

**SURVIVING SEXUALLY VIOLENT SPACES: NARRATIVES AND
EMOTIONAL GEOGRAPHIES OF SIX GRADE 9 SCHOOL CHILDREN**

by

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SUPERVISORS' STATEMENT

This dissertation has been submitted with / without my approval.

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Date

DECLARATION OF OWN WORK

I, Alfred KhayaletuZincume, declare that:

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DEDICATION

THIS WORK IS DEDICATED TO MY PARENT, **MRS BEAUTY ZINCUME**,
FOR THE GOOD WORK SHE HAS DONE FOR ME. GIVING ME
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ABSTRACT

The purpose of the study was to explore the narratives and emotional geographies of sexual violence of six Grade Nine school children in a combined school in rural Kwa-Zulu Natal. The aim of the study was to understand children's voices; in which children understood, identified and navigated the spaces of sexual violence which they considered spaces of vulnerability. A narrative inquiry design was used for the study. Three girls and three boys were purposefully sampled for the study. Photo voice and semi-structured focus group interviews were used as a tool for data generation. Data was sorted and classified according to categories and themes.

The study found that the participants understood sexual violence and also recognized that sexual violence was not only an issue which affected girls as even boys experienced sexual violence in their own environment. The study also found that power dynamics, poverty, alcohol, cultural practices, homes, unused buildings and open spaces had contributed to sexual violence. The study found that participants were afraid of the places where they experienced sexual violence. The study found that participants did not like the way virginity testing was done to them. Traditional leaders and other relevant stakeholders need to work cooperatively to fight sexual violence. Schools should provide workshops on the dangers of sexual violence stressing on the significance of healthy relationships and the value of the equality of gender. Parents should listen to their children if they report sexual violence.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

The purpose of the study was to explore the narratives and emotional geographies of sexual violence of six Grade 9 school children in a rural combined school in Kwa-Zulu Natal. This chapter commences by outlining the purpose of the study, the rationale of the study, followed by the objectives of the study including research aim and research questions, methodology, sampling and tools used to collect the data. This chapter also includes the conceptual framework and overview of the study. Lastly, the chapter ends with the definition of terms.

1.2 Context and rationale of the study

This study centres on the experiences of six school children between the ages of fifteen and seventeen years old who attend Zakhe Combined School (pseudonym). I was employed as a teacher at this school while I conducted the research (2012-2013). Zakhe Combined School is a co-educational school situated in the Eyakhe location (pseudonym) in a deep rural area of Kwa-Zulu Natal. The school has classes from Grade R to Grade 9 and comprises 350 children and 10 teachers. In this school, the majority of children are from poor families and some children come from different locations. They walk between 3 to 5 kilometres every school day. Around the school there are hills and forests which sometimes put children's safety in danger. The school

and the surrounding area is a context where sexual violence is not only perpetrated but occurs at an alarming rate and which is not addressed by the school authorities and the surrounding community.

Confirming the above, in the first term of 2012, a Grade 6 boy separately raped two Grade 1 girls. This matter was reported by one of the girls to me at the school. She claimed that rapes occurred on a daily basis. I reported the matter to the school principal and the parents concerned were called and told to solve the problem outside the school because they were relatives. During the third term, a Grade 8 boy attempted to rape a Grade 5 girl early in the morning on the way to school. She reported it to the principal but nothing was done. In the fourth term, a Grade 5 boy raped two Grade one boys. This happened repeatedly outside the school environment until one of the Grade one boys reported the matter to his parents. Nothing more was spoken about that incident. One of these two boys is performing very poorly academically.

Early this year (2013), a Grade 6 boy raped a Grade 2 boy. The shock of these incidents, whereby older boys rape younger ones, is apparent among the school teachers as a rape perpetrated by school boys against school boys and it is not a phenomenon that occurs often in this school and the community. Rape perpetrated by males against females, on the other hand, is an everyday experience among the school and the community. However, boys' experiences of sexual violence discredited the notion that the girls are the only victims or targets of sexual violence, and in spite of the initial shock among the teachers, nothing more seems to have been done to address this incident. Allen (2003) articulates that educators are hesitant to acknowledge the presence of sexual violence which occurs within the school environment as acts of violence.

and that there is an unfortunate tendency to accept certain abhorrent behaviours as normal. For children attending Zakhe Combined School, it appears that life must go on. For these children, sexual violence has become the norm and become an acceptable part of everyday life and these children are therefore supposed to find their ways to navigate these spaces vulnerable to them. Therefore, these are observations that prompted the researcher to embark on a study that explored children's narratives about their understandings and experiences of sexual violence, both in and out of school.

The reviewed literature from local, national and international sources indicates that sexual violence is prevalent and it does not only occur in South Africa but also happens across the world. Rather, reports of such experiences echo throughout the globe (Dartnell & Jewkes, 2012; Ngakane, Muthukrishna & Ngcobo, 2012). Thus, in reality, children across the world are vulnerable to sexual violence both at school and at home and the age group of perpetrators is decreasing significantly in that older children are perpetrating sexual violence against younger children (Dartnell & Jewkes, 2012). However, the problem of sexual violence experienced by children at schools has become a most pressing educational issue in many schools, both locally and globally (Dartnell & Jewkes, 2012; Ngakane, Muthukrishna & Ngcobo, 2012). Sadly, in Zakhe Combined School this does not seem to be the case. Instead, for the children of Zakhe Combined School, the schooling context is far from being a safe place from the sexual violence that many experience (indirectly and directly) en-route to school, at school and at home.

The study was, therefore, designed to give these children a voice to articulate their observation, thoughts and experiences of sexual violence. This study would help us to understand how these

children identify and navigate the spaces and places in which they consider themselves as vulnerable in their school and communities. In light of the above, this study was primarily motivated by the researcher's personal desire to break the silence within the research locale about sexual violence; to challenge, disrupt and reconstruct existent understandings of sexual violence within the geographical space that this research was conducted.

1.3 Objectives of the study

The central objective of the study was to understand the children's voices; with which children understand, identify and navigate the spaces and places of sexual violence and in which they consider themselves as vulnerable. Due to the limited nature of the current study, my research will engage with the narratives of six children from Zakhe Combined School. It unpacks their insights and viewpoints relating to experiences of sexual violence, it explores their emotional geographies and unveils how they position themselves and how they navigate through spaces and places where they feel vulnerable. To achieve this, the following key research questions were probed through this study:

- What stories do the learners tell about sexual violence?
- What do the learners identify as sexual violence and sexual risk factors?
- What are the emotional geographies of these children within spaces and places of sexual violence?
- How do these children position themselves and navigate through such spaces and places?

A qualitative approach was employed in this study with the intention of exploring narratives and emotional geographies of sexual violence in a rural school. Denzin and Lincoln (2003) suggest that the only way to find out or understand how human beings interpret phenomenon is to attempt to get deeper to the core of the phenomenon and that is possible through qualitative approach. According to Henning (2005), this method involves collecting textual or verbal data, that is, data which cannot be counted. In terms of design, the narrative inquiry was employed in this study with the aim of giving children opportunities to narrate their stories about the sexual violence they had experienced. Narrative inquiry is defined as a way of understanding a detailed experience whereby a researcher and participants are working cooperatively (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000).

Purposeful sampling was used to get information-rich cases for in-depth study. I purposefully sampled six Grade 9 children, three boys and three girls. The reason of choosing both genders, I believe that they are social actors and experts in their own lives and they have right to make their own lives visible (Moss, 2011). The study used semi-structured and focus group interviews to explore the narratives and emotional geographies of sexual violence of six children in a rural context. I chose these types of interviews because I wanted the participants to narrate their stories with ease and as a researcher to enter their world and to see through their eyes (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011). The photo voice was used to enhance the research study.

1.4 Conceptual framework

As outlined above, the intention of this study was to understand children's voices on sexual violence from their own perspectives. This enabled the study to find out how these children navigate from these spaces and places which made them vulnerable. This study was therefore conducted from the premise that children cannot be seen as independent from other social variables such as gender, age, ethnicity, class and other socio-spatial factors (Matthews, Limb & Taylor, 2000). There is increasing recognition of related research in the spatial diversity of children's experiences and their multiple realities of childhood (Frones, Jenks, Qvortrup, Rizzini & Thorne, 2000). As a researcher I decided to choose New Childhood Studies and Children geographies as a conceptual framework for the study because this approach allows children's voices to be heard.

Children's geographies foreground the rights of children (Christensen & James, 2000) and recognises children's agency in the construction of their own identities. Children's geographies refer to a branch of study within human geography which explores the places and spaces of children's lives experientially, ethically and politically, although geographers have been criticized for ignoring the impact of political, economic and social policy discourses of children (Ansell, 2009). Children are sometimes excluded from the public, social and spatial vicinities due to their state of being children. Children are normally regarded as immature and innocent and, thus, not human enough to comprehend their own social lives (Renold, 2005). Brady (2007) stated that it is proper and appropriate to involve children as researchers in their own studies. It is a good way of collecting rich, quality data, thus giving them a chance of being meaning producers in their own right. Skelton (2007) explains that participation is a fundamental right of

children implanted by the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Children (UNCRC) (2006). This is done by giving children a chance to identify and speak about these spaces and places that they themselves considered vulnerable within and outside the school environment.

Additionally, New Childhood Studies views children as active social agents who shape the structures and processes around them and whose social relationships are worthy of study in their own right (Prout, 2000). Children in this approach are no longer seen as inactive witnesses within the process of socialization but they are good constructors and arbitrators of their social worlds, realities and worth their study in their own right (Alderson, 1995; Butler & Shaw, 1996; James, Jenks & Prout, 1998; Mayall, 2002). By aligning my study to New Childhood Studies and Children's geographies, and as a researcher, I believe that children can talk and narrate their stories about sexual violence. This means that the children are actively involved in narrating their stories about their experiences on sexual violence.

Likewise, the study aimed towards listening to children's voices by giving them a platform to narrate their stories about sexual violence. The chosen frameworks call for the children's voices to be emphasized in research. Mayall (2002) indicates that children in the New Childhood Studies are knowledgeable and very active subjects, the researcher uses the research process as a stage to get their experiences. The reason for aligning my study to New Sociology of children and New Childhood Studies was that I wanted to understand the multiplicity of children's geographies in which the sexual violence prevailed.

1.5 Overview of the study

Chapter One provides the purpose of the study, rationale for the study and the objectives of the study; including key research aims and questions, methodology, sampling and methods used to collect the data, the conceptual framework and overview of the study.

Chapter Two presents literature related to the study. I reviewed various local, national and international studies on sexual violence. The literature is organized according to themes. The organized themes are conceptualisation of sexual violence, forms of sexual violence, sexual violence and risk factors. Under risk factors and sexual violence, I discuss the following themes: sexual violence and gender, sexual violence and construction of intimate relationships, sexual violence and sexual power, sexual violence and poverty, sexual violence and masculinity, sexual violence and sexuality, sexual violence and peer pressure, sexual violence and generational expectations and responses to sexual violence. The last part of the chapter encompasses the theoretical framework.

Chapter Three focuses on the research methodology and design. The following issues are covered: qualitative approach, paradigm, research design, sampling, data generation techniques, limitations of the study and ethical considerations.

Chapter Four presents an analysis and an in-depth discussion of the findings of the research.

Chapter Five presents the conclusions of the research. Thereafter, some recommendations are presented.

1.6 Definition of terms

Ukuthwala is an abduction of girls or carrying of girls without their permission to force them to marriage irrespective of the age and body.

Inhlawulo is an animal or money paid when the boy or a man damages the girl's virgin.

Ukugeza is an animal or money paid to cleanse the family of the girl whose virginity is broken or damaged by the boy or man.

Idikazi is a woman who had divorced with her husband and came back to her home to start the new life.

Isifebe is a girl who has more than one partner.

Isishalambombo is a girl for everyone especially older males who want satisfy their sexual desire.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the primary purpose of this study is to explore the emotional geographies of six Grade 9 children from a rural combined school in KwaZulu-Natal, those who directly or indirectly experienced acts of sexual violence. The overarching research design has, therefore, afforded these children a platform to let their voices be heard and, in so doing, provides a glimpse into how they understand, identify and navigate the places and spaces in which they feel sexually vulnerable.

In light of the above, the literature review presented in this chapter discusses empirical research studies and theoretical viewpoints related to the geographies of children; local and abroad, who, like the participants in this study, directly or indirectly experienced sexual violence. Accordingly, the chapter has been divided into two parts. In the first part of this chapter, I review literature directly related to the following key research questions driving this study, and in the second part, I review studies that provide the theoretical framework for the study.

:

- What stories do learners tell about sexual violence?
- What do they identify as sexual violence and sexual risk factors?

- What are the emotional geographies of these children within spaces and places of sexual violence?
- How do these children position themselves and navigate through such spaces and places?

The first and second key research questions are then addressed in this review by engaging with the literature that provided in-depth definitions of sexual violence from different theoretical perspectives. Sexual violence is, however, a complex phenomenon that has many definitions. As Agyepong (2010) contends, scholars and legal experts disagree about what behaviors should and should not be included in the definition of sexual violence. I shall therefore limit my discussion to what the following authors have purported with regard to what sexual violence entails: Agyepong (2010); American Association of University Women Educational Foundation (2001); Plan Togo (2006); Management System International (2008); UNICEF (2010); Hill & Kearn (2011) and Ramchunder (2012). I also look at the following studies that consider the different forms of sexual violence that occur in such contexts: American Association of University Women Educational Foundation (2001); Du Plessis, Fouche & Van Wyk (1998); Black, Basile, Breiding, Smith, Walters, Merrick Chen & Stevens (2011); Antonwicz (2010). Then, in line with my third key research question, I continue the review by considering literature that identifies spaces in which children are most vulnerable to sexual violence. Thereafter, with relevance to my fourth key research question, I consider literature that engages with children's discussions regarding the responses that they receive to their reported incidences of sexual violence. I draw from the writings of Richter, Dawes & Higson-Smith, 2005, Chege, 2006; Proulx, 2012.

2.2 Literature review (Part 1)

2.2.1 Defining sexual violence

PlanTogo's (2006) study considered sexual violence that was perpetrated against children in a primary school in the central region of South Africa. Plan Togo (2006) asserts that sexual violence is an abuse that is evidenced by an activity between a child and an adult or by another child, who by age or development, is in a relationship of responsibility, trust or power; the activity being intended to satisfy the needs of the person. Plan Togo's study (2006), focused on 750 female and 250 male children in their last three years of primary schools and concluded that - from a 'victim/target perspective' - sexual violence may be viewed as the involvement of a person in a sexual activity that he or she does not fully comprehend and is unable to give informed consent or that violates the laws or social taboos of society. This may include, but is not limited to, the inducement or coercion of a child to engage in any unlawful sexual activity, the exploitation or other unlawful sexual practices and the exploitative use of children in pornographic performances and materials.

In addition to what has been stated above, the study conducted by Management System International (2008) reveals that sexual violence is related to a form of abuse by an adult or child in a forcible manner where there is no approval. The Management System International (2008) study was conducted in Jamaica in urban and rural schools. The aim of the Management System International (2008) study focused on school-related gender based violence in developing countries in an effort to improve an understanding of its causes, prevalence and consequences.

Drawing on the findings of the document review and data gathered from semi-structured interviews with stakeholders and agency representatives of 20 government organizations, five international donors and organizations and 15 NGOs, Management System International (2008) concluded that sexual violence may include direct physical contact such as unwanted touching of any kind or rape.

The Management System International (2008) report argues, further, that sexual violence may also be understood as an act that is not just perpetrated physically but also verbally, for example, through sexually explicit language or any repetitive, unwanted sexual attention such as teasing or taunting about dress or personal appearance or if students are forced to watch pornography or listen to sexually explicit language. Adding to the above definitions, a report by UNICEF (2010) underscores sexual violence as a common form of gender-based violence that ranges from sexual harassment, forcible insertion of objects into another's genital openings, sexual intercourse without consent, child defilement and forced prostitution. Among these forms of sexual violence, rape is the most prevalent. According to their findings, the major reason for its wide spread nature is concluded in certain patriarchal values that regard women as mere objects to be conquered so as to satisfy the desire of men.

A later study by Ramchunder (2012) reinforces UNICEF's (2010) documented definition of sexual violence. Ramchunder's (2012) research was conducted in an urban primary school in Kwa-Zulu Natal. The aim of the study was to explore the experiences of learners in a primary school. Ramchunder (2012) sampled 8 participants and used a qualitative approach and an exploratory and descriptive case study. Data was collected through semi-structured interviews

and observations. Drawing from the data, Ramchunder (2012) concludes that sexual violence may be understood as an expression of gender based violence in the form of sex discrimination. This includes any undesirable sexual moves, requests for sexual favours and verbal or physical acts of a sexual nature. Ramchunder (2012) also describes sexual violence as a way of expressing sexism that shows and supports unequal power relations that exist between males and females in patriarchal societies, as well as unequal power relations between males as well.

Additionally, Hill and Kearn (2011) propose that sexual violence can be defined as an unwelcome conduct of a sexual nature which includes, for example, unwelcome sexual advances, request for sexual favours or other verbal, non-verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature. Hill and Kearn (2011) conducted an online global survey. This definition is drawn from a study which Hill and Kearn (2011) conducted among middle and high school Grade 7 to Grade 12 students. Hill and Kearn's (2011) data was gathered from electronic conversations between teenagers (for example, social media networks, emails and cell phone texts). Drawing from this data, Hill and Kearn (2011) extend their definition of sexual violence to include conduct such as making sexual comments or jokes or gestures on these social media platforms, writing graffiti or displaying or distributing sexually explicit drawings, pictures or written materials, referring to peers by sexually suggestive pseudonyms, spreading sexual rumours about peers on such platforms, rating peers on sexual activity or performance and circulating, showing or creating emails or web sites of sexual nature about particular students.

Based on the literature reviewed on sexual violence it is apparent that most national and international studies have focused on the middle class contexts. Whereas, recent South African

studies consider traditional African observances as forms of violence such as ukuthwala (carrying of girls without their permission), virginity testing and the circumcision of boys. Western studies are silent about such debates. Contemporary local studies underscore these forms of violence as being expressed under the guise of cultural practices. My study, however, will address this evident gap by revealing the impact of the following forms of sexual violence: ukuthwala, virginity testing and the circumcision of boys. Furthermore, there is also limited research on boys to sexual violence. This is the gap I bridge in the current study. In the following sub-section, I look at three forms of sexual violence namely; rape, sexual abuse and sexual exploitation, considering that, in the context of my study, these forms of sexual violence are rife.

2.2.2 Forms of sexual violence

In keeping with my first key research question, I discuss the different forms of sexual violence as identified in the literature. This is relevant since my study considers the forms of sexual violence that are prevalent in the Eyakhe location and probes whether or not children identify these disparate expressions as sexual violence.

