as to whether the learner is to be expelled from school, after being found guilty of serious misconduct;

   (c) before misconduct charges are put where the learner is accused of serious misconduct, which if proved, could lead to his expulsion;

   (d) where his/her continued presence:

      (i) endangers the maintenance of discipline or the social well-being of the school;

      (ii) hinders or obstructs the investigation into his/her conduct;

(2) Before suspending a learner, the Governing Body will inform the parents/guardian and the learner of the allegations and the reasons why suspension is being considered and furthermore will also afford the parents/guardian and/or the learner an opportunity to advance reasons why he/she should not be suspended.

(3) The Governing Body shall thereafter inform the parents/guardian and learner in writing of its decision.

8. Expulsion

(1) A learner may be expelled from school if he/she is found guilty of serious misconduct.

(2) Serious misconduct includes the following:

    (a) serious assaults

    (b) repeated defiance of school authorities

    (c) possession/use of narcotics/alcohol

    (d) possession of indecent or obscene material

    (e) serious thefts

    (f) possession of dangerous weapons

    (g) guilt proven in a court of law

DISCIPLINARY HEARING

1. A Disciplinary Tribunal consisting of 2 members of the Governing Body will preside at all disciplinary hearings.

2. Disciplinary hearings will usually be held to adjudicate in cases of serious misconduct.

3. The discretion whether or not to refer the alleged misconduct to the Tribunal rests with the principal or her delegate.

4. The Tribunal shall give the learner and his/her parents/guardian at least 5 days written notice of the time, date and place of the hearing and of the charges.

5. The Tribunal, in cases where expulsion is possible, shall advise the parents/guardian and learner thereof.

6. The Tribunal shall inform the parents/guardian and learner of the right to give evidence at this hearing, call witnesses and cross-examine witnesses and to address the Tribunal thereafter.

7. The parents/guardian and learner shall be advised of the Tribunal's decision.

APPEAL

1. Anyone aggrieved by a decision of the Tribunal or Governing Body may appeal to the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Education and Culture.

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SECTION D: MISDEMEANOURS AND SANCTIONS

Any behaviour that brings the school into disrepute, or is harmful to others, will be considered behaviour contrary to this code of conduct.
In the interests of uniformity and consistency, the following will serve as a broad guideline for the Disciplinary Committee in dealing with disciplinary matters at school.

MISDEMEANOUR	SANCTION
1. Fighting, bulling, teasing, Aggressive and violent behaviour, Intimidation	1.1. warning 1.2. call parent 1.3. detention 1.4. suspension
2. Smoking of cigarettes	2.1. confiscation & warning 2.2. call in parent 2.3. detention 2.4. suspension
3. Playing truant/absconding	3.1. warning 3.2. call in parent 3.3. suspension
4. Disruption of lessons	4.1. warning 4.2. refer to counsellor 4.3. call in parent
5. Insolence	5.1. warning 5.2. call in parent 5.3. suspension
6. Vandalism	6.1. call in police and parent 6.2. suspension/expulsion
7. Theft	7.1. call in parent and police 7.2. suspension/expulsion
8. Use of alcohol or drugs	8.1. call in parent and police
9. Possession & sale of alcohol or drugs	9.1. call in police and parent 9.2. suspension/expulsion
10. Homework not done (regularly)	10.1. detention 10.2. call in parent
11. Carrying of dangerous weapons	11.1. confiscation 11.2. call in police and parent 11.3. suspension
12. Late coming	12.1. warning 12.2. detention 12.3. call in parent
13. Possession of pornographic material	13.1. confiscation 13.2. call in parent 13.3. suspension
14. Crimen injuria Sexual harassment	14.1. warning/call in parent 14.2. suspension/expulsion
15. Pairing off/petting	15.1. warning 15.2. call in parent 15.3. transfer
16. Uniform	16.1. warning 16.2. call in parent
17. Misbehaviour – Excursions, Sports meetings	17.1. commensurate with seriousness of the offence ranging from a one year suspension from excursions to total exclusion
18. Racial Discrimination	18.1. call in parent 18.2. suspension/expulsion

EASTWOOD SENIOR SECONDARY SCHOOL

SHOOL RULES

The following School Rules have been drawn up to act as a guide. The best rule is the SPIRIT that controls one from within, even in the absence of authority.

