Being an Adolescent Orphan in the Context of Sexual Violence: A Participatory Visual Methodology Study in and around a Township Secondary School in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa

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DECLARATION

I, **Ndumiso Daluxolo Ngidi** declare that:

i. The research reported in this thesis, except where otherwise indicated, is my original research.

ii. This thesis has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.

iii. This dissertation/thesis does not contain other persons' data, pictures, graphs or other information, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other persons.

iv. This thesis does not contain other persons' writing, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other researchers.

v. This thesis does not contain text, graphics or tables copied and pasted from the Internet, unless specifically acknowledged, and the source being detailed in the thesis and in the References sections.

o Ngidi

Statement by Supervisor

This thesis is submitted with my approval.

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Professor Relebohile Moletsane

I AM THE LIFE YOU TOOK

By: Ndumiso Daluxolo Ngidi

I am the life you took

A childhood you stole

Once a mountain and now a shadow

I am the ashes of the tree you burnt down in the middle of the night

The scars you left when you forced yourself inside me

I am the nameless, faceless grave that you dug

I am the life you took

A child once ruled by imagination

Now I walk through the valley of nightmares

Empty and without structure

Where there was once a life now stands an empty shell

The bruises you left on the soul when you took my innocence away

I am without presence nor form, a life without meaning

I am the life you took

TEACH ME

By: Ndumiso Daluxolo Ngidi

Teach me to be myself again,

To take this heavy load and make rainbows out of it.

Teach me how to turn these violations into victories.

Help me find a voice so strong it bends mountains and opens seas.

Teach me the art of self-love,

Of freedom from myself,

From the chains that have prisoned me.

Teach me to walk with my head held up high,

And how my childhood traumas can turn to roses and butterflies

Teach me to live in hope,

The hope I once held in my imagination,

The songs of childhood,

Of running carelessly through open fields.

Teach me to trust again,

To trust the ones who wrecked my soul,

And shattered my dreams.

Help me to find a way,

To let go and let myself take the lead.

Teach me to lead my path,

To carve a better tomorrow,

To laugh and dance in the rain again.

ABSTRACT

The study reported in this thesis examined the vulnerability and agency of a group of adolescent orphans in the context of sexual violence in and around a township secondary school. This qualitative study was located within a transformative paradigm and employed a participatory visual methodology in its objective to pursue the notion of research as intervention. Located in one co-educational secondary school in the Inanda, Ntuzuma and Kwamashu township precinct, in KwaZulu-Natal, the study involved 27 adolescents aged 14-17 years, and in Grades eight to 10, who identified as 'double orphans' (i.e., those who had lost both their biological parents). To generate data, the study used drawing, collage, photovoice, storyboards and participants' written reflections as modes of inquiry and representation. These were supplemented by data generated through interpretive group discussion and my own researcher field notes. Data analysis occurred in three layers: the first two layers involved the participants' own analysis of their visual artefacts, the captions they wrote and the explanations they gave about them during the interpretive group discussions. The third layer involved my own thematic analysis of the participants' data.

The theoretical framework that informed data analysis in the study involved, first, the Frankfurt School's critical theory, which suggests that inquiry must emphasise the creation of a sense of consciousness where participants are able to identify and communicate their vulnerability to sexual violence in and around their school. From this perspective, the study was premised on the notion that the emancipation of adolescent orphans from sexual violence is possible if safe spaces are created in which they can freely analyse their victimisation and critically imagine strategies for curbing/ending it. The second theory used in the study is Mezirow's (1978) transformative learning theory, which posits that given a safe space and tools (involving the

use of participatory visual methodology) to communicate their perspectives, adolescent orphans can become critical, engaged and active agents who can envision possibilities for social change in the context of sexual violence.

The findings in this study illustrate the ways in which I used PVM to engage adolescent orphans in identifying, understanding and communicating their vulnerability to sexual violence in and around their township secondary school. However, the findings also point to gendered differences in how both boys and girls in this study were able to communicate their vulnerability. Specifically, the findings revealed that orphaned girls found it easier to articulate their vulnerability to sexual violence, while the orphaned boys tended to be silent about their own vulnerability. Finally, the participants identified the tools and strategies for addressing sexual violence, including structural and emotional support strategies, as well as retribution and punishment for perpetrators. The findings reinforced the idea that PVM can be a tool for research as intervention. In other words, provided with the right tools (through the use of PVM) and a safe space to engage freely as knowledge producers, adolescent orphans in this study were able to explore and articulate both their vulnerability to sexual violence and to identify the tools and resources they needed to address it. Informed by these findings as well as the literature reviewed, this thesis proposes that in the context of sexual violence, providing a safe space and using PVM with adolescent orphans has the power to excavate the silenced voices of children who are often marginalised; in doing so, this approach develops their agency to address violence.

DEDICATION

This piece of work is dedicated to:

The 27 adolescents who participated in this research

and

All the children who are orphaned

This work is also dedicated to:

My son Enzokuhle (Enzo)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ACRWC	African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women
CCRRI	Centre for Critical Research on Race and Identity
CSG	Child Support Grant
DBE	Department of Basic Education
EGMR	Education for All Global Monitoring
FCG	Foster Care Grant
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GBV	Gender-Based Violence
HOD	Head of Department
IGD	Interpretive Group Discussion
INK	Inanda, Ntuzuma, and KwaMashu
IPV	Intimate Partner Violence
ISR	Institute for Social Research
KZN	KwaZulu-Natal
KZN DoE	KwaZulu-Natal Department of Education
MRCR	Map on the Respect of Children's Rights
NDP	National Development Plan
NPFMSOM	National Policy Framework on the Management of Sexual Offence Matters
NSA	National Survey of Adolescents
NSSF	National School Safety Framework
PI	Principal Investigator
PTSD	Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder
PVM	Participatory Visual Methodology
RCRI	Realization of Children's Rights Index
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SACE	South African Council of Educators
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAEES	School of Agricultural, Earth and Environmental Sciences
SAPS	South African Police Services

SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SeVISSA	Sexual Violence against young girls in Schools in South Africa
SRGBV	School-Related Gender-Based Violence
SRHR	Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights
SRSV	School-Related Sexual Violence
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
UN	United Nations
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific & Cultural Organization
UNGEI	United Nations Girls Education Initiative
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
USA	United States of America
VAWC	Violence against Women and Children
WHO	World Health Organization
WNC	Women's National Coalition

CHAPTER ONE

BEING AN ADOLESCENT ORPHAN IN THE CONTEXT OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

The children who lose one or both parents due to war, invasion, natural disasters, conflict, chronic poverty, and terminal illnesses like diseases such as AIDS are left vulnerable and without anyone to care for them. In these cases… children face numerous dangers (Kavak, 2014, p.2).

1.1 Introduction

Globally, orphaned children are a population that is considered at risk for many social ills, including abuse, neglect, and maltreatment (Kavak, 2014). In the last two decades, the HIV and AIDS epidemic directed international attention to the orphan crisis as millions of children lost their parents to AIDS-related deaths (Save the Children, 2019; Yeboah, 2018). Other factors that have left children without their biological parents include community-level violence and domestic violence, civil wars and other politically motivated conflicts, and poor socioeconomic conditions (Breuning & Ishiyama, 2011). Literature that points to the plight of orphans, especially concerning their experiences of neglect and abuse, is abundant. For example, studies have found that orphans often grow up in poor and unsafe conditions, have few opportunities to develop, and have little protection from abuse and exploitation (Richter & Desmond, 2008; UNICEF, 2017). In addition, orphans have a much greater propensity to grow up without access to education, care, and support when compared to non-orphaned children (Save the Children, 2019). They are also more likely to experience bullying, poverty, violence, abuse, neglect and sexual victimisation (UNICEF, 2016). Furthermore, "orphans face a higher

likelihood of growing up without significant adult role models (such as parents[1]) and without solid ties to the family (which act to guide and constrain[2])" (Breuning & Ishiyama, 2011, p. 1004). This is exacerbated in the cases where orphans live within historically disadvantaged and poorly resourced communities. Due to their vulnerability, orphaned children are a significant group on which to focus the provision of care, support, and protection. Yet, they remain on the margins of such care and support in their homes and communities (Trapenciere, 2014).

Of relevance to this study is scholarship which suggests that adolescent orphans form a particularly vulnerable group of children (Breuning & Ishiyama, 2011; Morrow & Pells, 2012). In addition to various factors that make them vulnerable as orphaned children, adolescence, as a stage of development, further exposes orphans to particular risks in their homes, schools, and communities. Defined as the second decade of an individual's life (in the age between 10-19 years), where she/he is neither a child nor an adult (UNICEF, 2011), adolescence is a challenging stage of development. This is because adolescence is characterised by enormous physical, behavioural and psychological changes that heighten children's vulnerability to socioeconomic challenges linked to wellbeing (World Health Organization, 2017). With the loss of parents, adolescent orphans lack the support of social networks without which they are vulnerable to social and economic neglect (Kavak, 2014). Consequently, they face risks, including sexual exploitation, violence and abuse, which in turn leads to negative social, educational and health outcomes (Richter & Desmond, 2008). As will be argued in this thesis, such violence may occur in the home, the community or the school.

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[1] My comments.
[2] My comments.

This study examined the ways in which adolescent orphans in a school in the Inanda, Ntuzuma, and Kwamashu (INK) township precinct in the greater Durban region of KwaZulu-Natal (KZN), South Africa, understood their vulnerability to sexual violence in and around their township secondary school. In particular, the study investigated the ways in which the participants experienced, communicated, responded to and resisted sexual violence in the various spaces in and around their school.

1.2 Adolescent Orphans and Sexual Violence

Scholars have identified three categories of orphanhood. According to Hall et al. (2016), the first category refers to a maternal orphan as a child whose biological mother has died, but whose biological father is still alive. The second refers to a paternal orphan as a child whose biological father has died, but whose biological mother is still alive. The third refers to a double orphan, as a child who has lost both biological parents. Bringing these definitions together, the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) defines an orphan as a child, under the age of 18 years old, who has lost either or both of his/her parents through any cause of death (Operario, Underhill, Chuong & Hill, 2011; UNICEF, 2011). This broad definition was adopted by many international organisations during the peak of the AIDS epidemic that led to the deaths of millions of people across the globe, leaving behind an ever-increasing number of children growing up without one or both parents.

UNICEF (2011) asserts that while it is the most authoritative, this definition contrasts with more narrow understandings of orphanhood in industrialised countries, where only the death of both parents qualifies a child as an orphan. Using this broad definition, UNICEF reports that about 143 million[3] children globally are orphans, with over 15 million who have lost both their

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[3]This number includes all three categories of orphanhood.

parents. South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) account for the largest number of orphans worldwide, with 61 million and 52 million children orphaned in those two regions, respectively. Likewise, South Africa has a very large population of orphaned children. The South African Child Gauge Report estimates that in 2018, 2.7 million children in the country were orphans, with at least 471 000 having lost both their parents (Hall & Sambu, 2019). In terms of provinces, the highest concentration of double orphans is found in Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal (where this study was conducted) (Delany et al., 2016; Hall & Sambu, 2019). In 2018, each of the two provinces had 23 percent of all double orphans in the country (Hall & Sambu, 2019).

As argued above, orphanhood fuels vulnerability among those affected, particularly children and adolescents, as it renders them susceptible to violence, including sexual violence. Such vulnerability is further exacerbated by the rampant global sexual violence pandemic (Abrahams et al., 2014). For example, international epidemiology literature suggests that although most victims of sexual violence do not report, around 12 million people worldwide experience sexual violence annually, with young people under the age of 18 years facing the greatest likelihood of sexual victimisation (Blake et al., 2015; Mpalirwa, 2015). Within this context, adolescent girls, particularly those who are orphaned and are from poor communities, account for the largest number of reported victims (Benoit, Shumka, Phillips, Kennedy & Belle-Isle., 2015). Further, Abrahams et al. (2014) report that sexual violence occurs across developed and developing countries, different religious and cultural groups, wartime and peace settings, as well as in poor and non-poor settings (see also Artz, Meer & Muller., 2018; Benoit et al., 2015; Dartnall & Jewkes., 2013). The most authoritative definition of sexual violence comes from the World Health Organisation's (WHO) (WHO, 2002, p.2) report, *Understanding and addressing violence against women*, which describes sexual violence as:

Any sexual act, attempt to obtain a sexual act or acts to traffic for sexual purposes, directed against a person using coercion, harassment or advances made by any person regardless of their relationship to the victim, in any setting, including but not limited to home and work (See also, WHO, 2014, p.2).

In relation to children, Fox and Nkosi (2003, p. 3) define sexual violence as:

The assertion of power, through sexual acts, against minors before [or after] the age of consent ... Whether or not a minor… allegedly consented to such sexual activity is immaterial to the definition of sexual abuse. Sex with a child under the age of 16 is legally defined as statutory rape. Sex without consent at any age is illegal. Adults or adolescents may perpetrate sexual abuse against minors below 18 years.

These definitions include all minors, but my interest in this study was on adolescents[4]. In South Africa, the Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act No. 32 of 2007 stipulates that adolescents can only consent to sexual activity from the age of 16 years. Regarding adolescents below 16 years old, the legal framework specifies that there should be no more than a two-year age difference between consenting adolescents engaging in *consensual* sexual activity[5]. Even when perceived as consensual, the South African legal framework specifies that sex between an adult (especially one in a position of authority like an educator) and an adolescent below the age of consent to sex (16 years old) warrants a criminal sanction. The law is clear that sex with children below 12 years of age is considered rape. Importantly, all sex with children below the age of 16 years is considered statutory rape (Strode & Essack 2017). Therefore, even in those cases where adolescents are not coerced into having

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[4] In some places the word child is used and others adolescents.
[5] This only applies to adolescents between 12-16 years. Sexual activity with children below 12 years is regarded as rape. For adolescents above 16 years, this law does not apply.

sex, sexual activity with minors is still considered illegal. Previous research with service providers indicates limited awareness of these laws (Essack & Strode, 2015; Essack, Toohey & Strode, 2016). Therefore, it is important to also unpack understandings of consent within the prescripts of legal definitions, even where both parties believe the sex was consensual.

Sexual violence against adolescents manifests in explicit and implicit forms (Artz et al., 2018; Sigsworth, 2009; Ward, Artz, Leoschut, Kassanjee, & Burton, 2018). Explicit sexual violence includes molestation, rape, abduction, trafficking, groping/fondling, masturbation involving a minor, oral sex, using objects or fingers to penetrate the vagina/anus/mouth, encouraging the child to perform sexual acts on him/herself or another person, encouraging another person to perform sexual acts with or on a child, and sexual harassment (Tolla & Singh, 2018; Sigsworth, 2009). Some of these crimes even result in murder (Alao & Molojwane, 2008; Tolla & Singh, 2018). Implicit sexual violence includes non-contact acts such as whistling, exposure to sexual activity, threats and blackmail, exposure to pornographic material, making sexual comments, catcalling, name-calling, body shaming, sexist language, rape jokes, and victim-blaming and shaming (Ngidi, Khumalo, Essack & Groenewald, 2018; Optimus Study, 2016; Widman & Olson, 2013).