2.2.2.1 Harassment as a form of sexual violence

The reviewed literature indicates that 'sexual harassment' is a form of sexual violence. For example, sexual harassment is defined by the American Association of University Women Educational Foundation (2001) as unwanted and unwelcome sexual behavior that interferes with someone's life. Sexual harassment is not a behavior that you like or want (for example, kissing,

touching or flirting). Du Plessis, Fouche and Van Wyk (1998) define sexual harassment as unwanted conduct of a sexual nature. The unwanted nature of the sexual harassment distinguishes it from behaviors that are welcome and mutually acceptable. They explain further that sexual attention becomes sexual harassment if the behavior is persistent (although a single incident of harassment can constitute sexual harassment): the recipient has made it clear that the behavior is considered offensive; and, or, the perpetrator should have known the behavior is regarded as unacceptable

2.2.2.2 Rape as a form of sexual violence

Black, Basile, Breiding, Smith, Walters, Merrick, Chen and Stevens (2011) claim that rape is one form of sexual violence. They define rape as any act of unwelcomed behavior through the use of physical force like holding down and using threats to physically harm the victim. They explain, further, that rape is separated into three types: completed forced penetration, attempted forced penetration and completed alcohol or drug facilitated penetration. They point out that rape among children includes vaginal or oral penetration by a male using his penis and includes vaginal or anal penetration by male or female using their fingers or objects. Among men, rape includes oral or anal penetration by the male using his penis and includes anal penetration by the male using his fingers or objects. In contrast with Black, Basile, Breiding, Smith, Walters, Merrick, Chen and Stevens (2011) statements about rape, Antonwicz (2010) stated two other forms of sexual violence in educational institutions, namely: sexual abuse and sexual exploitation.

2.2.2.4 Sexual exploitation as a form of sexual violence

Antonwicz (2010) describes sexual exploitation as any abuse of vulnerability, position of authority or trust for sexual ends with remuneration in cash or kind to the child or third person or social and political gain resulting from the abuse. Sexual exploitation includes mainly the transactional encounters such as good reports or good marks in exchange for sexual acts or sexual relations as payment for school fees or supplies, girls can be offered by male students to teachers in return for reduced fees.

In addition, Estes (2001) defines the sexual exploitation as an abuse when children and young people receive something such as food, accommodation, drugs, cigarettes, affection, gifts or money in exchange for sex. Those exploiting the children have power over them because of their age, gender, intellect, physical strength and resources.

2.2.2.5 Responses to sexual violence

This section discusses the literature that underscores how those in positions of authority abuse their power in ways that silence victims (targets) of sexual violence. Chege (2006) conducted a study in the eastern and southern Africa Region. The study explored teachers gendered lives and looking at how these teachers gendered lives influence a teacher-learner relationship and pedagogical practices. Chege (2006) gave a detailed report about a male school principal who covered up a male teacher who had sexually abused the young girl. The girl was silenced. This sort of violence is characterized by protection or turning a blind eye to offences committed thus

increasing the victim's vulnerability to the violence. The school principal's attitude symbolizes what Chege (2006) describes as the maintenance of practices that institutionalize men's dominance over women, giving them sexual entitlement to their bodies. The principal's ignorance of the code of conduct for teachers regarding sexual relations with children, was expressing a form of sexism which often makes it difficult to see beyond individual acts of force or oppression to a structure of power.

Proulx (2012) contends that sexual violence is the kind that is likely to be reported to government agencies such as the police, medical institutions and the Department of Social Welfare. In his study conducted in Accra, he noted that Ghanaians perceive matters concerning sex as taboo and this is the main motive for survivors and families not reporting incidents. In most cases, the survivors feel that they can handle the situation themselves and do not want to betray a friend. Proulx (2012) insists that the lack of confidence in reporting to agencies such as the police, social welfare and school authorities is another factor in low reporting; the victims feel reporting would not help the situation because authorities would not do anything. General practice, in known cases of sexual violence, seems to be either to keep the act secret in order to maintain good relationships in the community or to verbally reprimand the perpetrator.

In contrast with Chege (2006) and Proulx (2012), Richter, Dawes and Higson-Smith (2005) state that a custom is one of the risk factors that silence sexual abused children and the parents of the abused children among Nguni groups. The practices of 'inhlawulo' (is an animal or money paid when the boy or man damages the girl's virgin.) and 'ukugeza' (is an animal or money paid by boy or man to cleanse the family of the girl whose virginity is broken or damaged), stipulate that

when a man impregnates a woman outside of wedlock, he is forced to make payments of either money or live responsibly and in good faith. However, when this same practice is extended to non-consensual sexual relations between adults and children, the effect of reparations can be quite different. By making such payments to the girl's father, the abuser will continue with his abusive behavior since the problem is dealt in African tradition.

Richter, Dawes and Higson-Smith (2005) elaborate by saying that cultural scripts regarding respect and obedience to elders make it difficult for abused children to speak out against abusers who are senior to them. If they do, they may be punished. If the perpetrator is a member of the child's immediate or extended family, the child may face loss of a provider, possibly with economic consequences for the entire family. Under these circumstances, the perpetrator is encouraged to continue sexually abusing children. Sadly, children's socialization into obedience and silence and their realistic fear of breaking such codes may contribute to their abuse.

In light of the above findings, school responses to sexual violence are unsatisfactory because there are no mechanisms in place to protect or educate children on gender based violence. Schools are supposed to be safe sites for children but sometimes tend to be a place where children experience sexual violence. Schools need to promote equal rights and teach both young women and young men non acceptability of violence. Boys appear to use violence or threats to control girls' movements and activities so as to scare the girls, and this highlights the prevalence of male hegemony. This study was necessary and will contribute to the awareness of sexual violence in the school and the community at large.

The following part of the chapter provides a review of studies that broadly relate to my research topic. As highlighted earlier, much of the reviewed studies only focus on urban and semi-urban areas and not in rural context, such as that in which my research is located. Furthermore, the reviewed studies construct sexual violence as something which is acted out against girl children only. Certain traditional practices are viewed in local studies as the way in which sexually violent people from traditional contexts disguise sexual violence this is scarcely reported on, whether in local and international literature. My study contributes to these gaps by studying how learners from a rural context and traditional background perceive sexual violence and by considering how certain traditional practices such as ukuthwala (abduction of girls or carrying of girls without their permission), virginity testing and male circumcision are used by sexually violent people to violate girl and boy children under the disguise of tradition.

2.3 Sexual violence, intersectionality and risk factors (Part 2)

Below, I offer a discussion of theories that provide the framework for my data analysis. My choice of these studies is informed by Crenshaw's (1991) theory on intersectionality. This theory associates factors such as racial identity, social and economic class to experiences with the discourses of power and privilege which play out in a way that privileges some whilst oppressing and marginalizing others (Crenshaw, 1991). Crenshaw's theory has, however, received much criticism (Garry, 2008). Garry (2008) criticizes that Crenshaw's theory does not prioritize women and their interests. It also proliferates genders and lead to lack empathy and does not fit well with position of solidarity among women and therefore not used in its "raw" essence. Instead, I have chosen to adapt this controversial theory so that it provides a lens for the analysis

of my data; that which enables me to consider how factors such as power, poverty, gender, peer pressure, and generational expectation intersect in ways that exacerbate children's vulnerability to sexual violence.

I draw from an interdisciplinary body of literature that discusses sexual violence in relation to factors that predispose children to sexual risk, namely: gender, construction of intimate relationships, power, poverty, sexuality, peer pressure, and generational expectation and sexual violence. This includes the writing of Plan Togo (2006); Haffejee (2006); Wellesley Centers for Research on Women and Development and Training Services (WCRWDTS) (2013); Jewkes (2000, 2002, 2005); Wilson, (2007); Human Rights Watch (2001); MSI (2008); Proulx (2012); Fleischman (2003); Hunter (2002); Dunkle et al (2004); Ramchunder (2012); Ngakane, Muthukrishna and Ngcobo (2012); Park, Fedler and Dangor (2000); Wood, Maforah and Jewkes (1996); Schnurr and Lohman (2008); Bekele (2012) and Hill and Kears (2011). Also, in keeping with the conceptual framework in which my study is situated, *New Childhood Studies and Children's geographies* (see Chapter 1), my choice of the studies discussed in this section was informed by an awareness that these studies were conducted amongst children of a similar age group to one used in my study. The authors provide a theoretical understanding of sexual violence and its intersections with gender, construction of intimate relationships, power, poverty, sexuality, peer pressure and generational perspective in a similar geographical, historical and social context to that of my study.

2.3.1 Sexual violence and gender

Plan Togo (2006) points out that sexual harassment and abuse of girls in schools, by teachers, is common. The study found that 31 out of 750 girls who took part in the study reported having suffered sexual violence at school. Furthermore, male teachers use their powerful position in the lives of their students which all coincide to devastating effect when sexual pressure is put on their girl students. Plan Togo (2006) highlights the fact that girls will sometimes urge their classmates to have sex with the teacher in order to stop him giving bad remarks and marks. Girls, by falling in love with male teachers, get good marks without working hard ((Plan Togo, 2006).

The boys see themselves as disadvantaged because what they have to trade with teachers in exchange for good marks is manual work in the teachers' fields; they regard this as more much more difficult than having sex with a teacher. According to Plan Togo (2006), girls are often frightened to complain that their teacher is sexually harassing them because they fear revenge from all teachers who act together out of professional solidarity and who blacklist girls. Girls may get bad marks from everyone which often means they have to leave the school. Plan Togo (2006) also points out those adolescent girls are particularly vulnerable to sexual harassment and violence on account of their gender.

Haffejee (2006) finds out that about 28 to 30 percent of female teenagers are forced into sexual initiations and sexual violence is a consistent feature of sexual relationships for adolescent girls aged 14 to 18. Haffejee (2006) argues further, that adolescent girls, in the hierarchy of power relations, occupy the lowest level because their opportunities for self-development and autonomy

are restricted and they don't ask the same sort of social protection that younger children do. According to Haffejee (2006), their subordinate status in society denies them equal access to education and places them at risk for abuse unlike their male counterparts and both older and younger females. Haffejee's (2006) findings were drawn from a study conducted in 9 urban Gauteng schools among adolescent girls between the ages of 13 to 17 years. The aim of the study was to understand children's experiences in heterosexual interpersonal relationships, their perspectives on gender-based violence and the gender issues they confront at school. The study employed an exploratory design and focus groups were employed as a medium for data collection. Trained facilitators conducted discussions and data was analyzed through content analysis. Haffejee's findings (2006) were clustered according to dominant themes and they center broadly on issues of gender relations at school, constructions of relationships, violence in relationships and response to such violence.

Regarding gender and sexual violence, Haffejee (2006) found that schoolgirls are treated as sexual objects and are subjected to unwelcome touching of their breasts or behinds. They are also subject to hurting language and are often called 'bitches' if they disregard boys. A further finding was that girls who have angered boys are often made the butt of humiliating, often untrue stories that are circulated amongst the boys. Sometimes, boys beat girls to impress their friends and force them into sexual relationships. It was also found that boys also use violence as a mode of control over girls; over their bodies, their dress, their movements and their social activities.

Additionally, a study by Wellesley Centre for Research on Women and Development and Training Services (WCRWDTS) (2013) reported that around the globe, men continue to hold

more power and privilege than do women. This pattern of gender inequality includes traditional constructions of femininity and masculinity which are often deeply entrenched. The construction of femininity and masculinity is contributing to gender sexual violence where man and boys are expected to be aggressive and violent and women and girls are supposed to be passive and submissive about sex. At the same time, this pervasive gender inequality contributes to the widespread reluctance to discuss sex and sexuality more openly. This, in turn, leaves adolescents without the information and support they need to move toward equal adult sexual relationships, where sex and sexuality are safer.

2.3.2 Sexual violence and construction of intimate relationships

Haffejee (2006) indicates that sexual violence within the relationships is normalized by the people who are being victimized and the people who are being reported sexual violence like parents, teachers and police. These people do not take sexual violence seriously. In the school's response to this type of sexual violence, the study finds that the school officials do not take sexual harassment seriously and girl's toilets, in particular, are seen as sites of potential hazard. In Eyakhe community the sad reality is that there appears to be no other platform for the abused girls to report since such cases are normalized. This lack of action on the part of school officials once again left girls feeling that their experiences are being discounted.

2.3.3 Sexual violence and power

Adding to the above information, Jewkes (2002) states that South African young girls' vulnerability to sexual violence is the issue of power inequalities and is compounded by the fact that they have older partners and they have little support and guidance. The young South African male adults assert their power in varied ways including violence, sexual assault and rape.

In a later study conducted in South Africa, Wilson (2007) explored the phenomenon of sexual violence of school girls in South African schools. 23 schools in each province were used in the study which sampled 546 educators and 14776 students. Wilson's (2007) findings point out that the excessive use of sanctions can lead to abuse by those who are in positions of authority. This power can be used to exercise control through other means, for example, sexual abuse. Teachers and others working in a professional capacity with children are exploiting their positions of authority and failing in their duty of care.

Agyepong (2010) conducted an empirical study in senior high schools in Ghana. The aim of the research was to investigate the issue of sexual harassment against female students in senior high schools in the Kumasi Metropolis of the Ashanti region of Ghana. A descriptive survey research design was used for the study. A multi-stage sampling procedure was used to select the participants. A total of 540 female students were selected from six co-educational senior high schools. The main instrument used for the data collection was a questionnaire.

Agyepong (2010) states that one major element underlying the occurrence of sexual harassment is the influence of power. It is this power dynamics that makes students and subordinates at school or the work place more vulnerable to sexual harassment and violence. In the school environment, male students take advantage of the power of their masculinity to sexually harass female students, while male teachers also take advantage of their position as classroom figure heads to demand sexual favours from their female students for academic favours. He observes that those in power of authority misuse this power to unfairly discriminate against subordinates, be it students or young staff. Power is the ability to execute authority. He distinguishes between the following types of power: legitimate power, power by reward and coercive power.

Legitimate power (position power): This is the official authority delegated to a position. In terms of this power, the leader/educator has the right to expect subordinates to carry out their duties conscientiously and to take disciplinary measures if they do not. In most cases of sexual harassment against students in schools, the victims find themselves exposed to educators or fellow students who misuse their power of authority to intimidate and sexually abuse them.

Agyepong (2010) claimed that power by reward is used to give or withhold rewards, such as recognition, appreciation, merits and promotion. The positive side of the power of reward is that it could be used to motivate staff or learners. But, if this power is misused to get sexual favours, it is known as sexual favouritism. This happens when a person who is in a position of authority only rewards those who respond to his/her sexual advances. Girls in school are subjected to this serious form of unfair discrimination. The rewards could be in the form of financial support to an impoverished household or for better grades.

Agyepong (2010) describes coercive power as fear. Fear can be psychological or physical in those who are not in power. This notion was supported by (Human Rights Watch, 2001) that coercive power causes much higher incidence of sexual harassment and victimization among female learners which may be attributed to the patriarchal attitudes of most societies.

2.3.4 Sexual violence and poverty

A Management Systems International (MSI) report (2008) illustrates how poverty has been linked to the prevalence of sexual violence in schools and where the connection is manifested in a number of ways. Low wages for teachers may lead them to feel entitled to sexual favours from students as a benefit to add-onto their low wages. The report also comments that sexual exploitation of girls for personal pleasure or larger benefits is seen as compensation. Poverty may also mean that essential goods, school fees or extra tutoring are out of reach for many students. Girls, in particular, may be vulnerable to engaging in exploitative sexual relationships with teachers in order to meet these educational needs. Even if students voluntarily enter into relationships where they exchange sex for goods or services, the power, age and economic disparities between girls and older males means that these types of transactional relationships are a form of sexual violence. Teachers are not the only individuals with whom girls may engage in exploitative relationships to receive education.

The study found that bus drivers offer free rides to school girls who provide them with sexual favours. The financial and material gain that girls receive from such relationships may also serve

to discourage parents from objecting to or stopping them. A study conducted in Jamaica in urban and rural areas examining sexual related gender based violence, the cause and the consequences for children and the society, found that some parents knew about, and encouraged, sexual relationships between girls and taxi drivers. School teachers who had impregnated students paid parents not to report incidence (Management Systems International, 2008). The study also found that children experienced sexual abuse in the home, community and school. At school, girls experienced sexual harassment, inappropriate touching and pressure from teachers and peers to engage in sexual relationships.

In a study conducted in Awaso and Accra in four junior high schools, examining the barriers to combating male and gender based violence in school at the community level, Proulx (2012) outlines that those girls who come from poor economic background are high in risk of sexual abuse and whose parents cannot afford the school fees. In fact, Proulx (2012) further indicates that some mothers push their daughters into sexual relationships with boys and men that can support them financially. The inability of parents to cater for the needs of their children is one of the main reasons of sexual abuse of school girls in Ghana. Some of the reasons include parents' failure to educate their children on dangers of sex, the lack of sound religious and moral education for children, the tendency for parents to settle sexual abuse cases privately at home, parents sharing the same room with children who are exposed to sexual acts and private parts, the influence of older, bad children on younger ones and girls' provocative dressing, walking and mannerisms.

Wellesley Centres for Research on Women and Development and Training Services (2013) states that poverty can force young girls to trade sex for money to supplement family income and/or pay school fees. Of particular concern is the cross-generational, or "sugar daddy" phenomenon, in which older men engage in sexual relations with younger girls who are presumed to be disease free (Dunkle, Jewkes, Brown, Gray, McIntyre & Harlow, 2004). Fleischman (2003) describes this pattern as feeding on conditions of poverty and economic dependency where young girls enter exploitive and risky relationships to ensure food, shelter and schooling. Many of the girls in transactional sex are unaware of, and/or are unable to practice safe sex. Parents who are aware of their daughters' activities often turn a blind eye because family survival or siblings' education depended on this income.

Antonwicz (2010) agrees with Dunkle et al (2004) and points out that poor girls may engage in transactional sex with teachers, school staff or other adults to financially support their education. In some cases parents may also turn a blind eye in their children's sexual relations with teachers or other adults to alleviate a lack of cash to support their schooling. Antonwicz concurs with WCRWDTS (2013) that girls may engage in risky relationships with sugar daddies either to support their education or in exchange for presents for themselves or contributions in kind to the family revenue. The lack of economic power of teachers and education staff, who receive low salaries and are sometimes posted to remote and poor areas, results in sexual favours from students being seen as a form of compensation.

Wood and Jewkes (1998) state that poverty is the key factor that contributes to sexual violence. Girls fall in love with boys and older males called sugar daddies within and outside the school

environment with the intention of getting something (Jewkes, Dunkle, Nduna & Jama 2012). Adults, who are sugar daddies, take advantage of some girls' poverty to bribe them with money or gifts for sex. Jewkes (2000) further explains that a girl may respond to such advances because her family is unable to provide her with school fees and other necessities. Where girls live at some distance from school and do not have money for bus fares, they may solicit lifts from strangers which increase their chances of being sexually assaulted or raped.

Adding to what Jewkes(2000) states, Jewkes, Dunkle, Nduna and Jama (2012) used the word transactional sex as the contributing factor for sexual violence. Jewkes et al. (2012) describes transactional sex as a continuum ranging from sex enacted purely for reasons of fun or affection on the one hand to self-identified sex on the other. The term transactional sex includes sex work but also denotes situations where sex is exchanged for something materially important and where there is an understanding that if goods are not forthcoming there will be no sex or it will stop.