We are free only if we have self control; we are free only if we are responsible; we are truly free when we accept rules that make life pleasant and safe for all of us.

1. Learners are expected to respect their Educators and all in charge at all times.
2. At all times a spirit of friendship, harmony and co-operation should prevail among all pupils.
3. No learner is permitted to leave the school premises during school hours without the authority of the office personnel from whom Excuts are obtainable.
4. Climbing under or over fences are prohibited and punishable.
5. Climbing of trees and breaking of tree-branches are not allow. '.
6. No litter must be thrown on the grounds or verandahs. Make use of the bins provided for this purpose.
7. At the sound of the siren all learners are to move promptly to Assembly or to their classrooms, as the case may be, where they are subject to the Educators in charged.
8. Classes are to walk quietly and in straight lines between two points. "Keep Left" is a useful guide.
9. No learners are to be in the classroom before and after school and during breaks unless they are under the supervision of an Educator.
10. There shall be no loitering or running in toilets or on verandahs.
11. Areas out of bounds are: 1) the verandahs during the breaks (except on hot days and inclement weather), 2) all staircases,3) the car park,4) the lower gardens and other cultivated areas, 5) the area adjacent to the fence fronting the public sports grounds, 6) the area immediately behind the last block and the Administration Block (except on business). 7) Permanently out of bounds are the following :- Office area, staff room, kitchen, car park, within 5 meters from the fence on the perimeter of the school.
12. Late comers are subject to the prefect on gate duty. They are to wait quietly outside the office until dealt with.
13. STEALING is a criminal offence and strictly forbidden. Offenders and accomplices shall be charged accordingly.Learners are reminded not keep any monies or valuables in their school bags but rather on themselves or given to his/her class educator for safekeeping.
14. FIGHTING of individuals, gang related or family disputes are strictly not allowed . Offenders will be severely dealt with.
15. GIRLS are not allowed to wear fancy hairstyles, jewellery (e.g. earrings, bangles, necklaces, neck chains, signet rings, etc) and no nose rings should be worn. They are allowed to wear watches and one stud per ear. Length of hair and style should befit a learner. Hair that is on the shoulder or longer should be tied.
16. BOYS are not allowed to wear any beard, fancy dyed hairstyles and any type of jewellry. Wearing of long, afro-style hair is forbidden.
17. Painted nails, toenails and uncut nails are also forbidden.
18. Every learner is expected to wear the school uniform. The wearing of "no socks", secret socks , odd jackets, jerseys, particularly the wearing of jackets inside out, is absolutely forbidden.
19. Learners are to adhere to the summer and winter dress code. Male and female learners are expected to wear the uniforms prescribed for them. No cross dressing will be allowed.
20. Learners are to have a school bag for all their books and stationery. Carrying of school books and textbooks in the hand will be strongly discouraged
21. SUMMER DRESS CODE
    GIRLS : a) White shirtith badge or tie.
    　　　　 b) White anklet socks.
    　　　　 c) Red skirt knee length.
    　　　　 d) Black school shoes and no tackies or indoor boots.
    　　　　 e) Official tracksuit jacket or navy blue jersey on cold days.
    BOYS : a) While short sleeve shirt with badge or tie.
    　　　　 b) Grey flannel long trousers and no other type will be allowed.

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c) Grey or white socks.

d) Black school shoes and no tackies or indoor boots.

e) Official tracksuit jacket or navy blue jersey on cold days.

WINTER DRESS CODE

GIRLS : Same as summer with the acception of the following

    a) Knee-length navy blue socks.

    b) Full track suit with :-

       White shirt , tie and school shoes.

    c) No tights or pantihose/stockings to be worn

BOYS : Same as summer with acception of the following

    a) White long sleeve shirt

    b) Full tracksuit with :-

       White shirt, tie and school shoes

       No hats or woolen caps and scarves to be worn.

22. On entry into a classroom of the Principal, deputy principals, H.O.D. Educators or any officials, ALL LEARNERS MUST RISE PROMPTLY WITH A GREETING.

23. Radios, cell phones , tape recorders and guitars for learners' private entertainment are forbidden on the school premises.