As stated above, this study was conducted in a township secondary school. Available literature suggests that schools are sites of sexual violence (Bohm, 2016; Mason-Jones et al, 2016; Reilly, 2014; Reza et al, 2009). For example, the United Nations Girls Education Initiative (UNGEI, 2015) has highlighted that children worldwide are vulnerable to sexual abuse, harassment and sexual exploitation in school settings. Globally, an estimated 246 million children experience some form of violence in and around school every year (UNGEI, 2015). According to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Culture Organization (UNESCO, 2017), adolescent

girls are more likely to experience sexual violence and harassment within schools compared to boys. Indeed, around 10 percent of adolescent girls in 40 low- and middle-income countries report an experience of forced sex in and around the school (UNGEI, 2015). However, while girls are at greater risk for school-related sexual violence (SRSV), emerging research has revealed that boys are also at risk (UNESCO, 2017).

In South African schools, incidents of sexual violence against learners in and around education institutions have been reported in scholarly literature and, more dramatically, in the media (Bhana, 2012; Wicks, 2017). Two decades ago, the Human Rights Watch report, *Scared at school: Sexual violence against girls in South African schools* (2001) directed attention to the crisis of sexual violence in schools. The report highlighted the plight of learners in the context of sexual violence in the country. Of concern are recent accounts that schoolchildren in South Africa are among the most bullied and sexually abused in the world, with much of the abuse occurring in and around schools (Bhana, 2015; Gevers & Flisher, 2012; Mason-Jones et al., 2016; Mullick, Teffo-Menzima, Williams, & Jina, 2010; Optimus Study, 2016). Indeed, adolescent orphans are particularly vulnerable to this violence (Breuning & Ishiyama, 2011; Makou & Bourdin, 2017). For example, Thompson et al. (2012, p. 56) argue that orphans "are particularly vulnerable due to increased risk of abuse from their school peers, teachers, relatives, and community members".

In response to the heightened vulnerability of adolescent orphans, researchers have argued for interventions and policies that are aimed at addressing the issue, and at facilitating their agency (Meintjes, Hall, Marera & Boulle, 2010; Thompson et al., 2012). Yet, the extent to, and ways in which adolescent orphans are vulnerable to sexual violence in and around schools remains under-explored (Mkandawire, Luginaah & Baxter, 2013). While there is a general increase in

research on the exposure of adolescent orphans to violence, and to sexual violence in particular (Kidman & Palermo, 2016), there is a dearth of literature that prioritises the voices of adolescent orphans. Instead, it is often adult researchers who write about and debate issues pertaining to the lives of orphans in various contexts (UNICEF, 2015).

Thus, this thesis reports on a study that explored the ways in which a group of adolescent orphans experienced, communicated about, responded to and resisted sexual violence in and around their under-resourced township secondary school. Given increasing calls to prioritise the voices of marginalised groups, particularly children and young people, to identify and develop context-relevant solutions (Mitchell & Moletsane, 2018), the study further explored the role of participatory visual methods (PVM) in unearthing the voices of adolescent orphans and facilitating their agency and resilience to sexual violence.

1.3 The Policy Context

The post-apartheid period in South Africa has been characterised by a plethora of policies centred on the acknowledgment of individual rights and laws that seek to protect those rights. Of relevance to this study has been a commitment to women and children's health, safety and security. This was evident in key programmes such as the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), which, according to Corder (1997), sought to mobilise all the country's citizens and resources toward the eradication of apartheid and building a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist future. For example, a key focus of the RDP was to ensure the full and equal role of women and children in all spheres of the economy and society. This commitment was to some degree influenced by findings from a 1994 Women's National Coalition (WNC) study on the rights of women, which showed, among other things, that the majority of South Africans at the time did not support the idea of giving women the right to refuse sex (Meinjes, 1996).

The study reported a public opinion that opposed transforming unequal cultural and traditional practices for women to enjoy the same rights as men. In response, and in acknowledgment of these public sentiments, government, in the RDP document, prioritised women and children's issues (Meinjes, 1996). Through this programme, the government committed to focusing on "the reconstruction of family and community life by … responding to the needs of women and children plagued by violence" (Human Rights Watch, 1995, p.376).

In terms of the legal framework, South Africa is ranked among the most progressive countries in the world. For example, the South African Constitution ensures all citizens the right to security, which includes security from any form of violence. The Bill of Rights, as enshrined in Chapter Two of the Constitution, upholds the rights of all individuals, including children, in the country and defends the values of human dignity, equality, and freedom (The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996). In particular, Section 28 (1) emphasises the right of every child and further guarantees their right to receive protection from maltreatment, neglect, abuse, and degradation.

Likewise, in terms of legislation, Chapter Two of the South African Criminal Law (Sexual Offenses and Related Matters) Amendment Act 32 of 2007 criminalises sexual offenses of any nature. The Act defines and includes all sexual crimes in one law, supports the use of legal entities concerning sexual crimes, improves how the criminal justice system responds to victims of sexual crimes and establishes a national register for all sexual offenders. In Chapter Two, I discuss at length other enabling policies and legislations that protect adolescents.

The South African policy framework operates within a global context that also seeks to protect the rights of individuals and communities. For example, at the June 2012 United Nations

Conference on Sustainable Development (also known as the Rio+20), Southern African countries committed to the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, 2015). SDGs, developed by the United Nations (UN), are a set of 17 goals that have specific objectives to set the global development agenda from 2015-2030. SDG5 (Promoting gender equality and empowerment of women and girls), SDG10 (Reducing inequalities) and SDG16 (Peace, justice, and security) seek to ensure equality, peace, and security for all, including adolescents. In a September 2015 statement at the Global Leaders Meeting, South Africa was among member states that committed to the achievement of gender equality in all areas of life and the empowerment of all its women and children by 2030 (United Nations Women, 2015). The country committed to ending nationwide violence against women by a) hosting municipal level dialogues on violence against women and children, and b) launching and engaging citizens on a year-long campaign on no violence against women and children. Likewise, African countries made a commitment to fulfil the seven aspirations enshrined in the Agenda 2063 document. Agenda 2063 is the continent's strategic framework which is aimed at delivering inclusive and sustainable development (African Union Commission, 2015). Of relevance to this study is Aspiration 3 which enshrines respect for human rights, justice and the rule of law.

Despite these international treaties and the domestic laws and policies in place, gender equality and safety and security for all is yet to be realised (South African Human Rights Commission, 2018). Instead, violence against women and children persists and threatens their wellbeing and security in the country. In particular, as argued above, violence against young people, including adolescent orphans in poor and marginalised communities, remains alarmingly high (Hsiao et al. 2018; Marcus, 2014; Mathews & Benvenuti, 2014). For example, South Africa sits at number 131 among 196 countries that are ranked according to their respect for the rights of

children (Humaniam, 2018). This ranking is determined by the Realization of Children's Right Index (RCRI), which considers certain elements such as education for, and violence against children in a country. The Index thus grades countries between zero and 10 according to their level of realisation of children's rights, with a lower RCRI score indicating a lower realisation of children's right. South Africa has a score of 6.73 in the RCRI. Figure 1.1[6] shows the global Map on the Respect of Children's Rights (MRCR) which is derived from the RCRI (Humanian, 2018) and illustrates the level of socioeconomic difficulties faced by children in each country.

Figure 1.1: Map of Countries' Recognition of Children's Rights (Humanium, 2018)
Source: https://www.humanium.org/en/map-respect-children-rights-worldwide/

Highlighted in red, the map places South Africa among countries where children face difficult situations such as high rates of sexual abuse, maltreatment, neglect and a violation of their rights. To date, the country continues to battle high levels of gender-based violence (GBV), and particularly sexual assaults, in both private and public spaces (Gouws, 2018; Hsiao et al., 2018; Jewkes et al., 2011; Meinck, Cluver, Boyes & Loening-Voysey, 2016). Within this context, adolescents, and girls in particular, as Chapter Two will discuss, are reported to carry

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[6] Permission to use the Map of Countries' Recognition of Children's Rights was granted by Humanium.

the heaviest burden of sexual violence in communities and schools (Abdool Karim & Baxter, 2016).

1.4 Rationale for the Study

My interest in the vulnerability of adolescent orphans to sexual violence is largely personal. On 14 October 1995, at the age of eight, I became a double orphan after my father succumbed to an AIDS-related illness. He was 42 years old. My mother's sudden death had occurred seven years before that of my father's when she was 29 years old. My older brother found her lying lifeless on the bathroom floor where she was preparing for church on a Sunday morning. Family reports later suggested that she died from a heart condition.

Being a double orphan presented many challenges for my three siblings and I (two older brothers and a younger sister[7]) (see also Yeboah, 2018). Among the many experiences I had as an orphan, was sexual abuse. A few weeks after my father's funeral, I was left in the care of a family friend while my brothers were out with their friends studying for the end-of-year examinations. During the night, the family friend molested me. I would experience a second incident of sexual molestation by a relative, someone I knew very closely (see also, Benoit et al., 2015; Devries et al., 2018) sometime later during this period. However, this is an episode I still have not garnered the courage to reflect on.

As a child, I had no knowledge that what I had experienced was sexual abuse, even though I was aware that it should not have happened and that it felt wrong in many ways. It was only later in my second year of undergraduate studies at university, while enrolled for a psychology

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[7] My sister was born, by my stepmother, three years after my mother's death. Our father had started the process of remarrying my stepmother. Unfortunately, his death came before he could remarry. My stepmother also died a few years later under similar conditions as those of my father's.

course on violence, that I finally had a name for my experience – *sexual violence*. Significantly, it was only during this course that I could first speak about my abuse. The course relied heavily on participatory approaches, including PVM (Mitchell, de Lange & Moletsane, 2017), as well as what I have come to understand as *transformative learning* (Mezirow, 1997). Mezirow (1997) defines transformative learning as a process of constructive and meaningful learning that transcends knowledge acquisition to facilitate critical thinking and reflection that encourages students to engage in social change and emancipatory practices. It involves teaching that privileges collaborative learning and empowers students to think creatively and critically (Harrell-Levy & Kerpelman 2010). As a student-centred pedagogy, it stresses the mutual learning between the educator/researcher and the student/researched (Harrell-Levy & Kerpelman 2010; Meyers 2008). It also "engages students as critical thinkers, participatory and active learners, and '*envisioners*' of alternative possibilities" (Nagda, Gurin & Lopez, 2003, p. 167) (I return to transformative learning as my theoretical lens in this study in Chapter Three).

The instructor of the psychology module on violence grounded the course content in the students' perspectives and experiences. In other words, he facilitated a *safe space* for students' ideas, knowledge, and experiences to support the theoretical foundations we were learning. Through engaging with such resources as films[8], as well as participating in group discussions, I began to identify with the characters' experiences, including experiences of being sexually molested. I learned not only about the usefulness of engaging young people to talk about their sensitive experiences but to also appreciate how such engagements worked to facilitate a deeper understanding of the subject matter and to develop agency against abuse.

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[8] The films focused on child sexual abuse and childhood traumas. These include feature films and documentaries.

From a personal standpoint, this study is important. Growing up as an orphan in the late 1990s and early 2000s, I experienced first-hand, the enormous burden of orphanhood on a child and his/her vulnerability to violence and sexual abuse. Growing up in the INK township precinct where this study was conducted, and having studied there for some of my school years, I also experienced the same violence in and around the schools, with little support for me and other children like myself.

I relate my experiences here to debunk the notion that boys and male orphans specifically, are shielded from sexual abuse. While it is true that girls are more vulnerable to sexual violence, my own experiences as an orphan have taught me that it is imperative to hear the voices of all children to fully understand this epidemic. Further, several empirical studies suggest that boys are equally vulnerable to sexual violence (De Vries, Eggers, Jinabhai, Meyer-Weitz, Sathiparsad & Taylor, 2014; Gevers & Flisher, 2012; Optimus Study, 2016). Two international films[9], a documentary called *Deliver us from evil* (Berg, Cooke, Donner & Lassalle, 2006) and a feature film called *Spotlight* (Faust, Golin, Rocklin, Sugar & McCarthy, 2015), and one local Afrikaans feature film *Skoonheid* (*Beauty* in English) (Costet & Hermanus, 2011), based on real-life events, further complement emerging research by highlighting the vulnerability of both boys and girls to sexual abuse. The storyline in *Skoonheid* focuses on the rape of a young boy. However, studies also show that boys are most likely to be perpetrators of sexual violence against girls (Blake et al., 2014; Clark & Duschinsky, 2018).

A second experience, which led me to this study and the methodology I adopted, was the 2013-14 MAC AIDS Leadership for HIV Prevention Fellowship I was involved in. This year-long

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[9] Two of the films we watched in the class focused on investigative exposure of the sexual abuse of children by Catholic priests from the early 1970s to the early 2000s.

fellowship supported emerging leaders who contributed to the development of effective approaches to reducing the spread and impact of HIV and AIDS and GBV in different communities across South Africa. It involved an intensive two-week training course combining key aspects of HIV prevention, leadership skills, and gender equality, followed by a year-long period of mentoring and support in the fellow's community or institution.

The fellowship provided training, support and pilot funding for participants to develop and implement context-appropriate HIV and GBV prevention projects in their communities. As part of the fellowship, I designed and implemented an intervention, *Inyathelo Lethu (Our Initiative)*, working with 16 young people (10 secondary school learners from the INK townships and six university students from an institution in Durban) to engage in work that was aimed at addressing both HIV and GBV. The intervention used participatory approaches to address violence. I engaged the participants in workshops aimed at identifying, understanding and addressing social factors related to the prevalence of HIV and GBV in and around their institutions of learning. I also worked with them through a series of curriculum development workshops aimed at developing a secondary school-based curriculum for addressing GBV and HIV. All the participants, using a variety of participatory teaching and learning methods, including role-play, self-reflection, and small group discussions, explored their personal experiences, feelings, beliefs, and positions about gender violence. Reflecting on this experience, we found that:

> The intervention … developed a practical model for responding to gender violence in a resource-poor secondary school. Using learners as a resource, the entire process … offered a model for preparing participants as leaders committed to social justice. The participants learned to reflect on the negative impacts of GBV and on various strategies for addressing it (Ngidi & Moletsane, 2015, p. 10).

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As a project that valued the voices of young people, *Inyathelo Lethu* reinforced participatory methods in creating safe spaces where they could express their views and work towards social change in their institutions. Since then, I have been involved in several secondary school-based projects with adolescents from the INK townships. From these projects, I have come to realise that sexual violence remains a serious concern for learners, and that orphans are likely to experience this violence while also facing social exclusion and stigma (Kidman, Petrow & Heymann, 2007). Orphaned learners within these environments have few tools to facilitate their agency. It is for this reason that I wanted to create a safe space for adolescent orphans to express their own views (albeit under my facilitation), about their own vulnerability to sexual violence and how they responded to and resisted it. I was interested in working with adolescent orphans in understanding their experiences of sexual violence and in addressing this violence. I was also interested in learning how the use of PVM might facilitate these learners' agency against sexual violence.

