

**Gender power and gender based violence: Learners' narratives of
gender violence in an Umlazi High School in KwaZulu-Natal**



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SUPERVISOR'S STATEMENT

**'As the candidate's supervisor, I agree to the submission of this
dissertation.'**

Signed

.....

Name: Dr Bronwynne Anderson

Date: 22 November 2019

DECLARATION

I, **Nokubonga Phumelele Biyela** declare that:

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents, my late father Maxwell Mjabuliseni Biyela and my mother, Philisiwe Priscilla Biyela. Thank you for always believing in me and supporting me through every academic endeavor that I pursue.

Acknowledgements

All the glory belongs to you, God almighty. Thank you for giving me the strength and courage to pursue my study, without you I would not have made this far.

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To all the learners who participated in this study, thank you for your time and for the information you have shared that contributed to the success of this study. May God bless you.

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Abstract (English)

This is a qualitative study that is located within the interpretivist paradigm. This study explores Goodness High School (pseudonym) learners' understandings of gender power and gender based violence through their narratives. Goodness High is located in Umlazi Township, KwaZulu-Natal. The gender relational theory which draws on gender power as an analytical lens was used to analyse participants' understandings, exposure to and experiences of gender based violence and the role which is played by social processes that promote gender based violence and power relations in school. The structured questionnaires and semi-structured individual interviews were instrumental in the study and it aimed to generate relevant data from the participants. Convenient and purposive sampling was used as a means to identify and select participants.

The findings from the study revealed that high school boys and girls do not fully comprehend gender based violence and society often normalises acts of violence against girls and women as well as non-normative sexualities. It is clear that community violence seeps into and is reproduced in the school milieu. Society has double standards when it comes to violence perpetrated by men and women or boys and girls as society refuses to see men as anything but perpetrators of gender based violence and views women as the victims of gender based violence. However, as the study shows, violence can also be perpetrated by females. The study also revealed that patriarchy plays a huge role in normalising violence against girls. The study found that the dress code of girls was used to justify the violence perpetrated against them and that the perpetrators of violence mainly use strength and intimidation as a means of keeping their victims from reporting gender based violence. The data also revealed that teachers play a role in encouraging gender based violence through the administration of corporal punishment in school as well verbally abusing learners.

The study recommends educating learners about gender based violence as well as including sexual violence in the curriculum. The study also recommends awareness campaigns in society to educate all individuals of a society in order to eradicate gender based violence in schools. The study also recommends training teachers so they would be able to help learners who have experienced gender based violence in schools, and lastly it advocates for

surveillance mechanisms to be installed in and around the school so no incidents of gender based violence can be left unattended, or so they can be dealt with accordingly.

Key words: Gender based violence, gender power, hegemonic masculinity, femininity, patriarchy, social constructs

Abstract (Isizulu)

Lolu ucwaningo lubuka kakhulu izifundo ezitholakala kwiparadayimu yokutolika. Lolucwaningo luhlola ukuqonda kwabafundi baseGoodness High School (ipseudonym) kwamandla obulili kanye nodlame olususelwa ebulilini ngokulandisa kwabo. IGoodness High isikole samabanga aphezulu elokishini laseMlazi, KwaZulu-Natali. Injulalwazi yombono ohlobene nobulili isebenzisa amandla ebulilini njenge nhlobo yokuhlaziya, iphinde isetshenziselwa ukuhlaziya ukuqonda kwabahlanganyeli bocwaningo mayelana ngokuhlolwa ngakho maqondana nodlame olususelwa ebulilini kanye nendima edlalwa izinqubo zenhlalo ezikhuthaza udlame olususelwa ebulilini kanye nobudlelwano bamandla esikoleni. Amaphepha emibuzo ahlelekile kanye nenhlokokhono yomuntu ngamunye ezibekiwe kwaba neqhaza ocwaningweni, nokuhloswe ukukhipha imininingwane efanele ngalo, evela kubahlanganyeli. Isampula elula yenhlobo isetshenziswe njengendlela yokukhetha abahlanganyeli.

Okutholakele kulolu cwaningo kuveze ukuthi abafana namantombazane asezikoleni eziphakeme ababuqondi ngokuphelele ubudlova obukhungathe ubulili futhi umphakathi awubasekeli njengendlela efanele abantu abahlukunyezwayo. Uvumela izenzo zodlame olubhekiswe kumantombazaneni nabesifazane kanye nezobulili ezingekho emthethweni. Kuyacaca ukuthi udlame lomphakathi luyangena futhi luphindwe lubhebhetheke kakhulu emaklasini. Umphakathi unezindingo eziphindwe kabili uma kukhulunywa ngodlame olwenziwa ngabesilisa nabesifazane / abafana namantombazane njengoba umphakathi wenqaba ukubona amadoda njenganoma yini ngaphandle kwalokhu abahlukumeza udlame olusekelwe ebulilini futhi babheka abesifazane njengezisulu zodlame olusekelwe ebulilini. Ucwangingo luphinde lwaveza ukuthi udlame lungaphinde lubhethekiswe nangabesifazane. Lolucwaningo luveze nokuthi inzalamizi idlala indima enkulu ekulweni nobudlova kumantombazane. Lolucwaningo luthole ukuthi indlela yokugqoka yamantombazane isetshenziswa njengezindlela zokucacisa udlame olubhekiswe kubo nokuthi izimbangi zodlame zisebenzisa amandla nokusabisa njengendlela yokugcina izisulu zabo zingabiki udlame olususelwe ebulilini. Imininingo yocwaningo iveze ukuthi othisha nabo badlala indima ekugqugqulezeni udlame lobulili ngokusebenzisa isijeziso senduku esikoleni kanjalo nokuhlukumeza abafundi.

Lolu cwaningo luphakamisa ukuba ukufundisa abafundi ngodlame olususelwa kubulili kanye nokubandakanya nodlame lwezocansi kwikharikhulamu. Lolu cwaningo luphinde futhi luncome imikhankaso yokuqwashisa emphakathini njengendlela yokufundisa bonke abantu bomphakathi njengendlela yokuqeda udlame olususelwa ebulilini ezikoleni. Lolu cwaningo luphinde lincome ukuqeqeshwa kothisha ukuze bakwazi ukusiza abafundi abake babhekana nodlame olususelwa ebulilini ezikoleni futhi ekugcineni lugqugquzela ukuthi kusetshenziswe izindlela zokubhekisisa ezikoleni cishe kuzo zonke izikole ukuze kungabi nezigameko zodlame olubhekiswe kwabesifazane ezingabhekana nazo ngokufanele.

Amagama agqamile: Ubudlova obususelwa kobulili, amandla wobulili, ubudoda be-hegemonic, ubufazi, inzalo, izinhlaka zomphakathi

Chapter one

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Gender based violence is a global issue and South Africa has been cited as having one of the highest incidences of sexual violence (World Health Organization, 2013). It is predominantly women who experience violence daily and South African women are currently experiencing brutal cases of sexual violence (Gordon and Collins, 2013). There have been vicious cases of violence against South African women of all ages, which include cases such as that of Courtney Pieters, a young girl aged three who was raped twice before she was murdered and buried by a 40 year old man (*News 24*, 21 June 2018), and that of Zolile Khumalo, who was shot by her boyfriend who justifies his behavior by claiming anger as the reason behind his actions (*Daily Sun*, 2 May 2018).

Incidents of violence against women is all over social media and the news, as there have been incidents such as those of Uyinene Mrwetyana who was raped and killed in a post office in Cape Town, the murder of boxing female champion Leighandre “Baby Lee” Jegels, and a 14 year old girl who was found murdered in her backyard (*News 24*, 03 September 2019). These incidents are a reminder of the severity of violence perpetuated against women. As a woman, both cases affected me personally because as the researcher I became acutely aware of the brutality against women and children which takes place in South Africa.

I have witnessed many cases of sexual and gender based violence in the school that I teach, such as boys spanking girls on their buttocks and justifying it by saying that they are playing. If girls are offended, the boys usually minimise the effects of their inappropriate behavior by saying it is unlike touching their private parts. It is apparent that there are learners who are unaware of the forms that gender based violence takes and its dire effects. By doing this research I hoped that I would be able to offer deeper insight into what high school boys’ and girls’ understandings of gender based violence are based on their perceptions and experiences.

It must be noted that the rest of the dissertation will use ‘the researcher’ instead of ‘I’.

1.2 Focus and rationale

Schools are not only educational institutions where children acquire knowledge, but they are also responsible for shaping children's social identities (Booher-Jennings, 2008). Violence in schools has an undesirable impression on children and those children who experience some forms of violence are most likely to develop harmful social capital and develop fear and distrust which leaves room for victimisation later in life (Burton, 2008). Schools are not shielded from the social difficulties which obvious in the societies in which the schools are located because schools are most probable to emphasize various forms of gender violence (Bhana, 2012). Learners may come across sexual violence on a regular basis and some learners do not fully understand what sexual violence involves (Hill & Kearn, 2011).

Sexual violence in a school setting can be diverse as it can refer to rape by non-romantic acquaintances and or teachers; sexual violence may be lucid as unwelcomed sexual touching or teachers demanding coitus from learners as an exchange for school grades or special treatment (Dartnall & Jewkes, 2013). Bhana (2012) explains that there are male teachers who participate in sexual intercourse with schoolgirls and this preserves sexual violence and reinforces gender power roles within society and the school.

Children, more especially girls are vulnerable to sexual violence in schools (Dartnall & Jewkes, 2013). Girls often subjected to gendered violence as they often harassed and sexually abused by both their teachers alongside their peers (Ngakane, Muthukrishna & Ngcobo, 2012). Girls are not just victims of gendered violence as some girls endorse gendered violence, they will engage in verbal violence aimed towards their peers to demonstrate prevailing femininity over other girls (Letendre, 2007).

Society often defend sexual violence inside the walls of patriarchy and this leads to learners being compliant with sexual violence (Ademiluka, 2018). Simon, Miller, Gorman-Smith, Orpinas, and Sullivan (2010) state males are less likely to report incidents of violence of any form, whereas females are more likely speak up and report violence. Sexual violence is an occurrence that often incriminates males as sexual offenders and brand women as the victims of violence (Boonzaier, 2008). Women are not associated violent behaviours, rather they are associated with nurturing attributes and law enforcers are not likely victims who report

violence perpetuated by women as believe women are powerless to execute violence (Wijkman, Bijleveld & Hendriks, 2010). Sivakumaran (2007) demonstrates that sexual violence perpetrated against men takes place with a few incidents being reported especially if perpetrators of sexual violence are female. Schoolgirls are more likely experience sexual victimization in comparison to schoolboys and the perpetrators of sexual violence on many faces (Hill & Kearnl, 2011).

Masculine is a social description that refers to the physiognomies that are known to male bodies (Connell, 1990). Furthermore, the hegemonic masculinities in a male-controlled society reinforces the gender power roles depict females to secondary to males in society (Connell, 1995). Hegemonic masculinity is an outline of gender relations that safeguards males to act a certain manner in society and failure to do so contradicts the social definition set for masculinity (Connell, 1990). Men are considered perpetrators since the patriarchal society views men as the resolute sex and women as victims as they are deemed the frailer sex, therefore portraying men as weak if they report sexual violence against them (Carmo, Grams & Magalhães, 2011).

On the other hand, Jewkes, Morrell, Hearn, Lundqvist, Blackbeard, Lindegger, Quayle, Sikweyiya and Gottzén, (2015) describe masculinities as being multiple, fluid and dynamic; they further state that hegemonic masculinities are not the only masculinities that are found in societies. In other words, men can be viewed as the dominant figures in a society as well as the subordinate figures within a community. With that being said, the hegemonic masculinity oppresses subordinate forms of masculinity such as homosexuality as it is considered to be a threat to the hegemonic masculinity identities. This results in boy on boy violence as a means of asserting their dominance and maintaining the gender hierarchy (Connell, 1995). According to Schippers (2007) gender hegemony does not only operate through the subordination of femininity to hegemonic masculinity, but it also views the marginalisation as well as the subordination of other masculinities, viewing men as both perpetrators and victims in a society.

1.3 Research objectives

1. To explore high school boys' and girls' narratives of their perceptions and exposure to gender based violence.
2. To understand how gender based violence they are exposed to in the community is produced and reproduced in the school context.
3. To explore how gender power is implicated in gender based violence.

1.4 Research questions

1. What are high school boys' and girls' perceptions and exposure to gender based violence?
2. How is gender based violence they are exposed to in their community reproduced in the school context?
3. Why is gender power implicated in gender based violence and how does it manifest?

1.5. Research area

The Umlazi Township is located alongside the east coast of KwaZulu-Natal. This section of Umlazi is a predominantly working-class township (the school's exact location is concealed for reasons of confidentiality). Umlazi has a population of more than a million (Maharaj, 2008) and black people form the majority of this population. This section of Umlazi is made up of mainly four roomed houses, largely occupied by the working class, and has a infamous reputation of crime and gang violence and other social ills including poverty, high unemployment rates and high teenage pregnancies.



Figure 1: Map of Umlazi Township retrieved from Google images



Figure 2: Aerial photograph of Umlazi township, retrieved from Google images

The school is located in Umlazi township and learners who attend this school are mostly from sections of Umlazi which have high rates of crime and violence. The school has 31 staff members and 783 learners. School typically starts at 7:25 am and the first period is at 7:45 am and school finishes at 14:45 pm. There is a feeding scheme which ensures that learners receive a meal before lessons begin. There have been reported incidents of learners stabbing each other within the school premises which due to external factors that exists between two sections of Umlazi that have rivalry with each other. Those are external factors have nothing to do with the school but seeing that learners bring in external factors into the school and reproduce violence in the school makes the school a site for violence.

1.6 Research Design and Methodology

According to Silverman (2015, p. 5) Qualitative data aims to describe the occurrences within a context furthermore, it seeks to understand processes and meanings which require the use of theoretical based concepts to seek understanding. Qualitative data explores social phenomena as well as allows the researcher to build a complex and detailed report based on the participants' views (Geldenhuys, 2011). In this study, qualitative data will be used to explore the narratives of learners and their understanding of gender based violence and gender power through the lived experiences of the participants. The study aims to explore learners' narratives of gender based violence.

Bertram and Christiansen (2014, p. 40) describe a research design as "a plan of how the researcher will systematically collect and analyse the data that is needed to answer the research questions". With the aid of qualitative research methods, and using their narratives, the researcher will be able to gain first-hand knowledge of the participants' understandings of and exposure to gender based violence and the ways in which gender power operates via a dominant and subordinate relationship.

The research is located within the interpretivist paradigm. This paradigm aims to describe and understand people rather than predict what people do (Bertram & Christiansen, 2014). The main aim of this study is to gain insight into learners' understandings and exposure to sexual violence through their narratives.

1.7 Sampling

This study used purposive and convenience sampling. The study adopted convenience sampling because the school researcher used for fieldwork was easily accessible. The study also adopted purposive sampling because of the specific criteria such as the participants being in specific grade. The researcher worked with grade 10 learners and because they have been in the school for over two years and the researcher's assumption was that they would be in a better position to offer deeper insight on gender based violence in the school. This insight

could be in the form of witnessing or experiencing gender based violence in the school or community and performed by their peers and/or their teachers.

The researcher did not choose grade 8 and 9 learners because the assumption was that they may still be navigating through their transition from primary school into high school. Grade 12 learners were not selected for this study as it is considered that their time is crucial and the researcher did not want to interfere with their lessons. The researcher requested permission from the principal where the researcher addressed grade 10 learners so as to select a sample while informing them about the study. This was to allow learners to decide if they wanted to participate or not. The researcher conducted their research at a different school from the one that the researcher teaches as the researcher felt that learners in their own school may have been more apprehensive and may not have been comfortable with me due to fear of possible repercussions despite my assurance of confidentiality.

1.8 Data collection methods

Two data collection methods were used which included structured questionnaires and semi-structured in depth individual interviews. These two data collection methods allowed the participants to answer all the key questions as well as provided more information and details about their understandings of gender power and sexual violence through their narratives. The research instruments were conducted in English and isiZulu (local language) so that participants could fully understand the questions asked of them.

The questionnaires were the first data collection method executed. The purpose of the questionnaires was to first get biographical information, allow participants to become familiar with the researcher. One class of 30 learners were requested after gaining the necessary consent and approval from the Department of Education and the University of KwaZulu-Natal, to fill in questionnaires for the purpose of selecting 15 participants for individual interviews so as to acquire more information.

The interviews were the second data collection method executed. The purpose of the interviews was to gain much deeper insight into learners' understandings and experiences of gender based violence and gender power. Learners were able to provide more insight into the

topic as they gave narratives based on experiences on gender power and gender based violence.

1.9 Data analysis

The questionnaires were used for both qualitative and quantitative analysis. The questionnaires and interviews were in English and isiZulu and translated for analysis. The gender relational theory, which includes the notion of gender power theorised by a key proponent on gender and masculinities studies, Connell (1995; 2009; 2012), will be used as a theory to analyse the data. According to Connell (2009) the gender relational theory views gender as being multidimensional and that which is shaped by various factors such as economy and operation. Connell (2012) further explains gender relational theory as an approach which offers a central plane which provides patterned relations between men and women and views gender as a social construct. The gender relational theory helps one understand that gender as a social construct differs with communities and looks at gender as a being multidimensional rather than looking at it solely on the basis of sex. Relevant literature will be used to support or refute the findings of this study.

1.10 Ethical considerations

The researcher created a non-threatening environment to minimise imposing on the participants' space during contact sessions. The fieldwork began once the university had approved the study. Written consent letters seeking permission from parents and participants were sent out and signed. Consent letters included the questionnaire and with detailed information about the study. The collection of data from participants only began once consent letters had been returned to the researcher and once the principal of the school had given the researcher permission, as well as once permission had been granted by the University of KwaZulu-Natal and the Department of Education.

Parents and learners were assured that no harm would come to the learners. Their rights were protected as the study was strictly confidential; pseudonyms were used instead of the actual names of participants. Participants were informed of the option to withdraw from the research if they felt unsafe in any way throughout the study and that it would not be held against them

in the future. They were informed that they had the right not to answer or write down anything that they may have felt uncomfortable with. The researcher informed participants and parents prior to the commencing of the interviews that should learners divulge any information that is harmful to both them or others about sexual violence in the school and the community, the researcher would have counselors available to work with these participants or take whatever steps necessary to assist.

Furthermore, according to the Sexual Offences Amendment Act (2007), one has the moral and ethical obligation to report any sexual violence to the police. In the event that participants disclosed information such as having experienced sexual violence, I had the duty to report any forms of sexual violence against children. The participants were also informed that should they be engaging in any acts that places them or anyone else at risk, I would be compelled to intervene by referring them to a counsellor. Also, if any participants showed any form of trauma whilst the research was being conducted, they too would be referred to the counsellor.

1.11 Conclusion

This chapter provided the rationale and background for this study, the focus, and a brief description of the research design and methodology. The objectives and research questions were indicated; it also gave description of the context. This chapter introduced the research sample and the research population from which the sample was, the data collection process which this study used, and the form of data analysis that was used. Finally, the ethical consideration was also discussed, along with the outline of the forthcoming chapters.

Chapter 2: This section is a review of related literature on gender based violence, particularly as it happens in schools or as a reproduction of community violence. The review draws on both local and international literature. In this chapter I also provide the theoretical framework which will be used as an analytical lens to view the data.

Chapter 3: This chapter provides a description of the research design and method used in the study, describing the research site, sample and data collection procedures. Ethics, analysis, trustworthiness, validity, and limitations are discussed in this section.

Chapter 4: This chapter presents the findings and analysis and discussion of data, using the theoretical framework of gender relational theory adopted. Literature was integrated into the analysis to support or refute the findings of the study.

Chapter 5: This chapter concludes the study by summarising the main findings. The researcher offer recommendations based on the findings of narratives of the participants based on gender based violence and gender power.

The next Chapter is the literature review.

Chapter two

Theoretical Framework and Literature review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter, firstly, discusses the theory which is used as an analytical lens to analyse the generated textual data. The theoretical frameworks adopted are social constructionism and the gender relational theory, which includes issues of gender power relations around constructions of masculinities and femininities. This chapter, secondly, also provides definitions of key terms which relate to this study. Lastly, the chapter interrogates gender based violence and gender power from a global point of view and also considers local perspectives specifically that of South African schools. The chapter will provide literature on hegemonic masculinity, emphasised femininity, the role of femininity in its subordination, gender based violence as a global phenomenon, and gender based violence in South African schools. It will also focus on power dynamics in relationships, gender based violence between pupils and teachers, gender violence between learners (boys and girls), girls and violent behavior: agents and perpetrators, gendered violence; homophobic bullying and finally offer my conclusion.

2.2 Social construction of gender

Cousins, Handfield, Lawson and Petersen (2006) describe socialisation as a process that all individual human beings undergo from the moment of birth in order to acquire the necessary social skills and knowledge needed for them to assume an organisational role. Gupta and Govindarajan (2000) further describe socialisation as a level of interaction and communication which takes place amongst various people within a society, often leading to the construction of personal familiarity.

Individuals are socialised from the moment of birth based on the genitals that they are born with and it also determines the individual's behaviour, quality of life and their position in the social hierarchy (Epstein, 2007). Gender is socially produced and is responsible for the differences of what it means to be masculine or feminine based solely on the physical

attributes (genitals) that differentiate men from women (Holmes, 2007). Jonchery, Level, and Richard (2016, p. 164) further argue:

Gender is a cultural system rather than the biological system that describes and defines an individual's sex which is influenced and organised by social as well as societal factors. Socialization thus refers to the incorporation of sexed ways of behaving and thinking, which leads to the fact that someone thinks and feels like he or she is endowed with one given gender identity.