24. Smoking of cigarettes and tobacco and drug taking is strictly forbidden, and is punishable with EXPULSION.

25. Being in possession of and/or consuming alcoholic beverages on school premises is a very serious offence. Same punishment as (20).

26. Gambling and/or being in possession of gambling apparatus is strictly forbidden.

27. No weapons of any kind or type are permitted on school premises.

28. Under no circumstances is abusive, rude or vulgar language to be used.

29. No fighting or bullying whatsoever will be tolerated.

30. All lessons must be attended at all times by learners on the premises unless excused by the educator for a valid reason. Bunking is a punishable offence.

31. Bunking is when a learner is absent from classes/ school without permission. It is a punishable offence.

32. There shall be no eating during lessons. Chewing gum – bubble gum are forbidden.

33. Learners are not to waste their time on reading poor literature. Any unwholesome and undesirable literature will be confiscated and offenders will be punished.

34. Prefects and Class Captains/ Representative for Council of learners are to be obeyed at all times. Offenders will be dealt with.

35. No learner is to use Educators' chalk and chalkboard for his private amusement.

36. There must be no defacing of walls, furniture and textbooks.

37. All textbooks issued and entrusted to scholars must be returned at the end of the year (or on the learner leaving school). Care of such books is the responsibility of the learner. Therefore any missing books must be replaced at the learner's expenses or the cost of the book(s) will be added to the learners school account.

38. Homework assignments must be completed and handed to the respective educator at the appointed time

39. Every learner returning to school after an absence is required to produce a note signed by his parent or guardian (or other responsible adult) specifying the number of days absent and the reason for the absence.

40. Every effort must be made to pay school Fees.

41. Every learner is expected to participate in the school's extra curricular program where possible, unless excused on medical advice.

42. Every learner is expected to conduct him/herself in an exemplary manner at all times, on the school premises as well as in the bus, or otherwise to and from school.

43. No learner other than the class captain / RCL rep is allowed to be in possesion of classroom keys. In the absence of an educator only the class captain/RCL rep is allowed to fetch keys from the office.

44. The kitchen is permenantly out of bounds to all learners. Under no circumstances are learners allowed to fetch water or make tea for educators.

"Obedience is not servitude of man to man, but submission to the will of GOD, who governs through the medium of man". (Pope Leo XIII)

Esther Payne Smith Secondary School

211 BOMBAY ROAD, NORTHDALE, PIETERMARITZBURG

TELEPHONE: 71652 (0331)

WISDOM ENDURES

NAME OF LEARNER : _____

GRADE/DIV : _____

CODE OF CONDUCT
- LEARNERS -

Esther Payne Smith
Secondary School
211 BOMBAY ROAD, NORTHDALE, PIETERMARITZBURG

PREAMBLE

This Code of Conduct is in accordance with : (i) the Constitution of the R.S.A. Act No. 108 of 1996 (Govt Gazette No. 17878) (ii) South African School's Act No. 84 of 1996 (Govt. Gazette No. 17690) (Govt. Gazette No. 18900)

It is in this spirit and faith that this Code of Conduct has been framed. The following stakeholders have made inputs in formulating this Code – Parents, Learners, Educators and other staff members.

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THIS DISCIPLINE POLICY

1. Establish a safe, secure and productive school environment.
2. Maintain discipline so that the culture of learning, teaching and service delivery (COLTS) is realised.
3. Build a relationship of accountability, responsibility and trust amongst all stakeholders.
4. Promote a respect for authority and co-operation with such authority.
5. Provide processes and procedures to develop learners into self disciplined, responsible and worthy members of the school community.
6. Maintain discipline and order so that education and learners perform at his/her optimal level.

SCHOOL RULES AND REGULATIONS

All learners must respect, observe and uphold the schools rules and regulations.

1. CLASSROOM RULES

    Which will be democratically decided upon must be in keeping with the schools' code of conduct and regulations. These rules must thereafter be obeyed and carried out.

2. SCHOOL HOURS
    School commences at 07:45 hours. Learners MUST be punctual.

3. ABSENCE FROM SCHOOL
    Learners must bring an absentee note signed by the parent/guardian explaining the reason for absence on their return to school. As far as possible, all medical and dental appointments must be made outside school hours. Learners are responsible for catching up with work missed. Absenteeism without a valid reason in not acceptable.