In contrast with Jewkes, Dunkle, Nduna and Jama (2012), Hunter (2002) describes the nature of transactional sex as it is related to the concepts of subsistence (survival) and consumption (luxury orientated terms). Subsistence in this context describes poor girls and boys with limited options for economic survival and no secure food source whereas consumption refers to girls who have network of support for basic survival but receive gifts of cash or consumption goods such as phones, through sexual exchanges. However, Dunkle et al. (2004) argues that with unemployment and poverty rates as high they are, girls do engage in more than one transactional relationship at a time in order to survive and provide for their families. They further added that these conditions are worsened by the fact that these children who are heading families are

expected to elevate siblings which results to sexual relations with adults. Adding to Dunkle et al. (2004), Jewkes, Pen-Kekana and Rose-Junius (2005) indicate that their friends might be very jealous if their man support and provide them with good and motivating presents.

2.3.5 Sexual violence and masculinity

Ramchunder (2012) conducted a study on learners' experiences and factors that contribute to gender based violence which could be used to support policy initiatives aimed at alleviating gender based violence. Ramchunder (2012) outlines that sexual violence can be constructed differently and most girls worldwide are victims of sexual harassment. At an early age, boys learn to see girls as sexual objects who are supposed to agree to their sexual advances. Sexual harassment seems to perpetuate itself; this is largely due to the way boys have been socialized to view girls as objects. Ramchunder (2012) departs from the established assumption that harassment only affects girls and points out boys may also be subject to sexual violence. In an attempt to address sexual violence, boys should not be ignored..

Findings from Ramchunder's study reveal that sexual harassment is a challenge for both girls and boys in schooling contexts. Sexual harassment in school context includes teasing, swearing, spreading of sexual rumours, demeaning comments, intentionally brushing against another in asexual way and coercing on a sexual way.

Ngakane, Muthukrishna, and Ngcobo (2012) claim that the discourse of 'boys will be boys' is rooted in the ways in which boys are socialized to express and defend their masculinities. This

occurs in a situation where girls refuse to have relationships with boys and the rejection by a female learner of sexual advances made by a boy turns to sexual violence. The authors explain that boys insult girls when they refuse to have relationships with them and would force girls to kiss them and sometimes they would touch girls on the buttocks especially after evening studies when they return to the residence. This conclusion was drawn from an empirical study at a secondary school in Lesotho which explored learner experiences of school violence in Lesotho. Fifteen learners participated in the study. Data was collected through individual and focus group interviews and document analysis was used in the study. School records of critical incidents of violence, minutes of parent meetings, school policy documents and school regulations were accessed for analysis.

Further to the above, Antonwicz (2010) contends that violence, in and around school, is situated within gender based norms and gender based socialization dynamics in which male violence is accepted promotes female submission and passivity. Antonwicz (2010) argues that African masculinities can be constructed on notions of virility, where male sexual power and competition have direct negative effects on girls and women. In terms of sexuality, some girls may also accept a certain level of gender based violence and discrimination in the school environment because that is aligned with what they experience and have been socialized to accept this as normal in the home and community. The girl child becomes a woman as soon as she starts menstruating and is accepted to be fully responsible for her sexuality at an age when her body is still developing.

2.3.6 Sexual violence and sexuality

Park, Fedler and Dangor (2000) argue that gendered constructions of female and male sexuality have created the norm that men should be sexually active and women should be passive. One of the results of this belief is that active female sexual desire is discouraged. Women who are sexually active are labeled 'loose' or as promiscuous. To some men, these cultural prohibitions on women's expression of sexual desire imply that women need to be forced, that the woman's 'no' should be interpreted as a 'yes' in a context where it is not acceptable for her to say 'yes'. Female partners are expected to be constantly sexually available to their male partners.

The study found that learners were exposed to complex patterns of violence and these were experienced in multiple forms, for example, sexual violence, corporal punishment, sexual harassment, bullying and physical violence. The deep influence in learner experience of gender violence is rooted on gender inequality. The schools are failing to challenge and shift inequitable gender norms.

In an earlier study researched by Management Systems International (2008) on urban and rural schools in Malawi, the aim of the study was to improve understanding of the causes of gender based violence. The study used document reviews, open ended interviews and semi-structured focus groups interviews. Management Systems International (2008) outlines that, globally, boys and girls are influenced by gender norms that shape their behaviour. From an early age they are conditioned to adopt certain sexual behaviours, preferences and attitudes that are considered appropriate for their sex. Males learn that violent sexual behaviour is acceptable. Within many

cultural contexts, young men are pressured to prove their manhood through sexual encounters and physical violence. These constructions of masculinity and femininity are often deeply entrenched because in many societies males tend to be dominant and aggressive while females learn to be submissive.

In addition, girls who do not accept the male hegemony may suffer sexual violence. Equating masculinity with sexual conquest of women is so strong in some cultures that boys who do not fulfill this norm for masculinity may fear for punishment. Management Systems International (2008), for example, states that in Sub-Saharan region, some boys challenge each other in a 24 hour rape because they are scared of being bullied and labeled as un-masculine. The study finds that rigid norms about gender and sexuality may also result in homophobia and homophobic violence.

2.3.7 Sexual violence and peer pressure

This subsection discusses peer pressure as a contributing factor to sexual violence. In this section, I will look at how different authors discuss peer pressure and sexual violence.

Wood, Maforah and Jewkes (1996) conducted an empirical study among pregnant Xhosa-speaking adolescent women in Khayelitsha. The study explored on contraceptive use, bodily knowledge, pregnancy and sexual dynamics within adolescent relationships. In-depth, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 24 adolescent Xhosa females and was taped, transcribed and translated. Participants were recruited and interviewed in the townships Midwife Obstetric Unit to which they presented for ante-natal care.

Wood, Maforah and Jewkes (1996) state that peer contexts in which adolescents are situated appear to reinforce the pressure to engage sexually. Sex is a strategy to avoid peer ostracism, if you want to belong to that group you end up doing it; otherwise you become isolated and nobody wants that. Strategies are being practiced whereby sexually inexperienced teenagers are sent away during conversations of sexual matters; they tell you that they won't discuss it in your presence until you experience it yourself. There is no other option but to get involved with a man sexually in order to avoid being perceived as 'weird'. The study finds that victims are being motivated by love and need for peer acceptance to remain with male partners and since violence is perceived and experienced to be very common among married and unmarried people, it is accepted as part of relationships.

Wood, Maforah and Jewkes (1996), in contrast to Schnurr and Lohman (2008), state that young men who associate themselves with sexually active peer groups are easily influenced by them and are more likely to commit sexual violence. If the peer group encourages skills of sexual conquest, the use of force to have sex on an unwilling female friend may be encouraged. Moreover, young men who perceived that their friends were using coercive tactics to obtain sex from their partner were more likely to use similar tactics to conform to the peer norm. Thus, young men with a strong need for acceptance from their peers may feel pressured to perpetrate sexual violence.

2.3.8 Sexual violence and generational expectations

Girls' subordinated status with regard to boys and men is a critical factor influencing sexual violence (Jewkes, 2000). Boys tend to force girls to have sex because boys believe that girls are sex objects and at any time should agree to sex if the men so desire. Furthermore, Wood and Jewkes (1998) state that boys see sex as their right and forced sex is legitimate. Girls found it difficult to escape from violent relationships because of the status attached to being in relationships and fear of reprisals.

Bekele (2012) outlines that girls are primary victims of sexual violence, abuse and exploitation perpetrated by male teachers, school staff, male students and other adults around and outside the school. Initial sexual intercourse, at a young age, exposes adolescent girls to increased vulnerability to sexual violence and victimization. In a study conducted in eastern Ethiopia examining school related gender based violence, Bekele (2012) points out those low levels of maturity and sexual experience may also hinder these girls from realizing the unacceptability of the use of psychological pressure and force by their male peers in sexual activities. These girls may not be physically mature and experienced enough to be able to enforce clear boundaries for sexual activities with men. Men who perceive that younger girls will show little or no resistance to their sexual advances may target these girls more readily. Bekele (2012) also elaborates that young women with low self-esteem are more likely to be vulnerable to male victimizing behaviour than those who feel better about themselves.

Young women with low self-esteem may be less well-adjusted in relationships and may not effectively object to their partner's unwanted sexual advances. Bekele (2012) further explains that those girls who are poor at being assertive in refusing sexual advances in general may be more vulnerable to sexual victimization. These children have difficulty in refusing their partner's unwanted sexual advances because of poor communication or lack of negotiation skills concerning sexual behaviour.

Antonwicz (2010) states that around schools, perpetrators of sexual violence are men of all age who are known or unknown to the child. Within schools, perpetrators of sexual abuse are most commonly male students or teachers. Male students take advantage of their situation of superiority to abuse younger or weaker children. Male teachers or school-staff take their situation of authority and trust to abuse children. Other adults perpetrate sexual violence on children on their way to school. These adults can be known to children, such as family drivers and bus drivers. Sugar daddies give gifts, pay school fees or provide material supplies to young children, usually girls, in return for sexual favours.

Hill and Kearn (2011) point out that those boys who are not athletic or perceived by other students as not masculine are likely to be harassed than boys who are considered good looking. For girls, those who stand out as too sexual or not masculine are at risk for sexual harassment. Girls whose bodies are more developed than those of other girls are likely to be sexually harassed at school. Pretty girls are considered to be at high risk by 41 percent of students and 32 percent believed that those who are not pretty or not very feminine are sexual harassment targets at school.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter reviewed literature on sexual violence. Drawing from local, national and international studies, the chapter began with a general review of sexual violence, proceeded to the forms of sexual violence and, lastly, considered the responses on sexual violence. In the second part of the review, I also discussed the theoretical framework used by different authors on studies on sexual violence and looked at how factors such as gender, construction of intimate relationships, power, poverty, sexuality, peer pressure and generational expectations intersect in a way that worsened children's vulnerability to sexual violence. I discuss the research methodology and design of the study in the following chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

The previous chapter provided a detailed account of theoretical insights which guided the current study and the data analysis. This chapter presents a detailed description of the research design, research methodology and methods employed to gather relevant data.

3.2 Research Design

The research design is exploratory, descriptive and contextual in nature as it seeks to describe a particular phenomenon thoroughly (de Vos, Strydom, Fouche' & Delpont, 2005). It includes the entire process of research, from conceptualizing a problem to writing narrative (Creswell, 1998). It is a strategy which moves from underlying philosophical assumptions to specify the selection of respondents, data gathering techniques and data analyses (Maree, 2007). Congruent with the above assertions, the research design that is used in this study is explorative in nature as the goal of the study is to explore the narratives and emotional geographies of six Grade 9 children in a Kwa-Zulu Natal combined school.

In the next sub-sections, I look at methodological issues, for example, qualitative research, narrative inquiry and research paradigm.

3.3 Methodological issues

The study adopted a qualitative research approach. Denzin and Lincoln (2003) suggest that the only way to find out or understand how human beings interpret phenomenon is to attempt to get deeper to the core of the phenomenon and that is possible through the qualitative approach. This means that qualitative researchers collect the data in the field where participants live and experience in the context under study. Researchers do not bring participants into the laboratory nor do they send out the instruments for collecting the data for individuals to complete. Instead, in qualitative research, the researcher relies on the views of his/ her participants, asks broad questions, collects data consisting largely of words and describes and analyses these words for themes and conducts the inquiry in a subjective, biased manner (Creswell, 2008). It enables the researcher to collect the rich descriptive data in respect of the phenomenon with the aim of developing an understanding of what is being studied (Nieuwenhuis, 2007). It also permits a fuller understanding of the phenomenon of the study (Louer, 2006). It, furthermore, offers a chance for conducting exploratory and descriptive research which uses the context or setting in a search for a deeper understanding of the person being studied and enables an analysis of people's individual and collective social actions, beliefs, thoughts and perceptions (Best & Kahn, 2003). Likewise, in my study which is about sexual violence, I found this approach suitable in meeting my core research agenda (as outlined in Chapter 1).

Quantitative research, on the other hand, has a large number of respondents that are involved (McMillan & Schumacher, 2006). In contrast, qualitative research is more objective than quantitative research because it uses different methods of collecting the data: mainly from

individual, in-depth interviews and focus groups (Terre Blanche, Durrheim & Painter, 2006). In this approach the interviewer interviews a small number of participants in depth to discover their perceptions, opinions and feelings about the topic discussed to find out concurrence. The researcher uses the skills and experiences to get qualitative information (Yauch & Steudel, 2003). Whereas a researcher in quantitative research looks for sample sizes which succumb findings with slightest confidence, for example, if the researcher has done the survey 100 times, 95 times of 100 times, the study must find similar response plus or minus a margin error of 5 percent points (Nieuwenhuis, 2007). In this study, I sampled a small number of participants (6 children) and interviewed them in-depth, hence, my choice not to employ quantitative methods of inquiry.

3.4 Narrative inquiry

There are several approaches to qualitative studies, of these I chose to employ narrative inquiry as a method of data generation. Clandinin and Connelly (2000) define narrative inquiry as a way of understanding experiences and as collaboration between the researcher and the participants, over time, in place or series of places and in social interaction with environment. Pinnegar and Daynes (2007) add that narrative inquiry focuses on life experiences of one or a few participants rather than those of a larger group and one of its goals is to give voice to those whose stories have been previously unheard in educational research. Clandinin and Connelly (2000) also state that narrative inquiry can be used to bring about social justice with a series of truth-making. Andrew, Squire and Tamboukou (2008) argue that narratives carry a strong representation and

generation of truth or reality about socially lived experiences with the aim of understanding their challenges and problems in their own environments.

Based on the above, narrative inquiry seemed an appropriate choice for my study because this study sought to understand and give meaning to people's lives through their stories (Trahar, 2009). Additionally, a qualitative narrative approach uses a thick description and explores the contextual and situated lives of individuals to understand their personal experiences (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011). Accordingly, I used narrative inquiry in order to understand the children's narratives of sexual violence within and outside the school environment.

In addition, narrative research includes written, oral and visual focusing on the meanings that people ascribe to their experiences and, as a narrative inquirers, we strive to attend to the ways in which a story is constructed, for whom, and why, as well as the cultural discourses that it draws upon (Trahar, 2009). Moreover, in narrative inquiry, the relationship between the researcher and the participants remains open and agnostic. The data can be collected as a story, a life story provided in an interview or in different manner and as field notes of an anthropologist who may write up his or her observations as narrative or in personal letters, and narrative research is any study which uses or analyses narrative materials (Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiash & Zilber, 1998; Trahar, 2009). Drawing on the above assertions, I have chosen to use narrative research methods which include oral interviews.

3.5 Research paradigm

According to Cresswell (1994) the design of a study begins with the selection of a paradigm. Paradigms, in the human and social sciences, helps us to understand phenomenon and they advance assumptions about the social world, how science should be constructed and what constitutes legitimate problems, solutions and criteria (Cresswell, 1994).

This study is located within the interpretive paradigm. The interpretive paradigm involves taking people's subjective experiences as the core of what is real for them. The idea is not to pass judgement but to accept that people have different experiences. According to Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011), the main drive of the interpretive paradigm is to understand personal experiences of participants. I chose the interpretive paradigm because the study aims at understanding the personal experiences of research participants. As previously mentioned (see Chapter 1), the purpose of the study is to explore the narratives and emotional geographies of sexual violence of six Grade 9 school children in a rural combined school in Kwa-Zulu Natal. The aim of the study was to understand children's voices, in which children understand, identify and navigate the spaces of sexual violence in which they consider themselves vulnerable.

Congruent with the goals of an interpretive research paradigm, the current study seeks to give a voice and emancipate children from adult power laden environments and assumptions, powerlessness and vulnerabilities, by enabling children to shed light on the issues of sexual violence that is affecting them within and outside the school environment. By conducting this study, I want to deconstruct the belief that children are objects and passive, by exploring

children's narratives about their spaces and places. Situating my study in the interpretive paradigm enables me to achieve this goal. Reeves and Heedberg (2003); Henning (2005) and Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011) concur to one another that interpretive paradigm adopts meaning oriented methodologies such as interviewing in an attempt to understand the phenomena.

3.6 Data gathering process

This sub-section looks at the research design, context of the study, sampling, data generation techniques, limitations of the study and ethical issues.

3.6.1 Sampling

In order to obtain rich data I used purposeful sampling because it is the selection of information rich cases for an in-depth study (McMillan & Schumacher, 2006). Purposeful sampling is a sampling technique where the researcher consciously chooses participants for the study (Nieuwenhuis, 2007). Purposeful sampling is done to increase the utility of information obtained from small samples.

The chosen sample was between fifteen and seventeen years of age. The sample was further limited to six Grade 9 children from one combined school in Kwa-Zulu Natal; those purposefully selected were three boys and three girls. The sample of the six children do not represent all the fifteen to seventeen year old children in Eyakhe location but it does assist in understanding how

boys and girls experience sexual violence and how they cope with these experiences. As the sample of this study was small, the findings of this research cannot be generalised to all learners. Generalisations, however, is not the main purpose of this study.

Furthermore, my sample was exclusively comprised of children that have not been the principal focus of academic research and their views remained largely neglected (Brady, 2007). Children rarely are afforded an opportunity to speak for themselves in research and, rather, their lives have been explored through the voices of adult as they are regarded as incompetent, unreliable, incomplete and as mere objects (Ansell & Smith, 2006). To acquire knowledge, I used children in my study because I believe that they are not passive and can narrate their stories of how their geographies have been constructed. I also hold the view that children are social actors and active agents in their own spaces and places and who are capable of meaning making.

The researcher searches for information from key informants, groups, places or events to study (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011). In other words, these samples are chosen because they are likely to be knowledgeable and informative about the phenomena the researcher is investigating (McMillan & Schumacher, 2006). I chose a gender balanced sample of children since I believe that both boys and girls experience the effects of sexual violence and are equal social actors and experts in their own lives; they have right to participate in research that aims to make their own lives to be visible (Moss, 2011). They are needed to be listened to and viewed as competent partners in research rather than objects of the study (Skanfors, 2009).

3.6.2 Data gathering techniques

In order to obtain the data for this study, I used interviews. Kvale (1996) regards an interview as an interchange of views between two or more people on a topic of mutual interest and sees the centrality of human interaction for knowledge production. Terre Blanche and Kelly (1999) concur with Kvale (1996) by stating that interviewing is a more natural way of interacting with learners and educators instead of asking them to fill out a questionnaire or conduct an experiment and, therefore, fits well with the interpretive approach to research. Tuckman (1999) asserts that one of the purposes of interview is that it may be used as the principal means of gathering information, which can have a direct bearing on the research objectives.

Drawing on the above theoretical insights, I chose this method as a means of data gathering because the interview has the potential to provide rich and illuminating material: it is a flexible and adaptable way of finding things out; the face-to-face interviews offer the possibility of modifying one's lines of inquiry, allows for the following up of interesting responses and for the investigation of underlying motives; and for the use of non-verbal cues which may give messages which help in understanding the verbal responses (Robson, 2002). Two types of research interviews were used in the study, namely, the semi-structured interviews and focus group interviews. I chose to interview children because I believe that children are the best source of information about themselves and it is important as a researcher to enter their world and childhood culture and to see the situation through their eyes (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011). Children differ from adults in cognitive and linguistic development, attention and concentration

span, ability to recall, life experiences and what they consider the importance of status and power to be.