My journey towards a doctorate started at a time when sexual violence against young people in South Africa had reached crisis proportions. For example, around one million children in the country report experiencing some form of sexual abuse before they become 18 years old (Optimus Study, 2016). While some orphaned children might have support systems in place that protect them against sexual violence, others (like myself back in my childhood), do not have any safety net to curb their vulnerability and to enable them to develop agency and resilience to resist such violence. This study sought to understand the ways in which adolescent orphans attending a township secondary school understood their vulnerability to sexual violence, and how they experienced, responded to and resisted this violence. For these reasons, the present study focused on the experiences of adolescent orphans, both boys and girls, of sexual violence in and around their school. Using a variety of PVM to unearth their experiences

and narratives, I examined how these approaches might engage the voices of this population to inform understandings of and interventions addressing sexual violence against adolescent orphans.

1.5 Location and Context of the Study

I conducted this study, which explored experiences of, and responses to, sexual violence among 27 adolescent orphans in and around their secondary school in the resource-poor INK township precinct in Durban, South Africa. Because of its geographic position at the centre of all three INK townships, the school is classified as a quintile-two institution. Public schools in South Africa are categorised into five quintiles based on the resource base of the communities within which they are located. Quintile one schools serve the poorest communities, while quintile five schools serve the communities with more resources. Due to their low resource base, schools in quantiles one to three have been declared no-fee paying schools, while schools in quintiles four to five are fee-paying schools (Branson, Hofmeyr & Lam, 2015). The INK townships are characterised by poverty, as exemplified in the poor quality of housing[10], and violence.

Considering that safety is a major issue in schools located in poor communities, of particular interest is that the school only had one security guard stationed at the only gate providing access to and exit from the school. The security guard's responsibility was limited to registering the names of visitors entering the school premises, a task he often performed without even checking for any dangerous items they might carry into the school. This is especially concerning since safety is a major issue for the communities surrounding the school. South African townships, or what young people who reside in them refer to in colloquial terms as

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[10] Even in cases where houses were made of formal structures, some were still in poor debilitated conditions.

ekasi, present important spaces for examining violence. Built on the periphery of cities by the apartheid regime, townships were historically reserved for black citizens under the Group Areas Act of 1950, which saw the creation of separate residential areas for different racial groups (Swartz, 2009). Through this Act, black Africans[11] were forcefully removed from land designated as whites-only and moved to segregated under-resourced townships, often on the periphery of cities and towns. Within these communities, crime and violence are high. In the period between April 2015-April 2016, a high 3 131, 1 994 and 1 699 cases of contact crimes[12] were reported by the South African Police Services (SAPS) in the INK police stations, respectively (SAPS, 2016). Furthermore, 13 570 cases of serious offenses, such as rape, serious bodily injury, and murder, were collectively reported in the same period for all three townships (SAPS, 2016). Reports of drug-related violence (2 274) and illegal possession of firearms (229) were also high. It is therefore not surprising to find that schools within the INK townships are equally violent and habour criminal activity (Ngidi & Moletsane, 2018a).

More than 25 years after the end of apartheid, townships remain poorly resourced, ill-serviced residential areas created exclusively for the social underclass. Just like the *favelas* in Rio de Janeiro (Brazil), *slums* in Calcutta (India) or Nairobi (Kenya), the *barrios* of Mexico City (Mexico), *council estates* in Britain and *ghettos* in the United States of America (USA), townships in South Africa are impoverished and violent urban spaces (Sung 2015; Swartz & Scott 2014). South African scholars link violence to the under resourcefulness of townships (see, for example, Richter et al., 2018). For instance, townships are characterised by poor street lighting and poor access to basic services such as water, housing and road infrastructure. In instances where water is not available at the household level, women and children carry the

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[11] This is apartheid terminology, which continues to be used in the policy framework in order to redress the inequalities and injustices of the past.

[12] Contact crimes are those against a person or people. These include crimes where the victim is injured/harmed or threatened with injury or harm.

burden of walking to isolated and shared standpipes to fetch water, which catalyses their vulnerability to contact crimes (Cheteni, Mah & Yohane, 2018). Indeed, townships became violent trenches in the fight against apartheid when, in 1976, school children in Soweto took to the streets to protest against discriminatory education policies (Ngidi et al., 2016). That historic moment led to a violent encounter with apartheid police who opened live ammunition on the schoolchildren, resulting in the deaths of over 170 children and the injury of many (Glanvill, 2012).

To 'add fuel to the fire', towards the end of the apartheid period in the late 1980s, a phenomenon known as *jackrolling* plagued South African townships and heightened the vulnerability of young black women to sexual violence. This phenomenon was mostly concentrated in Soweto (a township on the outskirts of Johannesburg), but quickly spread to other South African townships, and targeted specifically black adolescent girls. *Jackrolling* was a form of abduction and sexual assault of girls by groups of young men (Wood, 2009). This violence was associated with a male gang called 'Jackrollers' that terrorised communities of Soweto from the 1950s (Tlhabi, 2017). In his October 1991 paper presented at the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, Steve Mokwena argued that the practice of *jackrolling* worked to 'discipline' adolescent girls who were perceived as 'out of reach' or too 'snobbish' for the mostly poor, under-educated and unemployed township male youths. The victims of these horrendous acts were school-going girls, abducted primarily at school or on the route between their homes and schools, raped, killed and/or left to die in open fields or slums in and around their townships (Tlhabi, 2017). In communities, such as Soweto, characterised by poverty and political turmoil, the expectation was that all young people would boycott education; a tradition that had started with the June 1976 uprising against the so-called Bantu Education, a form of inferior education afforded only to black South Africans. Within

this context, and for the Jackrollers, school attendance became a clear indication of a girl's intention to transgress an unspoken curfew to resist education. Therefore, the abduction of these girls, perceived as transgressors, sought to disempower, and 'teach' them a lesson in respecting male authority (Mokwena, 1991).

Scholars who write about *jackrolling* analyse it within the discourse of township male street culture and its associated links to the challenges they faced at the time of political unrest (Russell & Mabaso 1991; Wood, 2009; Tlabi, 2017). These challenges included familial disintegration, deepening poverty and intergenerational conflict (Wood, 2009), and the closure of schools and targeting of schoolchildren, mainly girls, by unemployed male youths (Russel, 1991). This perhaps illustrates a culture that reinforced and normalised sexual violence against girls in poorly resourced communities.

The history of townships goes back further than apartheid, however. Inanda, for example, which was established in the late 1800s as a reserve for black Africans, is the oldest of the three INK townships. Until 1936, when the area was designated for the occupation of black Africans only, it also had residents of Indian descent. Presently, Inanda is largely made up of informal housing. As available studies suggest, informal settlements in South Africa remain sites of violence, including sexual violence (see, for example, Gibbs, Sikweyiya & Jewkes, 2014). Particularly, the 2018 SAPS Crime Statistics Report registered 278 sexual assault cases in Inanda, which is the highest number of documented sexual assaults for any single community and police station in the country. In relation to these findings, a *Sunday Times* newspaper article referred to Inanda as the sexual violence capital of South Africa (Wicks, 2018). Moreover, Wicks (2018) reported that service delivery in the township was poor, that the rape of women

occurred each day, and that the only police station in the township had no professional counsellors to support victims of sexual violence.

The second township, KwaMashu, was built in the late 1950s to accommodate black Africans who were forcefully removed from other areas around Durban. From the 1980s, this township experienced high levels of political unrest and criminal activity (Ngongoma, 2012). Today, it consists mainly of formal housing. However, there are also informal settlements dotted in and around it. The KwaMashu police station reports the highest murder rate of any other police station in and around Durban. In the period between April 2015-April 2016, 128 murders were recorded, leading to the township being dubbed the 'killing fields' of the province (SAPS, 2016). As discussed above, sexual violence is rife in marginalised and poorly resourced communities such as townships. For example, KwaMashu is included in the country's 20 police stations that report high incidences of sexual assaults against women and children (Ethekwini Municipality, Office of Strategic Management: Research & Policy Advocacy, 2017). In 2017, there were 126 sexual assault cases reported in KwaMashu. Rape in this township mostly occurs in areas zoned as green spaces or public open spaces such as bus stops and taxi ranks (Ethekwini Municipality, Office of Strategic Management: Research & Policy Advocacy, 2017). In fact, the Urban Safety Reference Group (2017) listed KwaMashu, alongside Hillbrow (in Johannesburg) and Phillipi (in Cape Town), as a crime hotspot of South Africa.

Ntuzuma, the third township, was established for black Africans in the 1970s. Like KwaMashu, the area experienced high levels of violence and crime at the height of the apartheid regime in the late 1980s (Ngongoma, 2012). The legacy of colonial and apartheid violence remains to this day. For instance, the police station in Ntuzuma, just like in KwaMashu, is listed among the 20 that report the highest incidences of crime and violence against women and children,

including domestic violence, nationally (Bandyambona, 2013). Currently, Ntuzuma has high rates of contact crime, with 5 360 reported in 2018 alone (SAPS, 2018). Sexual offences are also high. One hundred and sixty six (166) sexual assaults were recorded in 2017 at the Ntuzuma police station (SAPS, 2017).

Further disconcerting is the fact that local newspapers constantly report a surge of violence in and around schools within the INK communities (Wicks, 2017; Wolhuter, 2017). For example, newspapers reported on the physical assault of an adolescent girl by her male school peers in one school in Inanda (Cronje and Mngadi, 2017; Savides, 2017). This unfortunate incident was caught on cell phone video footage that went viral in the country and caught the attention of officials from the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Education (KZN DoE). Around the same period, thousands of learners took to the streets of KwaMashu and Ntuzuma to protest against school violence and the abduction of learners on their way to school (Singh, 2017). Thus, these communities, in which this study was located, are largely residential communities that share a common set of challenges and socioeconomic activities (Bandyambona, 2013). It is within this larger context that the participants in this study lived and learned, and within which their experiences and knowledge of sexual violence are analysed.

1.6 Purpose of the Study

As discussed above, adolescent orphans in poor communities tend to be most vulnerable to neglect and violence generally, and sexual violence in particular. This is because they lack the safety net of a biological parent and the resources (including economic and social resources) that facilitate their safety and well-being (Operario et al, 2011). Yet, their vulnerability to sexual violence in and around their schools remains under-studied. Specifically, their voices around their own vulnerability and the ways in which they respond to the violence are largely

silent. Thus, the aim of the study reported in this thesis was two-fold: First, the study aimed to examine the ways in which adolescent orphans experienced, understood, responded to and resisted sexual violence in and around their township school. Second, the study sought to investigate the role of PVM in facilitating the participants' agency in addressing sexual violence. Using a variety of PVM (including collage-making, drawing, photovoice, and storyboards) to unearth these experiences and narratives, I examined how these approaches might engage the voices of orphaned young people to inform interventions aimed at addressing sexual violence in and around schools.

1.6.1 Research Questions

The main question in this study was: *How do adolescent orphans in a poorly resourced township school understand and resist their vulnerability to sexual violence?* To address this question, data generation was organised around three critical research questions:

1. *How do adolescent orphans identify, understand and communicate their vulnerability to sexual violence in and around a township secondary school?*

2. *What tools and strategies do they use to respond to and resist sexual violence in and around the school?*

3. *How might the use of participatory visual methodologies facilitate these adolescent orphans' agency in the context of sexual violence in and around the school?*

1.7 Overview of the Theoretical Framework

Data analysis in this study was informed by the Frankfurt School's critical theory and Mezirow's (1978) transformative learning theory. Research within the critical theory is particularly interested in, and attuned to, issues of power and promoting the agency and wellbeing of the disadvantaged, the vulnerable, the oppressed and the exploited (Nelson &

Prilleltensky, 2010). It analyses historical and structural conditions of oppression and seeks the transformation of those conditions. Critical theory stems from the belief that research is conducted for the emancipation of individuals and groups in society. The key "methodological element of critical [theory] is that research is participatory and action-oriented" (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005, p. 278). In this study, the theory was used to examine how adolescent orphans understood their vulnerability to sexual violence, and the tools they drew from to respond to and resist it.

Jack Mezirow's (1978) transformative learning theory was the second theory used to analyse data in this study. Transformative learning theory is an extension of critical theory and is premised on the belief that students are critical thinkers, participatory and active learners, and '*envisioners*' of alternative possibilities (Nagda et al., 2003, p. 167). Rooted in the work of Paolo Freire (1970), transformative learning theory endeavours to liberate individual thinking and to facilitate a process of unlearning previous beliefs and ideologies. Transformative learning theorists acknowledge that learning is also influenced by students' individual experiences. Meyers (2008) argues that transformative learning assists the student in examining their experiences in consideration of social issues and then acting to effect wider change. The theory was used to explain whether the use of PVM might influence their agency to take action to resist sexual violence and find strategies for social change (The theoretical framework is discussed in more detail in Chapter Three).

1.8 Overview of the Methodological Approach

This research addressed the question: *How do adolescent orphans in a poorly resourced township school understand and resist their vulnerability to sexual violence?* To address this question, I located the research within the transformative paradigm (which is discussed in more

detail in Chapter Four). Research within the transformative paradigm acknowledges that realities are constructed and shaped by social, political, cultural, and economic values, and that power and privilege are important determinants for which reality will be privileged in a research context (Mertens, 2007). This paradigm provides a framework for addressing inequalities and injustices by using culturally appropriate research methods and strategies. Likewise, the sort of methodologies that are informed by the transformative paradigm provide a mechanism for addressing the complexities of research in culturally complex settings that can provide a basis for social change (Mertens, 2007; Romm, 2014). Informed by the transformative paradigm, the study adopted a participatory research design that acknowledged that adolescent orphans are both knowers and actors in their own lives (Oakley, 1994), and as such, their voices must be privileged in the analysis of their vulnerability to and agency against sexual violence.

PVM, including collage, drawing, photovoice, and storyboards were used to generate data with 27 adolescent orphans in one township secondary school in the INK townships near Durban. These activities were complemented by interpretive group discussions (IGD) (Redman-MacLaren, Mills & Tommbe, 2014), my own researcher fieldnotes and participants' written reflections. To address the first research question: *How do adolescent orphans identify, understand and communicate their vulnerability to sexual violence in and around a township secondary school?*, my data sources included the participants' drawings and, collages, photovoice images, storyboards, as well as my researcher fieldnotes and transcripts from IGD.

To generate data to address the second research question: *What tools and strategies do they use to respond to and resist sexual violence in and around the school?* I used photovoice, researcher fieldnotes, and IGD. Finally, to address the third question in the study: *How might*

the use of participatory visual methodologies facilitate these adolescent orphans' agency in the context of sexual violence in and around the school? I used participants' written reflections and IGD of their engagement with participatory visual approaches to speak about their vulnerability to sexual violence.

Data generated using these tools were analysed using thematic analysis. Thematic analysis focuses on identifiable themes and patterns within the context of sexual violence (Aronson, 1995, p.1). According to Braun and Clarke (2006, p. 6), thematic analysis is "a method for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within the data". Furthermore, using thematic analysis I searched for themes that emerged as being important to answer the study's research questions (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). Thematic analysis helped in organising and describing the visual data in detail, and for further interpreting various aspects of the research topic (Vaismoradi, Turunen & Bondas, 2013). In this study, the process of thematic analysis involved the identification of themes through careful reading and re-reading of the visual data produced by participants (a detailed overview of the research design and methodology is presented in detail in Chapter Four).