Gender identities are socially constructed and are negotiated through social interaction (Foldy, 2012), and they are based on gender social constructions that occur within a society (Martin, 2015). Engaging and partaking in particular behavioural traits can be regarded as a way of both producing and reproducing gender identities in society (Lyons, 2009). Joncheray et al. (2016, p. 164) argue:

Family acts like the melting pot of a differentiated socialization in which the internalization of sexed behavior models is the most "silent" and thus the one that has the most chances of prevailing with the obviousness of natural things and the natural of obvious things, meaning relieved of its arbitrary codes.

According to Westbrook and Schilt (2014), gender emphasises the social rather than the biological process that produces a person's gender, and people are often put into categories of male and female in social situations based on the visual information such as men have facial hair and that only women wear skirts. Additionally, socialisation plays a huge role in the manner in which both males and females carry themselves within a society and determines the various tasks and behaviours expected from both males and females; these gender systems often have the basic similarities and commonalities across different societies and often manifest through beliefs and social norms (Ridgeway, 2009). Edwards-Jauch (2016) argues that men are not born violent nor do they intend to be violent; rather, they learn to be violent (forms of violence range from cultural violence to direct violence; these are all learnt behaviours). It is recognised on a global scale that women are often victims of gender based violence (Oduro, Swartz and Arnot, 2012); however, gender based violence is not merely about women but the power relations that exist between men and women (Edwards-Jauch,

2016). The practices in our societies often promote gender inequality and violence against women (Edwards-Jauch, 2016).

Social constructionism and gender relational theory show the connection and the relations of power, male domination and gender stereotypes which are mainly the causes of disharmony which in simple terms translates into male domination (Connell, 2011).

2.3 Gender relational theory

The gender relational theory is best theorised by Connell (2009) who views gender as being multidimensional and is shaped by various factors such as economy and operation of gender roles. Connell (2012) further explains gender relational theory as an approach which provides a central plane of patterned relations between men and women, and views gender as a social construct. Gender relational theory helps provide an understanding that gender as a social construct differs in communities and argues that it is multidimensional; it is more than a one-dimensional phenomenon based on one's anatomy or the contrast of male and female bodies (Connell, 2012). The gender relational and social constructionist theories come together to provide an enhanced analysis of the generated data in this study.

Gender relational theory helps explain and reinforce that gender is relational in terms of masculine and feminine identities. This contributed significantly to the narratives of my participants as each of them showed both similar and different understandings and exposure to gender based violence. By focusing on gender relational theory, the idea that each participant is unique and is shaped and gendered by various factors and experiences which they have lived through, is emphasised. Boys and girls may be from the same community, but they have been constructed by their families, communities and peers in different ways as there are multiple masculinities and femininities that exist in contemporary communities (Connell, 2002). There are many factors that affect individuals such as different cultural and economic backgrounds (Connell, 2002). The gender arrangement of a society involves social structure and acknowledges multiple dimensions in gender relations (Connell, 2002).

We are not free to enact gender in any desired manner; gender is a practice that is powerfully constrained; different genders are expected to behave a different way and conform differently

to social norms (Connell, 2002). We are socialised into the different gender roles from the minute that we are born (Connell, 1995). There is a gender hierarchy that exists in societies with hegemonic masculinity positioned at the top of the hierarchy; gender hierarchies are deliberately introduced and actively defended (Connell, 2002). According to Connell (1995, p.77) “Hegemonic masculinity can be defined as the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of legitimacy of patriarchy which guarantees, or is taken to guarantee, the dominant position of men and subordination of women”. Men are the holders of power in society, especially those who fit the frame of hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1987).

Some masculinities are dominant whilst others are subordinate or marginalised (Connell, 2000). Males and females are socialised into sex roles from a young age which result in masculine as well as feminine traits which they acquire through socialisation (Connell, 2002). There are multiple masculinities that exist in society and within societies and there are multiple definitions and dynamics of masculinity which are all enacted differently depending on the community (Connell, 2000). Moreover, the construction of masculinity is transmitted through organisations (Connell, 1995). Masculinities are not biological, but are socially constructed (Connell, 2000, p. 10). This leads to the hegemonic masculine identities having more power and oppressing the subordinate groups (subordinated masculinities and women) (Connell, 1987; Connell, 2002) and this socialisation is reinforced across all institutions (Connell, 2002).

The authoritarian type of masculinity is the highest form of masculinity which is maintained by patriarchy; it is marked by the hatred of homosexuals and the contempt for them (Connell, 1995). Though men benefit from the inequalities created by the gender order they do not benefit the same; those who depart from the dominant definition of masculinity are often subjected to discrimination and abuse (Connell, 1995). “Homosexual masculinities are at the bottom of the hierarchy among men and gayness is easily assimilated to femininity” (Connell, 1995, p. 78). Homosexuals are victimised because of their sexual orientation as it goes against the social norm of hegemonic masculinity (Sánchez, Blas-Lopez, Martínez- Patiño, & Vilain, 2016). Homophobia is a social practice for those who behave differently from the norm (Connell 1995). Homosexual males are not the only ones victimised by the hegemonic male identity; effeminate males, those who display female characteristics, are victimised by society as they are labeled ‘fake women’ (Zheng, 2015). Heterosexual males harbor negative

effeminacy in other men (Sánchez et al., 2016). Males are judged for having a weak physique (Zheng, 2015) so much so that heterosexual males tend to avoid behaviours that depict them as weak or feminine (Sánchez et al., 2016). Females who fail to adapt to the hegemonic identities of masculinities are marginalised by society (Connell, 2011). On the other hand, emphasised femininity is devalued by culture (Connell, 1995).

The notion of gender power in relation to boys and girls in society is often depicted as men having more power than women (Shannon, Kerr, Allinott, Chettiar, Shoveller and Tyndall, 2008). Connell (2002) asserts that it is the power men get from unequal gender practices that exist in society. Schools have been described as sites where gender based violence is reproduced (Bhana et al., 2011). There are multiple masculinities that exist in schools with others being dominant and others subordinate and the subordinate masculinities which are often marginalized and this often leads to homophobic attacks (Connell, 2000). Boys are not the only the perpetrators of violence because they also experience violence perpetuated by girls and they experience victimization because it challenges the normal gender order (Allen-Collinson, 2009) and the violence perpetuated by boys against girls is often normalized by society (Gordon & Collins, 2013). Using this theory as a lens in this study will help understand various power imbalances that exist in society and how they all play out due to the socially constructed identities in society.

Literature review

2.4 What is gender based violence? Definitions

Gender based violence is described as being physical, emotional and psychological, or using verbal abuse, bullying, engaging in sexual violence and adopting corporal punishment (Leach 2002; Leach and Humphrey, 2007).

Physical violence is defined as pushing, grabbing, slapping, choking, or hitting. Emotional violence was defined as being put down, made to feel bad about oneself, being isolated from friends and family, or acting in a possessive manner. Sexual violence was defined as being pressured, coerced, or forced into having sexual contact (Forke, Myers, Catallozi, & Schwarz, 2008, p. 635)

Gender based violence is the use of fear of violence by the perpetrator on their victim (Leach & Humphrey, 2007). Furthermore, Seedat, Van Niekerk, Jewkes, Suffla, and Ratele (2009) explain that there is no fixed definition of gender based violence and describe it as being a complex phenomenon which involves deprivation, neglect, and physical, emotional and verbal violence.

Gender based violence affects school learners as it occurs both in the community and at school (Bhana et al., 2011). Sexual violence in a school setting can refer to rape by someone they are romantic and non-romantic involved with or those in positions of trust such as the teacher; sexual violence may be as simple as unwanted sexual touching or teachers demanding sex from learners in return for school grades or favours (Dartnall and Jewkes, 2013). Forke et al. (2008) further state that behaviour inflicted on others, whether verbal such as name calling, physical which may involve sexual assaults that are sexist in nature, or psychological by means of reinforcing the policies or the boundaries of traditional heterosexual gender norms, are all forms of gendered violence.

2.5 Hegemonic masculinity and its connection to gender based violence

Masculinity refers to the physical traits that are attributed by men as well as the behavioural characteristics that are associated with men in a society (Beasley, 2008; Haywood & Ghail 2012). Jewkes and Morrell (2010) define hegemonic masculinity as looking at the arrangement of masculine characteristics as well as male power in the social system which also serves as a means of reinforcing the dominance of ideal masculinity. Masculinity is multiple, fluid and dynamic; there are multiple masculinities that exist in society ranging in a social hierarchy from the dominant forms (hegemonic masculinity) to the subordinate forms (Jewkes et al., 2015).

Hegemonic masculinities often look at physicality and muscularity, aggression and violence, misogyny, homophobia and heterosexuality Haywood and Ghail (2012). Furthermore, it includes heterosexuality, physical strength, intense interest in sexual ‘conquest’, control over women using aggressive behaviour and lastly physical violence (Mankayi, 2010). Jewkes and Morrell (2010) argue that hegemonic masculinity is necessary in a patriarchal society as it promotes male dominance whilst subordinating females and this is simply reinforced by the

social and cultural norms of a society; furthermore, hegemonic masculinity is desired by women and there are expectations that women have in relationships that reinforce violence.

Hegemonic masculinity is globally cultivated and preserved by those who are deemed subordinate when compared to the ideals of hegemonic masculinity (Messerschmidt, 2012). “Hegemonic masculinity is the form of masculinity that is most highly valued in a society and is rooted in the social dominance of men over women and non-hegemonic men (particularly homosexual men)” (Currier, 2013, p. 706); it can only exist when there are other subordinate groups which it is compared to and, therefore, deemed dominant. Hegemonic masculinity is more important than femininity which is regarded as subordinate to masculinity (Currier, 2013; Lyons, 2009). McCarry (2007) regard masculinity as being violent in nature and that violent nature is often aimed at women who display femininity or the polar opposite of masculinity such as being assertive.

The gender norms that often exist within our societies promote male dominance and control and form the basis for gender based violence (Reed, Raj, Miller, & Silverman, 2010). New young masculinity often celebrates the assertion of power and wealth through the use of brute strength and entitlement rather than respect (Morrell et al., 2012). The constructions of masculinities play a crucial role in shaping violence against women at individual, family and relationships levels (Flood, 2011). Masculinity is recognised in multiple levels that are often hegemonic through the expression of cultural ideals, and what it means to be a man often has underlying consequences such as social norms of hegemonic masculinity prescribed to men that are attributed to gender inequality and violent behaviour (Morrell et al., 2012).

2.6 Power relations: Masculinity and femininity

Femininity looks at being gentle and weak as characterised by women (Jeanes, 2011). Leavy, Gnonng, and Ross (2009) define emphasised femininity as being based on physical appearance and the range of prescribed behaviours to which women have to conform to in a society. “Emphasized femininity is often theorized as a reaction to hegemonic masculinity” (Currier, 2013, p. 706). In addition, Zahedi, Van Pelt, and Srite (2006) describe femininity as being sympathetic for the weak, being compassion, charitable, engaging in relationship and

relationship building, and being able to resolve conflict while being compromising and being able to commit.

In order to execute the ideal feministic characteristics, women are encouraged to be everything which men are not such as being soft spoken, peaceful and always complying. To be feminine is to be the polar opposite of what it means to be masculine, such as being passive (McCarry, 2007). Both femininity and masculinity reinforce and often justify gender based violence in society (Gqola, 2007), Lombard (2015) states that females are complicit in their own victimisation because they are guilty of believing that they deserve it and males believe that it is within their rights to inflict violence on women.

Women are often seen as objects rather than as subjects even in their own homes and are often treated as lower beings and second-class citizens mainly due to the social norms that exist in society (Sen and Östlin, 2008). According to Clarfelt (2014) men uphold the belief that they are entitled to sex with their partners regardless of consent because they paid lobola for them and use that to justify their entitlement; men buy women drinks and in their minds they are eligible for having sex with that woman because he 'paid' for her. Women are objectified at the expense of male pleasure. Women are often assaulted by males, and males are responsible for 92% of all cases of sexual and physical violence against women (Flood, 2011).

Men generally have greater power (physically and economically) in relationships and this is often used to maintain control or to explain abusive behavior towards women (Shannon et al., 2008). Violence against women fuels women's distrust and fear of men and this hurts women on an emotional scale (Flood, 2011). Boys and men often prioritise their own sexual desire over that of women and they feel entitled to do (Kim, Sorsoli, Zylbergold, Schooler, & Tolman, 2007). Women play a passive role in relationships and this is mainly due to the social norms which encourage them to do so whilst men play an active role in relationship and sexuality and women often have less sexual power in relationships (Shannon et al., 2008). Hegemonic masculinities often assert male dominance over females and some females desire masculine males who control them as a way of conforming to the social norms (Jewkes & Morrell, 2010).

2.7 Role of femininity and subordination

Reed et al. (2010) explain the role played by social norms as being the foundation of gender violence which reinforces male dominance in society, and this places women at a greater risk of being victims of gender based violence. The perpetrators of gender based violence are likely to have been victims of gender based violence themselves as they grew up witnessing violence; there is another group of perpetrators that merely continue targeting those who have been abused before (Seedat et al., 2009). By trying to conform to the norms of society males feel the need to enact certain characteristics of masculinity such as violence on women as a means to show their masculinity and reinforce the idea that males are dominant compared to females (Lyons, 2009). Some females are not entirely innocent as far as gender based violence is concerned as they are complicit in allowing themselves to become victims of gender based violence (Currier, 2013).

Women desire the masculinity and it is this desire as well as the socialisation which women receive from a young age (Jewkes & Morrell, 2010) that makes them believe that staying in violent situations means that they are strong (Cravens, Whiting, & Aamar, 2015). This assumption which is a result of socialisation leads to women believing that they have to be feminine at all times and to comply with social norms so as to not face stigmatisation, while hegemonic femininity requires women to be strong enough to cope with all the stresses of life enough to put up with violence inflicted on them by their partners (Jewkes and Morrell, 2010).

Males are expected to conform to the normalised masculine ideals in society some of which condone various forms of violence against women (Klein & Chancer, 2006). Women have been socialised to be feminine, passive and not to resist sexual violations and that sexually aggressive behaviour by males which is considered to be normal (Phipps, 2009). Women are sometimes complicit in their own subordination as well as the violence against them as they do not oppose any violence that is inflicted on them by their partners because they believe that their husbands or partners are within their rights and are justified for the violence against them (Uthaman, Lawoko, & Moradi, 2010). Some females are encouraged to be emotionally strong enough and not to resist but cope with all forms of violations which males inflict on

them (Jewkes & Morrell, 2010). Women have a tendency of disregarding sexual abuse and violence as they believe that it is a normal part of everyday life (Hlavka, 2014).

2.8 Gender based violence as a global phenomenon

Violence against women is a global issue as it affects women from all walks of life, class, culture and economics (Ellsberg et al., 2015; Mannell, Jackson, & Umutoni, 2016; Carpenter, 2006; Lundgren & Amin, 2015). It is estimated that one in three women have reported a form of gender based violence either by a known or unknown perpetrator (World Health Organization, 2013). Office for National Statistics (2018) noted that during the year end of March 2018 there were 95.7% female sexual violence victims whilst there were only 4.3% male sexual violence victims in Yale as well as England; the domestic related incidence increased by 111 500 from the previous year. Despite gender based violence being high in developed countries, the World Health Organization (2013) noted that gender based violence by known or unknown persons is much higher in developing countries of Africa and those that are in south-east Asia and it is much lower in developed countries of Europe and America.

Gender based violence is emerging in societies and is regarded as a human security issue which requires urgent intervention (Carpenter, 2006; Lundgren & Amin, 2015). Ellsberg et al., (2015) regard violence against women and girls as a global human rights violation which challenges development as it affects women from all walks of life. Sexual violence occurs at any age and anyone can be a perpetrator, whether they are people the victim knows or complete strangers; sexual violence can occur at home, school or within the community which victims live (Lundgren & Amin, 2015).

Women are more likely to be killed by their male partners in comparison to others (Reed et al., 2010).

There are many other forms of gender based violence that undermine the sexual and reproductive health of adolescents and their broader well-being. These include early and forced marriage, sexual trafficking, rape as an instrument of war, acid throwing,

honor killings, female genital cutting, sexual harassment, and homophobic bullying (Lundgren & Amin, 2015, p. 44).

Women in Sub-Saharan Africa often lack educational equality which means most of them are not as educated as men and this limits their employment opportunities, meaning that they will have to rely on their husbands to be providers (Roush, Kurth, Hutchinson, & Van Devanter, 2012). Zenn and Pearson (2014) look at how Nigerian cultural practices involve forced marriage as well as how Boko Haram regards women as pawns in their war against the government. Both cases show that women are not regarded as equals of men as they are mostly seen as a means to an end and are simply regarded as mere objects.

There is an assumption that women and young girls are the only victims of gender based violence. However, this is not true as males experience gender based violence but the incidents are not as high as that of women (Capenter, 2006; Lundgren & Amin 2015). Sexual violence against males include rape and sexual mutilation and most cases of gender based violence is justified by cultural norms and notions of gender in societies (Capenter, 2006). Clarfelt (2014) talks about how both homosexual and heterosexual males can be victims of gender based violence; homosexual males often experience gender based violence because they contradict the hegemonic ideals of masculinity. Male on male rape is usually not reported out of fear of being labeled 'gay'; other young men experience forms of gender based violence, both emotional and physical, during initiation school in South Africa (Clarfelt, 2014). Lundgren and Amin (2015) further state that prior to victimisation, alcohol and substance abuse and unequal social norms condone the acts of gender based violence in societies.

2.9 Gender based violence in South Africa: An issue of oppressive culture and patriarchy

Gender based violence is a global issue and South Africa has been cited as having one of the highest incidences of sexual violence (World Health Organization, 2013). Similarly, Seedat et al. (2009) describe gender based violence as being very common within Southern Africa and is increasing in developing countries and gender based inequalities are reproduced within school settings (Leach & Humphrey, 2007). South Africa is reported to have the highest

incidences of intimate partner violence (IPV) as compared to all the other parts of the world; IPV has an astonishing effect on the overall health of women such as sexually transmitted infections (STI's) and heart disease which are found to be the leading cause of morbidity as well as mortality of South African women (Gass, Stein, William, & Seedat, 2010). Gender based violence is normalised in society and this has led to an increase in gender inequalities that is prevalent in societies (Gordon & Collins, 2013).

The walls of patriarchy in society act as the grounds for many inequalities. Men and women learn from a young age that they are not equal; there are things that men are allowed to do such as engaging in polygamous relationships and those who do so are often praised and regarded as man amongst men or 'isoka' (Jewkes & Morrell, 2010). Culture plays a huge role in promoting gender based violence (Akanle and Asebiomo, 2012). De Lange, Michell, and Bhana (2012) further state that the cultural norms which exist in society are closely connected to gender based violence as well as the spread of HIV/AIDS. The study by Bhana and Anderson (2013) on sexual culture looks at how young boys place importance on a girl's virginity and they value it as prize which they desire to have, whilst girls are often preoccupied with virginity because culture places a great importance on it; yet, girls give it to boys in an attempt to try to keep them. Women would never receive the same praise as men for being in polyandrous relationships and they are often serious consequences for women who engage in such relationships and are often given labels or get beaten up (Cook, 2007). The act of choosing a certain number of sexual partners forms the basis of gender inequalities. Certain practices are deemed suitable for men but not for women; this often shows some of the double standards which exists in societies.

Polygamy is a cultural adaptive practice where a husband has more than one wife and this is a common practice throughout Africa as well as Asia; most men are in favour of this practice as having many wives adds to the husband's wealth because most women farm; a man pays a bride price for his wives (he buys them) (Cook, 2007). Women are expected to bare the man children so that his genes can be passed down to the next generation and male children tend to be valued more than girls; this leads to boys securing an educational path long before girls because men prefer educating males rather than females (Ugгла, Gurm, & Gibson, 2018). Polygamy is illegal in African countries such as the Ivory Coast however men use cultural traditions to justify it and practice it (Cook, 2007). Men often have more than one sexual

partner which is a form of polygyny as they are not married to them (Uganda Bureau of Statistics, 2007). Women have no say in their husbands taking a second wife (Cook, 2007).

The study by Reed et al. (2010) identified the need to control and the desire for power as being the major causes of violent and abusive relations amongst intimate partners. Violence is regarded as a necessity which promotes and encourages the gender hierarchy which exists in society; violence is a tool that is mostly used to correct disobedience by individuals in society (Burazeri, Roshi, Jewkes, Jordan, Bjegovic, & Laaser, 2005). Gender power abuse often determines and supports the interaction which is experienced in relationships; furthermore, gender norms often promote male dominance and control and this places a huge role in the promotion of risky behaviours which have led to unintended pregnancies and sexually transmitted infections such as HIV (Reed et al., 2010).