3.6.2.1 Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews were used to get in-depth information from the participants. Interviews are widely used instruments of data collection (Davies, 2007; Mears, 2009; Guthrie, 2010, Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011). The aim of this study, in using semi-structured interviews, was to obtain rich, descriptive data so as to understand the participants' construction of their experiences and social reality (Nieuwenhuis, 2007). The advantage of semi-structured interviews is that it enables probing and clarification and it is an interactive process between the phenomenon being researched through the interviewer and interviewee and is aimed at producing rich data.

Semi-structured interviews can be defined as conversations with a purpose (Burgess, 1984), and generally start from a number of predetermined questions or topics but then adopt a flexible approach for discussion within an interview. The interviews were conducted in their home language, Zulu; because children better understand their home language rather than English, and in using the children's home language, they felt comfortable to express their experiences. Seidman (1998) points out that an hour can be considered as a standard unit of time for an individual interview. The individual interview took between 50 minutes to an hour, dependent upon how quick the interviewee understood and answered the questions. My intention as the

researcher was to understand the phenomenon being researched through the lens of the participants.

Semi-structured interviews offer face to face interaction between researcher and the participants (Adler & Clark, 2008; Marshall & Rossman, 2011). Flick (2007) argues that the success of interviewer competence is when the interviewer asks questions. I was very aware that the study dealt with a sensitive and personal issue which had the possibility of evoking emotions. I found no evidence of emotional trauma in any of the children who agreed to participate in the study although I was researching about sexual violence. Semi-structured interviews offer an opportunity for the participants to tell their stories in a chronological manner (Mears, 2009). Participants have to recall, re-live and reflect their past experiences in an organized manner. The researcher probes the individual experiences using words like what, whom, when and what. The six children were interviewed individually. Learners were told that their responses will be treated with strict confidentiality. Pseudonyms will be used. Participation is voluntary; therefore she/he will be free to withdraw at any time without negative or undesirable consequences. After consent had been granted, each individual response was recorded and transcribed later. I took notes while the participant responded to the questions. The transcribed interviews were translated into English.

Bell (2005) highlighted that the researcher should not assume that all participants will be willing for their responses to be recorded. None of the children refused to participate in the study. I assured all the participants that the audio- tapes would be treated with confidentiality and it was meant for the purpose of the study.

3.6.2.2 Photo voice

One way in which individuals tell stories is through the photographs they take. A photo voice participatory research method was also used in this study. Photo voice was chosen because it has been described as a method by which one can identify, represent and enhance the research (Wang & Burris, 1997). It is a method that allows participants to be actively involved in the data generation process; whereby a camera is entrusted to the participants to record data. The participants themselves become involved in capturing images that have impacted in some way. This is important because the process of generating data is not restricted to the written and verbal only (Harper, 2002).

Likewise, by using photo voice, I was able to make meaning of the participant's visual experiences and found out what mattered to them, through photographs. In order for me to get a perspective of these spaces and places, I provided the participants with three digital cameras and requested them to take pictures of these spaces. Each of the three digital cameras was shared by two children. All three digital cameras were returned. In this way, not only was I afforded an opportunity to hear stories but I was also allowed a window into their world, in the way they see it as captured in the photographs.

According to Wood, Olivier and de Lange (2009), visual methodologies permit participants to communicate in a meaningful way about the issues they experience in their lives and that these are therapeutic as the participants are fully involved and engaged in fun activities. The use of photographs was relevant in my study as they gave children the opportunity to take appropriate

photographs that gave meaning to themselves. Their photographs provoked memories and enabled participants to tell their stories and share their experiences as children. The photographs promoted dialogue and discussion between the researcher and the participants.

Photo voice fitted well within narrative inquiry as it allowed me to understand the participants' world by becoming part of it. I questioned participants on their choice of pictures and the meanings attributed to them. Researchers found that photographs are a powerful tool to encourage active participation of children (Plummer, 2007). Before the participants commenced with data collection, I informed them of ethical issues that needed to be maintained during the process. The participants were reminded not to take any pictures that showed the face of any person but only the spaces and places that they consider themselves vulnerable within and outside the school environment. Data collected via photo voice was used to stimulate discussion during the individual and the focus group interviews.

3.6.2.3 Focus group interviews

Focus groups are contrived settings, bringing together a specifically chosen sector of a population, previously unknown to each other (Hyden & Bulow, 2003), to discuss a particular given theme or topic, and where interaction with the group leads to data and outcomes (Smithson, 2000). In the focus group, a social environment is created to enable group members to be stimulated by one another's perceptions and ideas and this can increase the quality and the richness of the data (McMillan & Schumacher, 2006). Focus group interviews are a strategy based on the assumption that group interaction will produce a widening of responses, thus

activating forgotten details of experience and releasing inhibitions that may otherwise discourage participants from disclosing information (Maree, 2007). The reliance is on the interaction within the group who discuss a topic supplied by the researcher (Morgan, 1988), yielding a collective rather than an individual view. This suggests that the interaction from the participants will produce a wide range of responses, thus encouraging other participants to disclose information they might not remember to disclose if they were alone (Maree, 2007).

Focus group interview is conducted after a series of individual interviews to further explore the general nature of the comments from different individuals, and in a group, people develop and express ideas they would not have thought about their own (Shneiderman & Plaisant, 2005). The researcher yields insights that might not otherwise have been available in a straight forward interview.

Focus groups are economical on time, producing a large amount of data in a short period of time (Cohen, Minion & Morrison, 2011). In the current study, the focus group method facilitated an open discussion amongst my participants about sexual violence. The focus group was composed of boys and girls from the ages of fifteen to seventeen years. The questions were asked in their home languages, Zulu, in order to allow children to express themselves without language constraints. After an interview session, their responses were transcribed into English. The focus group method enabled the participants to answer probing questions freely.

3.7 Research site

Zakhe Combined School is situated in a deep rural area at Sisonke District in Kwa-Zulu Natal. The school is not fenced, therefore, which makes easier for the domestic animals and people to enter the premises during school hours and afternoon. The school is enrolled with Black children who are from different villages. Some learners walk about 3 to 5 kilometres from their areas to school. Most of learners are living with their grandmothers, unemployed single parents and guardians and they experience poverty.

3.8 Ethical considerations

According to Butler (2000) there are key principles that underpin an ethical approach to research. These include respect, equity, avoiding harm, non-discrimination, privacy, confidentiality and protecting the weak. Hereunder, I attend to the relevant ethical issues I addressed prior and during the research process.

Permission was sought from the Department of Education and the school principal. The parents and children involved in the study signed the informed consent forms. Parents and participants were informed of the purpose for the study and their written permission was obtained before the commencement of the study. A declaration was issued to the parents of the participants prior to the commencement of the interview. I ensured that the participants in the study were given notice of the dates, times and location of the interview process. The participants were informed of the possible consequences of the research study. Participants were informed that the study might

bring memories which could lead them to cry and withdrawal. Their names were not used or mentioned during the interview process. I obtained ethical clearance from the University of Kwa-Zulu Natal allowing me as a researcher to conduct the study.

Pseudonyms were used so as to guarantee the anonymity and confidentiality of the participants as well as the school involved in the study. Participants were free to withdraw from the study at any time if they wished. The interview was conducted in an appropriate, safe, conducive, non-stressful and non-threatening environment, ensuring that the participants were comfortable and treated with the necessary respect at all times. Participants were thoroughly briefed on the research procedure and the instruments that were to be used to collect the data. They were given the opportunity to seek clarification on any concern they had prior to the starting of the study. The participants were also told that they would get a copy of their interview transcript in order to verify and rectify any misunderstanding that may have occurred.

3.9 Limitations of the study

The study was limited to six children in one combined school in Kwa-Zulu Natal. The sample of this study was small and the findings of this research, therefore, cannot be generalised to all learners. Generalisations, however, were not the main purpose of this study. South Africa is a rainbow nation where there are Blacks, Indians, Coloureds and Whites. The participants were Black South African children who live in deep rural areas between the ages of 15 to 17 years. The school has got only Black children who are schooling. The study was limited to one grade, the Grade 9, where I purposefully sampled three boys and three girls. The sample of six children

does not represent all the 15 to 17 years old children in Eyakhe location but it does assist in understanding how boys and girls experience sexual violence and how they cope with these experiences.

3.10 Validity and trustworthiness

Lowe (2007) states that validity allows the researcher to be sure whether the data collected truly describes what was meant to be described. It is important that the researcher stay honest and faithful to the data collected. I explained to the participants the importance of reflecting and giving a truthful response to the questions that were put to them. They also advised that if they experienced any kind of discomfort with responding to the questions they could chose not to answer the question. The researcher did not, at any time, want the participant to be under any kind of pressure or duress to answer as this would have inevitably affected the outcome of the interview. The participants used their mother tongue during the interview and it also assisted in ensuring the truthfulness of the transcribed data. The participants were allowed by the researcher to listen to their recordings and I kept the records.

3.11 Data analysis

Data was analysed qualitatively (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011). In this study, data was analysed through children's narratives. The data was sorted and classified according to categories and themes. Initial categories were redefined as the process of data analysis progressed. I then identified broader common themes. Each unit was read and coded.

Information that did not focus on the central idea was left un-coded. When I collected, examined and interpreted the data, I was not biased. I always kept myself neutral, objective and detached to establish credibility.

3.12 Conclusion

This chapter provided a detailed discussion of the research design and methodology. Methodological issues like qualitative research, narrative inquiry and research were also looked at. Data gathering techniques, for example, sampling, data generation techniques and the limitations of the study was also catered for. Ethical issues were also taken into consideration and outlined. Finally, I discussed validity and trustworthiness and discussed data analysis. The following chapter presents the research findings.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

4.1. Introduction

I present, in this chapter, the analysis and the discussion of the findings for the study. These findings are based on the data gathered from six Grade 9 children from individual, photo voice and focus group interviews. Audio-recorded interviews were transcribed into textual data. I listened and read through the transcripts, coded and arranged the data into themes. Data collected was categorized in themes. Local, national and international literature is drawn upon to support the discussion.

In South Africa, and around the world, there are incidents of sexual violence in various communities and the most prevalent sexual violence is when an adult sexually abuses a child; which stems, in part, from unequal power relations and patriarchal values (Haffejee, 2006). These incidents are perpetuated by power, poverty, culture and gender masculinities which are prevalent in most societies. In this chapter, I explore places and spaces of sexual violence within, and outside the school environment. Catling (2003) indicates that children's experiences of places are a vital part of their lives, contributing to their sense of self, identity and self-esteem. This chapter contains different sub-sections that deal with the issues of sexual violence and children's perspectives in their own places and spaces. In this -subsection children narrate their

experiences and their stories on the issue of sexual violence and how they navigate through those circumstances in their lives.

4.2. Places of sexual violence

The places of sexual violence are regarded as 'hotspots' of sexual violence where incidents took place. This sub-section identifies the places where the incidents of children's sexual violence took place in their lifetime. Participants have indicated the 'hotspots' or *places* where they experienced the issue of sexual violence in their lifetime. Mathews (1992) argues that a sense of *place* describes a particular kind of relationship between individuals and their localities. For individuals, different places are instilled with different meanings. The following places include classrooms; the forest and veld; relatives' households; the neighbourhood; home; and an unused garage.

4.2.1. The classroom as a 'hotspot' of sexual violence

One participant indicated that she experienced sexual violence at the classroom level and this incident happened when she was alone with a teacher in a classroom. The participant indicated that a male teacher had come closer to her and grabbed her body while trying to touch her breast but she moved back and refused. The same participant indicated that she became emotional and sensitive with the whole situation, but had not reported the matter.



Picture 1

'This is where sexual violence took place' (WN, 16 years old girl in an individual interview)

WN further, added:

The teacher was sitting here while he started to touch my breasts. The teacher was sitting on this chair after an afternoon class. I was standing on the right of the picture near the table. He stood up and started to touch me and I reversed. He came close to me and I pushed him. In this class I was only with the teacher. When a male teacher now comes closer to me I become sensitive (16 year old girl, individual interview)

The above picture indicates the teacher-to-learner sexual violence in a classroom. The above claim indicates that a child had experienced sexual violence in the classroom environment. The teacher tried to make sexual advancements and the girl refused, but the teacher came to her. This

incident indicates that a classroom environment is supposed be safe for teaching and learning but girl learners are exposed to sexual violence which is perpetuated by teachers, who are supposed to be their guardians or parents. However, in most societies in South Africa there are incidents of sexual violence in classrooms in different schools, of girls by male teachers and boys, and it goes unchallenged by the staff in the school (Leach, 2002). Leach (2002) also explains that the perpetrators force them into silence and girls should endure the abusive graffiti on walls outside the class.

4.2.2. The forest and the veld as 'hot-spots' for sexual violence

Participants indicated that the veld and forest are seen as 'hotspots' for sexual violence since there are high incidents of sexual assault, especially on girls. Participants indicated that they are scared, especially in the morning and afternoons, to use these places as paths to go to school but they are compelled to use these places on daily basis to pass through.



Picture 2

'This is the veld where sexual violence took place' (PJ, 16 year old girl in a focus group).

She also elaborated,

This is where the grade 6 girl was sexually abused by her school mate....This place is far away from the village and only learners who are learning at my own school who are using this way as a shortcut (PJ, 16 years old girl, focus group interview).

She further indicated,

I took this picture because this is the place where our school mate was sexually abused by a grade 9 boy and is not only incident that had taken place. People are also killed in this place and we are scared to go alone, more especially in the evening. So the boy took chances of raping the girl because he saw that there was no one following them since he knew that people are so scarce in using this path (PJ, 16 year old girl, focus group interview).



Picture 3

'This is the forest where Grade 7 girl was sexually abused' (MD, 15 years old boy, focus group interview)

The picture above indicates the place where a Grade 7 girl was raped by a Grade 9 boy. As the participant indicated:

This is where the grade 7 girl was sexually abused by a Grade 9 boy. If you look at the picture you may see something like a forest, this is where the incident took place. Our homes are very far from school, anything can happen. If you look at the picture again there are faint houses below the mountain that was the place where the female learner was going to. The boy took an advantage because he knew that the girl could not go alone as it was late. He sexually abused her in the forests on the way to home (MD, 15 years old boy, focus group interview).

The above pictures depict the forest and the grazing veld in which incidents of sexual violence took place and these incidents were observed by the participant in the study. These places are on the outskirts of the village where there is potential danger of sexual violence to the girls who use them as their path to school, especially when they go alone. These pictures depict that perpetrators take advantage of innocent girls who are using these places, to prey on them and the girls become victims of sexual violence. In my observation and analysis, as the researcher, I viewed these places, as they are meant for grazing and for collecting wood for the people of the village, and they are not supposed to be the sites or hotspots for sexual violence against innocent girls. In my interaction and my personal encounters with the community, they indicated that there were more incidents of sexual violence that occurred in these places since they are deserted

and outskirts of the village but that does not give permission to the perpetrators to continue with their illegal activities in those places.

4.2.3. Relatives' homes as dangerous places for sexual violence

Participants indicated that they do not feel safe in their relative's households since they had experienced sexual violence when they visited them. The below picture depicts the homestead where a victim was sexually assaulted. The participant indicated that he feared to visit their relatives because he is scared to be sexually molested by people whom he knows.



Picture 4

This is my uncle's house. I was sleeping in the house which is in the middle of the picture. The room of my cousin (18 year old girl) was next to my room. There are no closer neighbouring houses and it was difficult for me to resist at all because I thought that people could not believe me if I might say I am raped. I was thinking of my future thus why I did agree although it was not my will (LM, 16 years old boy, individual interview)

LM further explains:

Last year (2012) I visited my uncle in another village; my uncle has got two children. Both of them are girls. There is a girl who has got 18 years old; she is older than me because I am 16 years old. The last girl is 14 years old. One day my uncle was absent the older girl sat next to me, she brushed me and held me. I told her that I didn't want the way she did to me. She saw that I did not like what she was doing to me, she left me. On the other day my uncle went to Pietermaritzburg and he did not come on the same day. My bedroom was next to the girls' bedroom. I did not lock the door because it had no lock. While I was sleeping I saw the older girl entering my bedroom. I asked her "what do you want", she kept quiet. She entered in the bed wearing a night dress and blew the candle. I asked why she entered in my bed, she started to speak softly telling that she loves me and she has got my feelings. I told her that we are cousins and I don't want to do that. She begged me and I said no. I asked her what would my uncle say if he finds us doing this, how can he trust me. She begged me until she saw that I really don't want to do this. She told me that she will scream, and will tell her younger sister and his father that I was trying to rape her. I became scared and I cried. At last I agreed because I thought of a jail and I thought that my uncle will not trust me. She brushed me, kissed me holding my penis. She slept on top of me doing sex herself until she was satisfied. Early in the morning she went back to her bedroom. So I was afraid to speak about this. I did not tell anyone, this is my first time to speak about this and I am scared, maybe I got disease (HIV/AIDS) (LM, 16 year old boy, individual interview)

Another participant took the photo below which indicates the 'hotspot' where a Grade 11 boy was sexually assaulted by his uncle, whom he became disloyal to him. This participant indicated that the uncle of this boy had raped him several times while promising to buy him clothes and take care of him. This participant had taken this photo as a remembrance of what had happened.



Picture 5

'This is a place where a boy was sexually assaulted by his uncle' (MD, 15 years old boy in a focus group).

MD illustrated further:

This is the house where Grade 11 boy was repeatedly and sexually abused by his uncle. Inside the house there was a bed which was main bed of the abuser. The bed was on the left of the picture and this is the door which was fixed by the boy (MD, 15 year old boy, focus group interview)

The above picture-analysis indicates the level of sexual violence in the areas which the participants assume to be safe and protected, but in this case, the participants experienced sexual violence in those areas. Sexual violence is everywhere and it is experienced on daily basis and is experienced in different circumstances. Victims and perpetrators happen to live together or they are related to each other in one way or another. In most cases, studies document male to female sexual violence but that is not always the case; it appeared in these findings that there was a boy who was sexually assaulted by his cousin sister. To support this statement, MIS (2008) outlines that sexual harassment of boys by girls also occurred through them making sexual advances and contact. However, most of these crimes of sexual violence go unpunished because most of the victims had to depend to their perpetrators for survival while other victims had trusted different individuals for their protection; but this is not always the case. The findings above indicate that poverty makes a contribution to sexual violence and the victims had experienced harsh realities in their daily lives and they were compelled to engage into sexual activities.

4.2.4. Neighbours' homes as sexual violence 'hot-spots'

Participants indicated that one of them had been sexually assaulted by an aunt in the neighbourhood. The story happened in the neighbourhood where his female 'auntie' was under the influence of alcohol. Below is the photo that indicates where the incident took place.



Picture 6

'This is Aunt's house where I was sexually abused' (SM, 15 years old boy in an individual interview).