1.9 Ethical Considerations in the Study

Given the nature of the topic of this study (vulnerability to sexual violence) and the participants involved (adolescent orphans), ethical issues emerged and had to be mitigated. First, before the commencement of the study, written permission to conduct the research was granted by the relevant institutions, including the University of KwaZulu-Natal's (UKZN) Humanities Research Ethics Committee (Protocol number: HSS/176/016D), while permission to conduct research in the school was obtained from the KZN DoE (see Appendix B) and the school's management (Appendix C). Participants in the study were secondary school learners, which

meant that as minors, full consent for their participation was requested and obtained from their guardians or caregivers in terms of the South African Children's Act (Act 38 of 2005). Furthermore, the participants themselves gave assent for their participation. Only learners whose caregivers had fully consented, and who had assented to participate were enrolled in the study. Permission to use each of the participants' visual productions (i.e., drawings, photographs, storyboards, and collages) was obtained from the participants. In this thesis, I have only included data, including visual products which participants gave me permission to use.

In addition to being minors, the participants in this study were orphans, which placed them in a category of vulnerable children. To address the ethical challenges in research with orphans and other vulnerable children, I took heed of recommendations made by Kelley et al. (2016), which included conducting research that does 'most good and involves minimal risk'. For these scholars, research with orphans is ethically justified only if it offers benefits to the child or contributes to scientific knowledge that will improve interventions and programmes to help these children. Furthermore, the South African Children's Act of 2005, stipulates that ethical research with, and participation of children should take stock in providing care and protection of children. Moreover, the law puts emphasis on children's agency in participating in research (Strode, Toohey, Singh & Slack, 2015). I heeded this call by viewing my research as a tool for understanding and therefore, addressing adolescent orphans' vulnerability to sexual violence and for informing interventions and policy efforts for combating it. In Chapter Four, I provide a detailed discussion of all ethical issues and how they were addressed in this study.

1.10 Synthesis and Overview of the Thesis

The study reported in this thesis examined the ways in which adolescent orphans experience, respond to and resist sexual violence in and around their township school. The study investigated the role of PVM in facilitating participants' agency to act against sexual violence. This thesis is organised into eight chapters. In this chapter, I introduced the study, outlined its rationale; background, and context. Significantly, the chapter identified the aim of the study and the research questions used to generate data. The remainder of this thesis is structured as follows:

Chapter Two, a literature review, provides a broad analysis of scholarship on, the vulnerability of adolescent orphans to sexual violence in and around schools, particularly resource-poor institutions. The chapter also reviews responses put in place to address sexual violence against adolescent orphans, as well as the literature on the ways in which adolescent orphans respond to and resist sexual violence. The chapter further discusses the conceptual framework which guides the study. It closes with a discussion which makes the case for the importance of PVM as tools for understanding and addressing the vulnerability to sexual violence of adolescent orphans.

In Chapter Three, I discuss the theoretical framework that informs the study. The chapter opens with a discussion of the ontological contribution of the study, followed by a discussion of the critical theory as one of the theories that informed this research. The third section provides a critical discussion of transformative learning theory, which is also used to analyse the data in this study. A section that discusses some propositions that guided data analysis and precede the chapter's synthesis.

In Chapter Four, I describe the research design and methodology employed in the study, and the research approaches used in generating the data. Specifically, I provide a detailed discussion of participatory visual research for social change. This is followed by a discussion of the context, the participants, data generation methods and the data analysis strategies employed. Finally, I address questions regarding trustworthiness and ethical considerations in the study.

In Chapter Five, I present data responding to the first research question: *How do adolescent orphans identify, understand and communicate their vulnerability to sexual violence in and around a township secondary school?* In this chapter, I present findings on the participants' construction of their vulnerability to sexual violence and feeling unsafe in and around their school. Chapter Six presents data addressing the question: *What tools and strategies do they use to respond to and resist sexual violence in and around the school?,* while in Chapter Seven, I analyse data in response to the third research question: *How might the use of participatory visual methodologies facilitate these adolescent orphans' agency in the context of sexual violence in and around the school?* Specifically, Chapter Six presents findings on how participants imagined the tools and strategies for responding to and resisting sexual violence, while Chapter Seven presents the participants reflections on engaging through PVM in the context of sexual violence.

In Chapter Eight, I conclude the thesis by offering a summary of the findings. I then reflect on the contribution that the study makes regarding understandings of orphans' vulnerability to and agency against sexual violence. Further, I reflect on the methodological contribution the study has made. I conclude with a discussion on the implications of the study. The next chapter presents a review of the literature related to the question posed in this study.

CHAPTER TWO

ADOLESCENT ORPHANS' VULNERABILITY AND AGENCY IN THE CONTEXT OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

> Violence against the most vulnerable members of our society – our children and adolescents – has a devastating impact and leads to a wide range of health and social problems. Yet much of it is predictable and preventable through programmes that address its causes and risk factors (WHO, 2016, p. 10).

2.1 Introduction

As argued in Chapter One, globally, adolescence has become a period of heightened vulnerability to sexual violence (Devries & Meinck, 2018; UNICEF, 2017; Meinck, Cluver, Boyes & Mhlongo, 2014; Moore, Awusabo-Asare, Madise, John-Langba & Kumi-Kyereme, 2008. Adolescents experience this violence both inside and outside their homes, where they face increased risk from strangers, relatives, immediate community members, peers, friends and increasingly, in intimate relationships (Blake et al., 2014; Ellsberg et al., 2017; UNICEF, 2014; Wubs et al., 2009). For adolescent girls, this stage of development is particularly challenging since they tend to be sexualised and as a result, encounter more sexual victimisation as they begin to physically mature and start assuming sexual identities (Reza et al., 2009; Sarnquist et al., 2014; Uduma, Samuel & Agbaje, 2015; UNICEF, 2011). In the context of unequal gender norms in their families and communities, adolescent girls are expected to be submissive and silent on important issues, including those of abuse (Altinyelken, Le Mat, Bos & Volman 2018; Le Mat, Kosar-Altinyelken, Kambari, 2006). If they deviate and are viewed as not adhering to, or complying with expected gender roles, they are socially

censured and punished (Muhanguzi, 2011). Such punishment often takes the form of GBV, including sexual violence.

Within this context, available studies analyse the maltreatment adolescent orphans experience in their homes, communities, and schools (Cluver & Orkin, 2009; Ong, Yi, Chhoun, Shibanuma, Yasuoka & Jimba, 2017; Sherr, Roberts & Gandhi, 2017; Thurman and Kidman, 2011). However, the ways in which adolescent orphans experience, understand, respond to and resist sexual violence has received very little scholarly attention. Furthermore, while an abundance of literature reports that schools are sites for sexual violence against adolescent learners (Andersson et al., 2004; Beninger, 2013; Mulumeoderhwa & Harris, 2015; Parkes, Heslop, Ross, Westerveld & Unterhalter, 2016; Parkes, Ross, Heslop, Westerveld & Unterhalter, 2017b; Thomson, 2017), studies that focus on orphans' understanding and experiences of sexual violence in and around school are still in their infancy (see for example, Ngidi & Moletsane, 2015; Oleke, Blystad, Fylkesnes & Tumwine, 2007).

The previous chapter introduced the study and outlined the aim of the study, its rationale, background, and context. The chapter identified the research questions, and an overview of methods for generating data, analysis and ethical considerations of the study. In this chapter, I review literature related to adolescent orphans' vulnerability to sexual violence and the interventions that have been implemented to develop their agency to resist and address such violence in and around schools. The chapter is organised into seven sections. In the next section, I review literature that examines the extent of sexual violence against adolescents. I further discuss the vulnerability of adolescents to sexual violence in and around schools. Section two focuses on adolescent orphans' vulnerability to sexual violence, including their experiences in and around the school. Section three reviews the literature on the conditions that

fuel sexual violence against adolescents, while section four discusses the impact of sexual violence against this group of young people. Section five reviews scholarship on responses to sexual violence against adolescents. In particular, I focus on international, regional and country-specific policies and programmes that are in place to address sexual violence and respond to victims and survivors of this epidemic. The review includes a focus on school-level response to sexual violence, including an overview of successful school-based interventions for addressing sexual violence against learners and for facilitating resilience and agency in the context of sexual violence against adolescent orphans. Section six offers a discussion of the findings from the literature review followed by a sub-section, which outlines the conceptual framework which guides the study and makes the case for the importance of PVM as tools for understanding and addressing the vulnerability to sexual violence of adolescent orphans. The last section synthesises and concludes the chapter.

2.2 Sexual Violence against Adolescents

Available scholarship and programming tend to focus on the sexual victimisation of adult women (Jewkes, Fulu, Roselli & Garcia-Moreno; 2012; Kabeer, 2014; Yount, 2014; WHO, 2013). Even though evidence from studies shows that significant numbers of sexual violence victims are adolescents, the enduring victimisation of adolescent girls is largely ignored (Barbara et al., 2017; Blake et al., 2014; McClanaha, Huff, Omar & Merrick, 2014; Murray et al., 2018). In fact, much of the current evidence focuses on the likelihood that an adolescent child will experience sexual violence before they reach the age of 18 years (Blake et al., 2014; Finkelhor, Vanderminden, Turner, Hamby & Shattuck, 2014; Jina & Thomas, 2013; Mahlangu, Gevers & De Lannoy, 2014; Meinck et al., 2014; Ybarra, Kimberly & Mitchell, 2013). Without a doubt, in the context of vulnerability to sexual violence, adolescent girls are the most

vulnerable group (Finkelhor et al., 2014; Devries & Meinck, 2018; Haffejee &Theron, 2017; McClanahan, Huff & Merrick, 2014; Ward et al., 2018).

Globally, a UNICEF report estimates that around 120 million (or one in every 11) girls have experienced forced sex or other forms of sexual violence in the course of their adolescence (UNICEF, 2017). The report further states that nine million adolescent girls experience forced sex each year. A comparable report from Know Violence in Childhood (Akobirshoev & Nandakumar, 2017) estimates that up to 40 percent of girls compared with 20 percent of boys globally, experience sexual violence before they reach the age of 15 years. Likewise, global estimates from self-reported sexual violence incidences with authorities such as the police and childcare institutions support these claims. For example, analysis of global police records found that close to 18 percent of adolescent girls and eight percent of adolescent boys report an experience of sexual abuse to authorities (Barth, Bermetz, Heim, Trelle & Tonia, 2013; Pereda et al., 2009a)

Geographically, the prevelance of sexual violence against adolescents is higher in resource-poor regions and communities of the world, especially those with violent histories of oppression and discrimination. This is true even for boys, who are at heightened risk for sexual abuse if they live in poor African or Asian countries when compared to boys in the wealthier countries of Europe and North America (Stoltenborgh, Bakermans-Kranenburg, Alink & van Ijzendoorn, 2014). Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) has one of the highest prevalence rates of sexual violence against adolescents (Meinch et al., 2014; Stoltenborgh et al., 2014) – studies report a prevalence as high as 64 percent (Lalor, 2004; Meinch et al., 2014; Yen et al., 2008). As the evidence above suggests, adolescent girls are more vulnerable than their male counterparts.

Evidence from epidemiological studies within countries in SSA suggests that for a number of girls, sexual debut is either forced or coerced. For instance, a study by Moore et al. (2007), which examined the prevalence of coercion at sexual debut among unmarried adolescent girls in Burkina Faso, Ghana, Malawi, and Uganda, found that the number of girls who were coerced to have their first sex experience was 38 percent in Malawi, 30 percent in Ghana, 23 percent in Uganda, and 15 percent in Burkina Faso. Similarly, in Swaziland 33 percent of a nationally representative sample of adolescent girls reported an incident of forced sex before they reached 18 years (Reza et al., 2009). A similar Burundian study found that 26.1 percent of adolescent girls reported an experience of forced sex in their lifetime; a rate which was higher than any other social group, including boys and older women, in that country (Elourd et al., 2018).

UNICEF (2017) has lamented the fact that only 40 countries worldwide provide conclusive data on sexual violence against adolescent girls, and that even less is known about boys' vulnerability and experiences of this phenomenon. Undoubtedly, as indicated above, there is evidence, albeit limited, showing that adolescent boys are also vulnerable to sexual violence (Von Hohendorff, Habigzang & Koller, 2017). For example, a meta-analysis[13] of studies on childhood sexual abuse estimates that eight percent of boys globally have experienced sexual abuse (Stoltenborgh, Van Ijzendoorn, Euser & Barkermans-Kranenburg, 2011). However, as Moynihan et al. (2018) show in their systematic literature review, boys are featured as an afterthought within studies on broader child and adolescent populations.

Reliable data on boys' vulnerability and experiences of sexual violence come from studies which focus largely on boys in conflict settings (Dolan, 2015; 2018), as well as from systematic

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[13] Stoltenborgh et al. (2017) analysed 217 studies published between 1980 and 2008 to determine global prevalence of child sexual abuse.

reviews of studies that feature boys' experiences (Adjei & Saewyc, 2017; Moynihan et al., 2018), studies with healthcare practitioners and their male clients (Von Hohendorff et al., 2017) and studies on barriers to disclosure of male child sexual abuse (Easton et al., 2014). A common theme in a number of these studies is concerned with the sexual exploitation of adolescent boys. For example, Adjei and Saewyc (2017) used data from the National Survey of Adolescents (NSA) conducted in four SSA countries (Burkina Faso, Ghana, Malawi and Uganda) to assess factors associated with transactional sexual behaviour among adolescent boys and girls. Their analysis revealed that the odds of trading sex were significantly higher for boys, with over 31 percent of their sampled adolescent boys reporting an experience of sexual abuse (see also, Barth et al., 2013).

The limited evidence on the vulnerability of boys is tied to their non-disclosure because, in a number of societies, sexual violence is often considered an act against girls (Scrandis & Watt, 2014). Linked to this are societies' ideas about masculinity and manhood, which make boys reluctant to report their abuse out of fear of being labelled as weak (Dolan, 2015; Ricther et al., 2018; Von Hohendorff et al., 2017). It is widely accepted that a majority of perpetrators of sexual violence against adolescents are male. Thus, in a largely patriarchal and homophobic world, boys might also fear being perceived as homosexual if they report their sexual victimisation (Moynihan et al., 2018; Sivagurunathan, Orchard, MacDermid & Evans, 2018). In addition, conservative societal views of men as aggressors rather than victims might dissuade boys from reporting (Morrel, Jewkes & Lindegger, 2012; Sorsoli, Kia-Keating & Grossman, 2008; Von Hohendorff et al., 2017). In this regard, in their mixed-methods study of boys' experiences of sexual violence, Von Hohendorff and colleagues (2017) found that victims faced significant levels of disbelief and discrimination when they reported. Further, while reports of older women who sexually victimise boys are emerging, boys in these

situations might not view their sexual experiences with older women as abuse because of sex stereotypes that encourage male sexual virility (Easton, Saltzman & Willis, 2014; Sivagurunathan et al., 2018).