Social inequalities as well as the effects of apartheid in South Africa have contributed to the sexual oppression of women within our societies and this has led to passive African femininity (Bhana & Anderson, 2013; Msibi, 2009). Having emerged from apartheid, South Africa was faced with having to reconstruct the polices in order to make them consistent with that of a democratic country and with those motions in play they faced challenges of the growing HIV/AIDS epidemic in the country (Shefer et al., 2008). In relationships men generally have control in relationships especially when it comes to the use of condoms during sexual encounters (Jewkes, Dunkle, Nduna, & Shai, 2010). Dunkle et al. (2004) state that women who are uneducated or have low education levels are more likely to engage in violent relationships and it is these violent relationships that places women at a high risk of HIV/AIDS. Furthermore, Dunkle et al. (2004) argues that women in previously violent relationship are more likely to find themselves being in the same type of violent relationships with new partners and this increases their risk of being infected with HIV. Jewkes et al. (2010) reported that women who contracted HIV were mostly in violent relationships that imbued gender power inequalities and who have experienced the highest cases of sexual intimate violence (SIV). These studies indicate that there is a relationship that exists between gender based violence, gender power and HIV.

It is essential to acknowledge the multiple forms of gender power that exist in a society that are experienced by women and girls within their communities, at work, in school, and in their families; it is also important to understand how these experiences of gender power abuses

determine, support, and interact with violence experienced within intimate relationships (Reed et al., 2010). There are often consequences of having multiple sexual partners such as contracting HIV/AIDS, STIs and unwanted pregnancies especially while engaging in risky sexual practices and not using protection. Gender power imbalances allow men to have multiple sexual partners and women are expected to be faithful; the power imbalance in a relationship reduces the woman's ability to make healthy choices for herself such as negotiating condom use (Roush et al., 2012). The study of Roush et al. (2012) shows that a relationship with higher male dominance and control is often associated with the likelihood of being infected with HIV as males have agency when it comes to condom use and they decide when and when not to use condoms.

In a patriarchal society, unequal power relations are encouraged due the constructed social identities of masculinity and femininity (Young, 2009). Leach and Humphreys (2007) argue that the forms of violence are culturally specific as they depend on the context. However, the causes and origins of these forms of violence appear similar.

2.10 Social media and gender based violence

Young South African girls are dealing with the oppressions and injustices from the past and find themselves faced with yet another problem: gendered violence through the means of technology. According to Zweig, Dank, Yahner, and Lachman (2013, p. 1064) there are eight ways in which the youth uses technology to abuse their partners, especially females:

- (1) establishing a relationship;
- (2) nonaggressive communication;
- (3) arguing;
- (4) monitoring the whereabouts of a partner or controlling their activities;
- (5) emotional aggression toward a partner;
- (6) seeking help during a violent episode;
- (7) distancing a partner's access to self by not responding to calls, texts, and other contacts via technology;
- and (8) reestablishing contact after a violent episode.

With that being said, Bhana and Anderson (2013) in their study with both African and coloured girls between the ages of 16 and 17 found that technology plays a huge role in the sexual objectification of women through the means of porn in the media. Zweig et al. (2013)

depicts the power that males have in relationships in instances such as a male hacking their partners' social media and having them account for each message they sent. Furthermore, 22% of the youth reported having done something sexual via the cellphone or internet which they did not want to do, whilst 11% shared private or embarrassing videos of themselves with others.

Powell and Henry (2014) describe sexting as a distribution of sexually explicit text, video or pictures being shared via phones on social media. Sexting often objectifies as well as sexualises young girls as they are portrayed in a sexual manner and that image is shared and distributed all over social media (Jewell and Brown, 2013). The shared image often leads to girls being cyberbullied or it will be used by their ex partners or current partners as a blackmail tool which often prevents them from reporting violence perpetrated by their partners or ex partners (Powell and Henry, 2014).

2.11 Gender based violence in schools

Gender based violence is very common in Southern Africa and learners have experienced both sexual forms of violence and emotional forms such as bullying (Andersson, Cockcroft, & Shea, 2008). Violence comes from homes and makes its way into schools (Mosavel, Ahmed, & Simon, 2011). Schools have a role to play in preventing gender based violence as they are the sites in which gender roles and stereotypes are produced (Bhana, Nzimakwe, & Nzimakwe, 2011). An alarming 20% of incidents of sexual violence are perpetuated by males from the same neighbourhood as the victims are on their way to or from school or even in school itself (Reza et al., 2009). Children who have experienced gender based violence are depressed and others might feel like dropping out of school as they are not coping with the emotional trauma; they cannot sleep, they are depressed and even feel suicidal (Reza et al., 2009). Adolescents in South Africa may be at risk for complications that are associated with gender based violence and these include complications that might affect their reproductive systems (Mosavel et al., 2011; Reza et al., 2009).

There are reported cases of learners, especially girls, in Sub-Saharan Africa who experience gender based violence (Leach, Slade, & Dunne, 2012). Ngcobo (2015) states that girls across the Sub-Saharan areas and in countries such as Ghana and Malawi often experience gender

based violence within the school setting. This violence is inflicted on them by schoolmates with incidents such as boys touching girls' breasts; teachers play a role in gendered violence against female learners as they often force girls into sexual activities for marks. Both male and female students are often subjected to corporal punishment by teachers.

Martin and Muthukrishna (2011) describe gender norm as socially expected behaviours and the roles of boys and girls are reproduced in schools which is a social phenomenon. Mills and Keddie (2010) describe schools as being violent sites which normalize violent masculinities. Within a school setting we have different gendered beings coming together and in doing so there is a reproduction of social norms regarding the gendered identities (Martin & Muthukrishna, 2011). According to Stoudt (2006) schools teach as well as reinforce hegemonic values and this leads to the heightened patriarchal norms amongst learners. Schools are sites where violent masculinities are justified as normalised (Mills & Keddie, 2010). Teachers are regarded as the authoritarian within the school setting, however there are teachers who sexually abuse their learners (Marais, 2013) and it is these authoritarians that allow gender violence to flourish (Leach 2002).

Male teachers are implicated in perpetuating sexual violence of girls by engaging in unsuitable behaviours such as touching girls in inappropriate places (Ngakane, Muthukrishna, & Ngcobo, 2012). There are reported incidents where male teachers tend to abuse their position of power and engage in inappropriate behavior with their students by demanding sex from underage female learners in return for higher grades (Chabaya, Rembe, Wadesango, & Mafanya, 2009). Teachers have violated the teacher code by choosing to engage in sexual relations with their students; it is not only their female students who are their victims but males students, too (Leach & Humphrey, 2007). In some cases, teachers often defend sexual activities with learners by arguing that learners consented to the sexual act (Mabaso, 2015). However, teachers have a teacher regulatory body known as The South African Council for Educators (SACE) to abide to and one of the tenets of SACE is for teachers to refrain from having sexual relations with their students. If found guilty, teachers could face incarceration (SACE, 2019). There are teachers who prey on learners who come from poor backgrounds by encouraging learners to engage in a sexual relationship in return for financial gain (Mabaso, 2015).

The school is also guilty of less recognised forms of gender based violence such as the allocating of high status chores to males students whilst female students are entrusted with domestic tasks (Leach & Humphreys, 2007). Male teachers discourage male students from partaking in classroom tasks or chores which are often associated with females by reinforcing the idea that it is female jobs (Phipps, 2009). Although corporal punishment has been abolished in South African schools, it is still administered in some schools and it remains gendered (Leach & Humphreys, 2007). Male learners receive harsher forms of corporal punishment by male teachers as a result of male teachers asserting their dominance over male students, whilst females usually receive less harsh punishment ensuring that they are obedient as woman should be; male teachers are the perpetrators gender based violence as they administer corporal punishment on learners (Dunne, Humphreys, & Leach, 2006).

According to Bhana (2009) both male and female teachers play a role when it comes to constructing hegemonic masculinity identities of young boys by simply encouraging their male students to show physical dominance, competitiveness and all the traits that are associated with the identity of a hegemonic masculine. Teachers often advocate for hegemonic masculinity identities and this has led to females feeling inferior to males and females viewing and accepting masculinity as being superior in comparison to femininity (Redelius, Fagrell, & Larsson, 2009). Male students assert their dominance over female teachers by resisting and challenging their teachers in order to keep females subordinated to males. Furthermore, female teachers are complicit of their subordination by relying on male teachers to discipline male students (Dunne et al., 2006).

The ways in which boys and girls behave goes back to how we are socialized especially in our homes and communities. Joncheray et al. (2016) argue that family plays a crucial role in the way a child is socialized and the social constructs a child comes to have. From a young age, children are taught that males are the heads of the family and that females should always abide by their rules (Ridgeway, 2009) so it is no surprise that male students challenge the authority of female teachers.

2.12 Gendered violence between learners (boys and girls)

In patriarchal societies masculine dominance over femininity is encouraged thus leading to the subordination of femininity (Sultana, 2012). Klein and Chancer (2006) assert that violence against girls is easily rendered invisible because the behaviour leading to the incidents of violence is often regarded as normal. There are reported incidents such as verbal abuse and inappropriate touching by male learners on female learners (Chabaya et al., 2009). Girls are regarded as victims especially in a heterosexual context (Leach & Humphrey, 2007). This attitude is often a result of influence by important male figures in their lives; they use violence to demonstrate their masculinity and justify the need to treat women as they desire (Klein & Chancer, 2006). Females are involved in romantic relationships with males who are able to proclaim their masculinity on them and they put up with the incidents of violence in that relationship because they desire domination as it often has benefits such as being fiscally stable (Bhana & Pattman, 2011). Some males resort to using sexual violence such as rape as a means of showing their dominance in heterosexual relationships and they feel entitled to sex undeterred by the fact of the women objecting as well as to show that they have control over women who display hegemonic femininity, by displaying hegemonic masculinity (Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Morrell & Dunkle, 2011).

Women are regarded as people who desire dominant forms of masculinity – a decision that keeps them subordinate (Jewkes & Morrell, 2010; Lyons, 2009). There are males who display hegemonic masculinity and often engage in sexually violent behaviours such as rape because being dominant in a heterosexual relationship makes them feel entitled to sex regardless of the female consenting or not, and females are often objectified in order to show the control which males have over them behaviour (Jewkes et al., 2011).

2.13 Girls and violence in school: Victims, perpetrators and agents

Bhana (2012) suggests that school girls are not mere victims of sexual violence. Girls can be seen both as victims and perpetrators of violence depending on the context (Ringrose and Renolds, 2010). Women who are the perpetrators of violence are more likely to be drawing on their own personal experiences as victims of violence and acting them out on others; those

school girls have been on both sides of the spectrum, as victims and perpetrators (Houry et al., 2008).

Girls in schools are not usually seen as perpetrators of violence because to be violent does not fit the profile of femininity as violence by females is usually seen as being less overt and not as physical as compared to males (Leach & Humpherys, 2007). Girls in school are often seen displaying less forms of violence such as verbal abuse which entails them spreading rumors and using physical forms of violence (Chiodo, Crooks, Wolfe, McIsaac, Hughes, & Jaffe, 2012) girls. However, Forke et al. (2008) state that girls are usually the perpetrators of physical violence as compared to sexual violence.

Zahn et al., (2008) describe girls who display violent behavior as being delinquent. Girls in school who are seen as resisting the social constraints of their prescribed gender roles in society are often marginalised and stigmatised (Jewkes & Morrell, 2010). Lyons (2009) further argues that women enacting masculinity are deemed deviant and seen as a threat to the gender order and must be contained via social sanctions such as labelling them promiscuous women, sluts or cock-teasers. Irwin and Chesney-Lind (2008) argue that there is an increase in incidents where females are perpetrators with females becoming almost as violent as males; females are seen shying away from a feminine identity and seen adopting an identity which is more of a hegemonic masculine identity. Statistics show that male victimisation by females is more common than we think. However, very few incidents are reported out of embarrassment or fear that their masculinity will be questioned (Forke et al., 2008).

2.14 Gendered violence: Homophobic bullying

There are multiple masculinities that exist in society (Connell, 2000). Hegemonic masculinity is the dominant form of masculinity and that which is at the top of the gender order and embodies all the desired characteristics a man should have (Connell, 1995). Gender stereotypes affect gay men's lives (Zheng, 2015). Characteristics that are comparable with femininity often results in subordination (Levy, 2007). Male dominance is reinforced through heterosexuality and homosexuals occupy subordinate roles like women (Seidman, 2009). "Hegemonic Masculinity mobilizes and legitimates the subordination and control of women

by men” (Jewkes & Morrell, 2016, p.3). Bisexuality, homosexuality and asexuality lie outside the cultural norm of monosexuality or heterosexuality (Emens, 2014).

Heterosexuality is deemed natural as it is naturalised by social, political and cultural forces; it is the social norm in society (Miriam, 2007). “Heterosexuality establishes a social order of sexual differences and hierarchy that cannot be collapsed into gender dynamics” (Seidman, 2009, p.18). Heterosexuality is enforced as natural and socially acceptable (Fahs, 2009). It is crucial for the maintenance of female subordination (Miriam, 2007). Heterosexuality binds women as being complete without men (Seidman, 2009). Women are required to comply with social norms and if they do not, they are marginalised along with the other subordinate groups such as homosexuality (Cole & Cate, 2008). Heterosexuality is imposed on women (Cole & Cate, 2008). Those who participate in heterosexuality regard it as a privilege and entitlement and will not be threatened as they do not deviate from the social norm (Miriam, 2007). Male dominance is reinforced through heterosexuality and homosexuals occupy subordinate roles like women (Seidman, 2009).

Violence between male students is usually physical (Dunne et al., 2006). Homophobia is a social practice (Connell, 1995). Schools are seen as institutions which promote homophobia through the prohibiting homosexuality in schools (McCormack, 2010). Violence is regarded as being manly and it finds danger exciting and this directly correlates to homophobia. The authoritarian masculinity is maintained by patriarchy as it is marked by the hatred for homosexuals (Connell, 1995). Men who embody feminine characteristics such as being weak or engaging in homosexual relations are socially sanctioned and stigmatised as being problematic as they risk contaminating social relations.

Inequalities in institutions are formulated by heterosexuality (Seidman, 2009). Homosexual students face victimisation both from teachers as well as their peers (Dunne et al., 2006). The unequal gender norms in society have been identified as a cause of victimisation against women as well as the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer individuals within our societies (Dunkle & Decker, 2013). In order to reinforce or maintain masculinity, boys often act out against homosexual behavior which is regarded as a gender identity which is not a social norm (McCormack, 2010). Homophobia has a lot to do with the feminine characteristics rather than men’s restriction of homosexuality as they believe that the

presence of a homosexual stimulus is regarded as being a threat to the gender or male hierarchy (Nagoshi, Adams, Terrell, Hill, Brzuzy, & Nagoshi, 2008).

In comparison to homosexuality, heterosexuality is regarded as being masculine as it conforms to the social norms of society therefore it is not deemed a threat. Msibi (2009) talks about how homosexual women are raped as a means of 'curing' them of homosexuality. Some men see it as their duty and responsibility to cure women of homosexuality and remind them that they are women and as women they should be sexually attracted to males and not to other females (Koraan & Geduld, 2015).

2.15 Conclusion

This chapter presented the theoretical frameworks, gender relational theory and social constructionism, used as analytical lenses to interpret the data. The literature review highlights that gender based violence and gender power are often direct causes and effects of the socially constructed identities of masculinity and femininity. Some societies are often conflicted especially when it comes to cases of violence against women, whilst others often find means of justifying these acts of violence against women (Sathiparsad, Taylor & Dlamini, 2008). The patriarchal practices in society play a crucial role in the subordination of women in societies; the cultural norms also reflect on the asymmetrical relation of power which favour men and disadvantage women (Sathiparsad et al., 2008). Lindergger and Maxwell (2007) view both boys and girls as victims of patriarchy gender systems. Leach & Humphreys (2007) discuss interventions which might tackle gender based violence such as introducing intervention programs in schools for both boys and girls. Chapter 3 will focus on the methodology which was used in this study.

Chapter three

Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the research paradigm, approach, design and methodology chosen for this study. The researcher also discusses the purpose of the study, where the study was conducted, how and why the participants were selected (sample and sampling technique) and the sample size. Furthermore, the chapter discusses the position of the researcher, data collection and data analysis techniques, the ethical considerations, validity and reliability and lastly limitations of the study. The researcher will also discuss my position as an educator conducting research amongst high school male and female learners on a sensitive topic such as gender based violence.

3.2 Research paradigm

This study is located within the interpretivist paradigm. The interpretivist paradigm seeks peoples' understandings, perceptions, their perspectives as well as their meanings (Mason, 2002). With the aid of qualitative research, the researcher will be able to gain first-hand knowledge of learners' understandings, perceptions and lived experiences/exposure to gender based violence and gender power through their narratives. Interpretivist practices seek to gain deep insight into the how's and what's of their experiences of constructed reality (Silverman, 2015) which is relevant to the study.

This paradigm also aims to describe and understand people rather than predict what people do (Bertram & Christiansen, 2014). Thanh and Thanh (2015) assert that the interpretivist paradigm allows the researcher to be able understand the depth of the relationship of human beings to their environment. When the interpretivist paradigm is being used in conjunction with qualitative methods, it seeks experiences and the perceptions of individuals rather than relying only on numbers or statistics.

3.3 Research approach

This study sought to gain learners' understandings of gender based violence and how it is influenced by gender power. A qualitative approach was adopted to achieve the objectives. Creswell (2008, p. 82) states that "qualitative research is defined as an enquiry process of understanding social relationships by focusing on their meanings and interpretations". Qualitative research employs a range of diverse methods of analysing the individual experiences of participants with a particular context (Maree, 2013). Also, Denzin and Lincoln (2008, p. 251) state that "qualitative research places emphasis on the qualities of entities and on processes and meanings that are not scientifically examined or measured in terms of quantity, intensity, amount, or frequency". Furthermore, Silverman (2015, p. 5) describes qualitative data as data that "describes the phenomena in a context, interprets processes or meanings, uses theoretical based concepts and seeks meaning".

Qualitative data explores social phenomena and allows the researcher to build a complex and detailed report based on the participants' views (Geldenhuys, 2011). In this study, qualitative data was used to explore the narratives of learners and their understandings of gender based violence and gender power through their lived experience and interrogated their perceptions, understandings and exposure to gender based violence. According to Ramchunder (2012), qualitative research consists of are three major components: data gathering, analytic procedures and written or verbal reports.

3.4 Research design

This study used a case study design within the interpretivist paradigm. A case study is descriptive in nature and it aims to describe 'what it is like' being in a particular position and the research is able to capture the reality of participants (Bertram & Christensen, 2014) which made it appropriate for this study. Furthermore, a case study methodology compliments a combination of qualitative and quantitative data which have been incorporated in this study (Bertram & Christensen, 2014). In this study, the case study aims to provide learners' understandings of gender power and gender based violence through their experiences with gender based violence and gender power which is unique to them and their location. The case

study is appropriate in this study as it will provide descriptive data as narrated by the participants (Cohen et al., 2011).

3.5 Purpose of the study

This study aimed at understanding learners' understandings of gender power and the role that it plays in gender based violence through learners' narratives and experiences. The understandings they have of gender based violence and gender power is often shaped by their socialisation and their socio-economic context which often differs from one individual to another.

The study aimed to generate data related to the following key research questions:

- 1) What are high school boys' and girls' perceptions and exposure to gender based violence?
- 2) How is gender based violence they are exposed to in their community reproduced in the school context?
- 3) Why is gender power implicated in gender based violence and how does it manifest?

3.6 The research site

Umlazi is a township located in Durban South-West, the east coast of KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa. Umlazi is located in the Durban Municipality and has a total of 26 sections. Umlazi has a population of a million (Maharaj, 2008) and black people form the majority of the population. Mthembu (2012) describes Umlazi as a patriarchal society that still practices many African cultures such as slaughtering of animals as offerings to the ancestors; these ceremonies are dominated and controlled by men.

This section of Umlazi is dominated by two major religions, Christianity and the Shembe religion, where in both religions males occupy the highest positions in their religious places of worship. There is a gender hierarchy that exists within that context. Religious leadership reflects male hegemony where men make the rules and laws that exclude women; women's exclusion is constructed where women are subordinated in religious institutions, whilst men

occupy the powerful and important positions (Naidu & Noel, 2013). In this context women are derogated and labeled if they partake in social activities which are considered to be 'manly' activities. These include drinking and going to parties at night. Women who engage in these social activities are usually labeled sluts and are considered 'loose'; they are thought to be very sexually promiscuous as this is not 'normal' for women.

This section of Umlazi has a diverse range of households; a majority of the households are single parent households, usually with mothers being the heads of these homes. There are nuclear families with both the mother and father, and homes where children live with grandparents, or child-headed households.

Goodness High school (pseudonym) has seven blocks of classes, a library, a science lab, a computer lab, Arts center, and a Home Economics kitchen. Goodness High school is very well resourced in terms of the academic infrastructure that it has for its learners and also caters for most of the interests of learners. Goodness High School has no sport fields and when learners have to play sports or practice soccer they often have to go to the local sports ground as the school does not have one.

The school has a concrete fence surrounding it which has been broken into several times by vandals. This poses a huge security risk as anyone can enter the school as they please. The security guard is often positioned at the gate to control who leaves and comes into the school but the exposed parts of the fence are away from the security's eye and people have come to the school to rob learners. When learners remain behind after school for their study sessions, they are vulnerable and placed in great danger along with teachers as anyone can enter the school through the holes in the fence. Figure E shows the extent of just how big the holes are between the poles of the fencing concrete. Learners also used the holes to come and go from school as they please when the gate is closed and when no one is watching. Figures B, C and D show just how close the holes are to the classes and the security risk that they posed for teachers and learners.