4. LOAN BOOKS AND SCHOOL LIBRARY BOOKS
    Books must be well looked after. Should any of the loan books or library books be lost or damaged, parents will replace them.

5. UNIFORM REGULATIONS

5.1 FEMALES
    White knee length dresses. School girdle. White or black socks. Black shoes. Navy, white or black jersey. School tie. Blazer with badge.
    No takkies or fancy jackets/jerseys.

5.2 MALES
    Grey trousers, white shirt, school tie, grey/white/black socks, black shoes. Blazer with badge. Navy, white or black jersey.
    No takkies or fancy jackets/jerseys.

5.3 PHYSICAL EDUCATION
    Plain white T shirts, white shorts, sandshoes.
    REGULATION – Sports track suit. Tracksuits maybe worn at sports meetings and at NO other times.

6. EXEMPTION FROM SPORT
    Will only be considered upon presentation of a medical certificate.

7. SCHOOL FEES
    Fees, determined annually when the budget is approved, are payable on or before 31 July of the current school year. Receipt issued for such payment MUST be kept safely.

8. MISUSE, DAMAGING OR DEFACING SCHOOL PROPERTY
    The parent or legal guardian of anyone who intentionally misuses, damages or defaces any school property will replace it or make good the damage.

9. WEARING OF JEWELLERY
    This is prohibited except for the following concessions :
    Females may wear a pair of studded earrings.
    Wristwatches may be worn.
    No responsibility will be accepted by the school in case of loss.

10. LEAVE TAKING
    Parents must make prior arrangements by letter for leave to be granted. Form teachers and personnel in charge of leave reserve the right to refuse leave.

11. CHANGE OF ADDRESS AND TELEPHONE NUMBERS
    Parents/guardians must inform educators in writing immediately.

12. CHARGES FOR TELEPHONE CALLS
    Parents will pay for calls made on behalf of learners.

13. PARENT/GUARDIAN COMMUNICATION
    Parents must respond to communication notes/letters from the school within two days. These will be forwarded to you via learners.

14. LEARNER PROGRESS
These are sent to parents/guardians at the end of examinations or major assessments. Where the learners progress is a matter for concern, parents/guardians may call to school or the school will request parents to come to school.

15. LEAVING SCHOOL PREMISES DURING THE SCHOOL DAY
No learner is to leave the school premises without written permission from the office or educators.

16. WORK ASSIGNED AND HOMEWORK
Must be completed and handed on due date. Complete work to the best of your ability.

17. BOOKS/STATIONERY/TEXT BOOKS
Every learner must be in possession of books and stationery to be used for the lesson. Parents must ensure that they provide the same if not supplied by the school. Loan text books must be replaced when lost or damaged.

18. INJURY TO OTHERS AND DAMAGE TO PROPERTY
No fighting or unofficial games liable to cause injury or damage will be accepted.

19. ROWDY BEHAVIOUR AND POOR MANNERS
Rowdy behaviour and poor manners that provoke others is prohibited. AVOID behaving in an improper or disgraceful manner that brings the school and yourself into disrepute.

20. AREAS OUT OF BOUNDS
The staff car park, areas along the fences - Technical Rooms, Art Room, homes along fence and power station are out of bound areas to learners.

21. PERSONS ON THE SCHOOL PREMISES
Greet all persons on the school premises and assist visitors to the reception area. Be courteous, tolerant and considerate to others. Respect the cultural traditions of everybody. NO visitors/parents are allowed to go to classes or the grounds without official permission.

22. DISRUPTIONS AND INTIMIDATION
Disrupting a lesson or the class is an offence. Intimidating others to join you in causing disruptions is an offence.

23. CLEANLINESS
Keep the environment clean and tidy. Littering is an offence.

24. STAY WITH THE GROUP
Do not leave the school premises during school time without permission and stay in your school groups during

25. RESPECT
Respect the authority of the PRINCIPAL, EDUCATORS, CLASS MONITORS, RCL MEMBERS, PREFECTS and other TEAM LEADERS. Do not UNDERMINE their AUTHORITY or fail to co-operate with them.