Yet, while acknowledging the vulnerability of adolescent boys, the rates of victimisation of girls is alarming (Adjei & Saewyc, 2017; UNICEF 2017), and more so when viewed from a cultural standpoint. Within this context, particularly among societies in SSA, sexual violence against adolescent girls is not only a manifestation of gender inequality but it is further used to solidify this unequal balance of power. For example, cultural practices such as *kupira ngozi* or appeasing the dead in the Shona society of Zimbabwe (Mutangi, 2008) or *ukuphuma kwezintombi* or the maidens' coming-out ball in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa (Treffry-Goatley, Moletsane & Wiebesiek, 2018) are some of the forms of sexual and human rights violations against adolescent girls. *Kupira ngozi* is a practice whereby a young girl is offered in compensation or atonement as a wife to a man in a family against which an offence has been committed by her father or brother (Dodo, 2018). In a number of cases, this practice takes place when a male relative of an adolescent girl has committed murder. The family of the deceased is thereafter atoned with the offering of a virgin girl as a wife to one of the household males. A related practice, *ukuphuma kwezintombi*, in one South African community, has been described by Treffry-Goatley, Moletsane and Wiebesiek (2018, p. 53) as an event where,

> …girls and young women aged from 12 years dress up in their best clothes, both western and traditional Zulu attire… perform local songs and parade around [an open] field for an audience from the community. The purpose of the event is for unmarried men, as well as those with polygamous intentions, to choose a girl to take as their wife.

These practices speak to wider global cultural practices where girls hold a low social status and where marriages for adolescent girls are arranged with or without their consent. They also illustrate the objectification of girls, which heightens their risk for sexual violence and violates their rights. Sexual abuse of adolescents, especially girls, may thus be permissible because of widespread beliefs and cultural acceptance of the myth of the necessity for male sexual release and tolerance towards the use of coercion or force against girls. Furthermore, emphasising adolescents' obedience to adults and male dominance leads to double authority over adolescents (Lalor, 2004), which further increases girls' risk for sexual victimisation.

In South Africa, evidence that sexual violence against adolescents, and girls in particular, is widespread has emerged in research and more dramatically in media reports (Devries, 2014; Gouws, 2018; Hsiao et al., 2018; Jewkes, 2018; Jewkes, Flood & Lang, 2015; Meinck et al., 2016; Mpalirwa, 2015). Adlem (2017), for example, has lamented the finding that sexual violence against adolescents between 13-18 years in the country has increased by 400 percent in the last decade; making it a national crisis. In a nationally representative household sample of 5631 adolescents aged 15-17 years, 10 percent of boys and 15.61 percent of girls reported experiencing a form of sexual victimisation (Ward et al., 2018). A consistent finding among South African studies relates to the fact that sexual violence is more pronounced and visible in under-resourced communities, such as the one that is the focus of this research (see, for example, Artz et al., 2016).

In 2013, sexual violence against adolescents in under-resourced South African communities received widespread media, political and public attention because of the gang rape and murder

of Anene Booysen[14] on the 2nd of February (Gqola, 2015). Booysen's violation was indicative of the ways in which adolescent girls within these communities are for the most part prone to, and subjects of, gross assaults, particularly at the hands of people they know and trust. In fact, young people living in under-resourced communities globally report that they have experienced sexual violence in many ways in their homes, communities, schools, churches or while walking in local public areas (Altenberg, Flicker, MacEntee & Wuttunee, 2018; De Finney et al. 2018).

Sexual violence against adolescents within these communities, including townships, is marked and merits the attention and intervention of scholars, civil society and the state (Bhana, 2012; Leach, 2015; Mitchell & Moletsane, 2018; Moletsane, Mitchell & Lewin, 2015). In resource-poor communities, Meinck et al's. (2016) investigation of the prevalence of sexual violence, among a sample of 3 515 South African adolescents aged 10-17 years found that nine percent had experienced sexual victimisation as adolescents. The main perpetrators were identified as intimate sexual partners, peers and known community members (see also, Devries et al., 2018). Citing then Minister of Safety and Security in South Africa, Mr. Charles Nqakula, an Amnesty International (2008, p.16) report observed that:

> [The country's] poorer communities [experience] more violent crime than wealthier ones and at least two-thirds of all serious and violent crimes happen between people who know one another and who will be found mostly within the confines of the same social environment.

There is an emerging body of literature which shows that in these communities, the pervasiveness of violence broadly, and sexual violence specifically, impedes the growth,

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[14] Anene Booysen was a 17-year-old teenager from Bredasdorp in the Western Cape Province. Security personnel found her in a construction site with her body raped, stabbed and disemboweled. Before her death at a Western Cape hospital, she was able to identify her two attackers, one of which was her intimate partner.

development, health, and education of adolescents (Bhana, de Lange & Mitchell, 2009; Jewkes, Penn-Kekana & Rose-Junius, 2005). From apartheid-era practices such as *jackrolling* (discussed in Chapter One) to post-apartheid phenomena like *Ukuthwala* (abduction for forced marriage)*,* it is evident that girls in under-resourced communities are at heightened risk. In fact, medical studies in the country have found that sexual violence trauma is the most commonly treated form observed among adolescent girls living in these communities (Adlem, 2017). Yet, with all this evidence, the experiences of adolescent orphans to sexual violence have not received enough scholarly attention.

In this study, I focused on the vulnerability of adolescent orphans to sexual violence because, as I argue later, its impact is especially harmful and devastating for this group (Barbara et al., 2017). Indeed, healthcare practitioners argue that after an experience of sexual abuse, physical pain and injury to tissue might heal over time, yet, the psychological cost of sexual violence against adolescents continues well into late adulthood (Adlem, 2017; Mathews & Martin, 2016; Mekuria, Nigussie & Abera, 2015; Meinck et al., 2014; Rugwiji, 2017).

2.2.1 Sexual Violence against Adolescents in and around Schools

Schools are often framed as spaces of safety for learners. However, a number of studies have identified them as sites for GBV, and sexual violence in particular, against schoolchildren (Parkes, 2015; Parkes & Unterhalter, 2015; Parkes et. al., 2016). For example, the WHO estimates that globally, up to 62 percent of sexual abuse is directed at learners in and around the school. This means that for adolescent learners, school days are marred by violence, which includes verbal abuse, bullying, and corporal punishment (Leach, 2015), making violence a reality for many children in schools. Often, this violence takes the form of GBV, including sexual harassment, sexual assaults and rape (Parkes et al., 2016).

International agencies such as Education for All Global Monitoring (EGMR), UNGEI and UNESCO have drawn attention to the fact that school-related gender-based violence (SRGBV) is a global epidemic that prevents adolescents from exercising their right to a safe, inclusive and quality education (UNGEI, 2015; UNESCO, 2017). Each year, around 246 million children report an experience of violence in and around the school (Bohm, 2018; Morrow & Singh, 2016; Parkes et. al., 2016; Parkes & Unterhalter, 2015). UNGEI, (2015, p. 3) defines SRGBV as:

> Acts or threats of sexual, physical or psychological violence occurring in and around the school, perpetrated as a result of gender norms and stereotypes and enforced by unequal power dynamics. [Furthermore] it refers to the differences between girls and boys experiences of and vulnerability to violence.

SRGBV includes "explicit threats or acts of physical violence, bullying, verbal or sexual harassment, non-consensual touching, sexual coercion and assault, and rape" (UNGEI, 2015, p.2). It is associated with everyday school practices that reinforce gender inequality, stereotypes, and encourage unsafe environments (Moletsane et al., 2015). As suggested above, violence is a gendered phenomenon that hits hardest on adolescent girls. This is true even within school settings. At school, all children are at risk of violence, and both boys and girls can be victims or perpetrators (Bohm, 2017). However, adolescent girls are particularly vulnerable because of gender inequalities that are reinforced inside schools (UNESCO, 2017). For example, a UNESCO report (2015) highlights the fact that around 10 percent of adolescent girls in 40 low and middle-income countries experienced forced sexual acts in and around the school. There is also evidence to suggest that in schools, girls are at a greater risk of sexual violence, harassment, and exploitation, whereas boys often experience physical violence (UNESCO, 2017). Out of fear for girls' safety, parents in countries such as Afghanistan,

Pakistan and Papua New Guinea have opted to withdraw their children from school (UNGEI, 2015). This further tips the scales against girls as they face the socioeconomic insecurities of not attending school (Moletsane, 2014).

In a Kenyan study, among a sample of 1 279 learners from 70 schools, 58 percent had experienced sexual harassment; with 60 percent of girls and 55 percent of boys falling victim (Ruto, 2009). Further, over 5 percent of adolescents who participated in a population survey in the early 2000s (Erulkar, 2004), reported experiencing sexual violence at school. In Sierra Leone, sexual abuse and exploitation of learners in school is reportedly widespread, yet it is less visible than other forms of violence (Reilly, 2014). Girls in that country report higher rates of sexual victimisation compared to boys. Likewise, in Swaziland, over 13 percent of adolescent girls experience sexual violence in a school building or school ground, and 12 percent have had the same experience on their way to or from school (Reza et al, 2009). In Ghana, 14 percent of schoolchildren experience sexual abuse, with 55 percent of victims being adolescent girls and 45 percent adolescent boys (Reilly, 2014).

In the South African context, the widely cited 2001 Human Rights Watch report, *Scared at school: Sexual violence against girls in South African schools*, described widespread forms of GBV, harassment and sexual violence perpetrated against girls in and around schools. Almost two decades later, evidence suggests that SRGBV, including sexual violence in and around schools, continues unabated and occurs across different spaces in schools, including inside buildings, corridors, and playgrounds (Bhana & Mayeza, 2016), with toilets (Mitchell, 2009; Ngidi & Moletsane, 2018a), classrooms and corridors (Bhana, 2012) identified as some of the notorious hotspots for violence.

Similarly, the *2012 National School Violence Study* found that 5 percent of South African male and female learners were sexually assaulted at school (Leoschut, 2013). However, recent studies show that this number has risen dramatically in a couple of years. For example, a report by the Optimus Study (2016), a nationally representative study on the sexual victimisation of children 10-18 years old, suggested that, of the young people interviewed, 35 percent had experienced some form of sexual abuse in and around the school. This suggests that one in three young people in South Africa have experienced sexual abuse in and around the school (Optimus Study, 2016). An explorative study of the prevalence of intimate partner violence (IPV) perpetration and victimisation among learners in 41 secondary schools in the Western Cape found that 6 percent of the learners reported being perpetrators of sexual IPV, while 7.3 percent reported being victims (Mason-Jones et al., 2016).

Boarding facilities have also been identified as spaces of risk for learners, and especially girls (Smith, 2015). In SSA, the vulnerability of girls to violence in and around educational facilities was evidenced by the 2014 abduction of 276 adolescent girls from their secondary school boarding facilities in the town of Chibok in Nigeria's Bono State by the Islamist extremist group, Boko Haram (Smith, 2015). While Smith (2015) locates the kidnapping of these girls within Nigeria's violent history, the author argues that the lack of response and the little attention given by the Nigerian government and security forces to previous incidents of violence directed at women and girls, could help explain why the Chibok girls were a target. Condemned by activists, governments and many prominent figures around the world, this event signalled the ever-present danger many learners' face in school, and more specifically, the vulnerability of girls to violence.

While this dark episode in our modern history caused global alarm, the vulnerability of learners, particularly girls, to violence, including sexual violence, is not unique to contexts of conflict. As early as 1991, the international community raised its concern about school sexual violence on the African continent when, in Kenya, 70 girls were raped and 19 others killed, some in their boarding facilities, reportedly by their male peers during a school strike (Ruto, 2009). More recently, Simuforosa and Rosemary's (2015) work, found that the rape of girls in school boarding facilities in the Masvingo District in Zimbabwe was a reality and that girls feared being raped while in their rooms. This illustrates the overwhelming risk faced by schoolchildren even within school facilities that are often framed as safe and secure.

While girls are often the victims of sexual violence in schools, emerging research is also directing attention to the fact that boys sometimes experience school-related sexual violence at a higher rate than girls (Gevers & Flisher, 2012; Optimus Study, 2016). In Kenya, 12 percent of boys compared to 9 percent of girls report that they frequently experience unwanted sex in and around the school (Ruto, 2009). De Vries et al. (2014) investigated school-related sexual violence in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa, for example, and found that 10.5 percent of boys had become victims of forced sex compared to 6.4 percent of girls in schools. The South African Youth Risk Behaviour Survey also found higher prevalence rates of forced sex among Grade 8 boys in a Cape Town high school (Reddy et al., 2003 cited in De Vries et al., 2014). In the Western Cape, Mason-Jones et al. (2016), found a significantly higher number of boys than girls who reported not only perpetrating sexual IPV but also experiencing it. Table 2.1 below illustrates:

	Reported perpetrating sexual IPV (%)	Reported experiencing sexual IPV (%)
Boys	10.8	11
Girls	2.8	4.8

Table 2.1: Sexual Intimate Partner Violence in and around the School
Source: Mason-Jones et al (2016).

Similarly, the Optimus Study (2016) found that 36.8 percent of boys and 33.9 percent of girls reported being victims of some form of sexual abuse in and around the school.

What is made clear by these studies is that both boys and girls in South Africa (as is the case in other contexts) are vulnerable to sexual abuse. It is possible that, due to their socialisation to be assertive and vocal, boys find it easier to open up to researchers about abuse in school, while girls are socialised to be silent and submissive (de Vries et al., 2014; Eads & Barker, 2011). For example, SRGBV is associated with gender inequalities and social norms regarding authority and dominance. Specifically, dominant beliefs about manhood tend to condone violence, sexual power and aggressive behaviour from boys (De Vries et. al., 2014). Conversely, girls are socialised into submissive and passive roles (UNGEI, 2015). Within this context, gendered violence in its various forms is becoming institutionalised within schools around the world (Leach & Humphreys, 2007; South African Council of Educators, 2011) and school-based micro-aggressions that enable rape culture often go unchallenged (Leach, 2015). In addition, common social beliefs about who can or cannot be sexually victimised might also hinder reporting.

Poor reporting of sexual abuse in and around the school environment may also be linked to the fact that generally, there is very little support for victims of sexual violence in schools and

particularly in historically disadvantaged schools (Bhana, 2015; Burton & Leoschut, 2013; Gevers & Flisher, 2012). This, as well as the fear of either not being helped or not believed, sustains the cycle of victimisation as victims of violence are silenced (Bhana, 2012). For example, Bohm (2017) found that in Ghana, learners did not define their experiences as abuse, and instead regarded them as normal and common in their communities. Thus, they did not report their victimisation to school and community officials. Being afraid of the stigma associated with sexual abuse, or wanting to protect the perpetrator, those who fear to report their abuse frequently claim that they 'deal with it' themselves (Bohm, 2018). Furthermore, some 38 percent of cases reported to an adult did not result in any consequences for the perpetrator (Bohm, 2017). In some instances, the perpetrator was merely given a warning (Bohm, 2018). This is likely to discourage victims of violence from reporting. Therefore, considering that most cases, particularly within the school environment, are not reported (Beninger, 2013; Bohm, 2018), the actual prevalence of SRGBV is likely higher.

What is further disconcerting is that some learners who report being victims of sexual assault also report that, "they have been victimised in this way more than once" (Gevers & Flisher, 2012, p. 183). In their qualitative study of SRGBV with 10 schoolchildren, Ngidi and Moletsane (2015) found that learners who reported an experience of sexual abuse had experienced this violence repeatedly, making it a daily recurring threat in their school lives. Likewise, Ruto (2009) examined the extent of sexual abuse against school children in 10 districts in Kenya and found that 32 percent of boys and 49 percent of girls' experienced recurring sexual abuse in and around their schools. These findings highlight that for some schoolchildren, sexual violence is not something they experience once, but that it is a phenomenon they face frequently in their daily school lives.