Figure A (Picture taken by the researcher, Biyela, 2019)



Figure B (Picture taken by the researcher, Biyela, 2019)



Figure C (Picture taken by the researcher, Biyela, 2019)



Figure D (Picture taken by the researcher, Biyela, 2019)



Figure E (Picture taken by the researcher, Biyela, 2019)

(On the day the pictures were taken, the fence was being repaired to prevent unauthorised people from gaining entrance into the school).

The school previously did not have a feeding scheme but from the middle of 2018, the school started a feeding scheme, thus helping many learners who come from disadvantaged households who are deprived and do not bring lunch to school. For some learners this is the only meal that they have for the day. Therefore, the school tries to assist those disadvantaged learners by allowing them to take the remaining food home so that they can have a meal after school.

In terms of schooling, Umlazi has a high dropout rate, where many learners drop out due to their inability to cope academically and the inability of parents to pay their school fees due to the high poverty rates in Umlazi. In addition to poverty and other social ills, crime rates exacerbate the existing problems in this community. Below is an indication of the crime statistics that were available for 2018.

Table 3.1: Estimated crime statistics impacting on the township community, by category and year, 2018.

| Crime category | 2016-2017 | 2017-2018 | Difference | Difference% |
|--|------------------|------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| Murder | 187 | 223 | 36 | 19.3 |
| Sexual offences | 295 | 290 | -15 | -1.7 |
| Attempted murder | 198 | 214 | 16 | 8.1 |
| Assault with the intent to inflict grievous bodily harm | 1037 | 935 | -102 | -9.8 |
| Common assault | 851 | 675 | -176 | -20.7 |
| Common robbery | 232 | 195 | -37 | -15.9 |
| Robbery with aggravating circumstances | 788 | 781 | -7 | -0.9 |
| TOTAL (Crimes against the person) | 3588 | 3313 | -275 | -7.7 |
| Rape | 262 | 252 | -10 | -3.8 |
| Sexual assault | 22 | 28 | 6 | 27.3 |
| Attempted sexual offences | 9 | 7 | -2 | -22.2 |
| Contact sexual offences | 2 | 3 | 1 | 50 |
| TOTAL (Sexual offences) | 295 | 290 | -5 | -1.7 |

Source: South African Police Services 2018

The table of statistics above shows the crime incidents in Umlazi township. Murders and attempted murders have increased in this township along with sexual assault and contact sexual offences. This township is plagued by violence against women and men. Sexual offences (gender based violence) remains relatively high. The data in the analysis and findings chapter shows how this is reproduced in the school under study.

3.7 Sampling

Bertram and Christiansen (2014, p. 59) describe sampling as “making decisions about which people, settings, events or behaviours to include in a study”. There are five key factors that need to be taken into consideration when choosing a sample: the sample size, the representativeness and parameters of the sample, access to sample, the sample strategy used,

and the kind of research that is being undertaken (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2011). All the key factors were taken into consideration when choosing a sample for this study.

This study used purposive and convenience sampling. Cohen et al. (2011) and Plowright (2011) describe a purposive study as where the researcher hand picks participants who have particular characteristics that they desire from their participants. Convenience sampling involves choosing the nearest participants for the study (Cohen et al., 2011).

The study employed convenience sampling because the school the researcher used for her fieldwork was easily accessible, that is, it is in the area in which she is an educator. The study engaged purposive sampling because of the specific criteria such as the participants are from a specific grade and included both males and females. The grade sample was a grade 10 class because they have been in the school for two years or longer and the assumption was that they would be able give more insight on gender based violence which they might have encountered or witnessed in the school environment either by their peers or their teachers.

The researcher worked with both boys and girls. The researcher has initially planned on using the questionnaire as a means of selecting participants however the researcher ended up continuing with the individual interviews with those who volunteered. Those whom the researcher had planned to interview did not want all want to participate in the individual interviews and so the researcher decided to include both those who have experienced any form of gender based violence and those who have not experienced forms of gender based violence. The researcher did as a means of exploring the understanding of all learners who volunteered of what gender based violence is. There were sixteen boys of which eleven- only participated in the questionnaire and the other five volunteered to participated in both the questionnaire and individual interviews. There were fourteen girls who participated in the study and eight volunteered to participate in both the questionnaire and individual interviews. This was done so as to gain a somewhat balanced perspective and to give both boys and girls an opportunity to tell their stories.

Using the responses from the questionnaire the researcher was able to select a cross section of responses so that the data could reflect the ways in which these high school learners come to know (or not) the various forms of gender based violence and how they either accommodate or resist it. This helped the researcher gain a deeper understanding of the similarities and

differences emerged from their various perspectives due to the deeply entrenched patriarchal norms that they are exposed to. The researcher did not choose grade eight and nine learners because most are fairly new in the school and may not feel comfortable to speak about gender based violence or they may not have enough information on the subject. The researcher did not choose grade 11 and 12 as it is a crucial time in their schooling careers and due to the high volume of work, they were not interrupted; teachers were also not willing to compromise their time.

The researcher sought informed consent from the principal to do the study and he afforded the opportunity to address grade 10 learners so as to select the sample. The researcher addressed the learners by informing them about the study. This was to allow learners to decide if they wanted to participate.

The research was conducted at a different school from the one that the researcher taught at to avoid teacher-learner power relations. Chaitali (2010) and Karnieli-Miller, Strier, and Pessach (2009) emphasise the importance of the researcher minimising power imbalances that may exist between them and the participants in order for them not to influence the data collected from the participants.

Learners at the school that the researcher teaches at know her and she felt that some of them would feel very uncomfortable and would not open up due to the power relations between them. The researcher felt that having conducted research in her own school would have made learners doubt the sincerity of the study as they would have inhibited participants from divulging personal and possibly information that would implicate others. The researcher felt that learners would have not fully cooperated, and they may have doubted her intentions in keeping their stories confidential, and perhaps some would have thought that she may have divulged whatever they disclosed during the interviews and in the questionnaire with her colleagues. The researcher also did not use her school for the study so she could maintain the teacher learner relationship that was built with the learners. Lastly, the researcher felt that it would be better if she did not conduct research in her school because she did not want her colleagues to influence, disturb or interfere the study in any way.

3.8 Data collection methods

Two data collection methods were used, and these included structured questionnaires and semi-structured individual interviews. These two data collection methods allowed the participants to provide biographical data and to allow me to scrutinise the questionnaires so as to select participants for the individual interviews. The questionnaires only required the participants to provide brief responses rather than fully detailed responses which the semi-structured interview obtained.

Both research methods generated important information (data) although the questionnaire was not as in-depth as the interview and it is also very limiting as it was structured. The interview also helped to further clarify and fully describe whatever the relevant participants were vague about in the questionnaires. The research instruments were both in Isizulu and English for the convenience and ease of the participants; this made it made it easier for participants to read through and engage with.

3.8.1 Questionnaires

The structured questionnaires were the first data collection method that executed. Structured questionnaires were chosen because they do not presuppose the nature of the research; rather, they seek to set the agenda (Cohen et al., 2011). The purpose of the questionnaires was to get biographical information, make the participants comfortable around the researcher, and allow the researcher to choose participants and determine what additional questions needed to be explored during the interview. The questionnaires were administered and collected by the researcher as this ensured the confidentiality of the study. The questionnaires were handed out to the participants during the first session which helped clarify any misunderstandings that learners had with the questionnaires. The researcher was able to clarify any queries, however she was careful not to preempt any responses.

The study had a total of thirty participants, with an age range of 15 to 20 years. There were sixteen males and fourteen female participants who took part in this study. Out of the thirty participants that participated, only thirteen did both questionnaires as well as individual interviews; the other seventeen participants only participating in answering the questionnaires

and later decided that they did not want to participate in the interviews. The questionnaires played an important role because they contained background information and the researcher was able to select, from the questionnaires, the participants she thought would provide information that would enrich the study and address the research questions. It was ensured that the participants had as much time as they needed to go through the questionnaires and answer the questions. They had time to think about what they wanted to write and since they were in a familiar environment, it made the questionnaire less intrusive and they felt less pressured (Cohen et al., 2011).

The questionnaires were structured as to allow participants not to divert from answering the questions at hand but also answer questions at their own pace. The questionnaires were administered and collected by the researcher and this ensured the confidentiality of the study. The participants answered the questionnaires voluntarily.

3.8.2 Individual interviews

The semi-structured individual interviews were the second method of generating data. Bertram and Christensen (2014) describe interviews as a conversation between the researcher and the respondent. The semi-structured individual interview allowed for the researcher to be pre-plan; it allows the participants to be able to freely express themselves. The interviewer can shape the dialogue and it allows the researcher to be able to reflect on the findings of the study (Blandford, 2013). However, the researcher allowed the participants to determine the pace, direction and nature of the interviews so that they could feel relaxed and have some control. This was to somehow ease the power relations between the researcher and the participants. They were allowed to speak freely although at times the researcher had to guide them back to the focus of the study, due to time constraints.

Interviews are a great way to find out what a person knows and what their opinion of certain things are (Bertram & Christensen, 2014). The purpose of the interviews was to gain more insight into learners' understandings and experiences of gender based violence and gender power. The questionnaires lacked a face-to-face interaction, which made the interview a more rich and in-depth means of obtaining data. The interviews allowed the researcher to collect more than verbal data as she watched out for pauses and non-verbal gestures. Collecting more

than verbal data is important as there may be reasons for certain pauses and facial expressions (Cohen et al., 2011). Each interview lasted approximately 45 minutes and the researcher had one session with each participant. However, more than one session was held with participants from whom the researcher needed clarity.

The researcher arranged time with the participants to conduct interviews with them either after school or during their free sessions at school. This was convenient because learners were already at the school and most of them had unsupervised study sessions where they were not doing anything until their study sessions was over. The researcher worked with learners once or twice week depending on their availability.

The interviews were initially conducted in the classrooms that were close to the road because the researcher did not want to be far from security in case someone jumped over the fence and had criminal intentions location changed because the cars were noisy as they drove past the class and learners made noise as they walked past. The next classroom that was used was not far from security and by the time the interviews commenced, the grade eight and nine learners had already left from that block, so it was quiet and away from the prying eyes. Thus, the confidentiality of the learners who participated was further ensured.

During the individual interviews some of the learners did not understand some of the questions that were in English and the researcher had to ask them again in isiZulu. There was a small portion of the learners who still did not understand the question even if it was asked in isiZulu so it had to be rephrased until the learners understood what was meant. Some learners had a hard time with English while a small number of them had difficulty understanding the questions in isiZulu. Other participants were reluctant to answer a few of the questions and during that time the researcher asked them to take their time before answering and participants were informed that they were not compelled to answer questions that they were not comfortable with.

There were interview sessions where the researcher had to use much prompting and probing. Probing was used to gain deeper insight into participants' responses as well as to gain clarity and thoroughly understand what was being shared (Cohen et al., 2011). If the researcher asked questions of a sensitive nature and saw that a participant was becoming uncomfortable she would stop recording and asked them if they were comfortable enough to continue or if

they wanted to stop the interview session. During the interviews the girls were more reluctant to talk and seemed to be uncomfortable during the interviews especially if they felt the questions were becoming personal. The boys, on the other hand, appeared comfortable, expressed themselves freely and were very eager to talk.

3.9 Data analysis

The interviews were transcribed from audio data to textual data. Once they were transcribed, they were translated from IsiZulu to English where necessary so that they could be analysed. IsiZulu and English were used to collect data because Isizulu is the local language of the area. The questionnaires were also translated from isiZulu to English (where necessary) so that they could be analysed.

The researcher scrutinised the transcriptions and looked for patterns and categories in the information that was given by participants (Bertram & Christensen, 2014). In keeping with the importance of transcribing and analysing as stated by Bertram and Christensen, thematic analysis was used to analyse the transcribed data. Maguire and Delahunt (2017) describe thematic analysis as a process of identifying the patterns or themes within qualitative data that allows for the credibility of data and its primary goal involves identifying the important themes which arise from data. Thematic analysis allows for the credibility of data. In this study the data was analysed in order to identify patterns such as similar and differing understandings of gender based violence, how it manifests and how gender power plays a role in gender based violence. After the data had been analysed and the patterns were identified, there was a discussion on each theme that emerged. Relevant literature was used throughout analysis.

The theories of social constructionism and gender relation were used as analytical lenses to interpret the data. According to Connell (2009) the gender relational theory views gender as being multidimensional and is shaped by various factors such as economy and operation and others. Connell (2012) further explains gender relational theory as an approach which provides a central plane which provides patterned relations between men and women as well as view gender as a social construct. The gender relational theory helped in the understanding

that gender as a social construct differs from one community to another. Gender identity and, in particular, sexual identities are viewed as complex and multidimensional, therefore there are a variety of understandings that emerged from thematic analysis of data.

The gender relational theory helped explain and reinforced that gender is multidimensional and this contributed significantly to the narratives of the participants as they differed and concurred in their exposure to and understandings of gender based violence and gender power. Being from the same community emphasised and created some form of common ground.

3.10 Ethical considerations

The researcher created a non-threatening environment to minimise imposing on the participants' space during contact sessions. The researcher ensured that the research adhered to the three ethical principles when conducting research as stated by Bertram and Christensen (2014) and Cohen et al. (2011) which are autonomy, non-maleficence and beneficence.

The study began once the university's ethical committee, department of education and the principal of the school had given informed consent for the researcher to proceed with the study. Written informed consent letters to parents and participants were sent and were returned by the participants once they had been signed by their parents or guardians and themselves. Informed consent letters included the proposed questionnaire and detailed information about the proposed study in order to ensure that the study was transparent, and the participants knew that they have the right to refuse to take part in study (Plowright, 2011). The consent letters also required participants and their parents to give consent to participants completing questionnaires and engaging in interviews which the researcher required permission to record. Only participants who consented to interviews participated in the individual interviews. Cohen et al. (2011) and Bertram and Christensen (2014) explain the importance autonomy as an ethical principle in the collection of data and emphasise the importance of consent being given by participants to participate in the study. The collection of data from participants only began once consent letters were returned to the researcher.

Parents and learners were assured that no harm would come to them. Their rights were safeguarded as the study was strictly confidential and pseudonyms were used instead of the actual names of participants and school to protect their identities. This was done in order to adhere to the second ethical principle of non-maleficence. Bertram and Christensen (2014) and Cohen et al. (2011) emphasise the importance of ensuring that the study is confidential and that pseudonyms are used so that the identity of the participants is maintained and that the study will not disclose information about the participant which would make it possible for them to be traced. Cohen et al. (2011) also explains non-maleficence as doing no harm to the participants whether emotional or psychological.

The participants were not handpicked by the researcher. They volunteered to participate in the study of their own free will. If the participants felt unsafe in any way then they had the option to stop participating and withdraw from the research they were assured that it will not be held against them in any way (Plowright, 2011). Their autonomy was constantly reinforced in that every part of the process was their decision. They were informed that they had the right not to answer or write down anything that they felt uncomfortable with. The researcher informed participants and parents prior to the commencing of the interviews that should learners reveal any information that is harmful to both them or others about sexual violence in the school as well as the community, as the researcher would have had to get counselors available to work with these participants or take whatever steps necessary if their lives or the lives of others were at risk.

According to the Sexual Offences Amendment Act (2007), the researcher had a moral and ethical obligation to report any sexual violence to the police. In the event that any participant disclosed information such as having experienced sexual violence, the researcher had a duty to report any forms of sexual violence against children. She would intervene by contacting the relevant law officials such as the police who would be required to take the necessary further steps in ensuring the child's safety or the safety of others.

However, during the interviews the researcher did not encounter any participants who were visibly traumatised or showed signs of no longer wanting to participate. The ways in which they responded rather made the researcher feel as though it was cathartic for them because talking about sexual deviance issues or sex in this community is regarded as taboo. Many victims are also silenced for various reasons which will be unpacked in the discussion. In

essence, the study ensured the last ethical principle was adhered to: the study was beneficial to the participants (Bertram and Christensen, 2014) as the participants were able to speak openly about the various issues that they did not consider to be gender based violence and by the end the research process, the study allowed them to broaden their understandings as well as to be informed of what gender based violence is and the effects thereof. More importantly, they would know that they had recourse if they were abused in anyway.

3.11 Validity, reliability and trustworthiness

Within the interpretivist paradigm, researchers tend to use the notion of trustworthiness over validity to make their findings more reliable (Bertram & Christensen, 2014). The trustworthiness of this study was increased by ensuring that enough details were provided so the reader could judge if the findings are transferable to another context (Bertram and Christensen, 2014).

Cohen et al. (2011) define triangulation as using two or more forms of data collection and in doing so the trustworthiness of data is increased as the researcher is more confident about the findings since a comparison and contrast could be made from the data collected from various data collection methods. The interview and questionnaire ensured the trustworthiness of the data as some questions were repeated in the questionnaire as well as in the interview in order to see if they would provide the same responses. In doing so it increased the trustworthiness of the data (Bertram & Christensen, 2014).

Verbatim responses from the participants were also used without alteration. This increased the trustworthiness of the study in that the analysis and interpretation used the exact words of the participants and remained true. Cohen et al. (2011) opt to use words like credibility when describing the reliability of data. The credibility of the data was increased by using an audio recording thus generating verbatim data and this ensured credibility rather than making notes during the interview (Bertram & Christensen, 2014). This meant that verbatim data ensured the participants were accurately represented.

The trustworthiness and reliability of the data was increased by reading the data more than once after it had been transcribed. The participants read through the data to ensure that

responses were transcribed correctly. They had the opportunity to remove or add anything if necessary.

3.12 Limitations

There were several limitations. Firstly, it took a long time to get ethical clearance from the University of KwaZulu-Natal due to the sensitivity of the study. In addition, once the researcher had ethical clearance from the university, she had to wait until getting informed consent from the Department of Education. Permission from the Department of Education was sought in October 2018. It was a challenge to recruit participants as most learners were busy with exams.

In the beginning of the school year in 2019 the researcher struggled to set an appointment with the principal as he was busy attending other meetings and meeting with district officials to discuss matric results and it was only the 28th of February that she managed to set an appointment with his Deputy who gave permission to conduct research at the school. More exams were about to start which meant she had come across another hurdle in data collection. She had no choice but to wait for the learners to complete their exams. The researcher did not want to disrupt the school during exam season as that would have been chaotic and might have affected the learners who chose to participate to the point that they might have performed poorly if they were involved in the research and did not focus on their studies.

At the beginning of the second term the researcher got an opportunity to address learners and inform them about the study and gave them consent forms, explaining that participation was completely voluntarily. Learners who had shown interest in participating in the study would make excuses about having forgotten their consent forms at home but it was explained that without consent forms questionnaires would not be given to them. This also delayed data collection.

On some days, learners were released early from school due to water cuts so when the researcher got off work she would not find any learners because they had been released early. This went on for about a week. Early closure due to union meetings also further delayed the study as learners were sent home early.

Practicals that learners had to do after school also meant that there was another limitation to deal with as the researcher could only see them when they were free and not engaging in school work.

The obstacles and challenges that the researcher had to surmount during this study meant that the fieldwork took almost double the time that was anticipated. This is the nature of working with schools as there are a number of disruptions which can delay the fieldwork.

3.13 Researcher reflexivity and positionality

The researcher chose the school due to the accessibility of the school as it is not very far from the school in which the researcher teaches. Having conducted the research affected the researcher as a woman and an educator. It made the researcher realize just how many incidents of gender based violence go undetected and the perpetrators are not held accountable. The complicity of society in condoning violence against women, children and men was also very evident. Both men as women are victims of gender based violence, having done this research made the researcher more aware of how fewer men speak up about gender based violence against them. The number of crimes perpetrated by females is higher than the ones are reported especially if males are the victims of those crimes. Both men and women are victims of gender based violence

This study was not easy to conduct as the researcher found some of the incidents the participants discussed were disconcerting as the researcher was confronted with the magnitude of gender based violence that the researcher did not know existed in schools. Reading through the literature at times made the researcher sick to their stomach especially when the researcher saw how society failed its members by turning a blind eye to violence and it made researcher realize just how evil the world is. The researcher came to sympathize with the victims of various crimes of gender based violence and understood how victims turn to perpetrators of violence especially if crimes against them went by unpunished. School children deal with so much both at school as well as their communities and are expected to carry on like nothing happened but literature and the data has shown that children are affected

by such incidents and those incidents remain with them affecting them on a deeper level, making them be extra cautious and over think every situation.

The researcher understood their position as the researcher meant there was limited to be being a researcher and that their intervention would have interfered with data collection and would not have been a true reflection of the data. Had the participants revealed something that placed them or others at risk than the researcher would have intervened, the researcher did not intervene because there was nothing toxic that was revealed by the participants. In some stances the researcher did feel the need to intervene especially if the participants had different opinions to researcher's own about men and women but chose not to.

There were power relations that existed between the participants and the researcher especially as an adult teacher and as well as being female. The researcher felt as if some of the participants were not completely comfortable and that they held back during the interview despite the researcher trying to make them comfortable. Due to the sensitive nature of the study the researcher felt intimidated and was embarrassed by some of the questions that the researcher had to ask them as high school learners but the researcher remained neutral and pretended like the researcher was not affected by it.