26. Maintain mutual TRUST between learners and educators. Discuss your difficulties with your educators and RCL members.

27. OUTSIDE SCHOOL
No learner shall bring discredit to the school by any unseemly behaviour in any public place or at any other school.)

28. TAXIS
Learners waiting for buses/taxis to or from school shall do so in an orderly manner. Obey the instructions of persons officially in charge.

29. MISSING A TEST OR EXAMINATION
Learner must bring in a doctor's certificate if a test or examination is missed. On return to school the form manager/subject teacher must be consulted.

DISCIPLINARY POLICY
This disciplinary policy aims to be PROTECTIVE and PREVENTATIVE rather than PUNITIVE. The school will, however, apply this policy to its fullest in cases that warrant action. Offences will be graded into degrees : 1st, 2nd and 3rd degree offences.

1. FIRST DEGREE OFFENCES WILL BE DEALT WITH AS FOLLOWS :

1.1 Referral letters will be issued to the offender which will be signed by him/her and filed by the form manager. These referral letters will be issued by educators or RCL members. On receipt of a 3rd referral letter the form manager will call for the parent/guardian to call for an interview. A letter of warning will be issued to the parent. The next offence (4th offence) will be treated as a 2nd degree offence. 1.2 detention decided upon by subject/form teacher.

1.2 THE FOLLOWING ARE DEEMED AS 1ST DEGREE OFFENCES :
1.2.1 Breaking any of the school's rules and regulations
1.2.2 Breaking any classroom rules
1.2.3 Truanting
1.2.4 Absconding from class/school
1.2.5 Talking to strangers/outsiders during school hours
1.2.6 Disrespectful, insolent, arrogant, aggressive or insubordinate behaviour towards those in authority (educators, RCL members, class monitors, assistant staff, clerks, visitors to school)
1.2.7 Using vulgar language
1.2.8 Bullying or being abusive
1.2.9 Deceiving staff with false information
1.2.10 Smoking cigarettes

1.2.11. Displaying sexual intimacy by kissing, petting, holding hands
1.2.12. Obscene behaviour - rude remarks
1.2.13. Cheating in class tests
1.2.14. Failing to hand documents/letters to parents as expected to by the school
1.2.15. Petty theft
1.2.16. Cheating in class tests
1.2.17. Unsporting behaviour
1.2.18. Sexual harassment - offensive sexual remarks, pulling down pants, flipping dress
1.2.19. Lying'
1.2.20. Writing nasty, personalised graffiti aimed to hurt others
1.2.21. Actions directed at humiliating others
1.2.22. Violating/disregarding a lawful instruction issued by an educator

2ND DEGREE OFFENCES WILL BE DEALT WITH AS FOLLOWS :

1. A preliminary investigation will be conducted by the Principal and or Deputy Principal in which the offender will be given an opportunity to represent himself/herself. The form manager, other staff members and RCL may also be involved.

2. Depending on the findings the parent will be summoned to call to school and approaches discussed on resolving the problem. eg. referral to outside agency; school support services; withdrawing privileges such as involvement in extra-curricular activities; withdrawal of badges and honours; suspension of the learner, performing a school based community task; announce case to learners (assembly); report case to SAPS.

3. A warning letter will be issued to the parent. The next 2nd degree offence will be treated as a 3rd degree offence.

THE FOLLOWING ARE DEEMED AS 2ND DEGREE OFFENCES :
(LEADS TO WARNINGS, FORMS OF PUNISHMENT, SUSPENSION)

1. 4th referral letter and 1st warning to parent of a 1st degree offence
2. Use of alcohol at school
3. Major theft
4. Cheating in examinations
5. Blatant dishonesty
6. Threatening educator
7. Serious and deliberate undermining of authority of Principal and/or educator
8. Threat of violence to learners/educators
9. Forcing others by intimidation
10. Actions provoking racism
11. Repeated gender harassment
12. Extortion
13. Presenting fraudulent document
14. Verbal/minor physical assault without physical injury eg. jostling a learner
15. Carrying dangerous weapons to school