Besides the threat at school, learners, and girls in particular, also face the risk of sexual violence on their way to and from schools (Burton & Leoschut, 2013; Reilly, 2014). One example is the release of two documentaries titled, *On the way to school* (Javoy & Plisson, 2015) and *Long walk to school* (Equal Education, 2017). The former focuses on the dangers that children across four different countries (Kenya, Argentina, Morocco and India) face when they walk to school, while the latter captures the victimisation of learners who travel more than 12 kilometres to school daily in the province of KZN. There is growing evidence showing that this journey exposes learners to a variety of physical, verbal and sexual assaults (Porter et al., 2010). For example, Pells and Morrow (2017) examined the experiences of violence encountered by learners on the journey to and from school and found that girls experienced sexual harassment and bullying. As a consequence, the girls reported that they could not focus at school and were always scared of taking this journey between home and school. Morojele (2013) examined how gender and sexuality shaped children's walk through what he terms 'dangerous routes to school' in Lesotho, and found that children were often harassed by older men. Another qualitative study which examined everyday learner mobility in three African countries (Ghana, Malawi and South Africa) found that the fear of rape was strongly expressed by schoolgirls (Porter et al. 2010). Indeed, girls reported that they were frequently chased by groups of boys, apparently intent on raping the girls (Porter et al. 2010).

The journey between home and school has attracted considerable media attention in South Africa. For example, an anonymous article published in the *Mail & Guardian* newspaper highlighted the looming threat of assault against learners as they walk to school (Macupe, 2017). The author lamented that learners were afraid of gangsters who hide in dense bushes near the routes they took to reach school. There have also been accounts of learners raped while

on this journey. One telling account was of a female learner who was raped while walking home from school:

> The man raped me. I don't know the man but I saw him sometimes walking through our village…the man raped me until 18:30 and then he let me go…He left and I walked home (Macupe, 2017, p.1).

Sexual violence that occurs on the journey to and from school also infringes on learners' rights to education and safety. Thus, in response to the fear of and actual victimisation of learners on the routes to and from school, parents in countries such as China, Indonesia, and Rwanda have resolved to walk with their children in order to provide safety (Porter et al. 2010).

Of particular concern is that some reported incidents of sexual abuse across the globe are linked to teachers trading grades (marks) for sex (Reilly, 2014; UNESCO, 2017). For example, in the USA, 10 percent of learners experience sexual abuse by a teacher by the time they complete secondary school (Smit, 2011). Reilly's (2014) study found that in Sierra Leone, teachers often demand sex from girls in exchange for grades; and that the learners would fail when they did not oblige. In Swaziland, 14 percent of girls report being sexually abused by a teacher (Reza, Breiding, Gulaid, Mercy, Blanton, Mthethwa, Bamrah, Dahlberg & Anderson, 2014), while a very high 82 percent of secondary school girls experience sexual abuse, with 67 percent perpetrated by male teachers (UNGEI, 2015). In a number of schools in South Africa, reports suggests that teachers have also sexually abused learners (Centre for Applied Legal Studies and Cornell Law School's Avon Global Centre for Women and Justice and International Human Rights Clinic, 2014). However, prevalence rates of teacher perpetrated sexual violence against learners is hard to determine since many cases are never reported (Centre for Applied

Legal Studies and Cornell Law School's Avon Global Centre for Women and Justice and International Human Rights Clinic, 2014).

The prevalence of sexual violence globally, and in South African schools particularly, provides rationale for listening to the voices of young people, particularly those that are most vulnerable such as adolescent orphans. In particular, such listening would elucidate how they understand, experience, mask, overcome, challenge and resist sexual abuse and the reality and risk of sexual violence in their day-to-day lives. The need for interventions to eliminate (or reduce) the occurrence and impact of sexual violence, particularly on young people is becoming increasingly clear (Ricardo, Eads & Barker, 2011; Ward, Dawes & Matzopoulos, 2012). As institutions that are microcosm of the society and the communities that surround them, schools are the most obvious sites for quality interventions aimed at addressing sexual violence (Gevers & Flisher, 2012; Moletsane, 2014).

2.3 Adolescent Orphans' Vulnerability to Sexual Violence

Evidence from research suggests that adolescent orphans are vulnerable to various forms of violence, including abuse, neglect (Morantz et al., 2013), and sexual violence. Adepoju (2005), for instance, reports that adolescent orphans living in poverty are susceptible to human trafficking and abusive child labour conditions and neglect by their extended family. A report by the Economic Commission for Africa (2005), titled, *The Impacts of HIV/AIDS on Families and Communities in Africa*, suggests that adolescent orphans, particularly those from poor backgrounds, are often forced into exploitative child labour practices and abusive work environments. Within these settings, the report notes that most surveyed orphans in African countries complained about a variety of complex problems including forced initiation to commercial sex work, going without food and receiving little or no wages for work rendered.

Significantly, the report provides an important link between being an orphan from poorly resourced communities and the likelihood of living and working in sexually and economically exploitative environments. Further, growing up in poor communities makes orphans' vulnerability more pronounced. With very little prospect for escaping poverty, orphaned children are forced to surrender to abusive sexual relationships with older men in order to pay school fees, purchase food and clothing and pay for other expenses (Cluver & Operario, 2008). Furthermore, girls in this context are at a great risk of being forced to engage in sex work or survival sex, and as a result, tend to suffer from depression and anger, and drop out of school (Salaam, 2004). Orphans, in particular, are coerced into early sexual activity for material gain (see also Ngidi et al., 2018). In impoverished households, orphans are sometimes pressured by their relatives to have sex with non-related adults in exchange for money or food (Mmari, 2011) or to engage fully in commercial sex work (Mngoma, Chimbari & Dhlomo 2008).

Specifically, evidence from quantitative research suggests that adolescent orphans are three times more likely to experience emotional and physical abuse, and six times more likely to experience sexual exploitation when compared to non-orphaned adolescents (Seloilwe & Thupayagale-Tshweneagae, 2009). Their risk of transactional sexual exploitation is heightened by extreme poverty and abuse. A study conducted in Tanzania, which examined the abuse of orphans, reports that 70 percent living in poor communities' experienced physical abuse and a further 30 percent suffered emotional abuse (Hermenau et al., 2015). In South Africa, a study which examined bullying among orphans from poor communities found that 76 percent experienced bullying and other forms of physical and sexual harassment (Cluver & Orkin, 2009).

The extended family is meant to be the first line of support, care and sanctuary for children who have lost their biological parents, and those who eventually assume the role of providing care for these children are significant for the orphan's future (Oleke et al., 2006). Yet, living with members of an extended family has been shown to place adolescent orphans at risk for abuse, including sexual abuse (Salam, 2004; Shetty & Powell, 2003). This is further heightened in instances where the household is poor (Thurman & Kidman, 2011). For example, qualitative studies have documented cases of adolescent orphans at increased risk for maltreatment and neglect, especially at the hands of relatives and caregivers in poor households (Thurman & Kidman, 2011). Hermenau, Eggert, Landolt & Hecker (2015), based on a study with 89 Tanzanian orphans, found that adolescent orphans experienced frequent neglect and maltreatment at home and in their respective communities. In another study with 65 orphans and their caregivers in the resource-poor townships around Cape Town, Giese et al. (2003) found a recurring theme of physical and emotional abuse of orphans placed with relatives. Also disturbing is a review of African studies by Meinck et al. (2016), which reports that orphans are subjected to physical abuse such as being hit with a stick or other objects by their adult relatives. In other studies, orphans describe instances where they have received violent blows from their caregivers, and some of the abuse left permanent scars on their bodies (Ballet et al., 2011). In some studies, orphans have disclosed experiences of physical abuse by relatives, with overt and excessive physical discipline being a common feature in their lives (Harms, Jack, Ssebunnya & Kizza, 2010). In a study by Harms et al. (2010, p.6), one orphaned participant described the use of excessive physical abuse by a caregiver, who "uses a lot of force" to instil discipline. Similarly, in a study which examined how orphans described their problems, wishes and coping strategies in Kariba in Zimbabwe, Mangoma, Chimbari and Dhlomo (2008, p. 125) report that:

Orphans were being abused in the households in which they were staying. The children reported that they were beaten, forced to work for long hours after school, and were assigned numerous errands, while children of the caregivers living in the same household were not treated similarly.

Intra-household discrimination, material and school neglect, exploitation, child labour and other forms of abuse are also experienced by orphans who live with relatives (Morantz et al., 2013). Discrimination includes being deprived of resources and necessities such as food and access to educational opportunities (Cluver, Gardner & Operario, 2007) or being forced to do excessive household chores than other individual at home (Ansell & Young, 2004). Moreover, orphans who live in households with their caregivers' biological children experience bullying and rejection by them "because of jealousy or the belief that their families' resources were overstretched" to accommodate their orphaned relatives (Morantz et al., 2013, p. 4). Also, orphans report being threatened or "made to feel like a burden" by their extended families (Morantz et al., 2013, p. 6). For example, as reported by one participant, a caregiver often beat her and uttered expressions such as "am I the one who killed your [parents]?" (Oleke et al., 2006, p. 273).

Consistent throughout studies are orphans' experiences of multiple forms of maltreatment. These include emotional abuse and bullying. Studies which have assessed the experiences of bullying among adolescent orphans from poor urban communities in South Africa find high levels of bullying and harassment by community members and school peers (Funkquist, Eriksson & Muula 2007; McGraw & Wameyo, 2005). Linked to bullying, orphans experience post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and report depression and anxiety (Cluver & Gardner, 2007). The maltreatment of orphans, particularly at the hands of relatives, suggests that

development agencies and child protection agencies should be concerned. In communities and households plagued by poverty, orphans are rendered at risk of abuse and exploitation.

There is growing concern that globally, a large number of orphans growing into adolescence and approaching sexual debut will experience forced sex (Mkandawire et al., 2012). Certainly, there is evidence indicating that for some adolescent orphans, sexual debut is often forced (Pascoe, Langhaug, Durawo, Woelk, Ferrand, Jaffar & Cowan, 2010; Thurman, Brown, Richter, Maharaj & Magnani, 2006), with at least a third of victims' first forced sexual experiences occurring when they were 14 years old (Kidman & Palermo, 2016). In comparison, adolescent female orphans experience coercive sex more frequently than those who are not orphans (Moore et al., 2007). Supporting this claim, Nichols et al. (2014) argues that orphans are systematically at a higher risk of experiencing sexual abuse when compared to non-orphans. In this regard, coerced sex and rape place adolescent orphans at an elevated risk for HIV infection and poorer health outcomes than their non-orphaned comparators (Kuo & Operario, 2011).

While the real scope of their vulnerability is not well established, scholars recognise that adolescent orphans stand a greater risk for sexual violence than their non-orphaned counterparts (Kidman & Palermo, 2016). In this regard, research from Swaziland, Malawi, and Tanzania suggests that a quarter of orphans will experience sexual violence before they reach 18 years (Pereda, Guilera, Forns & Gomez-Benito, 2009). Similarly, at least 10 percent of orphans, in nationally representative studies from 13 African countries, described an experience of sexual abuse (Kidman & Palermo, 2016).

Sexual violence remains a serious threat for young people across the African continent and in particular, for adolescent orphans (Aloa & Molojwane, 2008). For example, an earlier Ugandan study presented an extreme case of the extent of sexual violence against orphaned girls. The findings suggest that a very high 85 percent of orphaned girls under the age of 18 years in that country reported that they were sexually active and that their experiences included rape by strangers, relatives, and schoolteachers (Shetty & Powell, 2003). A corresponding UNICEF (2007) report estimated that 60 percent of adolescent orphans in African countries faced an increased risk of sexual violence. To illustrate, according to the report:

> In [one African country], as many as 32 percent of adolescent boys and 33 percent of adolescent girls [who were orphans] answered "yes" when asked if they had ever been physically forced to have sex (UNICEF, 2007, p. 18).

This underscores the inescapable vulnerability of orphans to sexual abuse. Linked to abuse and neglect by family members, orphans are also subjected to sexual violence in their homes. For instance, UNICEF has long since drawn attention to orphans' sexual victimisation at home and concluded that these children are frequently subjected to sexual abuse by uncles, stepfathers, and cousins (UNICEF, 2007). Likewise, in a study by Chase, Wood and Aggleton (2006), orphans described episodes of sexual abuse from family members who had taken them in (see also, Foster, Makufa, Drew, Mashumba, & Kambeu, 1997). More recently, a review of studies on violence against orphans in SSA found that orphans are more likely to experience sexual violence from family members than non-family members (Kidman and Palermo, 2016). In fact, sexual abuse of orphans by family members seems to be a consistent finding across the literature (Cluver, 2011; Kidman & Palermo, 2016).

In some traditional African and Asian communities, adolescent female orphans are forced into marriage in order to unburden the extended family from poverty or to gain dowry (Foster et al., 1997; Oleke, Blystad, Moland & Heggenhougen, 2006). In one north-Ugandan community, leaders reported that most female orphans were forced to marry early, sometimes as early as 12 years old (Oleke et al., 2006). Disconcertingly, adults in that community were supportive of early marriage for female adolescent orphans as a good option for escaping poverty (Oleke et al., 2006).

The research evidence discussed in this section suggests that the vulnerability of adolescent orphans to sexual victimisation relates to the absence of a biological parent, living in poorly resourced communities and being raised by poor relatives (Birdthistle et al., 2010; Kidman & Palermo, 2016). However, as found in general studies on childhood sexual violence, there is a heightened risk for sexual abuse among adolescent female orphans. This perhaps highlights the need to study the ways in which social expectations and gender norms create different vulnerabilities to sexual violence for orphaned adolescent girls and boys.

2.4 Factors that Fuel Sexual Violence against Adolescent Orphans

Sexual violence is a pervasive phenomenon that is sustained through socially constructed gender inequalities and unequal power relations in families, communities and institutions (Gqola, 2015; Kambarami, 2006; Linder, 2018). In the context of the history of colonialism for example, European settlers used sexual violence, and rape specifically, as tools to not only demonstrate power but also to dispossess, control, silence and instil fear in the societies they colonised (Palmer, 1988). Studies have also highlighted the use of sexual violence in postcolonial times as a way for men to disempower women (Baaz & Stern, 2013; Wood &

Jewkes, 1997). These examples illuminate the roots of the relationship between sexual violence and power; roots that have continuously deepened over time (Linder, 2018).

In addition to unequal power, embedded in most definitions of sexual violence is coercion and force (Linder, 2018). In this case, adolescent orphans, because of their developmental stage and orphanhood, are often coerced and/or forced into sexual activity they may not necessarily fully comprehend. This further has negative implications for reporting (Boakye, 2009; Dolan, 2018; Kiefer & Sanchez, 2007; Le Mat et al., 2019). In essence, patriarchal and gendered practices shape and perpetuate gender inequality, thereby denying adolescents control over their bodies and sexuality (Altinyelken & Le Mat, 2018; Kambarami, 2006). In this regard, sexual violence relates to cultural factors such as patriarchal nuances, myths that having sexual intercourse with a virgin (usually a child) will cure HIV or chase away evil spirits (Dodo, 2018), and a collective shame problem (Boakye, 2009).