3.14 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the paradigm, research approach, research design and the methodology that was employed in this study. It examined the qualitative as well as quantitative approach and the gender relational theory was used as a lens in which was used to help analyse the data and answer the research questions. The research site was described and this study employed both purposive as well as convenience sampling. Data was collected using two data collection methods, questionnaires as well as individual interviews. The ethical consideration issues were discussed along with the reliability and trustworthiness of data. The limitations the researcher encountered during the study were also highlighted. The next chapter focuses on data analysis and interpretation of data.

Chapter four

Data analysis and findings

4.1 Introduction

The study set out to explore high school learners' understandings of gender based violence constructed by their lived experiences and encounters, and particularly the ways in which gender power is implicated in gender based violence in a high school in Umlazi Township, KwaZulu Natal. This chapter analyses these learners' understandings of and exposure to gender based violence. In addition, it was important to explore the implications and consequences of gender power as it relates to gender based violence where positions of domination and subordination are evident. As discussed in the previous chapter, the questionnaires were administered to thirty participants: sixteen male and fourteen female participants. Fifteen participants were chosen to participate in semi-structured individual interviews (five boys and eight girls). The study used both qualitative as well as quantitative research approach. This chapter discusses and interrogates the findings of the data generated through the questionnaires and interviews using the interpretivist paradigm. The researcher also draws on relevant literature to support or refute the findings of the study. As explained in the Methodology chapter, the textual data was coded, categorised and eventually after much grouping of data, themes were formulated to capture and discuss each data set in a logical manner.

The following themes emerged from the questionnaires and interviews:

- Learners' understandings of gender based violence
- Community and domestic violence: Normalised and reproduced by learners in schools
- Silencing the victim using physical strength and intimidation to prevent victims from reporting gender based violence against perpetrators.
- The hierarchy of males: Hegemony and subordinate masculinities
- Patriarchy continues: Females as victims of gender based violence
- Teachers touch learners in inappropriate ways: Teacher power and intimidation
- Sexual relations between learners: heterosexual and homosexual learners
- Reasons for the increase of gender based violence in this school

- Role played by school authorities and teachers in eradicating gender based violence

Table 4.1: Learners biographical information

| Pseudonyms | Gender | Age |
|-------------------|---------------|------------|
| Anele | Girl | 16 |
| Thandeka | Girl | 16 |
| Candy | Girl | 17 |
| Puleng | Girl | 18 |
| Jabu | Girl | 15 |
| Sindy | Girl | 16 |
| Kwanele | Girl | 15 |
| Qiniso | Girl | 15 |
| Anele | Boy | 16 |
| Sphe | Boy | 16 |
| Thabiso | Boy | 18 |
| Thato | Boy | 16 |
| Thabo | Boy | 20 |

4.2 Learners’ understandings of gender based violence

Gender based violence is described as sexual violence, emotional abuse, psychological abuse, verbal abuse, bullying as well as corporal punishment (Leach 2002, Leach & Humphrey, 2007). “Gendered violence does not only affect women and girls but also includes violence against boys and men, as well as transgender and intersex person and all those who do not meet the heterosexual norms” (Sen and Östlin, 2008, pp. 5-6). The table below represents the ages of the learners who participated in the questionnaire.

Table 4.2: Participants’ age

| Age | Boys | Girls |
|------------|-------------|--------------|
| 15 | 4 | 5 |
| 16 | 6 | 6 |
| 17 | 4 | 2 |

| | | |
|----|---|---|
| 18 | 1 | 1 |
| 19 | 0 | 0 |
| 20 | 1 | 0 |

When participants were asked in the questionnaire if they understood what gender based violence was, their responses were a unanimous ‘yes’. All the participants were from grade 10. Some participants gave more than one example of what they understood to be gender based violence whilst others only provided one example.

Table 4.3: Learners understandings of gender based violence

| Learners’ understandings of what gender based violence is. | Girls | Boys |
|--|-------|------|
| Assault | 3 | 1 |
| Harassment | 1 | 0 |
| Verbal abuse | 5 | 3 |
| Human trafficking | 1 | 0 |
| Rape | 3 | 3 |
| Sexual assault | 2 | 0 |
| Emotional assault | 3 | 1 |
| Physical violence | 1 | 1 |
| Physical abuse | 3 | 5 |
| Sexual violence | 1 | 2 |
| Domestic violence | 0 | 2 |
| Inappropriate touches | 0 | 1 |
| Child abuse | 2 | 4 |
| Women abuse | 2 | 3 |
| Bullying | 3 | 1 |
| Sexual abuse | 1 | 1 |
| Psychological | 0 | 1 |

The table above contains data that was generated using a questionnaire. It tabulates the participants’ understandings of gender based violence. By looking at the table above one can

conclude just how differently learners understand gender based violence; boys and girls have different understandings of gender based violence but there are instances in which they share a common understanding of gender based violence. Both boys and girls consider assault, rape, sexual abuse and physical abuse as forms of gender based violence. Inappropriate touching was evidently not considered to be gender based violence.

Both the questionnaire and the interview illustrated that many participants showed understandings of gender based violence, with some having more knowledge on the phenomenon. The main understanding shown by participants is that gender based violence is usually physical, verbal or sexual and it often takes place amongst different sexes or the same sex. Participants' responses show males as largely being the perpetrators of gender based violence whilst the females were often regarded as the victims.

The data below was generated using individual interviews and has been grouped according to gender to see boys' and girls' understandings of the forms that gender based violence takes.

Angel (girl, aged 16): *My understanding of gender based violence is that it is a kind of violence where a particular sex is being violated or the rights of a particular sex are being violated by another or the same person who is like female to females may violate each other and sometimes a female may violate a male Violating rights that protect women against men as well as men against women. That is my understanding.*

Thandeka (girl, aged 16): *My understanding of Gender based violence is that it is abuse or discrimination that happens to both genders.*

Candy (girl, aged 17): *I would explain it as an abuse from someone who can be from the same gender as you or a different gender than you, by raping you, assaulting you and many more.*

Puleng (girl, aged 18): *I can say that it is a way a person does something to another person and it makes them feel very uncomfortable when it's done to them.*

Jabu (girl, aged 15): *It is when a male undermines a woman... they can also abuse her sexually and physically.*

Sindy (girl, aged 16): *I think it talks about abuse, things that one does to people that doesn't make them feel ok.*

Kwanele (girl, aged 15): *Gender based violence is happens in many different ways, it can be sexual harassment, there are many ways Miss, like if you get into an argument with someone*

and they know that you are girl and because they know that some girls sleep with everyone, they might call you a bitch.

Qiniso (girl, aged 15): *It talks about things you like and don't like that are being done to you... like sex and being abused in any manner.*

The forms of violence that girls understood as being gender based violence varies to a certain extent as compared to those that were given by the boys. A possible explanation for this could be that some boys are the perpetrators of gender based violence against girls and children (Bhana et al., 2011; Muunguja, 2018; European Institute for Gender Inequality, 2019) and hence see it from a different perspective. However, because girls are mainly the victims of gender based violence, they are able to give a deeper insight into what they consider to be gender based violence as they experience it as victims. Girls are called derogatory names if they refuse to engage in sex with boys as evidenced above. What is clear is that when the act creates discomfort or unease, the girls are aware that it is inappropriate and hence tantamount to gender based violence.

Anele (boy, aged 16): *I think that it is something that you do to other people, something that is bad and it upsets other people.*

Sphe (boy, aged 16): *Its abuse of people of different as well as the same sex.*

Thabiso (boy, aged 18): *When a boy and a girl want to have sex and the girl says no and the boy does it by force, when a boy hits a girl when she says she doesn't love him anymore.*

Thato (boy, aged 16): *I understand that it is when a person of the opposite sex is hitting the person of the other sex or gender.*

Thabo (boy, aged 20): *Sexual abuse.*

The various understandings of gender based violence between boys and girls in this study also highlights the issue of male domination where gender based violence is perpetuated by men, and society often condones violence against women and children (Muunguja, 2018). Boys are likely to perpetuate violence and often do not see anything wrong with their actions whilst girls deem acts of violence against them as inappropriate and unacceptable. It is clear that these boys illustrate a more superficial and not so serious version of sexual violence. Their responses are not as in-depth as girls' responses are and this stems largely from the fact that women and girls are usually the victims and have much more exposure to this scourge. Certain acts of violence which are perpetuated by men might not seem as violence but

women, who are the victims, often see it from a different perspective and have a different opinion about what was done to them.

4.3 Community and domestic violence: Normalised and reproduced by Learners' in schools

According to Bhana (2012, p. 353) “schools are not immune from the social context in which they are located”. The school is part of the community that it is located in and the external factors involving gender based violence often make their way to the school because learners who attend the school are part of the surrounding community (De Wet, 2016). Both men and women experience gender based violence, however it is largely women and children who are victims of gender based violence (European Institute For Gender Equality, 2019).

Strangers do not always present the greatest threat when it comes to gender based violence as people living under the same roof as the victims could be the ones perpetuating violence against them instead of the strangers (Tillyer & Wright, 2014). Violence appears to be perpetrated by those who live under the same roof as the victims; it is always considered to be a private affair and the victims are stigmatised for being victims (Garcia-Moreno, Zimmerman, Morris-Gehring, Heise, Amin, & Abrahams (2015). Nakpodia (2010) points out that peers enact acts of violence towards each other and teachers use corporal punishment as a means to discipline ill-behaved learners. Knowing the perpetrator is the reason for the victims keeping quiet as they believe nothing can be done to help stop their victimisation (Williams & Cornell, 2006).

Thabiso: Children can bring to schools things that happen to them at home. They can take out their anger on others learners and hit them especially females if their stepmoms beat them or treats them badly. They might end up killing someone.

Thabo: If someone is sexually abused by their uncle or they were burnt with hot water or anything. They will be quiet in class and when you try to talk to them they might bite your head off or respond to you in any manner. You can clearly see that something is affecting them and one day if someone tries talking to them they might end up hitting someone because they are getting on their nerves and just want to be left alone.

The extracts above reinforce what Bhana (2012) says about schools not being immune to the social context. Children in schools are gendered beings who are socialised long before they come into the school. The extracts above describe how violence can make its way into the school and support the notion that those who were once victims of violence are more likely to be perpetrators of violence (Andersson et al., 2008; Warnke, 2014). External factors might influence them to act up in schools.

Anele: At home my grandfather is a very violent person he is old but he still violent. If he has an argument with my grandmother he hits her.

Sindy: My father hits me.

Candy: My neighbour's husband told her not to go to work and she did do, he hit her. The husband was taking advantage of her. The incident was not reported.

The extracts above highlight the pervasiveness of violence in this community. These girls indicate that they are accustomed to witnessing gender based violence. Anele alludes to the fact that being old does not prevent men from being violent towards their wives and partners. The extracts also highlight how violence appears to be an accepted means of resolving conflict. The incident described by Candy indicates that patriarchy operates to prevent women from acquiring paid employment and this is evident in the story of man not wanting his wife to work. When women do not listen to their husbands, violence is the means by which they are forced to comply. Ademiluka (2018) argues that patriarchy keeps women subordinate, disadvantaged and oppressed, and this is evident in the incident described by Candy.

Angel: There was time my neighbor beat his girlfriend to the point that she was very badly hurt and she had to report it to the police but he didn't even spend the night in jail. She dropped the charges because she has a baby with him. Women hide behind the fact that they have children with people saying what will my child say if I put her father in jail? She wasn't working and depended on the guy financially.

Women who are abused use silence as a strategy which diverts the attention from themselves. It is also apparent that despite the abuse suffered at the hands of their intimate partners, young women are declined to press charges against their partners despite the hurt that they experience. Excuses are offered which include the man being the father of the baby which

prevents them from charging, or they withdraw charges because of the apparent concern for the baby and the stigma attached to the father being incarcerated. This occurrence resonates with SIDA (2015) that shows it is common for women and girls who experience violence to never seek help or report it.

Moreover, financial dependence on the male compels these young women to remain silent as they are concerned about the provided masculinity which imbued with power as some of these young girls are not financially independent. Whiting (2016) validates the findings of the study as it was also stated that women may lack alternative economic support; they stay because they depend on their abusers financially and are concerned about how their children will be affected if they report the incidents. Being at a financially disadvantaged situation forces some victims of gender based violence to stay with their abusers because they depend on them financially or because they have no family besides them that they can trust.

Society defines men as the holders of power (Connell, 1987). When couples fight males are always instigators and perpetrators of violence and women are the victims who keep quiet after being beaten. A man physically assaulting a woman is considered to be powerful because it is a result of oppression of one group by another group, which in this case is the oppression of females by males (Connell, 2002).

Qiniso: I usually see it by the road by my house. At night you hear girls crying and screaming I peek through my window and see a couple and I don't pay much attention to it.

Sindy: They were boyfriend and girlfriend and he hit her. People were just standing around looking while taking a video of the whole incident.

The extracts above emphasise the normalisation of gender based violence that occurs within their community. Girls are left to defend themselves while their abuse goes viral on social media and this is a clear indication of the desensitisation of violence in this community. There is no will on the part of bystanders to assist and stop the violence; rather, they record it and place it on social media, humiliating the girl and giving more power to the boy. Bystanders engage in active participation of victimisation when they post incidents of violence on social media (Barlińska, Szuste, & Winiewski, 2013). This violence occurs with many witnessing it. This also shows the complicity of women in male violent behaviours and when it does not directly affect them, they appear unperturbed. Women choosing to remain

passive in violence against other women encourages the perpetrators, and this makes women even more complicit as they do nothing to intervene (Staub, 2012).

Sphe: I saw a male hitting his girlfriend because she was no longer living with him and she would live in other places.... They are always fighting and people don't care anymore.

The participant's response that "they are always fighting" also provides an indication of the girl staying in an abusive relationship thus the members of the community find it an ongoing occurrence and ignore it. This also highlights the complicity of society as a whole on gender based violence as they do not intervene. The violence between this couple is regular and thus it has also become normalised.

Women have normalised the violence against them, as the society they live in tolerates violence against them and continue to treat women as less than human (Gordorn & Collins, 2013). Gendered violence is associated with gender power that exists in society (Sen & Östlin, 2008). By subjecting women to physical violence, men are reinforcing the gender inequalities that exist in society and continue to keep them subordinate. Connell (2012) further describes the violent incidents against women as having been an assertion of gendered power.

Angel: I have seen people who were being violated, assaulted. It happens a lot mostly because we are in the township and there are a lot of taverns.

Taverns in the township are often associated with males drinking together and it is regarded as no place for women. More blame is placed on the victims especially when they challenge the gender order by going to taverns and drinking. Also, alcohol has been identified as a factor that is implicated in violent behaviour. However, consuming alcohol appears to be reserved for males; therefore, women drinking goes against the gender order (Felson & Pare, 2007).

Sphe: A male learner was busy touching a female learner in an unusual way in her private parts without her permission.

Anele: My friend was raped by her brother. I don't ask because didn't ask if it was reported because it is such sensitive topic

Thandeka: *One of my friends was raped and another friend had someone attempt to rape her.*
Jabu: *I saw a male hitting a female because she didn't want to have sex with him...he was arrested because he also tried to rape her.*

The girls talk about rape and sexual violence that happens on a regular basis in their community. Sexual abuse is common but there is a relative silence about it. The fear of reporting is evident. The sensitivity or rape by a family member is one that often results in non-reporting but in Jabu's case it is refreshing to know that the victim reported attempted rape and the perpetrator was arrested. This provides some hope for others to report any form of gender based violence.

Those who have experienced sexual violence or know of someone who has experienced a form of sexual violence hardly talk about such things as they find it sensitive and do not want to be reminded of those incidents so they prefer not to talk about such issues. Incidents of sexual violence in communities and schools are often not followed and people are not kept up to date with as people feel it is highly sensitive especially when it involves family members who are perpetrators of rape on their own family members. As asserted by Christian, Safari, Ramazani, Burnham, and Glass (2011) victims of gender based violence keep to themselves as they fear stigmatization and scandal in the community.

In addition to physical assault, sexual assault is also pervasive in this community which filters into the school. Perpetrators engage in sexual assault because they are motivated by the power and control that they take away from their victims when they assault them. The effects of their assault remain with their victims for a long time as they continue to live in fear of their perpetrators, and they are haunted by the reoccurrence of these assaults.

Puleng: *It was sexual assault the incident I told you about. A person I was working for took me from where we worked and told me we were going to his house to fetch some of the things that he was selling but when we got there he said he wanted to check if I was pregnant.*

Researcher: *What happened to him?*

Puleng: *He apologized and the court fined him.*

Puleng's case shows the gaps that exist in the justice system; even though the case was reported and there was a trial the perpetrators still walked away with minimum

accountability. It is evident that perpetrators prey on the naivety of victims in order to get them into vulnerable positions where they are able to sexually violate them. Those who have money in society have power; they have a higher hierarchy in comparison to those who do not have money (Jacobs and Slaus, 2012). The law is also complicit in perpetuating gender based violence when they are lenient in cases where the victims and the perpetrators know each other. They do so because they believe that the perpetrator will pose less of a threat to society in comparison to a stranger who may have perpetuated sexual assault against the victim (Felson & Pare, 2007).

4.4 Silencing the victim using physical strength and intimidation to prevent victims from reporting gender based violence against perpetrators

Violence generally comes from the external environment and makes its way into the school (Mosavel et al., 2011). Violence that is perpetrated by individuals in society is not always reported because the perpetrators often threaten or scare their victims into not reporting it. Bester and Du Plessis (2010) state that boys use power and aggression as means of gaining power by threatening and intimidating girls. A staggering 85%, both male and female, victims and their families are threatened by their perpetrators into keeping quiet and not reporting the matter (Akinade, Adewuyi, & Sulaiman, 2010).

The table below uses information that was generated using a questionnaire. This table addresses the incidents that learners said they had experienced or knew someone who had experienced in terms of gender based violence. The results are clear as most of the incidents pertaining to gender based violence go by unreported. Furthermore, participants unanimously agreed that males use their strength as a means of keeping their victims quiet. Participants being school learners are able to provide a greater insight into how they believe strength can be used to keep victims quiet as some of them have been victims of gender based violence or perpetrators themselves, or know someone who has experienced gender based violence.

Table 4.4: The reporting of incidents

| | Boys | Girls |
|--|------|-------|
| Incidents were not reported | 11 | 9 |
| Incidents were reported | 5 | 5 |
| Males use strength to keep their victims quiet | 16 | 14 |

When prompted on how strength is used by perpetrators into keeping their victims quiet this is what they had to say:

Thabiso: *In some cases you find that that they might kill them or threaten to kill their family members.*

Kwanele: *They can say if you tell anyone I will kill you.*

Qiniso: *They use their strength by promising you that they will hurt you or kill you if you tell anyone.*

Angel: *Sometimes they threaten you or threaten to hurt family if they know you cannot defend yourself.*

Candy: *Some people threaten others saying that they will kill them or that they will kill their family if they tell anyone about what happened.*

Sphe: *They hit them or threaten them.*

Thabo: *Using a gun, knife or threatening to go to their house at night and kill them in order to keep her quiet.*

Anele: *Like they threaten them maybe they will threaten their families if they tell anyone.*

Thandeka: *If someone was raped and their rapist lets them go then he will say something to scare her such as saying if you tell your mum I will do something to her or the rest of your family.*

Qiniso: *They [women] don't report it because maybe they are scared it will continue happening.*

The extracts above show how victims are intimidated into remaining silent through the use of threats. Their passivity encourages the perpetrator to continue victimising others and this highlights them encouraging and justifying gender based violence. Victims already feel powerless; they feel weak and full of shame as they have had their power taken away from

them by their perpetrators through violence such as rape as they did not consent to it (Middleton, Sachs, & Dorahy, 2017). There are power imbalances that exist between the perpetrators of violence as well as the victims of violence (Alison, 2007). Perpetrators often use scare tactics as a means of silencing the victim and their families, knowing that the perpetrator has already disseminated a form of violence against the victims. This creates the impression that they might come back and finish it. Victims live in fear of the perpetrators (Alison, 2007). Middleton et al. (2017) states that victims are often threatened with consequences to silence them and these results with perpetrators continue living in plain sight.

During another interview Kwanele revealed that she had experienced a form of gender based violence meanwhile in her questionnaire she said she has never experienced any forms of gender based violence.

Researcher: *What is it?*

Kwanele: *A boy holding you by force, using force.*

Researcher: *Where did it happen?*

Kwanele: *At home.*

Researcher: *Was that reported ?*

Kwanele: *No miss I did not report it.*

Researcher: *Why not?*

Kwanele: *Because I knew I would never run into him or ever see him again because I wasn't here [Umlazi], I was at home in the village.*

Researcher: *So you were visiting another place?*

Kwanele: *Yes Miss.*

Researcher: *Are you not scared that if you go back you will see him again?*

Kwanele: *Hayi I will not go back.*

Kwanele decided to withhold that bit of information stating that she did not know of anyone who experienced gender based violence. During the individual interview when asked about why she had not reported it, she stated that she knew that she would never have to see the perpetrator again because she has no intentions of ever visiting there again. Fear of reoccurrence limits the movements of females and this is a form of oppression. When it comes down to gender based violence women are often silenced and do not always report

gender based violence because they fear that they will be questioned and experience secondary victimisation instead of being believed. This is because the society that we live in has normalised and tolerates violence against women (Gordon & Collins, 2013). Society will judge women first before they judge their male perpetrators and the role which males played in the incident; society often scrutinises women and their role in the whole incident rather than sympathising with them (Connell, 2002; Gordon & Collins, 2013). Many women and girls do not report cases of violence against them because of the shame that is associated with it.