SM comments about the picture above:

This is my Aunt's house who sexually abused me. When I agreed to sleep in her house as I took her as a parent, but I have never thought that she might do something to me which I did not like(SM, 15 year old boy, individual interview)

A participant in the above extract indicates that he was sexually assaulted by his aunt whom he trusted as his parent but she deceived him to sleep with her. This incident took place in a house in the neighbourhood. The victim was not aware that his aunt might do such thing to him.

4.2.5. Home as a 'hot-spot' for sexual violence

One participant indicated that she was sexually abused by her father at the age of 12. She was living with him and two children after her mother had divorced her father. The sexual activity started when she was 12 years old and her father gave her money to silence the sexual intercourse. The participant indicated that the matter was only exposed when she went for virginity testing and the community stood up to find out how sexual violence took place and her father was arrested. Below is the picture she took.



Picture 7

'This is my home where I was sexually abused by my father' (PJ, 16 years old, in an individual interview).

She explains further:

'This is my home where I was repeatedly, sexually abused by my father at the age of 12 years. We were sleeping in this house with father and the young two boys who are

smaller than me. When I always look at it, I remember those days my father whining over my body. Today, I don't live with my both parents, I live with my aunt. There is no one staying in this house' (PJ, 16 year old girl, individual interview)

In a second incident of sexual violence in a household, one participant indicated her observations of sexual violence against her friend, which was instituted by her father and which she felt bad about. The incident took place in front of her mother and her mother was threatened to be killed by the father if she challenged his actions. These incidents happened in the presence of a female parent who could not say anything about the incident because she was intimidated and once was stabbed with a spear by her husband. Her father was arrested with the help of their neighbour.



Picture 8

'This is the place where sexual violence took place in the household' (WN, 16 years old girl in a focus group).

In reference to the above photo, WN explains further:

There is a girl who is 14 years old was sexually abused by her father. His father slept with her in front of her mom. Her dad used to say her mom does not have taste. Her dad

promised to kill her mom if she might report this. He used to call her mom with hurting names. One day her dad stabbed her mom with a spear because she was defending her daughter. The neighbour who was a police heard the screaming and came. He saw her mother bleeding and asked the problem. She told her neighbour the whole story and her dad was arrested immediately (WN, 16 years old girl, focus group interview)

The third participant showed the following photo as an indicator of sexual violence that took place while he was looking through the window in his neighbourhood.



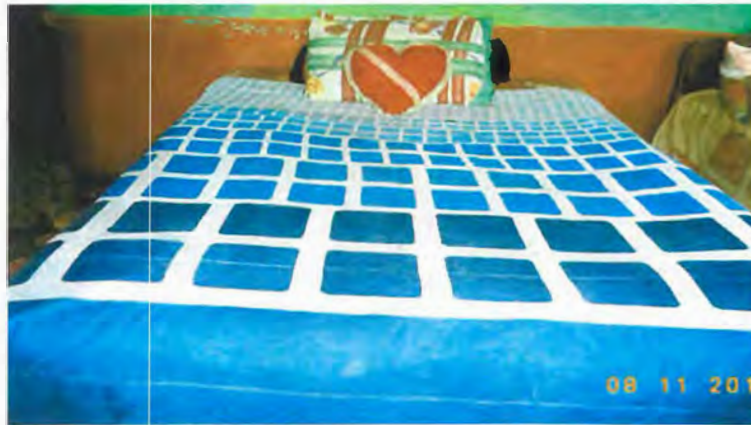
Picture 9

This photo depicts the place where a girl child was sexually assaulted by her uncle

This is the home of my friend who was raped by her uncle. When I was near this fence I heard my friend crying but I did not think that there was something happening to her. I looked at that window which is on the right of the picture and I saw a movie her uncle

doing sex with her. My friend was crying and crying Sir (BC, 17 years old girl, focus group interview)

A fourth participant indicated that she also experienced sexual violence. BC indicated that she was sexually abused by her male neighbour at her home and was alone when the incident occurred. She also indicated that she was vulnerable because her sister was not there and the man had an opportunity to rape her. Below is the picture she took:



Picture 10

This is the bed which I was raped in (BC, 17 years old girl, in an individual interview).

She also elaborated.

This is the bed where I was sexually abused in by my neighbour. In this house I was living with my sister who was 18 years old. I was vulnerable because there was no one who might help me because my sister was not there. The guy had all opportunities to do what he wanted. I don't even sleep in this bed because it reminds me of the incidents. Today I have got a child if I was not raped I might not have this baby (BC, 17 years old girl, individual interview).

The study found that girls are being raped by the people whom they trust, especially their fathers. Their homes are used as a place of violence. Literally, homes are regarded as a safe zone where children get help, care and love. With regard to the above narratives, homes tend to be dangerous places for children. Children view their parents as honest people who cannot harm them.

4.2.6. Unused garage as a sexual violence ‘hot-spot’

One participant indicated that he was sexually abused, with his friend, by two brothers whom they respected. The participant indicated that the incident took place between six and seven o'clock and they were sexually abused in an unused garage at home. Below is a picture that he took of the garage.



Picture 11

The unused garage which I was sexually abused in with my friend (MD 15 years old boy, individual group)

This is the garage that I was sexually abused in with my friend. At all times when I pass I remember what happened to me with my friend. I took this picture at night because the incident happened late round about six and seven o'clock pm. The front of the picture is the door which was later closed by one of these two brothers whom I respected. Inside the garage there were unused material and I thought that this is the place which was used to watch movie. We were unaware that we were exposing to sexual violence (MD, 15 years old boy, individual interview).

MD explains further:

This picture reminds me when we were coming from the soccer practice round about 6pm in the evening. We had been called by two brothers to buy them tobacco. They were 27 and 29 years old. We went to the shop and came back with tobacco. They said we must go to their house to watch movies and we agreed because we knew them. The door of the garage was opened and later it was closed by one of these two brothers. We were not aware that they were in a plan when they closed the door. They caught us trying to kiss then we refused. They both beat and undress us. After that they sexually abused us although they saw that we did not like. We were crying but not screaming because we were shocked and we never experienced such thing in our life. We were also scared if we cried louder they would continue beat us severely. After that sex they begged us with R200 rand per person. We denied the money; they continue beating us until we took money because they feared that we might report them. They released us late and we went home. Before they released us, they threatened and swearing to us that they will kill us if

we might report this. I did not able to report this because these two brothers were smoking dagga sometimes in the community they misbehave and some members of the community were scaring them .We did not get help because we did not report this case to our parents. At school I do not perform very well because I also think about what happened in my life. Now they are at Gauteng (MD, 15 years old boy, individual interview)

The above extract makes clear that sexual violence occurs everywhere, even in the places that one might not think of. It is clear that these boys were not aware that they may be raped by people with whom they used to stay with. It seems that the boys became the victims of sexual violence. Although they refused the sexual advances, the boys ended up sleeping with these other boys because force was applied to achieve their interests. These boys were forced to silence, in this case, because they were given money and threatened to be killed if they report it. Sexual violence has an impact on academic performances as well. For example, after that abusive experience, the boys did not perform well at school.

The following sub-section deals with the issue of children's sexual violence in their own spaces as it has been alluded that spaces are not merely locations or facilities that are geographically located but they are reasoning capabilities and mental capacities of an individual's own judgement about the situation.

4.3. Spaces and sexual violence

This sub-section presents the themes that emerged in the discussion with the participants; on the issues of sexual violence in their spaces. On the issue of 'space,' Ansell (2009) argues that people need to conceptualize space as constructed out of interrelations. These spaces indicate children's levels of understanding on the issue of sexual violence and their experiences of sexual violence. In this study, I refer to 'spaces' as sexual circumstances, reasons and situations which participants encounter in their own daily lives and these spaces cannot be viewed as amenities or facilities. 'Spaces' in the context of sexual violence can be viewed as individuals' mental reasoning, opinions and experiences which resemble individuals' mentality on the issue of sexual violence. The following themes or 'spaces' emerged from the data through individual and focus group discussions.

4.3.1. Lens of sexual violence

UNICEF (2010) indicates that sexual violence is also a common form of gender-based violence and it ranges from sexual harassment, insertion of objects into genital openings, sexual intercourse without consent to the child defilement and forced prostitution. Among these forms of sexual violence, rape and sexual harassment are the most prevalent occurrences that define sexual violence in our society. Sexual violence in South Africa, and around the world, has been seen as usual phenomenon but in reality it is a serious crime and an infringement of human rights and dignity. This phenomenon is common in most societies, school and different social groups around the world (Black, Basile, Breiding, Smith, Walters, Merrick, Chen & Stevens, 2011).

Participants indicated their understanding and knowledge on the issues of sexual violence in their life time. They also indicated that there is a belief that if one is HIV positive and has sex with a virgin, he becomes negative. Participants also indicated that sexual violence does not only amount to forced sex and sexual intercourse but it also equals the touching of the private parts. They indicated that sexual violence cannot be seen as an issue for the girls only but that boys also encounter sexual violence in their own spaces. They indicated that sexual violence does not only inflict pain but it also comes with emotional, physical and psychological trauma. They indicated that sexual violence happened in their households and it is done people they trust. They gave their lens and understandings on the issue of sexual violence in their own spaces and this included their experiences and emotional encounters. The foregoing is supported and justified by concurring utterances from the participants as they indicated, when they were asked, what is sexual violence?

MD said:

Sexual violence is an abuse, for example, when a person decides to sleep with you without your consent (MD, 15 years old boy, focus group interview)

The same notion was voiced by LM:

Sexual violence is an abuse where a person might sleep with you by force not with your own will.....maybe.... a boy touches a girls private parts but it doesn't happen to girls only.....mmmhh.....it also happens to boys, for example, boys touching other boys private

parts and force them to sleep or.....to have sex (LM, 16 years old boy, focus group interview).

PJ added:

Sexual violence is an abuse maybe people do sex where there is no agreement. You don't know the person you have sex with.....maybe is HIV' positive.....some people believe that if you are HIV positive when you sleep with a virgin the disease disappears immediately (PJ, 16 years old girl in a focus group).

WN concurs:

Sexual violence happens when someone sleep with you without your consent, doing unsafe sex at the end you become pregnant. The child that will be born will not receive warm hands from you as a mother because you get him or her from the person, who sexually abuses you (WN, 16years old girl in a focus group).

A similar sentiment was echoed by SM:

Sexual violence is a sexual abuse, for example, a person does something that you don't like to be done at you.....sleeping with you resulting to HIV positive (SM, 15 years old boy in a focus group).

BC explained sexual violence differently:

Sexual violence is a sexual abuse. Maybe someone whom you trust come to your home and sexually abuses you' (BC, 17 years old girl in a focus group).

The above explanations indicate that sexual violence is a forced act without someone's concern. Participants have an understanding that sexual violence includes sexual harassment and sexual intercourse, that it is a forced act and that it uses violence to further its purpose. It appears that most victims of sexual violence are defenceless girls but it does not rule out the possibility that sexual violence can be male-to-male and female to male encounters as evidenced by this study. Participants indicated that there is a belief that if one is HIV positive and they have sex with a virgin, automatically, you become negative. This belief has perpetuated the increase of sexual violence in our society.

The scare of HIV and AIDS is thought to be a major contributing factor to the increase in sexual assaults on young girls who are considered to be relatively free from infection (Madu & Peltzer, 2001). In their study, conducted in three secondary schools in a semi-urban and an urban city environment in the Northern Province, they outline that there are beliefs in some areas of the Province that having sex with a young, virgin girl may cure sexually transmitted diseases such as gonorrhoea and HIV and AIDs. They indicate that traditional leaders believe when having a sexual intercourse with young pre-pubertal daughters could cure HIV/AIDS. This myth accelerates sexual violence. As a result, a man's wife will prepare their daughter for sexual intercourse with the father. Sexual violence affects the victims and perpetrators enjoy their power dominance over them. Power relations between victims and perpetrators appear to be, that girls have been more prone to sexual assault than boys but we cannot escape the possibility that boys are sexually assaulted as well. In this study, most of the cases that I came across involved girls, those who were able to give their testimonies on the issue of sexual violence.

4.3.2 Power and masculinity

One participant indicated that she was forced to engage in sexual activities with a Grade 9 boy, who is older than her and who forced her while they were walking together to school. The participant indicated that a Grade 6 girl was walking in an uninhabited area when a Grade 6 boy attracted her with R100 in exchange for sex but the girl refused and the perpetrator continued with his advancements by promising to give the victim more money when she agreed to have sex with him; but she again refused. When a boy saw that the girl did not accept his promise, he pushed her down and tries to undress her. He only left the girl when he saw a person coming on their side. The matter was reported to the boy's family but not reported to the police.

The researcher had asked, *'Tell me about sexual violence that you heard or witnessed in your community?'* Below is the participants' response

PJ indicated:

One day, in this year (2013), a grade 9 boy (16 year old), who learns at my school, caught a grade 6 girl (12 year old), who also learns at my school on the way to school. They were walking together to school. The school is far from their village around 3kms. The boy started to attract the girl by giving her R100 so that they could engage in sex with the girl and then he also promised to continue giving small amount, if she agrees. The girl denied the money. Since, the boy's sexual feelings were too high, he caught her and tried to undress her. He pushed her down and instructed her to take off her clothes, but the girl resisted until they were seen by someone who was passing by. The boy ran

away and the girl went back home. She reported the incidence to her family, but there was no action taken against the boy by the family. The case was dealt traditionally by the members of both families. The case was never reported to the police station but her parents had arranged for the girl a transport (PJ, 16 years old girl, focus group interview).

In another incident, a Grade 7 (13 year old girl) was walking with others, coming from an outgoing match, when she asked a Grade 9 (16 year old boy) to accompany her because it was far away from where she was staying and she was scared to walk alone as it was at night. The boy agreed. On their way, before the girl reached her home, the boy started to kiss her but she refused and cried, so the boy threatened to leave her in the middle of their journey. Finally, the girl agreed to have sexual intercourse with him but it was against her will since she was too scared to walk alone in the middle of the night. The girl did not report the matter at home since she was threatened by the perpetrator:

MD indicated:

The story that I have, we were coming from the outgoing match as a school. We came back late around 9 o'clock pm. There was a grade 7 girl (13 year old) whose home was far away unlike others. So, she decided to ask one of the grade 9 boys (16 year old), who was older than others, to accompany her. Since she was afraid to go alone, the older boy agreed, but he was after something. Before they reached girl's home, the boy forced her to have sex with him. He started touching and kissing her, but the girl denied and cried. The boy threatened the girl that if she continues denying and he would leave her. At last

she unfriendlyly agreed to sleep with him. The girl did not report the matter at home because he threatened her after sexual intercourse (MD, 15 years old boy, focus group interview).

The above findings indicate that participants were forced to engage in sexual intercourse with their perpetrators unwillingly and they were coerced to do it. Since the boys realised that there was no one who might see, they took advantage in sexually abusing the girls. The boy (in PJ's story) thought that if he might bribe the girl she would agree as he knows that the girl was younger than him and was coming from a poor background. It is clear that the boys were socialised in certain ways so that the girls were seen as sexual objects who were supposed to be submissive to their sexual advances. The girl did not think that the boy might sexually abuse her since it was not her first time going with him to school. She took him as her brother and school mate. Although the girl had reported the incident, her family did not take any action against the abuser.

In MD's story, the boy had an upper-hand since the girl was scared to go alone and he concluded that it was dark and late and that no one would witness the incident. Although the girl refused, the boy treated 'No' as a 'Yes'. Ramchunder (2012) outlines that boys' sexual harassment is about achieving a certain status among their peers whereas for girls it is a matter of further domination by boys; and boys see girls as less adept and praiseworthy. It is evident that the girl did not agree to have sex with the Grade 9 boy but she was being forced by circumstances. Power and dominance play a crucial role in the sexual violence in our societies. Participants indicated that their perpetrators use their personal advantages and power opportunities to prey on

their victims. In these findings, it appears that participants are no longer living in harmony and peace in their spaces and they are emotionally disturbed by the sexually violent activities that happened to them. One of the participants indicated that one of the cases had been reported to the perpetrator's parents and the matter was referred to the traditional authority which dealt with the incident in a traditional manner; but that action did not do justice for the side of the victim.

In another case, the victim had not reported the case to the elders or to the police because she was threatened by her attacker, which indicates that the perpetrators had walked away from a crime, unpunished, so this causes trauma to the victim. Sexual violence is a serious offence that a community needs to deal with. Victims of sexual violence live in trauma, in fear and in an emotionally distracted state. If they come across their attackers on daily basis, then this also negatively affect their mental process and personal development.

4.3.3. Teacher-learner power dynamics

One participant indicated that she was in class when she was approached by a teacher who made sexual advancements to her but she refused. The male teacher had used his power and his position to influence the girl into having sex with her. This shows power dynamics within the classroom environment. The discussion below is emanated from the picture (see page 57) which indicates the 'hotspot' of sexual violence within the classroom environment.

WN explains in the extract below:

The reason of taking these pictures is that they remind me about what happened to me at school when we have an afternoon class with my teacher (male). On the 2011 when I arrived early in the morning the teacher was sitting on the chair near the table, I greeted him as usually, he asked me my age and I told him. He asked me 'Am I being sure about this age', I said yes. He said oh. He asked me to see him when it was lunch. I really saw him. When I arrived at him he asked me "Do I have secrets?" I said no. "Can I have secrets" I told him I can try because I did not have secrets. He also asked me "what would I say if he might say he loves me"? I kept quiet. He asked me, "Do I have a boyfriend?" I said no. After that he told me that he loves me and I supposed to go to his house. I said I could not go there without telling my mom. On the following day, my uniform dress had unstitched cotton, he said to me I must cut the cotton and I said oh. During the break time I forgot to cut this cotton because he was after me, he told me I must borrow a scissor to Grade R teacher. He would remove this cotton himself because I failed to remove it. While he was cutting the cotton he was busy massaging me on my shoulders and we were two in the class. I pushed his hands and went out of the room. I told my friend what the teacher did to me.

My friend told me that I must report this matter to my parents. I told her that teacher has threatened me and I'm scared of him. On the closing day he told my mother that I don't know maths and he asked me to my mom to visit him to his house so that he could teach me mathematics. My mom agreed because he did not know why he asked me to visit his home. On the opening he asked why I failed mathematics. I got 35 out of 75, I said I don't

know. He said to me I must come to the afternoon class, really I came to it. He taught us. We had an afternoon class. during the break the male teacher came privately and asked me to stay behind after the session or class. With all the respect that I had for him I did as requested but with some unanswered questions. I asked him "Why am I left behind" then he reminded me that he loves me.