Researchers have identified a number of other factors that place orphaned adolescent girls in SSA at risk for sexual violence. The first relates to the long history of violence under colonialism and apartheid; violence that broke down black community structures, dispossessed black people to the point of long-lasting poverty, and normalised sexual violence and violence against children (Wood, 2009). The second factor has to do with the death of one or both parents (Kidman & Palermo, 2016) and neglect by caregivers (Ritcher et al., 2009). Scholars have found that without reliable parental care and support, adolescent orphans experience many forms of abuse, including sexual abuse (Cluver & Orkin, 2009). Still, others have found that family and community-wide poverty that is often tied to exploitation by older males and relatives makes adolescent orphans vulnerable to sexual violence (Kidman & Palermo, 2016). Furthermore, a number of social conditions including high community crime rates (Warwick,

2009) and cultural practices that are power-based (Treffly-Goately, Moletsane & Wiebesiek, 2018) are some of the factors that place adolescents at risk. In a number of community-based studies within African communities, boys and men report an entitlement to sex with adolescent girls, and in cases where persuasion fails, studies report that they resort to using force (de Vries et al., 2014; Mulumeoderhwa & Harris, 2015;).

African governments have made political measures to curb violence against adolescents (Blanchfield, 2019; Edwards, 2009; UNICEF, 2011), for example, signing international conventions such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Violence against Women and the protocol on the Right of Women in Africa (UNICEF, 2011). In 2015, the African Union declared a year of women's empowerment and emancipation (African Union Commission, 2015), and at a session of the United Nations Human Rights Council in Geneva, African leaders rejected violence against women and GBV (Blanchfield, 2019). Yet violence against women and children is not declining. Instead, it continues unabated, often with very little consequences for perpetrators (Hlavka, 2014). Of particular relevance to this thesis is that social attitudes seem to be permissive toward sexual violence against orphaned adolescent girls as a way for boys and men to assert dominance, power and hegemonic masculinity (Hlavka, 2014; Lalor, 2004; Posel, 2005). In many societies, sexual violence against adolescents remains a taboo subject (Kambarami, 2006) and is not talked about; thus creating secrecy, shame and poor reporting around it (Hlavka, 2014).

Finally, as argued in this thesis, being an orphan exacerbates conditions of vulnerability to sexual violence. In this context, schools have an important role to play in supporting orphans who lack parental guidance and resources. Studies reviewed in this Chapter point to the need for sexuality education programmes to be situated in and shaped by the reality of orphans'

lives. Being an orphan, a girl, poor and young in a poverty-stricken community has major implications for how education programmes aimed at understanding orphans vulnerability to sexual violence and facilitating their agency within this context are developed and implemented.

2.5 The Impact of Sexual Violence on Adolescent Orphans

While there is ample research on the vulnerability of adolescents to sexual violence, very little exists on adolescent orphans. In particular, very little is known about how sexual violence impacts the lives of orphans. However, if we extrapolate from research which refers to the vulnerability of adolescents as a group, then it follows that adolescent orphans would be much more vulnerable, and the impact of sexual violence would hit hardest on this vulnerable group. Thus, in this section, I draw on studies that examine the impact of sexual violence on adolescents to make a case for how this violence impacts on adolescent orphans.

There are significant associations between sexual violence and a range of negative sexual and reproductive health outcomes. First, victims of sexual violence are more likely to have an unintended pregnancy, which might lead to unsafe termination, morbidity or even mortality (Moore et al., 2007; Reza et al 2009). A meta-analysis of 21 studies found that sexual violence significantly increased adolescents' odds of unintended pregnancy by at least two-fold (Noll, Shenk & Putnam, 2009). Further, a study which tracked adolescent childbirths in maltreated girls found that five out of ten pregnant adolescents reported an experience of sexual abuse (Noll & Shenk, 2013). Moreover, a meta-analysis which examined the extent to which sexual, physical and emotional abuse increased the risk of adolescent pregnancy among a global sample of 75 390 participants, found that sexual abuse was associated with an increased risk for adolescent unintended pregnancy (Madigan, Wade, Tarabulsy, Jenkins & Shouldice, 2014).

Similarly, in their study that tracked births by 435 sexually abused and non-sexually abused adolescents, Noll and Shenk (2013) found that pregnancies and subsequent childbirths were highest among sexually abused girls.

Second, scholars further suggest that adolescent victims of sexual abuse suffer injuries in their reproductive tract (Bohm, 2017). In one study that compared genital injury among victims and non-victims of rape, the authors report that 22.8 percent of rape victims sustained an injury to the genitalia (McLean, Roberts, White & Paul 2011). This is three times more than those who have not experienced rape. Adams (2011) reported on a study based on the medical evaluation of 113 adolescent girls after an experience of sexual abuse. The author highlights acute trauma to the genital tissues. A further review of photo documentation revealed lacerations of the hymen in 88 percent of the cases (Adams, 2011).

Third, a body of literature shows a complex link between sexual violence and HIV, especially for adolescent girls (see, for example, Campbell, Lucea, Stockman & Draughon, 2013; Dunkle et al., 2006; Dunkle & Decker, 2013; Jewkes et al., 2006; Stockman, Lucea & Campbell, 2013). Specifically, scholars have concluded that Africa is currently facing a double epidemic of sexual violence and HIV that are both hard-hitting on adolescent girls (Abdool Karim et al., 2012; Jewkes & Morrell, 2012). This explains why in SSA for example, girls account for over 80 percent of all new HIV infections among adolescents, and AIDS remains a leading cause of death among girls 15-19 years (Fleischman & Peck, 2015). Further, a high 7000 girls in this region account for new infections each week, with South Africa alone producing 2000 new infections a week among adolescent girls (Fleischman & Peck, 2015; Shisana et al., 2014).

In this region, with the highest HIV incidence and prevalence, and where adolescent girls aged 15-18 years are eight times more likely to get an HIV infection compared to boys of the same age (Dellar, Dlamini & Abdool Karim, 2015), their (girls) risk of acquiring HIV through coerced or forced unprotected penetration are high (Folayan, Odetoyinbo, Harrison & Brown, 2014; Sarnquist et al., 2014). In fact, Nour's (2012) review of studies which examined risk factors associated with HIV infection among adolescent girls in SSA, found that female victims of sexual abuse were three-times more likely to test positive for HIV than their female comparators who have never experienced sexual abuse. Similarly, in the USA a study that evaluated the prevalence of IPV and its association with STI/HIV risk in western Pennsylvania, reported that adolescent victims of sexual abuse were three times more likely to become infected with STIs, and HIV in particular, when compared to their counterparts who were not victims of sexual violence (Decker et al., 2014). Also worrying is the fact that victims of sexual violence report increased risk-taking practices, including sex with multiple partners, which is one of the key determinants for HIV (Abdool Karim et al., 2012).

Fourth, sexual abuse is also associated with a number of short- and long-term mental health problems. To illustrate, in a study by Alao, Maithamako and Molojwane (2008) which examined the consequences of sexual violence on victims in Botswana, the findings suggest that these ranged from PTSD, depression and anxiety, lowered self-esteem and suicide ideation. Similarly, in an assessment of sexual violence and its negative health outcomes among adolescents in Swaziland, victims of sexual violence reported significantly increased chances of ever feeling depressed (81 percent of victims), suicide ideation (25, 3 percent), having attempted suicide (6 percent) and sleeping disorders (45 percent) (Reza et al., 2009). This was

higher compared to participants who had never experienced sexual abuse[15]. As evidenced in Adlem's (2017) study of the psychosocial impact of sexual violence on adolescents in South Africa, victims felt powerless and struggled to free themselves from thinking about their abuse. Adlem (2017) reports a participant who highlighted how she "would like to be free from the abuse and everything that happened" (p. 15).

Victims of sexual violence also tend to isolate themselves, spend prolonged hours on their own and withdraw from social life (Bohm, 2017). Indeed, because of isolation, victims report feelings of loneliness and stigmatisation (Adlem, 2017). For example, one female adolescent who was a victim of abuse reported that she was "used to being alone… [and felt] sad because she was alone. [And] there was no one to comfort her. There was no one to share and talk to" (Adlem, 2017, p. 15). Bohm's (2017) investigation of child sexual abuse in Ghana shows that sexual violence 'ruins' the presumed innocence of a child. Participants in her study equated sexual abuse to giving a child 'bad ideas' and leading to sexual initiation and future promiscuity. In fact, Bohm (2016) reports that after an experience of rape, some adolescents tend to have sex with numerous partners.

Social harm behaviours such as delinquency and involvement in criminal acts are also reported among male victims of sexual abuse (Lalor, 2008). Other victims experience anger and aggressive behaviour (Lalor, 2008). Further, Bohm (2017) adds that a lack of concentration in daily activities and a lack of discipline, are among the negative social consequences of sexual abuse of adolescents. She attributes this to lost motivation and future orientation among victims of abuse. In extreme cases, young sexual abuse victims report reactive abuse; that is the abuse

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[15] For example, among those who had never experienced sexual abuse, 54 percent reported feeling depressed, 10 percent had suicide ideation, two percent attempted suicide and 27 percent had difficulty sleeping.

of others by a victim of sexual abuse (Bohm, 2017). While sexual violence originally affects only the victim, it spreads to a broader system such as the victim's family, community and school (Adlem, 2017). This perpetuates the cycle of violence and causes a downward spiral of violent events, which causes individual and societal harm.

Fifth, victims of sexual violence have often been found to use drugs and alcohol to self-medicate their trauma (Nour, 2006). Reza et al. (2009) found a higher risk for substance abuse among adolescents who experienced sexual abuse compared to those who did not. Related to this, in the same study, victims also developed higher rates of drug consumption and a greater likelihood of having substance abuse-related problems. Comparable findings by Brown, Riley, Butchart, Meddings, Kann, & Harvey (2009) suggest that victims of sexual violence often turn to substance abuse as a coping mechanism against stress resulting from their victimisation.

Sixth, sexual violence leads to impaired performance in school, which in turn leads to negative academic outcomes. In instances where the perpetrator is an educator, school participation suffers when knowledge of a sexual encounter with a teacher emerges. In Ruto's (2009) study, 76 percent of the participants (out of 1 194 participants) dropped out of school when knowledge of their sexual abuse by teachers surfaced. Likewise, the rape of learners that results in a pregnancy compromises their school attendance. When no action is taken against the perpetrator and the victim has to periodically see their abuser in school, they find it difficult to stay in school and tend to withdraw and disengage (Ngidi & Moletsane, 2015; 2019).

Sexual violence has very significant effects on the behaviour of learners and their ability to participate in the classroom setting. Learners who have been victims of sexual violence, harassment, and coercion, may avoid class or school, not want to talk in class, have difficulty

concentrating, lose trust in school officials, become isolated, and have lower academic attainment or drop out of education (Panos Institute, 2003). Adlem (2017) adds that sexual abuse delays the academic progress of learners, while Slade and Wissow (2007) found that victims of sexual violence received remarkably lower marks from their class assessments such as assignments and examinations, scored lowest on cognitive assessments, were suspended from school and repeated a grade more frequently. As such, sexual victimisation has been found to negatively impact school performance (Bhana, 2012; Foster & Hagedorn, 2014a; Foster & Hagedorn, 2014b).

These studies suggest that the effects of sexual violence on education are significant. Whether it is at the hands of teachers, other learners, family or community members, sexual abuse is reported to make children afraid to attend school and hinders their academic performance. This, in turn, interrupts their motivation and ability to participate fully in academic programmes and other school activities. Unless interventions are implemented to curb these negative impacts, victims often end up dropping out of school, not accessing tertiary education and not being able access employment (UNESCO, 2017).

2.6 Responses to Sexual Violence against Adolescents

As the evidence reviewed in the sections above suggests, sexual violence against adolescent orphans is among the most pervasive and widespread human rights violations in the world. It is rooted in gender inequality and perilous cultural and social norms. In fact, sexual violence is considered the most extreme expression of unequal gender relations in society. In and around schools, sexual violence continues to put the lives of adolescents at risk and infringes on their right to learn in a safe environment. As argued throughout this thesis, schools are an important site for normative change and have the potential to address gender inequalities and prevent

sexual violence. A range of stakeholders at international, regional and national levels have implemented a variety of responses to sexual violence against adolescents in and around the school. These can be broadly classified into three types: global responses, macro-level responses, and micro-level/institutional responses.

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss all of the global instruments, interventions and programmes. However, in this section, I provide a brief overview of some global policies and programmes that South Africa is signatory to, particularly as they relate to the context of adolescent orphans' vulnerability to sexual violence. I further provide some South African examples of initiatives aimed at addressing sexual violence in and around school. This is to highlight the various responses in place for protecting adolescents against sexual violence. Figure 2.1 below provides an overview of some of these enabling policies and programmes. The enabling features of these instruments are discussed below.

As Figure 2.1 illustrates, the rights and protection of all children from sexual violence are enshrined in international, regional and local human rights treaties, conventions, declarations and protocols. Among these instruments are key international treaties such as the United Nations Convention on the Right of the Child (UNCRC) which was adopted by the UN General Assembly resolution 44/25 on 20 November 1989. The UNCRC provides the most definitive global statement on the issue of violence, and requires that national governments protect children from all forms of violence, abuse and maltreatment (Abrahams and Matthews, 2011). The statement further requires state parties to prevent and respond to violence, and provide support to children who are victims of violence. In particular, its aim is to ensure that children receive protection from all forms of torture, inhuman and degrading treatment, and especially physical or mental injury or abuse, neglect or maltreatment that includes sexual abuse. The

UNCRC presents immediate obligations under international law for all signatory member states, including South Africa. Following this, nation states have further committed to provide children with protection from all forms of violence at international meetings and conferences, including the UN General Assembly Special Session on Children (2002).

INTERNATIONAL TREATIES AND PROTOCOLS

Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989); African Charter on the Right and Welfare of the Child (1990); Dakar Framework on Education; Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women; Southern Africa Development Community Protocol; and Sustainable Development Goals (2015)

NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS OVERSEEING THE PROTECTION OF ADOLESCENTS

Ministry of Women, Children, and Persons with Disabilities; Portfolio Committee on Women, Children, Youth and Persons with Disabilities; Select Committee on Women, Children, and Persons with Disabilities; Commission for Gender Equality; National Youth Development Agency; Department of Basic Education; and South African Council for Educators

NATIONAL POLICIES

Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 108 of 1996; South African Children's Act of 2005; Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act (or the Sexual Offences Act) 32 of 2007; and Protection from Harassment Act 17 of 2011.

NATIONAL PROGRAMMES

The National Development Plan; National Strategic Plan on Gender-Based Violence; 360 Days of Action to End Violence against Women and Children (Kopano Declaration); South African Integrated Programme of Action Addressing Violence against Women and Children; Services Charter for Victims of Crime in South Africa; National Policy Framework on Management of Sexual Offences Matters; National School Safety Framework; and Safety in Education Partnership Protocol.