Jabu: *Well they can bribe them or threaten to kill them.*

Puleng: *They might use money so they can keep quiet or they can threaten them something that they have done before that is illegal.*

Financial power can also be used as a means of strength to keep victims of gender based violence. 84% of victims are bribed or paid into keeping quiet and not reporting the matter (Akinade et al., 2010). Victims are no different to captives or slaves who have no opportunity to speak up against their violators and have to keep it to themselves (Middleton et al., 2017).

Puleng: *Most of the time a male is stronger and they might not be able to get away when a male is trying to do something to them. They can use their strength to do whatever they want to do to a female such as rape or touch or them.*

Males are often thought of as being physically stronger than females and are therefore able to use that 'strength' to further intimidate their victims into keeping quiet, or their strength can be used to hold or pin their victims down during their attack. According to Bester and Du Plessis (2010) boys men use power and aggression against females. This type of aggression and power can be considered to be used as a means of holding down women during the act of rape or sexual assault. Stereotypically speaking, women have constructed themselves as being weak as per social norms; if they are anything but weak, they are considered to be deviants who oppose the social order (Baker, 2008).

4.5 Girls and agency in subverting gender based violence

Society often identifies women as victims of violence whilst males are always the perpetrators of violence as society does not believe that women are capable of violent behaviours (Peter, 2009). Women are thought of as embodying the feminine ideals which consider women to be sympathetic and gentle (Jeanes, 2011). Women are thought of as soft spoken and violent behavior is not associated with them as they conform to the gender norms of society which depict women as not being violent (Baker, 2008).

The table below illustrates data that has been generated using questionnaires. It is evident that the participants unanimously agreed that women are also perpetrators of gender based violence (rape) but as well as victims of gender based violence (rape).

Table 4.5: Girls as perpetrators of violence

| | Boys | Girls |
|---|------|-------|
| Girls as perpetrators of gender based violence (Rape) | 16 | 14 |

When further prompted as to who women actually rape, this is what some of the participants had to say in their individual interviews:

Candy: They don't believe that such do happen, they obviously think that men rape women, they don't ever think that men can be raped by women or that women rape other women'. They think of women as victims of rape.

Researcher: Let us say a male is raped by a female how would society and the police treat that case?

Jabu: Though it does happen it wouldn't be a big deal... there would say there is no such thing.

Thandeka: I have never heard of women raping other women.

The participants above allude to the rape of men by women but minimise and dismiss it as not serious or even that it does not happen. The extracts above show society's complicity enacted by women by choosing to be in denial because they do not want to believe that

women can be perpetrators and not victims of violence because of the socially constructed gender roles and norms of society. Women in society are thought of to be submissive in society whilst men are dominant; normally women follow the gender order of society and they often identify with the role of victim (Boonzaier, 2008). It is known that female perpetrated sexual violence is less serious in comparison to gender based violence perpetuated by males. It is evident that males who are sexually abused fail to report it because they feel that no one would believe them and it is minimised; this results in violence perpetrated on males (Peter, 2009).

Women as the perpetrators of violence against men is seen as being amusing and they are thought of as simply 'acting up' as men are not scared of them (Hester, 2013). Sexual violence that is perpetrated by women often has no evidence unlike sexual violence that has been perpetrated by men. Sexual violence against men which is perpetrated by women is thought of to have been consensual and society views women as victims and therefore finds it hard to think of them as perpetrators (Fisher & Afroditi, 2013). The gender order and social norms which a patriarchal society conforms to fails to see women as perpetrators of violence. There is a lack of acknowledgement of women as offenders of society (Twinley, 2017).

Sindy: Cases where women are perpetrators it is not taken seriously because women need to be treated well. Society also plays a role because they are guilty of encouraging certain things

Thabiso: In today's time, women can also be perpetrators (rapists)

Anele: They rape men

Sphe: They rape men and women.

Aphile: Young men or boys who taken advantage of by old women and they rape them.

Qiniso: They rape men.

It is reinforced by the participants above that the rape of males by females is possible and does occur. While this reclamation of power by women and/or girls can be viewed a form of retributive justice, it is violence and sexual violence particularly even if it is perpetrated by females. Even if women and girls are now becoming perpetrators and not victims it is still not an ideal situation because it is still gender based violence and women and girls too should be made aware of it. Older women are also implicated in sexual violence targeted at younger boys which suggests some form of subversion of power relations based on age. Women being older than the child hold more power than them in society and the child, out of fear, will keep

quiet as no one will believe that women are cable of such (McDonald & Tijerino, 2013). Romito and Grassi (2007) state that female perpetuated crimes are both harmful and damaging. Welch and Mason (2007) explain that there are often psychological effects that are experienced by the victims. Women who perpetuate violence must have experienced a form of gender based violence when they were younger (Seamans, Rubin, & Stabb, 2007).

During the individual interviews, the participants were prompted as to whom they think women sexually abuse. The participants said that women rape too and if women are lesbians, they rape other women. In addition to women being violent towards men, they are violent to other women who are same-sex oriented. One of two explanations could be provided. Women who are not lesbians could be targeted or there could be dominant-subordinate power relations within same sex lesbian couples.

Kwanele: It depends because there are people who are lesbians, lesbians rape women.

Sexuality is dubbed the core cause of women being perpetrators of violence. Society marginalises and stigmatises women who go against heterosexuality which is the social norm of society (Cole & Cate, 2008).

Even though there are many who are oblivious to women as perpetrators of violence, those members of society who see women as being perpetrators acknowledge that they may perpetuate violence towards men and young boys. This goes against gender norms of society for women to even be considered as perpetrators of violence as women cannot be seen as being violent. Yet, research has constantly shown that women can also be violent (Irwin & Chesney-Lind, 2008). Society has started to condemn female aggression (Alison, 2007) because it goes against the gender norms of society. Sexual violence perpetrated by females against males is underreported because male victims are ashamed when they get raped (Twinley, 2017). Male victims of sexual violence do not report it out of fear of their manhood being challenged (Barber, 2008). Women are no longer considered as being only victims of gender based violence as they inflict gender based violence on both males as well as their female counterparts. Bhana (2012) alludes to the fact that that violence takes place both in school as well as out of school, thus it is vital to discuss community violence as it is reproduced in schools (Bhana et al., 2011).

When participants were questioned during the interview about what they thought about violence against males, especially that of sexual violence, this is what they had to say:

Thabo: If you as a male report to the police as a man that a girl is beating you up than it is a joke and they don't take you seriously. Most people are scared to report such cases because they say that you as a male cannot be beaten by a woman, if you allow a woman to hit you than you are not fully a male.

Sindy: Usually they laugh at them, maybe when he went to report they called him isanyi (stupid) for being hit by a woman but if a female is being hit by a male then they take that case seriously

Thato: You never hear many stories about that. They laugh at a man and say ushaywa intombi, ushaywa umfazi (You are being hit by a girl, you are being hit by a woman). They laugh at you maybe that's why in some cases they don't report it.

Thandeka: A men that has been raped turns into a laughing stock, society doesn't support him. They make jokes such as he is a male that was raped by a female, they make him seem like less of a man and his reputation in society is lessened

Candy: A male raped by another male is a joke and men who are raped by woman are no taken seriously. They obviously think that men rape women, they don't ever think of men raping men or women raping men. If a male reports to police that a female raped him they say no woman takes power from men and that men are the ones who take power from women.

Sindy: They would treat him as joke, they usually do that. They would say you were raped by a female and say things to him. They would ask him how can a man be raped by a female? Who is the man at home if he is getting raped?

The extracts above display the negative connotations that are associated with gender based violence perpetuated by women against males. Society has double standards when it comes to the victimisations of men and women; when men are the victims, society does not treat it as a serious matter. Male victimisation is often not taken seriously as there is a cultural belief that men should be able to defend themselves seeing that they are the heads of their households and there is a disbelief of female perpetrators walking around in societies (Carney, Buttell, & Dutton, 2007). Victims responses to violence are highly diverse as to who chose to remain quiet whilst others report it formally or informally (Meyer, 2011).

Society often view males as perpetrators and this makes it essentially hard for males to view themselves as being victims of violence; when males have been victims of gender based violence, they tend to lose their manhood making them feel less masculine (Fisher & Afrodit, 2013). Society finds it hard to view males as victims of violence; when they are reporting rape, police ask them if they enjoyed it and accuse them of simply having regrets (Carney et al., 2007). There is often no evidence to support that males have been victims of sexual violence especially when women are the perpetrators. “Violence against men has been trivialized as it is influenced by social and gender stereotypes that define men as heads of households, who are supposed to be strong defenders of families and other dependents and breadwinners as well” (Thobejane, Luthanda, & Mogorsi, 2018, p. 5). They question men as well as their masculinities when they report violence against them making them seem like less of a man. When they ask them what kind of a man is raped by a woman it questions their manhood as a whole because masculinity is not associated with being weak and raped men are therefore marginalised as they come to embody characteristics which are not considered masculine. Male victims of violence find it to be detrimental for them (Romito & Grassi, 2007). They suffer from shame, depression, anger and guilt (McDonald & Tijerion, 2013). Most of the under reporting of violence against males is due to social norms constructed in society which see men as being strong and not weak (Thobejane et al., 2018). Males do not report violence against them because they fear victimisation and them accepting that they are victims of sexual violence challenges the normative gender order which sees men as being strong (Allen-Collinson, 2009). There is fear associated with admitting to being a victim and reporting it because male hood will be challenged and questioned (Barber, 2008).

Researcher: *Let's say an incident like that happened to you, would you as a male report it?*

Thabiso : *It won't be easy to go report something like that.*

Researcher: *Why is that?*

Thabiso: *Like I said I would be a laughing stock because they would ask me that I allowed a woman to rape me just like that. It isn't fair because woman came to report the incident than it would be a very important case and she will be crying and they will attend the case NOW and arrest the person now.*

Thabo: *They focus more on female cases and they don't focus on males.*

The extracts above show the fears that males may have when it comes to reporting violence perpetrated by women and the double standards society has for victims of gender based

violence. The evidence shows that law officials are biased when it comes to cases of gender based violence against men and boys and often treat the whole issue as a laughing matter because society does not associate masculinity with being a victim; instead, their maleness is questioned (Thobejane et al., 2018). Boys and men are scared to report the violence against them because they are less likely to receive protection from their female perpetrators (Dutton & White, 2013). The participants express their non-reporting of sexual violence as they fear no one will believe them; they are humiliated when they report it and there is a shame associated with reporting cases with little or no evidence to support their claims of having been raped (McDonald & Tijerion, 2013).

Thabo: Women have more power because they are taken seriously compared to men. If women report the same incident [as the one reported by a male] and women are the perpetrators then they won't be taken seriously, it goes into one ear and out the other ear.

Thabo feels as though women have more power because of how they are treated when they report or perpetrate crime. However, this is due to society often thinking of women as victims rather than perpetrators and if they do perpetuate violence they are not taken seriously as people view it as humorous (Hester, 2013). Women are able to get away with it more than men at times.

The police are also biased (Dutton and White, 2013) and they ridicule male victims of sexual violence (Thobejane et al., 2018). Female perpetuated violence is met with more resistance as no one wants to believe that women are capable of perpetuating violence against males (Goldenson, Geffner, Foster, & Clipson, 2007).

Sindy: There is a female learner in the class who likes to fenda (thrust/grind on boys. People laugh when she does that.

The extract above emphasises the complicity of both male and females towards allowing violence against males; rather than the learner being reported or the learners' actions being met with judgement, it is deemed a humorous matter and is not taken seriously. What is evident here is how society is lenient with female offenders and how male victimisation is not taken seriously (Carney et al., 2007). Males show a complicity in male victimisation by laughing and not considering this a serious matter; males play a passive role in their own victimisation.

However, the extracts below show the contrary, where police are unbiased and judge each case on the evidence that is provided and do not judge according to the gender of the perpetrator.

Thandeka: *Some police will try to see to it that he gets the justice and then there are those who think like some members of society and will ask how a male was raped by a female. They don't seem to understand that males can also be raped because they don't have knowledge of such incidents happening.*

Researcher: *How would the community treat female perpetrators of violence?*

Thandeka: *They would try to give justice by ensuring that the guilty party is punished because they would be thinking about their own children. If that person continues to stay in that community then he might rape their children.*

Puleng: *Nowadays people are cruel, if they were not arrested then they would still take matters into their own hands. They might ban you from that community or they might kill you.*

Candy: *At times the law doesn't take its place sometimes they burn them, hit them and sometimes does take its place and they are arrested.*

When the law fails to do something about sexual violence, the community members often take matters into their own hands and perform mob justice in order to deal with that individual. Mob justice is used by communities to ensure that no one else will want to commit the same crime as they would have seen what the others go through when they commit that crime. Mob justice shows brutality and has become a norm for people who have lost faith and patience in the justice system; mob justice shows a dark and ugly side to 'Ubuntu' as people along with children are becoming desensitised witnessing murders and acts of brutality (Baloyi, 2015).

4.6 The hierarchy of males: Hegemony and subordinate masculinities

Violence between males differs and is usually aggressive as they fight for domination within a society; society comprises of many different types of masculinities, so they fight to achieve dominance and glory (Barker, 2005). Connell (1995) argues that masculinity is not just an idea but a personal and social identity. Men in society are thought to be at the top of the

gender hierarchy, especially those who display the desired masculinity attributes, the hegemonic masculine ideal (Beasley, 2008; Haywood & Ghail, 2012). Violence in society is often depicted as a result of power disparities and men use violence as a means to reassert their expected dominance (Boonzaier, 2008). When men are victimised or experience forms of gender based violence, it is often thought to be those who embody the subordinate forms of masculinities such as homosexuals (Currier, 2013). Males who embody the hegemonic masculinity are thought to be aggressive and able to defend themselves against violence in society (Haywood & Ghail, 2012). Thus, it can be said that violence against men is often unrecognised because of the reason that males do not report it out of fear of their manhood being questioned (Barber, 2008).

The table below illustrates the participants' views on males as perpetrators and victims of violence and contains data that has been generated through the use of questionnaires. The participants unanimously agreed that males can be victims as well as perpetrators of gender based violence and in this case, rape.

Table 4.6: Males as victims of violence

| | Boys | Girls |
|--|------|-------|
| Males as victims of sexual violence (Rape) | 16 | 14 |
| They have experienced it themselves or know someone who has experienced it | 11 | 12 |

Thabo: I once slapped a girl.....i walked into to class and she was busy talking about me so I left because I knew if I stayed I would have gone mad and when I came back she was still talking about me and now she was teasing me and when I asked her to stop, she swore me so I walked over to her and slapped her....she went to the principal and reported it and I was suspended.

The extract above shows the women as both the victims as well as perpetrators of gender based violence. This extract shows the ways in which schoolgirls can provoke boys. Society often treats men and women differently though they are both perpetrators. The violence

against males by females is often downplayed and when females report cases it is usually highly publicised. Society condemns violence of men against women because real men do not hit women regardless of what the reasons may be (Allen-Collinson, 2009). However, in this instance the female deliberately provoked the male, but the male was suspended. This incident yet again shows the social processes in society that condones female violence (verbal) but is intolerant of male retaliation and is punishable.

4.7 Patriarchy continues: Females as victims of gender based violence

Violence against women is a global phenomenon that affects women from all walks of life (García-Moreno et al., 2015). Males are usually the perpetrators of violence against women; in traditional relationships, men are thought of as dominant whilst women are submissive (Boonzaier, 2008). Patriarchy is characterised by unequal power relations with men being privileged and dominant and women being submissive and oppressed (Ademiluka, 2018).

The table below illustrates the participants' views on females as victims of violence and contains data that has been generated through the use of questionnaires. The participants unanimously agreed that females are victims of gender based violence and in this case, rape. Out of the girls, only 12 said they knew someone or had experienced a form of gender based violence themselves whilst 2 said they did not know anyone who has experienced gender based violence or they have never experienced it.

Table 4.7: Females as victims of violence

| | Boys | Girls |
|---|------|-------|
| Females as victims of sexual violence (Rape) | 16 | 14 |
| They have experienced gender based violence or know someone who has experienced a form of gender based violence | 11 | 12 |
| They don't know anyone who has experienced gender based violence or they have never | 5 | 2 |

| | | |
|---------------------------|--|--|
| experienced it themselves | | |
|---------------------------|--|--|

Sindy: *Males hit women because she could leave him for another guy or the guy is a bully.*

Sphe: *My brother was hitting his girlfriend and it was not reported, she was scared that he might hit her again or kill her.*

The extract above suggests that violence on women is perpetuated by men. Men use violence as a means on exerting control over women (Alison, 2007). Patriarchy is regarded as the main cause of abuse against women; the hierarchy of a patriarchal society places men over women and deems them as being dominant (Admiluka, 2018).

Angel: *I have experienced gender based violence in my school and community, when I was in primary school. Boys would laugh at me and say stuff about me because I was classified as one of those girls who were ugly.*

Thandeka: *Most of the time people[boys] are mean [they tease her] to me because they know I will not do anything about it.*

The extract above focuses on the verbal forms of gender based violence which are experienced by girls in this community. As Angel expressed, gender based violence is also verbal in a way that is demeaning and humiliating to those who experience it. Being classified as “ugly” suggests that the girls are unwanted, untouchable and not appealing which boys gain pleasure from. The victims of emotional abuse often suffer from insecurities which lead to them not reporting the incidents (Moura, Cruz, & Quevedo, 2011). The effects of emotional abuse are not as visible as those of physical or sexual abuse therefore it makes it harder to prove or report. The power that the perpetrators have over their victims is reinforced by their victims keeping quiet and not reporting it.

Angel: *Its usually males but females can also be perpetrators. Females are perpetrators when someone does something bad to the female and the female doesn't mind, the guy will get used to the idea that he can do anything to anyone and they will not have a problem with it since she didn't have a problem with it.*

Candy: *Both men and women can be both victims as well as perpetrator of gender based violence. They are perpetrators because they see it happening and they don't report it or try to stop it.*

The extracts above reinforce the complicity of women have in their own victimizations by choosing to play a passive role in their victimizations. They enable their oppressors to gain more power over them through them doing nothing to help resolve their victimization.

Thato: We as men, we are seen as perpetrators because its mostly men who hit women and children. You even see this on the news, you saw that Maphintsha video where he was hitting Babes Wodumo, Its not the first time that this is happening because even celebrities experience gender based violence.

The extract above shows the complicity of media in encouraging gender based violence in schools. Celebrities also influence violence in schools by learners reenacting what they see in the media. If they see someone famous engaging in acts of gender based violence, the learners who look up to them will want to be like their idol and do what they do. They do not see a problem if their idols hit their spouses because they are ‘controlled’ by their admiration for the celebrities. Gender based violence is condoned and overlooked in these instances.

4.8 Teachers touch learners in inappropriate ways: Teacher power and intimidation

The South African Council for Educators (SACE, 2019) prohibits teachers from having any inappropriate or improper physical contact with learners. Teachers are entrusted to provide a nurturing and safe environment for learners where they learn and grow academically. However, that is not the case as there are teachers who break the teacher code of conduct and engage in sexual relations with their learners (Nyokangi & Phasha, 2016). The table below shows data generated by using a questionnaire and both boys and girls unanimously agreed that a teacher touching your body without permission was a form of gender based violence.

Table 4.8: Teachers and in appropriate touching

| | Boys | Girls |
|---|------|-------|
| A teacher touching any part of your body is a form of gender based violence | 16 | 14 |

The extracts below depict teachers as the perpetrators of violence in schools:

Thabo: *Teachers are perpetrators of gender based violence.*

Candy: *Sometimes teachers touch learners in inappropriate ways and this contributes to gender based violence in schools.*

Kwanele: *It happens between teachers and learners, maybe a teacher may threaten you and say if you do not do as I tell you, you will fail. They want to touch you inappropriately and expect you to keep quiet and if you say you will talk, he may threaten you and tell you I'm cable of many things in school and if you saying I will also take action and I will tell everyone that you are lying.*

Angel: *A teacher saying they will give you bad marks for your school work especially if they know that you want to do well in school. They might say they see a potential in you and want you attend study groups and when you get there you find it is you and the teacher. They might touch the learner in inappropriate ways or rape the learner he might find a way of twisting everything the learner is saying, making himself to be the victim.*

Sindy: *At a school I was in before this one there was a teacher who would touch a learner in that manner. It got to the point that other learners started to notice that the teacher was always touching her, he became overly fond of her. He would say things that are inappropriate and people would laugh. He would say things like if you were to come to my house and visit me.*

The extracts above explore the role played by teachers in encouraging and perpetuating gender based violence against girls in schools. The victimisation that is experienced by school girls are due to their gender and sexual violence against schoolgirls is very pervasive (Gorfu & Demsse, 2007). Not only do teachers condone violence against learners, but they do it along with learners; the victim is also victimised by their peers. The South African Council for Educators (SACE, 2019) strictly prohibits teachers from touching learners inappropriately, sexually harassing them or having sexual relations with them.

The role that teachers play in encouraging gender based violence as described by learners in the extracts above contradicts the code of conduct that teachers ought to follow. The extracts show how teachers can abuse their positions of power over girls by demanding sexual favours from girls and promising them good grades or threatening to make them fail if they do not comply with their requests. This reinforces the gender inequality that exists in schools along

with the gender hierarchy (Ngakane et al., 2012), where the teacher is both older and holds a high position of power than the girls. This highlights the power imbalance that exists between the teachers and female learners.