16. Possession of pornographic material
17. Vandalism
18. Gambling
19. Forgery
20. Drunk at school
21. Gangsterism

3RD DEGREE OFFENCE (LEADS TO SUSPENSION AND EXPULSION)

1. A preliminary investigation will be done as in the case of a 2nd degree offence.
2. The parent will be summoned to call to school immediately - either telephonically or by written notification via the offender. Parent will be informed that the matter will be forwarded to Disciplinary Committee.
3. A disciplinary committee consisting of the Principal, Deputy Principal, educator and RCL member will view the case. The learner will be present at the meeting. Decision of the disciplinary committee will be forwarded to the parent via the learner.
4. The matter will be referred to the SAPS depending on its nature.
5. If the matter remains unresolved, the case will be referred to the Governing Body. The learner maybe suspended for a week whilst the Governing Body sets up a tribunal to hear the case. Parents have a right to representation in this tribunal hearing.
6. The tribunal may refer the matter to the Provincial Head of Department for expulsion of the learner; suspend the learner; issue a warning.
7. Should the parents be aggrieved with the decision of the tribunal, they have a right to appeal to the Head of Department.

THE FOLLOWING ARE DEEMED AS 3RD DEGREE OFFENCES

1. Violation of a 2nd degree warning
2. Serious vandalism - educators, learners or school property
3. Bomb scare - resultant false alarm
4. In possession, distributing, selling or consumption of drugs
5. Major theft with or without violence
6. Premeditated and malicious assault or gang related violence
7. Threatening with or usage of a dangerous weapon - knife, firearm, panga
8. Assault on a learner, non-educator or educator
9. Repeated defiance of school authority
10. Guilt proven in a court of law
11. Endangering the life and safety of others
12. Sexual coercion by aggressive action
13. Sexual assault eg. rape

PARENT / LEGAL GUARDIAN RESPONSIBILITY

1. The ultimate responsibility for learners' behaviour rests with their parents or guardian. It is expected that parents will support the school, and require learners to observe all school rules and regulations and accept responsibility for any misbehaviour on their part .....
(Govt. Gazette. Vol 395 No 18900 P9 Clause 6.1)

2. Parents and guardians must accept the ETHOS of the school and ensure that it is NOT undermined or interfered with in any way.

3. Parents/legal guardians who are summoned to school must do so within 2 days for 1st and 2nd degree offences or within 24 hours for 3rd degree offences. If the parent does not respond within the stipulated time, the learner will not report to school until his/her parent/legal guardian calls to school with him/her. Such person will be required to produce proof of identity when calling to school.

Alexandra High School

SUMMA·DILIGENTIA·LABORO

CODE OF CONDUCT

341

RIGHTS OF ALL ALEXANDRIANS

These rights are to be enjoyed by all members of the school community who, in
turn, guarantee, through their conduct and human relations,
the same rights to others.

* THE RIGHT TO BE TREATED COURTEOUSLY AND RESPECTFULLY

* THE RIGHT TO WORK AND LEARN
WITHOUT BEING DISTURBED BY OTHERS

* THE RIGHT TO TAKE PRIDE IN THE SCHOOL

* THE RIGHT TO WORK IN A CLEAN, SAFE AND ORDERLY
ENVIRONMENT

* THE RIGHT TO BE TREATED WITH FAIRNESS AND JUSTICE

* THE RIGHT TO BE HEARD

To expect the RIGHTS is to acknowledge the OBLIGATIONS which ensure their
enjoyment by all.

1. All pupils are expected to take pride in the school, show due respect for it an
reputation.

1.1 They are expected to be familiar with the school's history and traditions, know its r
of all staff, prefects and other prominent senior pupils.

1.2 The school's uniforms must be worn correctly, and with pride. Pupils' appearanc
such as to bring no discredit to the school.

1.3 Behaviour in school uniform, or even out of it if a pupil is recognised as a mem
must be nothing but creditable.

1.4 School property is to be respected at all times. Vandalism, of any description, w
a serious offence. All pupils are expected to play their part in looking after the phy
of the school.

2. Pupils are expected to be friendly, considerate and respectful in their dealings
especially those who are older than they.

2.1 Pupils are expected to greet all members of staff and visitors to the school.

2.2 Good manners, courteousness and politeness are expected at all times. These ar
conventions of etiquette (standing for adults, allowing older people to go ahead etc)
proper and gentlemanly/ladylike.