After that he came closer to me and started to cuddle and kissing me. I tried to push him away but he came back and started to hold my breasts, brushing my face and touching my private parts. I also pushed him again and immediately he showed me his penis saying I must brush it and then I cried. He also said he would make me pass Mathematics. I told him to stop but he refused until he saw someone passing by. With fear that the person who was passing might have noticed what was happening. He released me and I got the chance to escape and ran away as fast as I can. I went home and I was scared to tell my mom what happened to me at school

One day I heard this male teacher asking me why I tell people that he proposes me. I asked him "Don't you know that?" He reminded me that if I continue telling other people he would do something to me. In the class he always started with me asking the questions. One day he told us that he got a transfer. I was pleased for his going. After his departure, I was called by the principal asking my relationship with the teacher. I told what he had done to me but there was no action taken by the school principal. When the days went on I heard people saying it was me who proposed the teacher and I was embarrassed. I did

not tell my mom but she ended up getting the story by one of the teachers who got the story from my friend (WN, 16 years old girl, individual interview)

The above extract indicates that sexual violence occurs more often in the classroom. The above findings indicate that there are high power dynamics that operates at the classroom level between learners and teachers and that these power dynamics resulted in sexual violence. Based on the evidence gleaned from the data, it is evident that the teacher used his power of authority to approach the female learner. This notion is supported by Plan Togo (2006) outlines that male teachers use their positions to sexually abuse female students. The questions that the teacher used to start the conversation were regardless of the learner's response; he had an upper hand in conducting the sexual violence. For example, after he asked about her boyfriend. If the response from the learner was 'yes' then the teacher would know that she was in an affair and she would not give him problems. Alternatively, if the answer was 'no,' he would have used her lack of experience as an advantage as she was not exposed to love games.

Agyepong (2010) states that in the school environment, male students take advantage of their masculinity to sexually harass female students while the teachers also take advantage of their positions as classroom figure heads to demand sexual favours from their female students for academic favour. Referring to the extract, on the second occasion the teacher used his powers to request the female learner to stay behind so that he could have a private conversation. Since every learner regards the school premises as a safe zone, she as a result, stayed behind, not aware of the danger that she was exposing herself to. I also observed that the male teacher had showed intention of having sexual intercourse with the girl by kissing and touching her private parts. The

evidence revealed that the female learner tried to resist by pushing him. Therefore, he used his physical power to fulfil his intentions. It is clear that the learner and male teacher never had a sexual intercourse because the girl was crying. In this regard, the girl found herself exposed to the teacher who misused his power of authority to intimidate and sexually abuse her. It seems that the teacher was expecting the girl to carry out his instructions. Sexual violence at a school level inhibits the culture of teaching and learning.

4.3.4. Poverty and sexual violence

One participant indicated that there was a 17 year old boy who was learning at local high school and who experienced poverty in his home. One day he was called by his relative to fix a door as the boy was used to doing temporary jobs for a living. The participant indicated that while the boy was fixing the door, the man locked the door and the boy was trapped inside the house. When the boy called the man to open the door, the man did not care until he came later and sexually abused the victim. He promised to do everything for the boy which resulted in the boy being, repeatedly, sexually abused by his relative. The matter was only disclosed when the boy was seen by his friends at school but there was no action taken against the men because the members of the family did not believe him.

SM stated that:

There is a boy in grade 11 (17 years old) at the local high school, whose family is experiencing poverty. As result, he uses to do temporal jobs for living. For example, he is looking after cattle in afternoons and weekends. One day he was called by his relative, a

39 year old man, to fix his door. When he arrived at house, he started fixing and the relative came to assist. The boy was inside the house and the man was outside holding the door. The man locked the door when the boy was still inside the house, and the boy called the man to open the door for him, but the man did not come until it was dark. The boy cried and the man came and opened the door. When he got inside the house, he pushed the boy and forced him to his bedroom. The boy asked 'What are you doing?' the man told the boy that he wanted to sleep with him. The man promised him that he would buy some clothes, shoes and everything he needs. He promised to take care for the boy. The boy denied but there was no way out, the man forced him to sleep with him. His relative repeatedly slept with him for a number of months and he kept his promises he made. The boy was like his wife, because the man's wife already left before the abuse. The boy was noticed by his friends at school that he was unable to control the anal system and the matter was reported to his family members. The family members did not believe the boy's story. They thought that the boy was lying and even now he is still struggling to cope at school and to control the calling of nature (SM, 15 years old boy, focus group interview).

The study found that the man used poverty as an advantage to capture the boy. It is evident that the boy did not report the matter because he got the promises. It is clear that those sexual advances made by his relative silenced him to report the incident. So, his decision to silence himself about the sexual violence that he was experiencing was against his will but he was forced to by circumstances. For example, he wanted to be like other learners at school. Later it was discovered that the boy is experiencing sexual intercourse.

4.3.5. Vulnerability and sexual violence

One girl participant indicated that she was sexually abused by her father at the age of twelve. She lived with her father and two little boys. Her father bribed her every day with money to silence the matter. The sexual activity became known when she went for virginity testing at the age of fourteen and her father was arrested immediately.

PJ explains her experience:

We were living with my father and mom and two children. Both children are boys, and I am only a girl. My parents had conflicted, as a result my mom divorced with my father and she went back to her home. We lived and slept with my father in one room. He started to sleep with me when I was 12 years, giving me R10 every day to silence me about this. Every day when I went to school he gave me money; sometimes the boys could not get the money. She repeatedly slept with me and he used to say I'm nice like my mom. This was only exposed when we went for virginity testing, on that time I was fourteen years. They saw me that I was not a virgin and I was asked how my virgin had gone. There was no way out I told them that it was taken with my father and he started sleeping with me when I was 12 years old. I told them that he threatened me, promised to kill me if I tell anyone. Women, the expert of virginity testing, stood up and reported the matter to my family and to the police station. He was charged for rape and I was taken to the social worker for counselling. So now I stay with my aunt (PJ, 16 years old girl, individual interview).

The second participant indicated that she was raped by her male neighbour when she was fourteen years old. Her neighbour understood that she was sleeping alone on that day because he knew that her older sister was dated by his brother. When he arrived at the house, the guy did not talk too much and switched off the lights. He raped her for the whole night and the girl reported the matter to her sister. The matter was treated traditionally.

BC narrates her story:

I was 14 years of age when my neighbour (a 25 year old man) raped me. My neighbour was like a parent to me, but one day I heard him greeting me in an unusual manner. In that evening it was showering, my neighbour's brother had an appointment with my sister because they were in love. I was left by myself at home and I did not lock the door, since I thought my sister would be coming back soon. My sister was 18 years old. I covered myself with a blanket and I heard the opening of the door. I thought it was my sister and I only noticed that it was not her when I heard unzipping of the jacket.

Suddenly I checked and surprisingly it was my neighbour. He kept quiet and I saw that he has a gun on his waist. He switched off the lights and I asked him "what is happening" he did not respond instead he took off his clothes. On that time I was wearing a panty, since it was a summer and to our culture it is normal. When he reached the bed with the gun in hand, he told me that he loves me. He never waited for my response; he kissed me, holding my breasts, touching my private parts. I cried but he continued and undressed me. Then he told me I must sleep with my back. He put my knees up and I did not know why he was doing that. He did everything he wanted until the next morning.

My sister came back in the morning and she asked me why I was crying. I told her what happened and she suspected that something happened to me. I was tested for virginity and they found that he took my virginity. They suspected that I might be pregnant and maybe HIV positive. Some measures were taken to prevent pregnancy, since I was young. Fortunately, I was not infected (BC, 17 years old girl, individual interview).

The researcher asked, "What was his response after all this?"

I heard people saying he is praising himself that he got me, since he had long wanting me. After this I was called and beaten by his wife accusing me of falling in love with his husband. I did not get the chance of explaining myself. As a result, my sister reported this matter to the headman of the community. My neighbour was called for Imbizo (meeting of the community chaired by headman) by headman to explain the story to the community members. He started by defying, but at later stage they threatened him that they would call the police and he agreed. He apologised and my family accepted his apology. They ordered him to pay damages (Inhlawulo, the money that is paid when males have broken the virginity of a girl). I think my family accepted his apology and inhlawulo because my biological parents were deceased. The incident was never reported to police station and I did not receive counselling. When I see him I just avoid him (BC, 17 years old girl, individual interview).

The third participant indicated that her friend was sexually abused by her uncle. The girl was visiting her friend when she observed the sexual activity. When she noticed that her uncle is raping her friend then she called her sister to observe what she had seen. Her sister reported the matter to the surrounding neighbours.

BC explains:

This is what I witnessed. One day I was visiting my friend, (11 year old), who is my neighbour. When I was near the fence, I heard someone crying. As I got closer to the house, I called her and waiting for her to respond, but there was no response. When I looked at the window, I saw her uncle, a 35 year old man, having sex with her. She was crying, but her uncle did not leave her. I was shocked, I ran back home to tell my sister what I saw. My sister rushed to my friend's home to observe what I told her. After witnessing, she called the members of the community who were around on that time. The community members decided to call the police and the ambulance for assistance. My friend's virginity was taken by her uncle and...she was bleeding. In the mean time when they were still waiting for the police, he killed the child by hitting her against the wall. While the community was attending her, he got the chance to escape. When the ambulance arrived my friend was already dead. After few days the police caught and arrested him. He was charged for rape and murder (BC, 17 years old girl, focus group interview).

The above extracts highlight the fact that these young girls were defenceless and helpless when they were sexually abused by the people whom they called fathers, uncles and neighbours. It

seems that PJ and BC had never experienced sexual intercourse previously. For example, PJ did not show resistance from the onset of sexual activity against her father, and on other hand, BC also had showed that it was her first time to sleep with a person: she did not know how to put the knees up. In the third story, the girl was too young to defend herself against her uncle. It is apparent that their parents were not there at the time and the perpetrator took advantage to rape her. It is evident that the perpetrator was conscious of what he was doing because when he discovered that the members of the community had seen him, he killed the child throwing her against the wall.

This indicates that these young girls had suffered sexual violence because they were powerless; there was nothing that they could do. There was no one who might help them. These girls were fortunate because they rose above the situation; no matter that it was difficult for them to report it. In PJ's incident, the law had played its role against her father and he was arrested. It was unfortunate for BC that her incident was referred to the traditional authority: which treated it as normal and not as a rape. To support this statement, the perpetrator was instructed to pay *inhlawulo* (damages he made) and to BC it was unfair judgement because the perpetrator was not arrested. Richter, Dawes and Higson (2005) describe customs (*inhlawulo* and *ukugeza*) as risk factors that silence sexually abused children and parents among the Nguni groups in South Africa. By making such payments to the family, it seems that patriarchy conveys male rights over children with the potential abuse of these rights.

Cultural scripts regarding respect and obedience made it difficult for PJ (16 year old) to speak out against the abuser who was her father. It was difficult for her to report this because he was

the only parent who was left: with her fearing to lose him as a head figure of the family. As a researcher, I see the lack of supervision of children as having an effect particularly on making children vulnerable to sexual violence. Children are left alone for long periods and spend much time alone and it becomes an advantage to a perpetrator.

4.3.6. Alcohol as a determinant of sexual violence

● One participant indicated that there was a boy who was sexually raped by another boy who was of the same age. These two boys were drunk. The participant indicated that the boy was raped the whole night because he was defenceless. The boy's anus was bleeding and matter was reported and the perpetrator was arrested.

LM reported that:

There is a boy who is staying alone so his mother is working at Durban. This boy likes to drink alcohol with his friends. This boy is 18 years old, doing Grade 10 at the nearest High School. The boy said to one of his friends of his same age to sleep with him because he is scared of the ghost in the night. His friend agreed because he never thought of anything might happen to him. Both of them were drunk. While they were sleeping this 18 year boy caught the other boy in the midnight and the other tried to defend himself but he failed because he was thin in structure and overpowered by the 18 year. He raped him the whole night. The raped boy reported the matter to his parents because he was severely injured and bleeding. His anal did not able to control the call of nature. He was

taken to hospital and the 18 year old boy was arrested immediately (LM, 16 years old boy in a focus group).

Emerging from the story, it seems that the perpetrator had planned the incident prior to the act. The boy had an advantage because the sexually abused boy was drunk and light in weight. It seems that the boy had hidden his feelings of being gay. He only exposed his feelings when he sexually abused his friend. If the sexually abused boy could have realized that his friend is sexually attracted to man and might have not gone with him, unfortunately, he only understood after the incident occurred.

Another participant in an individual interview indicated that he was sexually abused by his neighbouring aunt. Her children are working and she stays alone. She requested the boy to sleep over in her house since the crime rate was so high in their community. His aunt was drinking alcohol heavily. The participant indicated that his aunt entered his bedroom and touched his penis. He also indicated that he was kissed because she overpowered him. Luckily, he was able to resist and ran away. He reported the matter to his parents but no action was taken against her. Below are quotes from the participants:

SM said:

I was sexually abused by my neighbouring Aunt who is not my relative; her house is next my home. Her children are not living with her because they are all working, she stays alone and she drinks a lot. She asked me to my parents to sleep at her house because she

was scared. I slept about two months and in our village crime is so high, the thieves enter the house at night and steal. My parents agreed and allowed me to sleep at Aunt's house. I never thought that she might do something to me which I did not want. One day she came at night and she was drunk. Our bedrooms are next to each other because all of them are in one big house. It was 9 o'clock because I was at home after 8 o'clock. My Aunt's house is next to my parents' house. I jump the fence to get there. When she arrived she lighted up her room and came in my bedroom. I did not know what she wanted to my bedroom and I did not care because it is her house. It was dark in my bedroom. I only heard my Aunt touching my penis. I was shocked and I asked her why she touches me. She did not stop, continued touching me, trying to kiss me. I tried to remove her away from me but I failed because she overpowered me. At last she ended up kissing me but she failed to remove my trouser. I tried and tried to push her out of me. Fortunately, I escaped and ran to my parents' house. When I arrived I told my parents what my Aunt did to me. They did not take any action against my aunt since they knew her and they did not report this case to the police station. My parents said I must come back to stay with them again. My parents do not talk about this only my siblings who just teased me about this. When she sees me she becomes scared thinking that I shall ask her what she did to me. But I also take her as parent although I know what she did to me. She did this to me without my concern (SM, 15 years old boy, individual interview).

The study found that drinking alcohol may lead to sexual violence. Abbey (2012) concurs that perpetrators who commit sexual assault when drinking have stronger expectancies regarding alcohol's effects on sexual behaviour. It is clear that perpetrators decide to get drunk in order to

capture their victims and to justify their aggressive behaviour to themselves and to others. His aunt saw the little boy as a man who might satisfy her sexual advances. She took advantage since she knew that they were the only people who were in the house. There would be no evidence if the little boy might report this. Although the boy had reported the case to his parents, they did not take it seriously. It is clear that his parents, indirectly, did not believe him, they only said that he must come back home instead of questioning the neighbouring aunt. It is evident that if the boy might not have resisted his aunt's sexual advances, then his aunt might have raped him. Since his parents had not taken any action against his aunt, the boy was forced to take her as a parent.

4.4 Effects of cultural norms on sexual violence

Culture is like a fabric which is woven with many shades of colours and some of these colours represent customs, practices, beliefs, and so forth (Wadesango, Rembe & Chabaya, 2011). Despite the fact that culture is beneficial to its members, some practices are harmful and directly offend the dignity of society especially when measured against modern acceptable standards of behaviour. Some cultural practices maintain the subordination of women in society and legitimize and perpetuate gender based violence. Following, participants highlight two cultural practices, *ukuthwala* and virginity testing, that violate the right of a girl as a human being.

4.4.1 Ukuthwala and the issues of sexual violence

In most societies in South Africa, the culture of *ukuthwala* is regarded as an acceptable norm (Mwambene & Sloth-Nielsen, 2011). Participants explain the issue of *ukuthwala* in their own understanding and what it means to them and their societies. In other societies, *ukuthwala* is regarded as sexual violence towards female victims who are forced to love or marry someone without their consent. The following participants were asked: *What is ukuthwala?* The explanation of individuals understanding of the issue is highlighted below:

WN explained:

Ukuthwala happens when the girls are performing cultural activities, the older males who are willing to have wives come to that particular activity. They take girls without their permission (WN, 16 years old girl, focus group interview).

PJ adds:

Ukuthwala happens when you pay a visit to another village on the way sometimes you may meet the old boys or males who are not learning (24-30 years) propose you if you do not agree, he rides you on horse. When he arrives at his home he will force you to drink traditional medicine that will make you to love him and you will never go back home. When he rides on horse he does not select the part to touch, he touches every part. If you cry or scream he beats you until you keep quiet (PJ, 16 years old girl, focus group interview).

The same notion was echoed by BC:

Ukuthwala happens when someone (male) takes a girl without her permission. If the girl denies, the guy will beat her until she agrees to go with him. Other males start by raping girls and break their virgins before they go with them, so they become forced to go with them because they are afraid at their homes. They will be asked who broke them their virginity or afraid to be called by names and discriminated in the community: (BC, 17 years old girl, focus group interview).

It is evident that the participants understand *ukuthwala* as a form of violence, especially sexual violence. *Ukuthwala*, as cultural practice, is harmful to the physical integrity of individuals, especially girl children. *Ukuthwala*, as a harmful traditional and cultural practice, maintains the subordination of girl children in our society and legitimizes and perpetuates gender based violence; and Eyakhe is one of the communities which encounter *ukuthwala*.

When participants were asked, by the researcher, whether *ukuthwala is a sexual abuse?* These were the responses:

PJ said:

Ukuthwala is an act of sexual abuse because that person who takes you sleeps with you by force and coerces to love him. You don't know whether he is HIV positive and it is your first time to see him. You are beaten if you don't like to go with him. While you are feeling pain of being beaten he sexually abuses you (PJ, 16 years old girl in a focus group).

WN similarly said:

Ukuthwala is a sexual abuse because if you are at his home, he will not give you space when you are washing your body. While washing, he is busy touching your private parts. After that coercing you to sleep with him no matter you are not in a mood (WN, 16 years old girl in a focus group).

BC added:

Ukuthwala is a sexual abuse because a male takes you without your consent and at his home he will make you his wife. He does not care whether you like it or not. He strips your dresses and breaks your virginity. Those males who assisted him to take that girl they will wait him to finish his first round. They are watching movie. These males will open and hold your legs instructing him to do sex with you while holding your legs. This custom is not good because it is an abuse and you have not agreed to become his wife (BC, 17 years old girl in a focus group).

It is clear that, in some areas of South Africa, *ukuthwala* is prevalent. The participants have indicated that *ukuthwala* is a form of sexual violence. Wadesango, Rembe and Chabaya (2011) concur with the participants when they state that *ukuthwala* happens when a man wants to marry a woman that he never proposed to love. They also elaborated that he would inform the girl's family about his attention and a plan would be advised to abduct the little girl. This means that the family and friends know of the abduction of a girl which they treat as normal and not as sexual violence. Apparently, these abductions happen when the girls are on the way to fetch water, wood or to visit their relatives.