Thabo: It is wrong and it's not allowed because a teacher won't like it if the learner also touches them where they are not supposed to be touched.

Candy: If it's a male teacher yes but if it is a female teacher who is a lesbian then yes again. If a teacher touches me anywhere without permission it's a form of gender based violence.

Angel: It depends where they are touching you. If they are touching our head it won't be GBV but if they touch you in a way that makes you feel uncomfortable then it's GBV.

Thandeka: If they were to touch me my private body parts like breast that is inappropriate, like my body its GBV. It would depend on the kind of way he is touching me (my face) but it's a male then I don't expect the teacher to touch my face or my body.

The extracts above stress the inappropriate nature of teachers touching learners inappropriately; learners are in no way approving or encouraging the nature of teachers touching them despite a certain touch being innocent. Learners associate teachers touching them to gender based violence as they feel it is an invasion and abuse of the teacher's powers. They describe being touched by teachers as them enacting gender based violence especially if the learners are not comfortable or consenting to that physical contact. Teachers touching learners inappropriately is an abuse of power by teachers. Ngankane et al., (2012) describe an incident where teachers perpetuate violence against learners; this incident shows how a teacher abuses the power over learners.

In the study by Ngakane et al. (2012), male teachers perpetuated violence against school girls and nothing was done about it; in doing nothing, the gender norms of society were reinforced and those social norms expect women to be quiet. The incident described by Sindy reinforces how teachers perpetuate violence against schoolgirls and how they are expected to remain quiet as means of following the gender norms that are depicted by society. Society expects women to be quiet and coy (Ncube & Moyo, 2011).

Angel: teachers pretend that they didn't see anything [learners being violated by other learners] or wait for you to come to them [reporting to them about being violated]. Other

teachers befriend learners who are doing this stuff [who violate others] and will do it with them and not tell them to stop even if they know that it is wrong.

Teachers are implicated in being liable by ‘turning a blind eye’ to sexual harassment of girls by boys in schools. Teachers condone violence against learners by turning a blind eye to incidents of violence and pretending not to have noticed it. This resonates with Leach (2002) who asserted that despite teachers being seen as the authoritarians in the school, they let gender violence flourish.

Thabo: Talking to teachers, because at times you may tell a teacher something in confidence [reporting a form of violation that a learner has experienced] and they will tell another teacher and when that teacher comes to class they will make fun of that learner or talk about it in class and at the end you are ridiculed.

Teachers are also implicated in violating teacher-learner confidence. The above extract is an indication of the role played in learners being humiliated by other learners due to teacher insensitivity and sharing personal information with other teachers and learners. Ncontsa and Shumba (2013) discuss the role played by gossip in encouraging and promoting violence. Teachers betraying learners’ trust will lead to learners not reporting or disclosing acts of violence that have been perpetuated against them in the future out of fear of being ridiculed and turned into a laughing stock. Victims will suffer from insecurities which will prevent them from getting help (Moura et al., 2011).

Thato: Teachers are our role models and they teach us maybe we can take anything they say and we can do it at home...The say a lot of things like insult us [verbal sexual insults]

Learners in school look up to teachers and trust them to always do what is right. When learners see teachers doing wrong, hitting learners, or touching them inappropriately this can lead to learners thinking that they can replicate what the teacher does to learners. Teachers unknowingly play a role where gender based violence is encouraged and reproduced in schools.

4.9 Sexual relations between learners: heterosexual and homosexual learners

Bhana et al. (2011) describe boys as being the perpetrators of violence in schools. School children are exposed to sexual violence which are perpetuated by males that they know in public areas on their way to or from school, or in schools. Schools are sites where sexual violence can be perpetuated against girls. The table below shows data generated using a questionnaire and both boys and girls unanimously agreed that a peer touching your body without permission was a form of gender based violence.

Table 4.9: Touching amongst peers

| | Boys | Girls |
|--|------|-------|
| A peer touching any part of your body is a form of gender based violence | 16 | 14 |

Thabo: If a male touches me inappropriately then I would hit him very fast and we would have a serious problem because I'm a guy, if a female touches me inappropriately I would tell her I don't like what she is doing because if I don't say anything she will think in like it. I would hit a guy and not a girl. What is he doing as a guy? He might end up raping me. A male or female offering me a favour in return for inappropriate touches is a form of gender based violence.

Candy: If I didn't give that person the right to touch me it's a form of gender based violence.

The extracts above indicate how unwelcomed physical contact is associated with gender based violence. Males touching other males inappropriately is associated with homosexuality. Thabo makes clear how strongly he feels about a male touching him and that he would hit him. This reinforces the idea of multiple masculinities that exist in society with others deemed normal and the dominant and subordinate masculinities where heteronormativity is imposed on all males. If they do not conform to normative heterosexuality, they are threatened with violence. Non-normative sexualities are unacceptable and are marginalised

and stigmatised (Currier, 2013). The male on male violence demonstrated by Thabo is his way of defending his masculinity because if he welcomes inappropriate touching by another male, he is likely to be associated with homosexuality. On the other hand, if a boy is touched by a girl he will not react violently, but simply express his dislikes of the behaviour. Intolerance of boys who are attracted to other boys is clearly evident.

Sindy: If they [those who offer you a favour in return for inappropriate touch] were to touch you like that it wouldn't be nice.

Sindy initially said that a peer or an educator touching any part of your body with permission was not a form of gender based violence in her questionnaire but after explaining to her what the question meant she reconsidered her response, stating that she now understands and said that it is a form of gender based violence. This is proof of how learners do not fully comprehend gender based violence as some incidents of gender based violence are normalised by society.

Thato: I don't mind if girls are playing with me. You know how we as guys, come on mama.

The above reinforces the idea that violence perpetuated by women is considered funny and it is not taken seriously. Society does not often consider women to be a threat as men are generally stronger than they are (Hester, 2013). There is leniency on female perpetrators as compared to male perpetrators (Carney et al., 2007).

4.10 Girls wearing short skirts: Placing the burden of sexual harassment on girls

South African women are harassed and even violated because of their choice of dress code (Kwenaite & Van Heerden, 2011). There are girls in schools who prefer wearing short skirts. What women choose to wear often forms the basis of justifications of violence that is perpetuated against them (Kwenite & Van Herden, 2011). The likelihood of violence against women increases if she is wearing short and sexy clothing (Lennon, Adomaitis, Koo, & Johnson, 2017) as wearing a short skirt means that she is inviting rape on herself (Abeid, Muganyizi, Olsson, Darj, & Axemo, 2014).

This table represents data that has been generated using a questionnaire. It is evident that 10 out of 14 girls consider boys who look at girls who wear short skirts to be gender based violence and 10 out of 16 boys consider it to be a form of gender based violence. It suggests that they are looking for attention and are responsible for being sexually harassed. Only 3 out of 14 girls and 7 out of 16 boys consider girls who look at other girls who wear short skirts to be a form of gender based violence. There is a balance between boys and girls who consider the way someone looks at another person to as gender violence. It is emphasised later if it makes you uncomfortable then it is regarded as sexual harassment.

Table 4.10: Girls wearing short skirts

| | Boys | Girls |
|--|------|-------|
| Boy looking at a girl who is wearing a short skirt is a form of gender based violence | 10 | 10 |
| Boy looking at a girl who is wearing a short skirt is not a form of gender based violence | 6 | 4 |
| Girl looking at a girl who is wearing a short skirt is a form of gender based violence | 7 | 3 |
| Girl looking at a girl who is wearing a short skirt is not a form of gender based violence | 9 | 11 |

Kwanele: It is [gender based violence] because girls don't like that type of attention so that's why I said yes some boys also say "Khula sihlala sikucelela" Grow up we are waiting for you.

Sindy: Yes, It means he wants to sleep with you [if a boy looks at you wearing a short skirt]. If a girl looks at you it means she is a gay (stabane).

Anele: It's gender based violence when boys look at girls there [along their private parts if they are wearing short skirts] because it's not allowed and you are making them feel uncomfortable.

Candy: If guys or lesbian look at you in an inappropriate way [because you are wearing a short skirt] that makes you feel uncomfortable it's sort of like not right, it's a form of gender based violence because you don't like it and it doesn't feel right.

Thandeka: It would depend how he or she is looking at her [while she is wearing a short skirt], if he is looking at her in a sexual way yes.

Puleng: It depends how he is looking[while wearing a short skirt] at her, he may look at her and she may become uncomfortable because how he is looking at her and for girls it can be both yes and no because most girls kiss other girls and want to sleep with other girls.

The extracts above emphasise the burden of sexual harassment that is placed on girls through their choice of clothing. Both boys and girls are considered to be guilty of sexualising a girl wearing a short skirt as there are girls who are sexually attracted to another girl just like boys are. Girls' dress choices are policed and regulated by heterosexual male gaze as well as by homosexuals (lesbians) which cause certain levels of discomfort. This supports the study of Lennon et al. (2017) that gender based violence increases when women wear short clothing. "Grow up we are waiting for you" indicates the form and sense of entitlement that males have over females this also contributes to the objectification of females.

The extracts below describe how a boy or girl looking at a girl who is wearing a short skirt is regarded as being a form of gender based violence on the basis that it makes them feel uncomfortable to be looked at. Women who do not conform to the social norms are considered to be deviant (Baker, 2008) and are seen as a threat because of an attraction to girls (Miriam, 2007).

Thabo: Nowadays girls tempt men and wear things that will make men look at them. They might run into real men who won't waste time because they are easily aroused and the he might find himself raping her because of what she has on. Girls could also rape other girls because they are attracted to her because of what she has on.

From Thabo's view, females tempt men when they wear provocative clothing such as short skirts or dresses. However, Lennon et al. (2017) state that women wear revealing things because they want to look good. Adeid et al. (2014) found in their research that wearing short

clothing invites rape which is what Thabo believes. Men use this as a justification of exerting sexual violence on women and this emphasises the implications and complicity that a female has to endure with regard to the gender based violence against her (Kwenaite & Heerden, 2011; Adeid et al., 2014; Lennon et al., 2017).

Angel: I don't think a boy looking at a girl who is wearing a short skirt is form of gender based violence because they are just looking at you. Others might feel its gender based violence.

Candy: Other girls may look at me and say I wish I could be more like her

Anele: It's not gender based violence if they are both girls

Kwanele: It's not gender based violence if another girl looks at you in a short skirt.

Thato: How can girls be violating each other?

Thato: It's not gender based violence. I'm not touching, I'm just admiring, and you cannot say that anyone who is looking at you is violating you because you are wearing a mini skirt. They know that they are showing something and people are going to look so I don't think you are violating them by looking at them.

The extracts above prove that not all learners believe looking at a girl who is wearing a short skirt is a form of gender based violence as others might simply be admiring them. This is proof that everything is not always sexualised in society and female empowerment is demonstrated through the admiration of girls; this further reinforces the social norms that regard females as passive and none aggressive. “Admiring” is a contested term in this instance. There is no clarity in admiring or sexualising. On the other hand, “Showing something” places girls in a position of sexual objectification where their dress code is policed and regulated by boys who justify that girls know what they are doing by wearing short skirts. Thato does not see it as a violation but as some form of being enticed.

4.11 Reasons for an increase of gender based violence in this school

Gender based violence in schools is a not only an issue in South Africa, but it is regarded as a global phenomenon (Le Roux & Mokhele, 2011). There is an increase in violence in South African schools and this violence is perpetrated by learners, teachers as well as the outside community (Le Roux & Mokhele, 2011; Ncontsa & Shumba, 2013; Mncube & Harber,

2014). This violence is affecting the day to day life of teaching and learning as it interrupts and disrupts constructive teaching and learning from taking place (Ncontsa & Shumba, 2013). Violence in schools has been normalised to the point that it is considered to be the way of life (Le Roux & Mokhele, 2011).

Sindy: By hitting learners for something that they didn't do. Maybe a girl will say that he touched me there on my bum but they could have been playing".

Thandeka: Learners can abuse or discriminate each other based on gender. Like if a girl passes by a boy then he would touch her in way that is not allowed, spank her or be all touchy touchy with her.

The extracts above are proof of how boys justify their inappropriate behaviour by stating that they were just playing. Boys get away with sexual harassment by minimising their wrongdoings.

Sphe: Males increase gender based violence, they are abusers.

Candy: It's the males. They are the ones who talk about rape and girls in a way that's not right and look at girls in an inappropriate ways.

Anele: It's usually the males.

Thato: Males are usually the ones who are perpetrators.

Anele: Other boys force themselves on girls.

Thabiso: Hayi its males. I have seen many incidents in this school, there is a lot of people who smoke and some have girlfriends and if they see their girlfriends standing or talking to other guys they will hit them without asking what is going on.

The participants have highlighted how males feel a sense of entitlement or feel that they own girls and take it upon themselves to become violent when their girlfriends are friendly with other boys. The control and domination of these young women by young men is evident. Thabiso describes how boys view girls as their private property as they hit them when they are talking to other boys. There is a sense of ownership over the girls and thus regulate and police girls by being violent.

Angel: Boys and girls are verbally abusive to each other especially if they are not attracted to how you look, dress or your personality. They say nasty things about that person.

Thato: Guys beat up their girlfriends.

Thabiso: *Males feel like they can treat females anyhow regardless of their age.*

Thabo: *With other students there is peer pressure when you see your friends doing that you know, you think what your friends are doing is cool you know. They beat their girlfriends you know, you see it as something that is cool as well as something that you are supposed to do.*

Puleng: *Learners encourage it in this way, if they see a girl being beaten up they might start beating girls up and they do things because it's done by people they look up to.*

Anele: *Boys can teach each other about all the wrong things, they can encourage them to do all the wrong things.*

Sphe: *Learners troubling each other bullying. Some boys hit girls who cheat on them.*

The extracts above show how boys are encouraging gender based violence in schools. Name calling, physical violence and sexual harassment are described as some of the ways in which gender based violence manifests in schools (Gorfu & Demsse, 2007). Thabo describes how violence has been normalised in school as something that is cool and something that is acceptable because these boys are doing it in plain sight. Boys who do not conform to this norm of hitting their girlfriends are often regarded as being weak and they do not obey hegemonic masculinity ideals. Girls are merely violated because of their gender (Gorfu & Demsse, 2007). Violence perpetrated by male shows the power imbalances that exist between male and females and violence is used by males as means of asserting their dominance (Boonzaier, 2008).

Sindy: *There is a girl who plays those touchy touchy games with boys. Boys start to think that we alike doing that but it is not the case because some of us don't like being touched like that, if you touch me like that I will scold you because I don't like it. Females fight because of males, they fight over males but if they were to have a disagreement over anything else then they would just threaten each other and that would be the end of it in most cases.*

The extract above shows the complicity of girls in the increase of gender based violence in schools. Girls view their worth through men and they compete against each other for the man who exhibits the desirable masculinity (Campbell, 2013). This reinforces the gender inequalities that exist in society where women are valued less than men. Involvement in a fight shows the complicity of women in their own subordination in society.

4.12 Role played by school authorities and teachers in eradicating gender based violence

Bhana et al. (2011) describe schools as being places where gender roles and stereotypes are produced, and this makes schools the perfect place to address gender based violence. Furthermore, Prezenszky, Galli, Bachega, and de Mello (2018) state that schools can advocate for the prevention of violence by socialising children; however, they should not work alone but involve the community as the school is part of the community. As children are first socialised at home before they go school, when they arrive at school they do so as socialised and gendered beings.

The table below shows information that was generated using a questionnaire. It is evident that all learners believe that schooling can play a role in eradicating gender based violence in schools as they not only view schools as sites where gender based violence takes place but they also see schools as sites where gender based violence can be addressed.

Table 4.11: Gender based violence in schools

| | Boys | Girls |
|---|------|-------|
| Gender based violence takes place in schools | 16 | 14 |
| Schooling plays a role in eradicating gender based violence | 16 | 14 |

Sphe: They can teach learners and put up posters on how they can prevent gender based violence and that if they can be a learner who is being abused, the perpetrators could be told he is wrong'. Teachers can also teach learners about the negative impacts or effects of gender based violence.

Angel: Teaching learners about gender based violence because there are learners being violated and they don't even know that they are being violated because they don't know anything about gender based violence. Letting them know what gender based violence, that would make them more open minded and make them be able to report it and actually stop it from happening everywhere around them.

Anele: By giving us information about gender based violence and understand what it is and how we can deal with it.

Thato : Yah, they can play a huge role. They can educate us and teach us the right way of handling ourselves and not abusing women and kids and girls so that when we grow up we grow up right and won't like to fight women and children.

Kwanele: They can teach learners more about gender based violence and encourage them to report gender based violence if it happens so there will be no more perpetrators and gender based violence can end.

Thato: They can play a huge role. They can educate us the eight way of handling ourselves and not abusing women and kids so that when we grow up we grow up right won't like to fight women and children.

Candy: By teaching the learners about gender based violence and how to control it. They can play the role of parents at times by directing us into having conversations about how gender based violence takes place and how we can talk about it, solutions towards it and how we can report it and to whom we can report it to. By educating learners about gender based violence through research and group work.

Angel: They can teach learners about gender based violence because there are learners who are being violated and they don't even know that they are being violated because they don't know anything about gender based violence They should let them know what gender based violence is, that would make them more open minded, make them be able to report it and actually stopping it from happening everywhere around them.

The extracts above emphasise the role that learners believe schooling can play to eradicate gender based violence as they acknowledge that their peers do not fully comprehend what gender based violence entails. Palemero, Bleck, and Peterman (2018) argue that we need to first understand exactly what gender based violence entails before can formulate ways in which to eradicate it. Violence flourishes with the beliefs that are upheld by society and it is these very beliefs that normalises and justifies violence (Plata, 2018).

Angel made an interesting point when she stated that some people do not even know that they are being violated; this is evidence how peoples ignorance is leading them to them playing a role of complicity in their own subordination and victimisation. All that seems to be known about "Gender based violence is that it is perpetuated by the socially ascribed gender differences (Wirtz et al., 2014, p. 2). Furthermore Plata (2018) argues that awareness is

needed in order to help prevent and stop gender based violence. Awareness can be achieved through education, once people come to know what gender based violence is only then can it be addressed (Palemero et al., 2014).

Thandeka: *Teachers should try and build a relationship with learners and try to talk to learners in a polite manner so that they can try and find solutions to help learners.*

Thabiso: *As a teacher you always speak to learners in a good manner and aren't the type to take out their frustrations on learners and must always talk to learners well. If you do that then they will find it easier to talk to you because they can see that you are a cheerful person who is always open and easy to approach.*

Teachers are regarded as being able to play a crucial role as they are the ones who spend more time with learners as compared to parents. Being approachable would encourage learners to report more incidents to them relating to gender based violence and their understanding is that it would significantly reduce the number of incidences that go unreported.

Qiniso: *By punishing them.*

Puleng: *They can make posters which inform learners for an example what they should not be going in schools and the consequences of their actions such as being suspended or arrested. Most learners don't seem to care much about education because they do things that they know are not allowed and they will get suspended in schools and chill at home. The best thing will to put everyone who does wrong and breaks law in jail and that way others can see how serious it is. Most times if they are not arrested they encourage others to do it because there are no real consequences.*

Researcher: *So teachers must work with the police?*

Puleng: *Yes*

Lastly, community involvement is seen as being crucial in eradicating gender based violence; this reinforces the idea of Prezentszky et al. (2018) who state that the community (both the police and community members) should be involved and work with the school as a way of eradicating gender based violence. However, as expressed by Puleng, it will take a lot to deal with this scourge as learners still place themselves in risky situations despite any educational intervention. Drastic measures are advocated by the participants which include incarceration

of the perpetrator. With no real consequences, perpetrators merely continue to act with impunity.

4.13 Conclusion

This chapter presented analysis and the findings of the data that had been gathered during individual interviews and questionnaires that were conducted in Goodness High School in Umlazi Township. The data was analysed using the gender relational theory and it was analysed according to the themes that had emerged from it. The data demonstrated the complicity of both men and women in their own victimisation as well as how the socially constructed norms and stereotypes lead to gender inequality, unequal power relations in society, and how gender social inequalities are reproduced in society. The next chapter will present the main findings of this chapter and also make recommendations for future studies.

Chapter five

Conclusion

5.1 Introduction

This chapter explores learners' understandings of gender power as well as gender based violence through their narratives in a high school in Umlazi township of Kwazulu-Natal. This chapter provides a summary of the study as well as the findings and recommendations (in two sections). The first section will offer the summary of study. The second section will provide the findings and offer recommendations for more research as well as ways to address gender based violence that learners are confronted with in schools.

5.2 Summary of research

In chapter one, the researcher introduced the study, provided a problem statement, discussed the importance of the study, research objectives and questions. This chapter also briefly discusses the research paradigm, research design and methodology, sampling, data analysis and ethical consideration. Lastly it provides an outline of the dissertation.

In chapter 2, a detail review of literature was provided including both local and international literature to discuss factors associated with gender based violence. This chapter discussed the gender relational theory and social construction of gender, defined gender based violence, and hegemonic masculinity. It explored hegemonic masculinity and related gender based violence. It discussed the role of femininity in its subordination and inspected gender based violence as a global phenomenon and thereafter discussed gender based violence in South Africa, viewing the role played by culture and patriarchy in gender power and gender based violence. Furthermore, it discussed risky sexual practices of boys and girls, the role of social media in gender based violence, the gender based violence in schools, and the gendered violence that takes place between learners (boys and girls). Lastly it discussed the role of girls in violent behaviour and explored gendered violence.