2.3 The possessions of others are to be considered sacrosanct. They are not to be touch
with in any way, without the specific permission of their owner.

2.4 It is expected that pupils should exhibit tolerance of all people, especially their
Bullying, of any description, and mockery will not be tolerated.

2.5 The school is Christian in character, and pupils are required to respect this. The
Satanism, either explicitly or implicitly by the display of symbols, is forbidden.

3. Pupils are expected to show respect to all people, societal values and the conventions
school as part of its ethos.

3.1 It is expected that respect will be afforded to members of staff and senior pupils.

3.2 It is expected that people of different gender will treat each other with mutual resp
sexual harrassment not any other offensive conduct will be tolerated.

3.3 Pupils are expected to conduct themselves in a decent manner at all times. Thus
indecent conduct, sexual contact between girls and boys is not permitted.

4. Pupils are expected to exercise responsibility.

4.1 They should take care of their own possessions, handing in for safe-keeping anything of value which should not be left in desks, bags or changerooms. Books should be looked after and maintained in a careful fashion.

4.2 Notices which are given to pupils to take home must be delivered to parents promptly.

4.3 Pupils must be responsible in their approach to their various commitments, doing their best and not opting out of them.

4.4 All excuses for absence from practices, matches and other functions which constitute commitments should be presented in advance and in writing.

5. Pupils are expected to be obedient.

5.1 The rules relating to the various aspects of school life are to be obeyed.

5.2 Instructions given by members of staff are to be obeyed without question.

5.3 Prefects and matrics who have been granted certain authority by the Headmaster, are to be respected and supported with full co-operation.

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SPECIFIC RULES

1. Punctuality

Pupils are expected to arrive at school prior to the first bell. They must be in their classrooms punctually and move quickly from classroom to classroom between periods.

They may not leave at the end of the day until they are dismissed by the teacher following the final bell.

A pupil who is late for school must report on arrival and if there is no good reason for that lateness, is likely to be excluded from the first period and then be required to catch up that work during a detention.

2. Absence from School

Only a good reason, endorsed by a parent, will be accepted for a pupil's absence from school. The reason must be presented in writing on the day of the pupil's return. If a written absentee note is not available for any reason, the returning pupil must report to the Deputy/HOD in charge of registration on the morning of his/her return.

Absence from an examination, or any test/oral/practical relating to the Senior Certificate, n accounted for by a medical certificate.

This applies to all internal examinations, at half-year and at the year's end, as well.

3. Out of Bounds

No pupil may leave the school grounds after his arrival in the morning without permission from a n of the school Management. This includes breaks. Normally pupils will not be permitted to go ho lunch, and certainly not without written parental request.

Classrooms will normally be out of bounds during breaks, and pupils may not enter them without pern either before or after school.

The School Council will determine from time to time which other areas of the school building sho out of bounds at various times.

Pupils may not enter the following rooms without supervision and/or permission: staffroom, committee . staff offices, the library, A.V. room, the team-teaching room, laboratories, workshop, computer . duplicating room, staff toilets.

Founders House (the Boarding Establishment) is out of bounds to all but boarders. Day-scholars seek permission, from a member of the Resident Staff, before entering.

The bicycle parking area, and that used for the parking of motor-cycles is out of bounds to all pupils are not actually parking their cycles, or preparing to leave.

The Car parks are out of bounds, except for pupils who may park cars there with permission.

All change rooms are out of bounds except when being used for the purpose of changing.

Other areas of the school premises, such as parts of the fields etc, which are out of bounds during sc breaks, will be made known by the Prefects or staff from time to time.

Pupils may not use the Administration or Hall foyer as an entrance to or exit from the school.

4. Indecorous Behaviour

The consumption of alcohol or drug abuse, whether in or out of the school, is not permitted.

Smoking is not permitted. Pupils will be assumed to be guilty of smoking if there is evidence that they he been doing so. The possession of cigarettes, lighters etc, or the smell of smoke on the breath, will considered as ample evidence. This will apply in the case of alcohol and drugs, as well.

The use of bad language is not permitted.