Two participants indicated their own personal experiences on the issue of *ukuthwala*: the researcher asked: *Tell me about your experiences of ukuthwala?*

BC had this to say:

It was half past five this year 2013 during June holidays I was at home, preparing for the bed. Two boys, aged 30 and 35 years, came in my home. I was going to sleep in the kitchen. When they arrived they greeted me and said 'why I sleep early'. I responded by saying it is cold. They stayed in the kitchen for one hour asking me to wake up. One of the guys said "I want you to be my wife". I said no, I can't. He came to me, awakened me, and pulled me out of the bed. I told them that I'm still putting the water on the stove to wash my body. He said he would give me water at his home. In the kitchen there was my 2 year old child and my sister in-law who is mentally retarded, a 41 year old. All the time these guys doing this she was laughing. They took me by force, beating me. If I scream they beat me strong. When we arrived at his home, we stayed together in the room. He poured water on washing basin and I asked them to go out but they denied. They said I must wash myself in front of them. I said "I can't wash myself in front of you". His friend said he would not go; he will wait until he sees that we have done sex. After I have done splashing my body, they said "I must sleep" I denied sleeping. His friend caught me and opened my legs. The one who needed me to be his wife put his penis in my virgin. His friend waited until he saw his friend finished and went home. I stayed four days there until my brother came and fetched me. While I was there I phoned my sister and my brother; they did not believe but they confirmed from the neighbours. We did not report

this at the police station and this matter was solved traditional by two families. They did not consider it as rape. I did not get counselling and did not check my status because I'm scared (BC, 17 years old girl, individual interview).

Perpetrators came to the house of a girl with an understanding that there are no parents who might help her when they abducted her. They use force and physical violence since they saw that she was resisting. It is evident that the perpetrators took advantage of abducting the girl when they saw that her sister had nothing to say against them. They did not care that her baby was crying and would be left alone with no one who might take care of her since her sister was mentally retarded. It seems that this form of culture is abusive to girls, for example, when she asked the boys to go out while she was washing the upper body; they said she should wash in front of them.

Another occasion was when she tried to resist sex; these guys caught her and opened her legs. It is apparent that these men enjoyed seeing someone having sex in front of them. In African tradition, you are not allowed to have sex where you may be seen in public because sex is treated as a private matter. In this way, this custom contradicts the Constitution of South Africa which emphasises human dignity. The Constitution of South Africa entrenches a number of rights that are directly relevant to the context of gender based violence. Principal among the rights is the right to freedom from violence which is formulated in section 12 (1) (C) which indicates that every person has the right to freedom from all forms of violence either public or private like domestic violence or sexual assault or abuse. Most of the forms of violence are predominantly occurred in contexts, spaces and relationships that are traditionally viewed as private. Although

the girl reported the matter to her family, the family did not consider it a serious matter since she had gone there without their consent. Instead of considering this as rape or sexual abuse, the family treated it traditionally: by disrespecting the child's rights and it becomes sexual exploitation because the family of the perpetrator offered money as compensation. No counselling was involved that would help the girl since she even now does not know her status, whether she is HIV positive or negative.

BC explains, further, the issues of sexual violence in her lifetime and she indicates by showing a photo of her two year daughter. Below is a picture of her 2 year old child.



Picture 12

This is my two year old child that I left alone when I was abducted by two men in the form of ukuthwala (BC, 17 years old girl, in an individual interview).

BC explains further:

This is my two year old that I left when I was taken by two boys in the form of ukuthwala. So when I look at her every day, I just remember that day. She was crying and crying when she saw me crying and being pulled by force by these guys. My sister who was mentally retarded on that time was laughing and she did not understand what was happening (BC, 17 years old girl, individual interview).

Another participant indicated that she was taken without consent and was forced into a taxi and was driven away. While she was in the taxi, she was sexually harassed and was touched in her private parts. These were ruthless men and one of them told her that he wanted her to be his wife. When they arrived at the perpetrator's village, he grabbed her unfriendly and tried to kiss her. The girl resisted. She was locked inside the house by the perpetrator. She managed to escape through a window and she escaped without being harmed. Below is a photo that depicts the vehicle which was used when she was abducted from his area. When she sees this vehicle, it brings back bad memories and pains she endured.



Picture 13

This vehicle was used when I was abducted (WN, 16 years old, in individual interview)

WN explains:

I was taken by this Quantum. Inside the taxi there were only men who were drinking alcohol. No one was caring me when I was crying instead they brushed me putting their hands in my private parts. When I looked at them with crying eyes I saw them enjoying what they did to me. The taxi driver drove the taxi and I screamed no one was helping me instead they sang the song. So now I am scared when I see a Quantum because I was nearly raped by the men whom I don't know. I say girls must watch Quantum (WN, 16 years old girl in an individual interview.)

WN explains further, her story of *ukuthwala*:

It was end of September, there was a cultural day in our local hall. Here there two brothers who asked to speak with me. I denied...they asked to speak with me on the door.

I agreed.....they took me by force and put me in the Quantum (taxi, 14 seats). I was denying but they pushed and pulled me. I cried and screamed but people who were there neglected. Inside the Quantum they were Insizwa (boys who are above 21 years and they were drinking alcohol) and I was only a girl. The taxi driver drove the car. On the way those who were next to me they brush me, and touch my privates parts until we arrived at their village. After few minutes they told me to go out of the car.....they want to fix the carI said no. I asked "why should I go out of the car?" They told me that they want to fix the wheel of the car. I went out and they said I must go inside the house because the weather was not good. I did not enter in the house but I stood near the door. One of the two brothers, the one who wanted me to be his wife, came to me and kissed me by force and he pushed me into the house. He continued to kiss me....touching me private parts. I tried by all means to push him away to me. I cried and screamed there was no people coming and helping me. When he saw that I did not want, he went out of the house and locked the door. He left me inside the house. I cried, cried and screamed but there was no help. I saw a window..... luckily there were no burglar guards. It was 7 pm.....I used it to jump out of the house. I went crying and I did not know the place. On the way I met four boys who asked, why I was crying. I told them the story. They said they saw the Quantum that took me. These boys helped me because they accompanied me. Three boys went back and I was left with one boy. He accompanied me to home. I reported this matter to the family then the family said I must report to the police station. Even now these guys are not arrested (WN, 16 years old girl in a individual group).

It is clear that the community of Eyakhe does not consider *ukuthwala* a form of sexual violence as it is continuously practised by perpetrators who see young girls, from age 14 to 18 years, as wives. While they practise this, victims experience sexual abuse. For example, the young girl who was taken by the taxi was touched by everyone who was next to her. It was not apparent who would be her husband. Those perpetrators of sexual violence do not care whether the girl likes or not, they force sex onto the girls. If they resist, they are beaten severely. Although the matter was reported to the police, the perpetrators were not arrested. Some of the policemen had grown up in this type of culture so they do not see it as a form of violence against girls. They understand it as a form of bringing two families together. The community sees it as the best way of converting the younger girls to be wives and as a right way of bringing different families together.

4.4.2 Virginitv testing and issues of sexual violence

The practice of virginitv testing in South Africa is still prevalent in the provinces of Kwa-Zulu Natal and Eastern Cape, is another form of culture which violates the rights of women: especially girls (Wadesango, Rembe & Chabaya, 2011). Participants indicated that they had gone through the virginitv testing starting from 8 years old. Wadesango, Rembe and Chabaya (2011) further explain that girl children, ranging from the ages of 10 to 18 years, are exposed to this practice, particularly those living in rural areas. Participants also indicated that one is taught how to handle and keep yourself because the society believes that if you are not virgin you are going to teach the bad habits to other girls. Wadesango, Rembe and Chabaya (2011) also resonates that the justification for virginitv testing includes encouraging girls to remain virgins, which is believed

will minimize HIV/AIDS infection and teenage pregnancy, and is also done to control the sexuality of girls. The researcher had asked participants in a focus group discussion: What is virginity testing and why is it important?

PJ states that:

Virginity testing is a custom that makes girls to know their statuses (PJ, 16 years old girl, focus group interview).

BC concurs:

It is a custom that teaches girls about how to keep their bodies not being played by boys (BC, 17 years old girl, focus group interview)

WN adds:

It is a custom that is done in rural areas where a girl is taught to care her body until she gets married (WN, 16 years old girl, focus group interview)

PJ elaborated further:

A girl is taught how to handle herself and you are told what you should do when you are doing sex (PJ, 16 years old girl, focus group interview)

WN echoed similar sentiments:

A girl knows how to keep herself (WN, 16 years old girl, focus group interview)

BC completes the explanation:

It is very important because some of the girls become pregnant when they are young. No one will make you as a wife if you are not a virgin because in our culture a man is not allowed to marry a girl who is not a virgin (BC, 17 years old, focus group interview)

The study found that all participants understood why there was virginity testing and what it meant for them. It is evident that the older women in the community wanted to find out whether the girl's hymens are intact. The researcher asked the participants whether they thought that virginity testing was a sexual abuse; their responses follow:

PJ:

It is a sexual abuse because those who check you, they touch your virginity if they want to see clearly and pour water in your vagina. If they see that your virginity is gone they talk about you, telling your friends without your permission that you are not a virgin. And they say they must not go with you. If you don't feel to be tested on that day maybe you are menstruating, they force you. It is not good and is against your will. The girl is coerced to do this. You are forced to write your boyfriend's name, if you don't want to do so or saying you don't have, they search your boyfriend's name and tell you that they know. When they want your boyfriend's name, they ask from your closest friend (PJ, 16 years old girl in focus group).

BC:

It is a sexual abuse and I criticize virginity testing because they touch your virginity. I am a girl and I have got feelings. When they do this they put their fingers inside the virginity. When they entering their fingers I feel sexually active sometimes I end up ejaculating. They also tell boys that you are not a virgin. You know boys they come in numbers if you are not a virgin and you become a playground of all boys (BC, 17 years old girl).

WN:

It is a sexual abuse because at home you are being forced to go there and it is not your own will. It is not the only one person who is checking at your virginity, all of them come. If they find that it is not good, the whole community will know about this and they will call you with bad names like isifebe (a woman who likes man) (WN, 16 years old girl in a focus group)

PJ supports this type of culture and she said:

Although sometimes it is abusive, this custom must continue maybe the diseases might decrease. It protects the young girls to become pregnant at an early stage. It is very nice to meet other virgins performing together (PJ, 16 years old girl in a focus group).

WN adds to what PJ has said:

To add this custom must continue because nowadays there are diseases. You will keep yourself until you get married (WN, 16 years old girl in a focus group.)

BC contrasts with two of the above participants and said that:

This custom must not continue because girls interact with boys even if they are tested. There is no truth because some other girls who are tested are not virgins, they use the medicines bought from pharmacies to make their virgins to recover or to fill their virgins. There is a discrimination of those who or not virgin, you are called by names as idikazi, ishalambombo, ishaxavu and isifebe (all these words undermine those who are not virgins, hurting names) (BC, 17 years old girl in a focus group).

Emerging from the participants' responses, it is evident that virginity testing is abusive since it is compulsory. They force girls to do this because they believe that it is the culture of society. Testers do not consider the rights of the child or girl because they just coerce the girl, even if she is menstruating. It is clear that girls do not like the way virginity testing is done because it is not voluntary but seems mandatory. Although it is abusive, there are some participants who say it must continue because it reduces diseases and pregnancy. One of the participants said it must be stopped since girls are being called by hurtful names. Those whose virgins are broken are being called *idikazi* and many more.

4.5 Conclusion

The chapter demonstrated how children between the ages of 15 and 17 years are being sexually abused in the places where they live. The study illustrates that children are sexually abused in different ways by the people whom they trust, respect and who are close to them. The data collected indicates that there is a male to female sexual violence, male to male sexual violence and female to male sexual violence. The children's narratives illuminated some cultural practices such as *ukuthwala* and virginity testing which tends to perpetuate sexual violence. For example, girls are abducted by old boys or men, and in the case of virginity testing, girls are forced to go for virginity testing. It is evident that the cases of sexual violence are normalized, which is a challenge to face within the village of Eyakhe. The next chapter shall be on conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE STUDY

5.1. Introduction

The focus of the study was to explore the narratives and emotional geographies of sexual violence of six Grade 9 school children in a rural combined school in Kwa-Zulu Natal. The aim of the study was to understand the children's voices, where they articulate their understandings and identify and navigate the spaces of sexual violence in which they consider themselves vulnerable.

The study was aligned to New Childhood Studies and Children's geographies. By aligning to New Childhood Studies and Children geographies, the study sought to give voice and to emancipate children from power laden environments and assumptions, powerlessness and vulnerabilities (James & Prout, 1998). This type of approach sees children as knowledgeable and active subjects and using the research process as a platform can enable children to communicate experiences of importance. By choosing this approach, I wanted to understand the multiplicity of children's geographies in which sexual violence prevailed. The study is also framed by Crenshaw's (1991) theory on intersectionality: which associates factors such as racial identity and social and economic class to experiences where discourses of power and privilege play out in a way that privileges some, whilst oppressing and marginalising others.

The following key research questions were probed throughout this study:

- What do learners tell about sexual violence?
- What do they identify as sexual violence and sexual risk factors?
- What are emotional geographies of these children within spaces and places of sexual violence?
- How do they position themselves and navigate through such spaces and places?

The study employed a qualitative approach. The qualitative research approach allows for a fuller understanding of the phenomenon under study (Lauer, 2006). Nieuwenhuis (2007) concurs with Lauer (2006) that qualitative research enables the researcher to collect rich, descriptive data, in respect of the phenomenon, with the aim of developing an understanding of what is being studied. Using the qualitative approach, I collected rich data from participants to understand their perception about sexual violence. I also chose to adopt narrative inquiry as a method of data generation. Pinnegar and Daynes (2007) state that narrative inquiry focuses on life experiences of one or few participants rather than those of a larger group and one of its goals is to give voice to those whose stories have been unheard in educational research. I used narrative inquiry in the study in order to understand the children narratives of sexual violence within and outside the school environment. I purposefully sampled six children in order to obtain the rich data because I believed that they are not passive and can narrate their stories of how their geographies have been constructed. Semi-structured and focus group interviews were used in the study. Photo voice was also used in the study to enhance the research.

5.2. Theoretical and methodological reflections

The conceptual framework, New Childhood Studies and Children geographies, used in the study has achieved its purpose because children's voices have been heard and narrated their experiences on sexual violence. Participants were actively involved and active constructors and mediators of their social worlds, worth their study in their own right (Alderson, 1995; Butler & Shaw, 1996, James, Jenks & Prout, 1998). The first thing that hindered the progression of the study was to get the participants from Grade 9 since the study was sensitive in exploring sexual violence. I started by explaining what sexual violence was and my personal experiences on sexual violence in the class. When I finished explaining, I kindly requested them to write their own personal experiences on a minimum of one page. Children wrote their stories about sexual violence. That was where I got six children who wrote their personal stories about sexual violence.

Although I got my participants, it was difficult to conduct the individual interviews with my participants because all the participants were living in different villages far away from school, around about 3kms away. When I requested to use the school's time from 2 to 3 before the school dismisses, the teachers did not agree. As researcher, I was forced to re-arrange the interview schedule with participants in their locations because they were afraid to go alone since they live far away from school. All focus groups interviews went well and all were conducted on the school premises after school. So, it was easy for them to stay because they would leave in groups after an interview. Two participants were given one disposable camera to take photos. In conclusion, the study went well and I obtained rich data from my participants.

5.3. Summary of findings

5.3.1. What do learners tell about sexual violence?

The study found that children from the rural context have an understanding and knowledge of sexual violence. These children indicated sexual violence as an abuse and it happens without a person's consent. For instance, MD stated that "*sexual violence is an abuse, for example, when a person decides to sleep with you without your consent.*" This notion was supported by Management System International (2008) that sexual violence is an unwanted activity where there is no consent.

The findings also reveal that children have an understanding that HIV/AIDS is a contributing factor to sexual violence. Girl children are sexually abused because the perpetrators want to cure themselves by sleeping with virgin girls. For example, PJ stated that "*sexual violence is an abuse maybe people do sex where there is no agreement. You don't know the person you have sex with.....maybe is HIV positive.....some people believe that if you are HIV positive when you sleep with a virgin the disease disappears immediately.*" Madu and Peltzer (2001) concur that the scare of HIV/AIDS is thought to be major contributing factor to the increase in sexual assaults on young girls who are free from infection. This shows that participants have an understanding that there is a link between HIV/AIDS and sexual violence.

The study also found that children have an understanding that sexual violence is not only encountered by girls but it is also the issue of boys in their own spaces. For instance, LM stated that

sexual violence is an abuse where a person might sleep with you by force not with your own will.....maybe.... a boy touches a girls private parts but it doesn't happen to girls only.....mmmhh.....it also happens to boys, for example, boys touching other boys private parts and force them to sleep or.....to have sex

Participants realized that it was not only girls who were directly affected by sexual violence; boys too experienced it, as it occurred in their own environments. Bertman (2000) makes a point by saying that males are also subjected to sexual violence.

5.3.2. What do learners identify as sexual violence and sexual risk factors?

The study found that power dynamics plays a role in contributing to sexual violence, the power between the teacher and a learner in the classroom environment. The teacher (male) has used his power to call and meet the young girl after an afternoon class; as a result, she was sexually abused by the male teacher. A classroom environment is supposed to be safe for teaching and learning but tended to be a place of sexual violence.

For example, WN (16 year old girl) stated:

We had an afternoon class during the break the male teacher came privately and asked me to stay behind after the session or class. With all the respect that I had for him I did as requested but with some unanswered questions. I asked him. Why am I left behind,

then he reminded me that he loves me. After that he came closer to me and started to cuddle and kissing me. I tried to push him away but he came back and started to hold my breasts, brushing my face and touching my private parts. I also pushed him again and immediately he showed me his penis saying I must brush it and then I cried. He also said he would make me pass Mathematics

The above account confirms the claim by Plan Togo (2006) and Agyepong (2010) that male teachers take advantage of their positions as a classroom figure heads so as to demand sexual favours from their female students in exchange for academic favours. The study also found that that power and masculinity plays a vital role in contributing to sexual violence. When the victims refused to obey the abusers' requests, they were physically caught and pushed down by the perpetrator. Boys appear to use violence or threats to control girls' movements and activities to scare girls; this highlights the prevalence of male hegemony.

The study found that poverty is a contributing factor to sexual violence. The way in which the victim has grown in the context of poverty leads him to be the victim of sexual violence. For instance, SM (15 year old boy) stated, *"The man told the boy that he wanted to sleep with him. The man promised him that he would buy some clothes, shoes and everything he needs. He promised to take care for the boy."* Hunter (2002) describes this as the nature of transactional sex as it relates to the concept of subsistence: where poor girls and boys, with limited options for economic survival and with no secure food source, tend to be sexually abused by the perpetrators.

The study found that alcohol is also a contributory factor to sexual violence. Abbey (2012) asserts that perpetrators who commit sexual assault when drinking are to a large extent condoned for their behaviour, in view of a belief that they have stronger sexual expectations since alcohol induces an arousing effect on their sexual behaviour. The study found that some cultural practices tended to be sexually abusive to young girls in our communities. These cultural activities are *ukuthwala* (abduction of girls) and virginity testing.

Findings indicated that participants viewed *ukuthwala* as a form of sexual violence. Wadesango, Rembe and Chabay (2011) describe *ukuthwala* as a form of abduction that involves kidnapping a girl or young woman, by a man and his friends or peers, with the intention of compelling the girl or her family to endorse marriage negotiations. They further explain that it is not a valid marriage agreement in terms of the Marriage or Recognition of Customary Marriages Act. Marriage Customary Law states that spouses should be 18 and over and they both consent to the marriage. Although this practice is said to be cultural, it is illegal, against constitution and harmful to the wellbeing of young girls. The practice violates the rights of the girl child and endangers her future well-being.