Chapter 3 discussed the research paradigm, approach, style and methodology. The study used mixed methods (it was a qualitative as well as quantitative). The purpose of the study,

research site, sampling and data collection methods, questionnaires and individual interviews were discussed in detail. The researcher briefly discussed data analysis and discussed the ethical considerations, reliability, trustworthiness and the limitations.

Chapter 4 provided an analysis, interpretation and discussion of data collected. The gender relational theory was used as an analytical lens and tool to interpret the data. There was a total of eleven themes which arose from the data and they explored the various forms of gender based violence as well as gender power that learners are confronted with in both their communities and schools. Literature was also used as a means of refuting or supporting the findings of the study.

5.3 Findings

The data has revealed that boys and girls have different understandings and meanings of what they consider to be gender based violence as girls are often regarded as the victims and boys are often thought of as the perpetrators by society. The study showed that learners do not fully understand what gender based violence is because some acts of violence such as spanking have been normalised by both boys and girl and society.

It is evident that society has double standards when it comes to violence that is perpetrated by men and women. Society finds it easier to sympathise with and take the side of women as they are often thought of as being helpless, defenseless and victims. When men face victimisation or report violence perpetuated by women or other men, they have their maleness questioned leading to victimisation and stigmatisation by society who ridicules them. Society also encourages violence against men by continuing to protect female perpetrators because the role that they are enacting goes against the social norms of women being passive and non-violent. Men continue suffering while the cycle of violence continues, because research has shown that those who have been victims of violence are more likely to become the perpetrators of violence.

Patriarchy also plays a role in normalising violence against women as they often regard women as being unequal to men and men are seen as the holders of power within society therefore justifying the violence against women. Both men and women acknowledge that

men are mainly the perpetrators and are responsible for the pervasiveness of violence in society. Young boys in school downplay the acts of violence that they inflict on schoolgirls by excusing it as them just playing and meaning nothing bad by it.

The dress code of girls is often used as a means of causing violence. Boys say that girls wear short skirts because they know that it will attract attention; they argue that real men will act on the temptation delivered by girls wearing short skirts as they are thought of as being sedative. However, girls on the other hand do not regard wearing short skirts as a sign of them being promiscuous but rather as being fashionable and if they look at other girls it is sign of admiration because they look good in it or they like how it looks. There are other girls who see it as a form of gender based violence if other girls look at them or boys look at them.

The research showed that teachers play a role in gender based violence which is experienced by learners in schools. Firstly, teachers use corporal punishment on learners as a means of discipline however that translates to other learners as being appropriate. There is also gendered punishment meaning that learners prefer female teachers to hit them as they are more compassionate and males are more likely to resist when females hit them. Secondly, learners have stated that teachers insult them and in turn they do it to other learners, both boys and girls, as they regard teachers to be their role models. Teachers also encourage inappropriate touching in school; they touch learners in a very sexual manner and abuse their position as teachers by threatening to fail learners if they do not cooperate. Teachers often use information that learners entrusted them with to further victimise and ridicule learners in front of their peers and they often tell their colleagues about the issue and this ridicules learners even further.

When men perpetuate gendered violence against women they often use strength and intimidation as means to prevent their victims from reporting the violence against them. This is evident in the data that showed that victims are scared and they have been threatened that harm or death will come to them or their family members if they report it, and out of fear victims do not report the violence against them.

Boys often witness other boys hitting their girlfriends in schools and they think it is an appropriate thing to do and start hitting their girlfriends as well because they do not want to

be seen as being weak or being ridiculed by other boys. It is also very evident that the violence that occurs in communities reproduces in schools.

The data revealed that boys are very violent towards other boys who display homosexuality; they do not want to be associated with homosexuality and they believe that if they ignore and associate with homosexuals then they might be thought of as being homosexual as well. Connell (1995) states that homophobia is a social practice and hegemonic masculinity displays contempt for those who display homosexuality. Girls also show contempt for lesbians. The homosexual identity is met with contempt and it is victimised and stigmatised by heterosexual individuals.

5.4 Recommendations

Educating learners

Bhana et al. (2011) state that schools are the appropriate sites to address gender based violence. The findings show that there are learners who do not fully comprehend what gender based violence is and how to go about dealing with gender based violence when they encounter it. There is a great need for learners to be enlightened about gender based violence and how to go about addressing it if learners are confronted with it. As it stands some learners experience gender based violence but due to their lack of knowledge on the issue they are not even aware of it.

Including sexual violence in the curriculum (including sex and sexuality)

The school curriculum should include more topics on gendered violence and it should be made compulsory for all learners at the school. In doing so, it will help to eradicate gendered violence in schools.

Awareness campaigns in the community

People in the community need to be made aware of what gender based violence is as well as the implications of gender based violence as a means of preventing it from reproducing in schools. It is evident that both culture and patriarchy play a huge role in promoting and reproducing gender based violence in society. During awareness campaigns both young and

old members of society should be invited in and encouraged to participate in awareness campaigns as a means of educating them on the matter to prevent gender based violence.

Training teachers

It is evident from the data that teachers lack adequate skills that would help them behave in a professional and ethical manner especially if learners choose to disclose their experiences with any form of gender based violence or abuse. Teachers should be trained professionally as counselors in order to address matters efficiently as well as ethically should learners choose to disclose any information to them rather than use that information to further victimise the learner.

Teachers require further training on SACE professional code of ethics. Receiving training on the SACE professional ethics will make teachers knowledgeable on what exactly constitutes learner humiliation so they can refrain from it and learn the importance of refraining from having sexual relations with learners. They need to be made aware of the consequences they would face should they be subjecting learners to humiliation or any form of abuse or if they engage in sexual relations with learners.

Encouraging and reporting cases of violence

Learners need to be made aware of the importance of reporting incidents of gender based violence as a means of taking power away from their perpetrators and preventing them further victimising other individuals. Fear and secondary victimisation will be minimised if the perpetrators are aware that reporting is increasing.

Surveillance mechanisms: Cameras at strategic areas in school

Cameras should be installed in schools especially along the corridors and in spaces where learners would be more vulnerable. Perpetrators would not be able to deny if they are 'caught in the act'. It could also act as a deterrent as all learners will know that their every move is being watched.

5.5 Conclusion

Schools are no longer just institutions where learners are expected to receive a formal education; they are now sites in which gender based violence manifest and is being reproduced in with that being said they can also so be the very sites which can challenge and address gender based violence (Bhana et al., 2011).

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Appendices

Appendix A: Research questionnaire

| |
|--|
| Questions |
| 1. Are you male? <i>Umntu wesilisa?</i> |
| 2. Are you female? <i>Umntu wesifazane?</i> |
| 3. Age <i>Uneminyaka emingaki</i> |
| 4. Grade <i>Ibanga olifundayo</i> |
| 5. Do you know what gender based violence is? <i>Kungabe uyazi lubizwa ngani udlame ngobulili?</i> |
| 6. Name the types of gender based violence you are aware of. <i>Awusho izinhlobo zodlame zobulili ozaziyo?</i> |
| 7. Have you or anyone close to you experienced any form of gender violence? <i>Kungabe wena noma abantu abasondelene nawe bake bahlangabezana nodlame bobulili?</i> |
| 8. Where did it occur? <i>Kwenzeka kephi nendawo?</i> |
| 9. If yes was it reported? <i>Uma uphendule ngo-yebo embuzweni ongenhla, ngabe kwabikwa yini?</i> |

| |
|---|
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| <p>10. If a peer touches any part of your body without permission, is that a form of gender based violence? <i>Uma omunye umfundi ekuthintha noma isiphi isitho somzimba wakho kungabe lokho kuwudlame bobulili?</i></p> |
| <p>11. If a teacher touches any part of your body without permission is that gender based violence? <i>Uma uthisha ekuthintha noma isiphi isitho somzimba wakho, kungabe lokho kuwudlame lobulili?</i></p> |
| <p>12. Do you think that if someone offers you a favour in return for inappropriate touches, is that a form of gender based violence? <i>Ucabanga ukuthi uma umuntu ekwenzela izinto ngoba efuna ukukuthinthathinta, lokho kuwuhlobo lodlame bobulili?</i></p> |
| <p>13. Do you think a boy looking at a girl who is wearing a short skirt is a form of gender based violence? <i>Ngokucabanga kwakho kungabe umfana obuka intombazane egqoke isikhethi esifishane kuwuhlobo lodlame ngobulili?</i></p> |
| <p>14. Do you think a girl looking at another girl who is wearing a short skirt a form of gender based violence? <i>Ngokucabanga kwakho kungabe intombazane ebuka intombazane egqoke isikhethi esifishane kuwuhlobo lodlame lobulili?</i></p> |

| |
|---|
| <p>15. Do men use strength to keep their victims quiet? <i>Kungabe abantu besilisa basebenzisa amandla ekutheni bathulise abantu ababahlukumezayo?</i></p> |
| <p>16. Men are the only ones who rape? <i>Abantu besilisa noma amadoda iwona kuphela abanukubeza ngokocansi?</i></p> |
| <p>17. Can women also rape? <i>Ingabe abantu besifazane bayakwazi ukunukubeza ngokocansi nabo?</i></p> |
| <p>18. Only women can be raped? <i>Abantu besifazane kuphela yini abadlwengulwayo?</i></p> |
| <p>19. Men can be raped as well? <i>Abantu besilisa bayanukubezwa ngokocansi nabo?</i></p> |
| <p>20. Do you think gender based violence takes place in schools? <i>Ngokucabanga kwakho udlame ngobulili buyenzeka ezikoleni?</i></p> |

Appendix B: Individual interview questions

- 1) What do you understand by gender based violence?
Yini oyiqonda ngodlame olunmayelana ngobulili?
- 2) What are the kinds of gender based you are aware of?
Iziphi izinhlobo zodlame olumayelana nobulili ozaziyo?
- 3) Have you ever witnessed gender based violence at school or your community?
Explain.
Wakhe walubona udlame olumayelana nobulili esikoleni noma emphakathini? Chaza.
- 4) Have you experienced any form of gender based violence in school or your community?
Wakhe wahlangabezana noma inayiphi inhlobo udlame ngobuli esikoleni noma emphakathini wakho?
- 5) Where did it happen in the school or community?
Kungabe lezeka kephi esikoleni noma emphakathini wakho?
- 6) Did you or the victim report the incident? Why or why not?
Kungabe wena noma ilo owehlekelwa ilezigamekho noma isimo wasibika yini isimo noma isiom? Ngobani noma ngobani kungabikwanga?
- 7) Why do you think gender based violence exists in schools?
Ngokucabanga kwakho kungan ukuhlukumezwa ngobulili kwiyinto ekhona ezikoleni?
- 8) Who are guilty of the increase of gender based violence in schools? Who are largely the perpetrators and the victims of gender based violence?
Obani abanecala ekunyuseni kudlame ngobulili ezikoleni? Obani abantu abangabashushuzeli bodlame ngobulili kanye nabehlekelwa ilezigamekho?

9) What role do you think teachers and learners play in encouraging gender based violence in schools?

Iyiphi indima edlalwa abafundi kanye nothisha ekutheni kuququzelwe udlame ngobulili ezikoleni?

10) What role do you think teachers and school authorities can play in stopping gender based violence in schools?

Kungabe iyiphi indima engadlwa othisha nabaphathi bezikole ekutheni kuqhedwe ngodlame ngobulili ezikoleni?

11) What role do you think learners can play in stopping gender based violence in schools?

Kungabe iyiphi indima engadlwa abanfundi ekutheni kuqhedwe ngodlame ngobulili ezikoleni?

Appendix C: Participant Informed consent form

Dear Participant

INFORMED CONSENT LETTER

My name is **Nokubonga Phumelele Biyela**. I am a Masters student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (**UKZN**). I am currently conducting a study titled: **Gender power and gender based violence: Learners' narrative of gender violence in Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal**. The project aims get learners' understandings of how gender power contributes to gender based violence as well as what learners understand by the term gender violence in schools. I am writing to request your permission to allow your child/ward to participate in a study which seeks learners' understandings of gender power and gender based violence.

Please note that:

- Your confidentiality is guaranteed as your inputs will not be attributed to you in person, but reported only as a population member opinion.
- The interview may last for about 45 minutes to an hour.
- Any information given by you cannot be used against you, and the collected data will be used for purposes of this research only.
- Data will be stored in secure storage and destroyed after 5 years.
- You have a choice to participate, not participate or stop participating in the research. You will not be penalized for taking such an action.
- Your involvement is purely for academic purposes only, and there are no financial benefits involved.
- If you are willing to be interviewed, please indicate (by ticking as applicable) whether or not you are willing to allow the interview to be recorded by the following equipment:

| Data Collection instrument | Willing | Not willing |
|-----------------------------------|----------------|--------------------|
| Questionnaire | | |
| Interview | | |

Email: **212506707@stu.ukzn.ac.za**

Cell: **071 290 52268**

My supervisor is **DR B Anderson** who is located at the School of Education, Edgewood campus of the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

Contact details: email: **AndersonB1@ukzn.ac.za**

You may also contact the Research Office through:

| |
|--|
| Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Administration |
| Research Office, Westville Campus Govan Mbeki Building Private Bag X 54001 Durban 4000 KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA Tel: 27 31 2604557- Fax: 27 31 2604609 Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za |

DECLARATION

I..... (full names of participant) hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project, and I consent to participating in the research project.

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

SIGNATURE OF PARTICIPANT

DATE

.....

.....

SIGNATURE OF PARENT (If participant is a minor)

DATE

.....

.....

Appendix D: Informed consent to parents/guardian

Dear Parent/Guardian Dear Parent/Guardian of _____

My name is Nokubonga Phumelele Biyela. I am a Masters student at the University Of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN). I am currently conducting a study titled: **Gender power and gender based violence: Learners' narrative of gender violence in Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal**. The project aims get learners' understandings of how gender power contributes to gender based violence as well as what learners understand by the term gender violence in schools. I am writing to request your permission to allow your child/ward to participate in a study which seeks learners' understandings of gender power and gender based violence.

Children often exposed to gender based violence in television and print media often writes about it. Many learners in schools have experienced a form of gender violence or know of someone who experienced a form of gender based violence whilst other learners' do not fully understand what gender based violence is. This project involves getting learners narratives of gender power and gender based violence more especially within a school setting. The project will involve interviews with your child/ward, the completion of questionnaires, interviews as well as written journals by your child/ward. The audio tapes from the interviews as well as the transcripts of the interviews, journal and questionnaires will be locked away only I and the supervisor will have access to. Five years after completion of the project, the transcripts, journals and questionnaires will be shredded and the audio tape from the interviews will be deleted

The identity of your child/ward will remain anonymous throughout the study and in the publications we will produce from it. Pseudonyms (we will not use the real name) will be used in order of protecting the identity of the participants as well as the school. In addition, her/his participation in the study is voluntary and he/she may decide not to participate in the study without any penalty. She/he is also free to withdraw from the project at any time during or after data collection, without penalty. Whilst every precaution will be taken to maintain the confidentiality of the participants, there will be limits of confidentiality.

Participants will be informed that should there be a disclosure/s which indicate that their well-being/other learners' is being compromised or at risk, Should there be a disclosure/s which indicate your well-being or other learners' is being compromised or at risk, I as the researcher have a duty to report any forms of sexual violence against children, I will intervene by contacting the relevant law officials such as the police who will take the necessary further steps in

ensuring child safety. Over and above that, according the Sexual Offences Amendment Act, I have a moral and ethical obligation to report any sexual violence to the police.

DECLARATION

I _____ (Full name of parent) hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project, and I consent to my child/ward _____ (full names of the participant) participating in the research project. I understand that my child/ward has liberty to withdraw from the project at any time, should I or they so desire.

Signature _____ Date _____

Thank you for your cooperation.

I can be contacted through:

Email: Phumelelebiyela18@gmail.com

Cell: 0712955268

My supervisor is **DR B Anderson** who is located at the School of Education, Edgewood campus of the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

Contact details: email: **AndersonB1@ukzn.ac.za**

You may also contact the Research Office through:

| |
|--|
| Humanities & Social Sciences |
| Research Ethics Administration |
| Research Office, Westville Campus Govan Mbeki Building Private Bag X 54001 Durban 4000 KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA Tel: 27 31 2604557- Fax: 27 31 2604609 Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za |

Appendix E: Informed consent to principal

To the principal

Permission to conduct a research study in the school

I am writing to request your permission to conduct a study of the experiences, meanings Gender based Violence and gender power. The project is titled: **Gender power and gender based violence: Learners' narrative of gender violence in Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal**. The project aims get learners understandings of how gender power contributes to sexual violence as well as what learners understand by the term sexual violence in schools.

Children are exposed gender based violence in television and print media often writes about it. Many learners in schools have experienced a form of gender based violence or know of someone who experienced a form of gender based violence whilst other learners' understanding of gender based violence is very vague. This project involves getting learners narratives of gender power and gender based violence more especially within a school setting. The project will involve interviews with the learners of your school, the completion of questionnaires, interviews as well as journal entries. The audio tapes from the interviews as well as the transcripts, journals and questionnaires will be locked, only I and the supervisor will have access to them. Five years after the completion of the project, the transcripts and questionnaires will be shredded and the audio tape from the interviews will be deleted.

Whilst every precaution will be taken to maintain the confidentiality of the participants, there will be limits of confidentiality. The identity of the learners of the school as well as the name of the school will remain anonymous throughout the study and in the publications we will produce from it. Pseudonyms (we will not use the real name) will be used in order of protecting the identity of the participants as well as the school. In addition, her/his participation in the study is voluntary and he/she may decide not to participate without any penalty. She/he is also free to withdraw from the project at any time during or after data collection, without penalty. Whilst every precaution will be taken to maintain the confidentiality of the participants, there will be limits of confidentiality Participants will be informed that should there be a disclosure/s which indicate that their well-being/other learners' is being compromised or at risk, Should there be a disclosure/s which indicate your well-being or other learners' is being compromised or at risk, I as the researcher have a duty to report any forms of sexual violence against children, I will intervene by contacting the relevant law officials such as the police who will take the necessary further steps in ensuring child safety. Over

and above that, according the Sexual Offences Amendment Act, I have a moral and ethical obligation to report any sexual violence to the police.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Nokubonga Phumelele Biyela.

Permission Form

I..... (Full names of PRINCIPAL/SGB CHAIRPERSON) hereby confirm that I understand the content of this document and the nature of the research project, and I grant permission to the learners participating in the research project and give permission for the school to be used as a research site.

I understand that both the learners and the school are at liberty to withdraw from the project at any time.

Signature..... Date.....

I can be contacted through:

Email: Phumelelebiyela18@gmail.com

Cell: 0712955268

| |
|--|
| Humanities & Social Sciences |
| Research Ethics Administration |
| Research Office, Westville Campus Govan Mbeki Building Private Bag X 54001 Durban 4000 KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA Tel: 27 31 2604557- Fax: 27 31 2604609 Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za |

Appendix F: Ethical clearance letter from the Department of Education



education

Department:
Education
PROVINCE OF KWAZULU-NATAL

Enquiries: Phindile Duma

Tel: 033 392 1063

Ref.:24/8/1658

Miss NP Biyela
PO Box 176
Umbumbulu
4105

Dear Miss Biyela

PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN THE KZN DoE INSTITUTIONS

Your application to conduct research entitled: "GENDER POWER AND GENDER BASED VIOLENCE: LEARNERS' NARRATIVE OF GENDER VIOLENCE IN AN UMLAZI HIGH SCHOOL IN KWAZULU-NATAL", 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 16 October 2018 to 01 March 2021.
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 Miss Phindile Duma 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 Office of the HOD, 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


Dr. EV Ntama
Head of Department: Education
Date: 17 October 2018

KWAZULU-NATAL DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

Postal Address: Private Bag X9137 - Pietermaritzburg - 3200 - Republic of South Africa
Physical Address: 247 Burger Street - Anton Lembede Building - Pietermaritzburg - 3201
Tel.: +27 33 392 1060 - Fax: +27 033 392 1209 - Email: Phindile.Duma@kzndoe.gov.za - Website: kzndoe.gov.za
Facebook: KZNDOE... Twitter: @DOE_KZN... Instagram: km_education... Youtube: kzndoe

Championing Quality Education - Creating and Securing a Brighter Future

Appendix G: Ethical clearance letter from the University of Kwazulu-Natal



6 July 2018

Ms Nokubong P Biyela 212506707
School of Education
Edgewood Campus

Dear Ms Biyela

Protocol reference number: HSS/0166/018M

Project title: Gender power and gender based violence: Learners' narrative of gender violence in an Umhlali high school in, KwaZulu-Natal.

Full Approval – Full Committee Reviewed Protocol

In response to your application received 1 March 2018, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol has been granted **FULL APPROVAL**.

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

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

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

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

Yours faithfully



Professor Shemuka Singh (Chair)
Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

/pm

cc Supervisor: Dr B Anderson
cc Academic Leader Research: Dr Simon B Khoza
cc School Administrator: Ms Tysar Khamalo

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

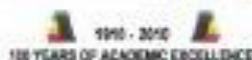
Dr Shemuka Singh (Chair)

Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building

Postal Address: Private Bag 354001, Durban 4008

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Website: www.ukzn.ac.za



Founding Campuses: Edgewood Howard College Medical School Pietermaritzburg Westville