Other indecorous actions, such as spitting, will be regarded as serious misconduct.

The possession of any books, pictures or magazines which are considered 'dirty' in a sexual way, or satanistic, is not allowed, nor is it permitted to have similar offensive decorations on bags or books.

Fighting is not permitted. Violence will not be condoned in the school and the bringing on to the school premises, or the use of, weapons of any description will be regarded as a serious offence.

5. *Dishonesty and Theft*

Theft, whether in or out of the school, will be regarded in a very serious light.

Abuse of the public telephone will not be tolerated.

Pupils are expected to tell the truth at all times.

6. Littering is not permitted.

7. Pupils may not engage in any action which may result in damage to property.

8. Eating is not permitted in the library, A.V. room, hall, team-teaching room or classrooms.

9. *Pupils are expected to read noticeboards regularly.* Such notices, together with assembly or other announcements, will convey information. Ignorance, owing to lack of attention, will not be accepted as an excuse.

Public address announcements, made each day, are to be attended to. Pupils are expected to stand still and listen.

10. The possession of any article considered to be dangerous is not permitted.

11. *Cycles/Motor Cycles*

These must be ridden in a responsible way on the school premises. Motor-cycles, in particular, must be ridden at a slow speed.

Entry to the school must be effected through the road adjacent to Founders' House. Only 6th formers may use the main entrance if they are cyclists.

It is expected that all motor-cyclists, and their cycles, should be properly licensed.

The school cannot accept any responsibility for any theft of or damage to cycles or motor-cycles. They should be locked at all times.

PUNISHMENT

1. Two types of punishment will be imposed.

1.1 **Impositions**

These may include:

a) } Extra homework
b) Detention (after school)
c) Graft Party (during, or after, school)
d) Other written impositions
e) Some form of 'community service' within the school

Impositions will usually be constructive, either for the pupil or for the school. They will relate to academic infractions and other instances of misconduct which would be appropriately punished in this way. 'Trivial' offences will be dealt with by imposition, although this form of punishment may sometimes be imposed for 'non-trivial' offences, as well.

Failure to carry out an imposition will be regarded as disobedience and dealt with accordingly.

'Trivial' offences may become 'non-trivial' if they are repeatedly and/or deliberately committed.

1.2 **Suspension**

This is the most serious form of punishment and can be given either in the form of temporary suspension or full suspension.

It would be the responsibility of a pupil receiving temporary suspension to complete any work missed during that period of time.

It is worth noting that this form of punishment will only be given by the Disciplinary Committee (which will be composed of Management, Teachers and Pupils) and where the pupil will be able to defend his/her alleged actions.

2. **Parental Role**

Parents will not normally be informed of their child's misdemeanours at school unless they are considered serious and, therefore, the sort of thing that responsible parents would need to know. Suspensions are never done without reference to parents, however.

It is hoped that parents will support the school and its disciplinary methods and procedures in the knowledge that

a) the Headmaster and those to whom authority has been delegated, have the right in terms of regulations to impose punishment thought by them to be fair and reasonable;

b) the correction of an errant pupil is warranted;

c) the imposition of appropriate punishment serves as an example to others and is vital in the maintenance of standards and values;

d) it is acknowledged that punishment is not a pre-requisite for the maintenance of discipline, but it is a significant factor;

e) fairness is a conscious objective, but not always achieved no matter how hard one may strive for it;

f) punishment is imposed objectively as a consequence of the offence committed and is not subjectively directed against a personality.

Appendix G : Location of Schools

JOHANNESBURG

Esther Payne Smith Secondary

RAISETHORPE

Eastwood Secondary

N3

WOODLANDS

GREYTOWN RD.

5 KM

WILLOWTON
INDUSTRIAL AREA

BAYNES SPRUIT

BISHOPSTOWE

Sobantu Secondary

5 KM

10 KM

CITY CENTRE

**Alexandra
Secondary**

UMSUNDUSI RIVER

PIETERMARITZBURG

NORTH

MASON'S MILL YARD

ASHDOWN

NATIONAL ROAD

MAIN LOCAL ROAD

SECONDARY LOCAL ROAD

N3

SCALE 1:50 000

10 KM

EDENDALE

DURBAN

IMBALI

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