Virginity testing is another cultural practice which violates the rights of girls. Participants viewed virginity testing as abusive since testers put their fingers and pour water into the vagina to check if the hymen is intact. Wadesango, Rembe and Chabaya (2011) concur that when virginity testing is carried out in the home, the aunt or neighbour inserts a finger into the vagina of the girl to check if the hymen is still intact. Le Clerc-Madlala (2003) explains that those girls that are

found to be virgins are identified with a white mark on the forehead and are provided with certificates, while those who are not virgins receive a red mark and counselling.

The study found that little girls were being raped in their homes and boys were being raped in the unused garages by the people whom they trust, love and obey. These young girls and boys were defenceless and helpless when they were sexually abused by the people whom they called fathers, uncles and neighbours. Bribery was used by the perpetrators to silence the matter and they threatened them although, at a later stage, these incidents were revealed by the victims. Sexual violence has a negative impact on victims' academic performances resulting in long term damage to their education.

The study found that the veld and forest were used as places of sexual violence. Participants stated that some of their school mates had been sexually abused by the older boys when coming to school or going home. These places were being used by the members of the community to graze their cattle and to collect wood; yet, the older boys used it as places to abuse innocent and trusting girls.

5.3.3 Emotional geographies of the learners within the spaces and places of sexual violence

The study found that participants were afraid of the places where they encountered sexual violence. Participants indicated that they are frightened to go alone to those places. One of the participants, BC (17 year old girl), indicated that she does not use her bed as it reminds her of the incident. For example, *'Today, I have got a child and if I was not raped I might not have this*

child. She elaborated that when she looks at the child, she remembers the day when she was abducted by two men; in the form of *ukuthwala*. She said, “*She was crying and crying when I(her) was pulled by these guys.*” Another participant indicated that she is scared when she sees any Quantum because she was nearly raped by the boys in one, (Insizwa), who were in the mini-bus in the form of *ukuthwala*. Similarly, with WN (16 year old girl), the girl said that she is sensitive when she is called by a male teacher. It is apparent that the young girl was shocked by what was done to her by her male teacher.

With regard to virginity testing, the study found that girls are hurt when they are touched in their vagina. They do not like the way the virginity testing is done since the virginity testers insert their fingers into their vaginas. Participants indicated that they get discriminated against by those who are still virgins and are called by hurtful names like *idikazi, isifebe, isishalambombo*, etc. by members of the community.

5.3.4. Children’s navigation through spaces considered to be sexually vulnerable

In the context of Eyakhe (pseudonym), the study found that traditional leaders or families have power are unable to normalize these cases of sexual violence. These cases are discussed by having an *imbizo* (a meeting led by headman in the community) to come up with solutions to the problems that occur. Victims are powerless to confront this powerful structure in society with further oppresses and subverts social regulations and controls the victims. They are silenced and do not have the power to disrupt this social belief. The community does not bother about whether it is painful to the victim. After negotiations, the victim is forced to hug and shake hands with the

perpetrator to show forgiveness. They do not treat sexual violence with the seriousness it deserves.

Consequently, BC (17 year old girl, individual interview), in order to navigate the situation, avoids the perpetrator (her neighbour) and does not speak with him since the case was normalized. When she sees him it reminds her about what had happened to her. The Grade 6 girl who was sexually abused by a Grade 9 boy; her parents organized transport every day to school because she did not trust the perpetrator. She thought that he might catch her again. The patriarchal nature of our society has shaped and perpetuated gender inequality to the extent of allowing male domination and female subordination (Kambarami, 2006). Regarding the veld and forest, victims had no way out as they are forced to use these paths. There is no alternative route they might use to go to school. They are forced to go with the perpetrators since the problem has been normalized and they come from the same village.

5.4. Implications of the study

5.4.1. Implication on policy and practice

The community of Eyakhe lacks support that it supposes to give to the abused children, instead, the perpetrators remained unpunished. There is no organisation that fights child abuse and boys molestation. The patriarchal system promotes sexual abuse and abduction of girls in the community since the sexual abuse and ukuthwala is normalized by traditional laws. The community does not work properly with government officials like SAPS. All relevant

stakeholders should be actively involved in protecting their children from sexual abuse. The fight against sexual violence can be won if all stakeholders involved play their role: traditional community leaders, the school, parents and general community.

Traditional Community Leaders

- Traditional courts need to review the way they deal with, and judge, sexual violence cases in rural communities.
- Traditional leaders need to work jointly with local government officials like SAPS, Social Development, Nurse and Psychologists and other government agencies like Non-Governmental Organisation to support the empowerment of community members, and to sensitize the community about sexual violence.
- Traditional leaders need to work with the justice system and South African Police Services (SAPS) to be able to deal with perpetrators.

School

- Schools should hold workshops on the dangers of sexual violence such as on the significance of healthy relationships and the value of equality, regardless of gender or sexual orientation. Children should be involved in these workshops which should be interactive and provide them with real tools to prevent or handle sexual violence before it becomes worse.
- The schools must develop policies that deal with sexual violence.
- Since there is a cry for help, the school should have a school counsellor and an active Learner Representative Council, where the victims may report sexual violence cases and that will assist the school in dealing with sexual assault if institutional problems arise.
- The school should work in liaison with SAPS

Parents

- The fact that hegemonic masculinity is normalized is evident in the study and the girls tend to justify the social harassment by boys. Children should be socialized that boys and girls are equal and their biological differences do not mean that the other sex is inferior.
- Parents should listen to their children if they report about sexual violence and believe them; as it is evident in the study where one boy was sexually abused by his relative (uncle) was not believed by his family.
- Parents should teach their children that sexual violence is not an answer when you need a relationship and they should understand that 'No' means 'No' and the procedure to follow when abused.
- Parents should encourage children to report sexual abuse if someone touches them in a way that makes them feel uncomfortable, they must always report to a trusted adult and they should not keep secrets about someone touching them.

General Community

- Adults, in the community, must watch for any inappropriate behaviours in other adults or older youth because children especially young ones are not able to recognize these behaviours to protect them.
- Should teach their children that their "No" will be respected whether it is playing or tackling or hugging and kissing.
- Should teach them to report anything they know or suspect might be sexual abuse.
- The community of Eyakhe supposes to do awareness campaign and to be actively involved in 16 days of activism to make women and children aware about sexual abuse.

5.4.2. Implications for further research

The study has not included the children who are not attending school since the study did not embrace children who were not schooling. I, therefore, recommend room for further research on those children who are at home and who experience sexual violence.

There should be further research; especially on traditional structures, norms, values and beliefs that underlie how children navigate sexual violence in the communities. The research should also look at how these communities address perpetration of sexual violence since the victims are suppressed and silenced by the traditional structures. There should be in-depth research in rural schools and communities about sexual violence; that is, what values and beliefs are embedded within these silences. There should be a further research on how parents grow up their children and active role traditional leadership to prevent sexual abuse. There should be a further research on how the society perceive *ukuthwala* and power relations on boys and girls.

5.5. Conclusion

This chapter discussed the lens of sexual violence: the sexual risks factors; emotional geographies of these learners within the spaces and places of sexual violence and how they navigate in these spaces and places in which they consider themselves as vulnerable. The study found that the legacy of sexual violence within the Eyakhe community is prevalent. The way sexual violence is addressed in this community comprises social justice and perpetuates gender violence because they use cultural practices that normalize the incidents and the victim is forced

to accept everything that is negotiated by the two families or traditional courts. The study made suggestions that may assist the community of Eyakhe in dealing with sexual violence. The study was significant because it assisted children to understand and challenge the power dynamics associated with sexual violence. The study also helped children by creating an awareness of the issues of sexual violence in their own spaces and places.

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Appendix 1

Consent letter for school principal

School of Education

University of KwaZulu-Natal

Edgewood campus

P. Bag X03

Ashwood3605. Durban

04 October 2013

The Principal

Edgerton Combined School

Dear Sir/Madam

Re: Request for permission to conduct research at your school

We are staff members in the School of Education, University of KwaZulu-Natal. We plan to undertake a study titled: "Surviving sexually violence spaces: Narratives and emotional geographies of six Grade 9 school children". South Africa is one of the countries. We are the project leaders for the research project.

We hereby request your permission to conduct a study at the Edgerton Combined School. The participants in the study will be learners from your school. They will be required to participate in individual interviews and focus group interviews that are expected to last between 90-120 minutes in three sessions.

Please note that

- The school and participants will not receive material gains for participation in this research project.
- The learners will be expected to respond to each question in a manner that will reflect their own personal opinion.
- The school's or the participant's identities will not be divulged under any circumstance.
- All learner responses will be treated with strict confidentiality.
- Pseudonyms will be used (real names of the participants and the institution will not be used throughout the research process).
- Participation is voluntary; therefore, participants will be free to withdraw at any time without negative or undesirable consequences to them.
- The participants will not, under any circumstances, be forced to disclose what they do not want to reveal.
- Audio- recording of interviews will only be done if the permission of the participant is obtained.
- Data will be stored in the University locked cupboard for a maximum period of five years thereafter it will be destroyed.

I thank you.

Yours sincerely

Professor Nithi Muthukrishna

Tel: 084 2459096

031 2603499/2494

Email: muthukri@ukzn.ac.za

Dr Pholoho Morojele

Tel: 071 0410352

031 2603234

Morojele@ukzn.ac.za

CONSENT FORM:

If permission is granted to conduct the research at your school, please fill in and sign the form below.

I,, (Full Name) hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project. I hereby grant permission for the researcher to conduct the research project at the _____ Primary School. I understand that learners are free to withdraw from the project at any time, should they so desire.

Name: _____

Signature: _____

Date: ____/____/____

Professor Nithi Muthukrishna

Dr Pholoho Morojele

Tel: 084 2459096

Tel: 071 0410352

031 2603499/2494

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Email: muthukri@ukzn.ac.za

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Appendix 2

Consent for Learners (the letter will be translated into the specific first language as necessary. The project will be explained to parents/caregivers first. The letter will be read to and explained to them in a simple way. Questions and clarification will be encouraged.).

School of Education

University of KwaZulu-Natal

Edgewood campus

P. Bag X03

Ashwood 3605. Durban

04 October 2013

Dear learner

Re: Request your participation in a research project

It was good to meet you on 01October 2013 date. As we told to you in our meeting, we are staff members in the School of Education, University of KwaZulu-Natal. We would like do a study called, "*Surviving sexually violence spaces: Narratives and emotional geographies of six Grade 9 school children.*" South Africa is one of the countries. We are the project leaders for the research project.

We kindly ask your permission to participate in the project. The participants in the study will be learners from the various schools. We value what you think about your schooling and how you are experiencing schooling. You will be required to allow us to interview you individually and in focus groups. The interviews will be approx... 90-120

minutes. We will meet in three sessions on three different days that is convenient for you. We will be requesting permission from your parents/caregivers to work with you on the project.

Please note that

- The school and learners will not receive material gains for participation in this research project.
- You will be expected to respond to each question in a manner that will reflect your own personal opinion.
- The schools or your identities will not be divulged under any circumstance.
- All learner responses will be treated with strict confidentiality.
- Pseudonyms will be used (your real name and the name of the school will not be used throughout the research process).
- Participation is voluntary; therefore, you will be free to withdraw at any time without negative or undesirable consequences to them.
- You will not, under any circumstances, be forced to disclose what you do not want to tell us.
- Audio- recording of interviews will only be done if you give us permission.
- Data will be stored in the University locked cupboard for a maximum period of five years thereafter it will be destroyed.

I thank you.

Yours sincerely

Professor Nithi Muthukrishna

Tel: 084 2459096

031 2603499/2494

Email: muthukri@ukzn.ac.za

Dr Pholoho Morojele

Tel: 071 0410352

031 2603234

Morojele@ukzn.ac.za

CONSENT FORM:

If you agree to take part in this project, please fill in your full name and sign the form below.

I,, (Full Name) hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project. I hereby agree to take part in the project at my school. I understand that I can withdraw from the project at any time I want to.

Name: _____

Signature: _____

Date: ____/____/____

Professor Nithi Muthukrishna

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031 2603234

Morojele@ukzn.ac.za

Appendix 3

Consent from Parent/Caregiver (the letter will be translated into the specific first language as necessary. The project will be explained to learners first. The letter will be read to and explained to learners in a simple way. Questions and clarification will be encouraged.).

School of Education
University of KwaZulu-Natal
Edgewood campus
P. Bag X03
Ashwood 3605. Durban
04 October 2013

Dear parent/caregiver

Re: Request your child's participation in a research project

As we told to you earlier on at this meeting, we are staff members in the School of Education, University of KwaZulu-Natal. We would like do a study called, "Surviving sexually spaces: Narratives and emotional geographies of six Grade 9 school children". We are the project leaders for the research project.

We kindly ask your permission for your child to participate in the project. The participants in the study will be learners from the various schools. We value what your child thinks about his schooling and how he/she is experiencing schooling. You will be required to allow us to interview your child individually and in focus groups. The

interviews will be approx... 90-120 minutes. We will meet in three sessions on three different days that is convenient for the child. We will be requesting permission from your child to work with him in the project. .

Please note that

- The school and learners will not receive material gains for participation in this research project.
- Your child expected to respond to each question in a manner that will reflect his/her own personal opinion.
- The school's or your child's identities will not be divulged under any circumstance.
- All your child's responses will be treated with strict confidentiality.
- Pseudonyms will be used (your child's real name and the name of the school will not be used throughout the research process).
- Participation is voluntary; therefore, your child will be free to withdraw at any time without negative or undesirable consequences to him/her.
- Your child will not, under any circumstances, be forced to disclose what he/she do not want to tell us.
- Audio- recording of interviews will only be done if you and your child give us permission.
- Data will be stored in the University locked cupboard for a maximum period of five years thereafter it will be destroyed.

I thank you.

Yours sincerely

Professor Nithi Muthukrishna

Tel: 084 2459096

031 2603499/2494

Email: muthukri@ukzn.ac.za

Dr Pholooho Morojele

Tel: 071 0410352

031 2603234

Morojele@ukzn.ac.za

CONSENT FORM:

If you agree to take part in this project, please fill in your full name and sign the form below.

I,, (Full Name), the parent /caregiver of -----
(Name of child) hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project. I hereby agree to my child taking part in the project. I understand that he/she can withdraw from the project at any time I want to...

Name: _____

Signature: _____

Date: ____/____/____

Professor Nithi Muthukrishna

Dr Pholoho Morojele

Tel: 084 2459096

Tel: 071 0410352

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031 2603234

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Appendix 4

Interview schedule: During the interview the learners were not called by their real names.

Pseudonyms were used. The participants in the study were called as WN, LM, SM, PJ, BC, and MD. Three boys and three girls were interviewed in individual and focus group interviews.

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What is your name?
2. How old are you?
3. What is violence?
4. What is sexual violence?
5. How does sexual violence differ from other violence?
6. Does sexual violence exist in our communities?
7. Tell me about sexual violence that you heard or witnessed or experienced in your school or in your community?
8. What was the perpetrator's response after an incident?
9. Briefly explain why did you take these pictures?
10. What are cultural activities or practices that are violating your right as a girl?
11. What is *ukuthwala*?
12. Do you think *ukthwala* is a sexual abuse?
13. Tell me your experience of *ukuthwala*?
14. What is virginity testing?
15. What is important about virginity testing?
16. Do you think virginity testing is a sexual abuse?

17. How did you feel when you see those places and spaces of sexual violence?

18. How did you navigate in those spaces and places of sexual violence?



UNIVERSITY OF
KWAZULU-NATAL
INYUVESI
YAKWAZULU-NATALI

2 April 2013

Professor A Muthukrishna B45
School of Education
Durwood Campus

Protocol reference number: HSS/0250/013

Project title: The geographies of children's schooling in six Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries: narratives of children, parents/caregivers and teachers

Dear Professor Muthukrishna

Expedited approval

I wish to inform you that your application has been granted Full Approval through an expedited review process.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/interview schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number. Please note: Research data should be securely stored in the school/department for a period of 5

years.

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

Yours faithfully

Professor Steven Collings (Chair)

Dr P Morojele
Academic leader researcher Dr MN Davids
School administrator Ms B Bhengu

Humanities & Social Sc Research Ethics Committee
Professor S Collings (Chair)
Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building
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education

Department
Education
PROVINCE OF KWAZULU-NATAL

Enquines Sibusiso Alwar

Tel 033 341 8610

Ref: 2/4/B

Prof. N Muthukrishna & Dr P Morojele
P O Box X03
ASHWOOD
3605

Dear Prof. Muthukrishna and Dr Morojele

PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN THE KZN DoE INSTITUTIONS

Your application to conduct research entitled, **THE GEOGRAPHIES OF CHILDREN'S SCHOOLING IN KWAZULU-NATAL: NARRATIVES OF CHILDREN, PARENTS/CAREGIVERS AND TEACHERS**, in the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Education Institutions has been approved. The conditions of the approval are as follows:

1. The researcher will make all the arrangements concerning the research and interviews
2. The researcher must ensure that Educator and learning programmes are not interrupted
3. Interviews are not conducted during the time of writing examinations in schools
4. Learners, Educators, Schools and Institutions are not identifiable in any way from the results of the research
5. A copy of this letter is submitted to District Managers, Principals and Heads of Institutions where the intended research and interviews are to be conducted.
6. The period of investigation is limited to the period from 01 May 2013 to 31 March 2014
7. Your research and interviews will be limited to the schools you have proposed and approved by the Head of Department. Please note that Principals, Educators, Departmental Officials and Learners are under no obligation to participate or assist you in your investigation
8. Should you wish to extend the period of your survey at the school(s), please contact Mr. Alwar at the contact numbers below
9. Upon completion of the research, a brief summary of the findings, recommendations or a full report / dissertation / thesis must be submitted to the research office of the Department. Please address it to The Director-Resources Planning, Private Bag X9137, Pietermaritzburg, 3200.
10. Please note that your research and interviews will be limited to schools and institutions in KwaZulu-Natal Department of Education.

Umlazi District
Sisonke District
Zuuland District

Othukela District
Pinetown District
Illembe District

Nkosinathi S.P. Sishi, PhD
Head of Department: Education
Date: 18 November 2013

KWAZULU-NATAL DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

POSTAL: Private Bag X 9137, Pietermaritzburg, 3200, KwaZulu-Natal, Republic of South Africa

PHYSICAL: 247 Burger Street, Anton Lembede House, Pietermaritzburg, 3201. Tel: 033 392 1004 Fax: 033 392 1203

Appendix 7 Letter from the language editor

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12 February 2014

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

This is to record that I have carried out language editing on the dissertation:

Surviving sexually violent spaces: Narratives and emotional geographies of six

Grade 9 school children

by

Alfred Khayaletshu Zincume



D.G.Naidoo
(Language Editor)

Appendix 8

Turnitin Originality Report

M ED Dissertation by Alfred Khayaletbu Zinume

From M ED Dissertations Jan and Feb 2014 (MED Cohort)

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