Figure 2.1: Policy and Programming responses for protecting adolescents against sexual violence

In 2006, the UN published research commissioned by its Secretary-General called the *Study on Violence against Children* – based on in-depth global research on children's vulnerability to and experiences of violence. The research provided a global picture of violence against children and proposed recommendations to prevent and respond to this phenomenon. In the wake of this ground-breaking study, international, regional and local initiatives to address violence against children have accelerated, serving to create enabling frameworks (UNGEI-UNESCO, 2013). These commitments have helped in creating pressure for governments to take action, establish best-practice norms and take ownership of solutions in addressing violence against children (Kaime, 2009). Examples include *End Violence against Children*, a global partnership to end violence against children in a unique public-private collaboration. The partnership includes UN agencies, governments, regional actors, civil society, young people and other advocates. The overall focus of this initiative is to create a safe world for children. However, as some scholars have observed, both these global initiatives (the UNCRC and the End Violence against Children) have a very broad focus and lack a gendered analysis of violence in and around the school and are therefore, unlikely to bring long term change (Parkes et al., 2017b).

At the regional level, initiatives include the *African Charter on the Right and Welfare of the Child* (ACRWC). The overall aim of this intergovernmental initiative is to provide guidance to nation states in their efforts to address violence against children. However, it does not address sexual violence in and around the school (Gose, 2002; Kaime, 2009). Further, the *Dakar Framework for Action, Education for All: Meeting our Collective Commitments* (World Education Forum, 2000), is a collective commitment by nation states to achieve education for all goals and targets for every citizen. Significantly, the framework broke ground and provided leadership by recognising that GBV, including sexual violence, remains a key constraint to realising the right to education among children and adolescents (UNESCO, 2016). Yet, the

Framework offers no clear mandate or direction for countries to take towards addressing sexual violence in and around schools. Following this, and in accordance with Article 10 of the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), nation states agreed to eliminate the enablers of sexual violence, such as gender inequality, in schools (UNESCO, 2017). Indeed, the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) Protocol requires member states to adopt and implement gender-sensitive educational policies and programmes to address gender violence and stereotypes in and around schools. With these few examples in place, there "continues to be a shortage of multi-agency, multi-government and multi-sectoral initiative to improve either prevention of, or responses to SRGBV" (UNFPA, 2015, p. 30). Leach, Dunne and Salvi (2014, p. 8) argue that:

> Government responses to research evidence about SRGBV and lobbying from grassroots groups and national and international agencies, have consisted mainly of drafting legislation to make it an offence for teachers and other professionals to have sex with children in their care, to make prosecutions of offending individuals more straightforward, [and] to tighten Teachers' Codes of Conduct.

By focusing exclusively on the perpetration of violence by teachers against learners, these initiatives have failed to consider other perpetrators such as learners themselves and other stakeholders in and around schools. This limits understanding and relevant tailor-made interventions that would effectively address sexual violence against children.

The World Health Organisation (WHO, 2016) underscores the importance of achieving change at the national and population level and targeting societal-level factors in the primary prevention and addressing of sexual violence against adolescents (McClanaha et al., 2014).

Therefore, interventions to address sexual violence against adolescent orphans must be located within societal factors that render these children vulnerable.

South Africa is among many countries who are committed to providing protection to adolescents (UNICEF, 2011). As a signatory of the ACRWC, the country has dedicated itself to ensuring that children and adolescents receive protection from sexual violence. The country adheres to the principles stipulated in the UNCRC through existing legislation, policies, programmes and institutions enshrined to strengthen child rights, protection, and care and support endeavours. For example, and as discussed in Chapter One, the South African Constitution serves as a cornerstone for the country's democracy and stipulates the right of every individual to receive protection and support. Likewise, the South African Children's Act 38 of 2005 (Children's Act) gives effect to certain rights of children as espoused by the Constitution. Of interest to this study, the Act sets out principles relating to the care and protection of children. Moreover, it gives directives for all three arms of state (i.e., the Legislature, the Judiciary and the Executive), and all spheres of government to implement the Act in a harmonized manner and at the maximum extent of available resources. The Children's Act mandates the establishment of children's courts whose primary responsibilities including assessing whether or not a child needs care and protection, and making orders to ensure that children do indeed receive these rights.

Furthermore, other major national policies and frameworks denounce violence and call for interventions to protect everyone, especially children and women, from violence (Sonke Gender Justice, 2017). For example, the National Development Plan (NDP), the National Strategic Plan on Gender Based Violence (NSPGBV) and the 360 Days of Action to End

Violence against Women and Children (also known as the *Kopano* Declaration[16]), have set goals for reducing gender inequality and providing an inclusive social protection system that seeks to address all forms of vulnerability for those most at risk, including adolescent orphans. Indeed, through these Frameworks, the South African government has committed to building safer communities and creating an "accountability mechanism for the performance of government, the private sector and civil organisations in addressing GBV" (Sonke Gender Justice, 2017, n.p).The law mandates that all people who are aware of the abuse of children must report this to authorities – children are often then placed in places of safety.

Undoubtedly, there is robust, albeit limited programming that seeks to address sexual violence at the school-level internationally. In South Africa, there has also been intervention efforts at a community level to address sexual violence against adolescents, particularly in the context of school. These interventions are in line with international and regional protocols on safety for children and adolescents. They are also in line with the South African Integrated Programme for Action for Addressing Violence against Women and Children (Tears Foundation, 2014). This call to action provides comprehensive, multi-sectoral and long-term strategic interventions for ending violence against women and children (VAWC) and further stresses government's accountability for ending this violence.

A number of local-level interventions in the country have helped build safe spaces for learners against school-based sexual violence. For example, The Zero-Tolerance School Alliance is an intervention aimed at fostering safe learning spaces for secondary school learners in the Vhembe district of the Limpopo province in South Africa (Nicholson & Mukaro, 2018). It

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[16] The Kopano Declaration is so-called because it is a joint campaign by the government and civil society to eradicate violence against women and children. Kopano is a seSotho word which loosely translates to "joining together". In the case of the declaration, emphasise is on the joining together of the state and civil society in order to build a GBV free South Africa where women and children can realise their full potential.

involves intensive community mobilisation efforts with interconnected elements that include community dialogues and stakeholder forums to map unsafe spaces in and around schools. By identifying unsafe spaces, implementers were able to engage community stakeholders in transforming spaces into safe environments for learners. The intervention also helped in reducing learners' experiences of abduction on their way to school. The implementers argued that the intervention is a promising endeavour in addressing SRGBV (Nicholson & Mukaro, 2018).

Other local interventions have used existing policies to respond to SRGBV. For example, the *Umhlali Project* supported the implementation of the *National School Safety Framework* (NSSF) in two schools in Walmer, Eastern Cape. The NSSF provides an all-inclusive strategy to guide the Department of Basic Education (DBE) and provincial education ministries in a coordinated effort to address violence in and around schools (SACE, 2011). Using this framework, the Umhlali Project engaged learners in after-school programmes on safety, mapped learners' experiences of violence, developed cellular phone-based responses, as well as capacity building and support for two schools to implement the NSSF (Bohr, 2017). One of its successes was enhancing knowledge about the perilous nature of gender inequality.

Researchers have also called for interventions aimed at reducing sexual violence against learners in schools (Heslop, Parkes, Ross, Alito & Turner, 2019). In response, the Sexual Violence against young girls in Schools in South Africa (SeVISSA) was established to reduce sexual violence against children and adolescents, especially girls in 40 schools in the country (Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention, 2017). It also provides support to survivors of school-based sexual violence. The SeVISSA's implementation of the NSSF focused on improving access and performance at school, and enhancing learners' educational outcomes.

Finally, other interventions, such as the Birds and the Bees Peer-Education Programme, challenge negative attitudes and social norms that promote sexual violence against learners (Rape Crisis, 2017). In line with the *The Service Charter for Victims of Crime in South Africa*[17] (henceforth, the Services Charter) (Department of Justice and Constitutional Development, 2007) and *The National Policy Framework on the Management of Sexual Offence Matters*[18] (NPFMSOM) (Department of Justice and Constitutional Development, 2012) this programme has been notable for creating safe spaces for survivors to speak about their experiences, and to develop a culture of consent among learners. Both the Services Charter and the NPFMSOM recommend that victims of sexual violence take advantage of state support through contacting relevant government departments and service providers. These policies further highlight the victim's right to complain and lay a charge of assault. Interventions have thus followed these directives in their enabling endeavours.

Yet, even with such robust interventions, there is no specific focus on adolescent orphans. This further supports the evidence that orphans have not been prioritised in work that seeks to address their vulnerability to sexual violence. In a study that examined how orphans envisioned their care and support at two schools in a rural community in KZN, Khanare and de Lange (2017) argue that this vulnerable group is never invited to participate in school-based interventions which seek to offer care and support. Indeed, Khanare (2015) has made the call for the development of research-based interventions with and for orphans. These interventions

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[17] According to the South African Department of Justice and Constitutional Development, the Service Charter for Victims of Crime in South Africa is an instrument for promoting justice for victims of crime in the country. It is compliant with the South African Constitution and the United Nations Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power, 1985. The document focuses on the important role victims should play within the criminal justice system by highlighting the victims' rights for services provided.

[18] The latter seeks to establish coordinated planning, resource allocation and the execution of services within the sexual offences sector. It further entrenches the victim-centered Criminal Justice System, and promotes specialisation in service delivery to respond to the special needs of victims.

should not only respond to international human rights and education treaties but also gather evidence that will support school-level policy development and enactment that responds to the particular needs of this group (Khanare & De Lange, 2017; Heslop et al., 2019 Parkes et al., 2017).

The international and local community recognise the importance of addressing sexual violence in and around schools. Yet, global, regional and national policy and programmatic initiatives that specifically aim to address sexual violence in and around schools are less common as compared to those aimed at eliminating bullying, corporal punishment and HIV infections (Beninger, 2013; Parkes et al., 2017). In instances where interventions do address sexual violence in and around school, adolescent orphans are usually ignored or bundled within the larger adolescent population.

Because orphans tend to be neglected, they experience huge levels of sexual violence (Spyrou, 2011). To address this, targeted interventions are needed. Examples include the Umhlali Project and SeVISSA, both outlined above. However, with a very few exceptions, these tend to exclude adolescent orphans or are partially successful in egaging orphans. Some exceptions include Khanare's (2015) work which engaged adolescent orphans through PVM to examine gaps for providing care and support among these children. What is therefore needed are interventions that encourage orphans' participation and further amplifies their voices in order to understand and address their vulnerability to sexual violence.

2.6.1 Interventions Targeting Orphaned Adolescents

There are concerns that in the face of sexual abuse, adolescent orphans stand only slight chances of attaining their full potential (Zolkoski & Bullock, 2012). Some adolescent orphans

thrive in spite of their experiences of sexual violence and other social ills. A number of factors in and around the school have been found to facilitate the resilience of this group. In particular, for adolescent orphans, supportive individuals, a supportive environment and supportive significant others are important elements in enabling such resilience and agency (Rensburg & Barnard, 2005; Zolkoski & Bullock, 2012). In an in-depth study which examined the daily lives and coping strategies of orphans in Zimbabwe, researchers identified considerable hardships for most of their orphaned participants (Chase, Wood & Aggleton, 2015). However, the authors further identified a range of coping and agency developing strategies that orphans employed in response. The main factors that enhanced coping ability and facilitated agency included community support, strong reciprocal arrangements at home and the presence of supportive individuals in their lives, including friends, peers, female teachers and grandmothers (Zolkoski & Bullock, 2012). Earlier studies affirm the important role that peer groups play in the development, competence, and agency of vulnerable children (Masten & Coatsworth, 1998; Rensburg & Barnard, 2005). Rensburg and Barnards's (2005) study which examined the extent of adjustment of seven orphaned girls following the trauma of sexual abuse found that acceptance by a peer group was associated with better school achievement. Further, the presence of a mentor, often a female teacher, offerred protection against the undesirable effects of abuse such as depression and a low self-concept (Rensburg & Barnard, 2005). Among sexually abused orphans, a study which assessed the vulnerability of orphans in Lira District in northern Uganda, found a positive mediating variable is the presence of a supportive, positive relationship with a non-abusive person such as a teacher (Oleke et al., 2006).

Other scholars illustrate that amplifying orphans' voices facilitates the process of developing agency among these children (Freeman & Nkomo, 2006). In this context, orphans are able to articulate and address for themselves adversity, hardship, risk and vulnerability (Theron &

Theron, 2010). Rensburg and Barnard (2005) call for interventions to help victims of and those vulnerable to, sexual violence to understand and speak about their situation. In their study, they found that victims of sexual molestation who understood their situation were given an opportunity to voice their experiences and logically dealt with them, were able to sustain, and possibly further develop an existing sense of competence. Reviewing studies on agency among vulnerable children with a history of childhood sexual abuse, Marriot, Hamilton-Giachritsis and Harrop (2014, p.27) add that:

> Positive strategies to actively deal with past experiences, such as being able to express emotion and actively seeking change, [are] associated with positive psychological functioning compared to more self-destructive behaviours and/or avoidant behaviours that [are] more likely to be associated with impaired functioning.

For other orphans, making decisions on issues that impact their lives, facilitates agency. For example, making decisions regarding how to address adversarial events, such as an experience of sexual abuse, has been found to strengthen orphans' responses against harm instead of exacerbating their personal risk (Zolkoski & Bullock, 2012).

Among adolescent orphans in Zimbabwe, accounts of agency are located within a broad collectivistic cultural template rooted in participation and decision-making within the family and the church (Mhaka-Mutepfa, Mpofu & Cumming, 2015). Comparable findings emanate from a study in the Isle of Wight (see Rutter, 2007). Therefore, good interpersonal relationships and participating in decision-making are significant in facilitating agency among orphans. In other words, agency among orphans in the context of sexual violence helps to identify, respond to and resist this form of violence (Theron & Theron, 2014). This means that interventions that develop agency among orphans and develop their ability to communicate their experiences,

including those of sexual violence, are needed. Such interventions would allow orphans to participate in decision-making and encourage their meaningful participation in policy making and programming (Rutter, 2007).

In addition, based on their review of the literature about models that work in facilitating agency among vulnerable children, Zolkoski & Bullock (2012) argue that interventions need to focus on developing assets and resources for those exposed to risk. This, according to the authors, assists individuals to reassert themselves back into social life after an adverse experience. Foster et al. (1997) have long suggested that a successful agency-developing approach puts emphasis on available assets, including supportive significant others and resources at the centre of change. In South Africa, socioeconomic support such as the Child Support Grant (CSG)[19] and the Foster Care Grant (FCG)[20], channelled through community groups and state agencies to supportive significant others caring for orphans, have also been found to strengthen resilience (Foster et al., 1997). However, other studies have argued that monetary support often fails because relatives withhold grants and other resources from orphans (Hall, Skelton & Sibanda, 2016; Mkwanazi et al., 2018). As highlighted in the literature, relatives have played a part in fuelling orphans vulnerability to sexual violence. Thus, alternatives must be considered for the provision of such resources as the CSG and the FCG for orphans.

Finally, challenging and changing gender norms and inequalities further facilitates agency. Available evidence suggests that promising approaches that involve reflection and consciousness-raising on gender identities, norms and inequalities contribute to reducing the

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[19] The CSG is aimed at low cost households to assist parents or primary caregivers with the costs of meeting a child's basic needs. As of April 2019, the CSG was R430 (US$29, 41).

[20] The Foster Care Grant was designed as an allowance for foster parents to assist with the costs of providing care and support for children, especially those that are orphaned, who are placed in their care (Hall, 2016). As of April 2019, the value of the FCG was R920 per month (US$71) and is said to cover the costs for a child who would otherwise be cared for by the state (Hall, 2016).

risk and experience of sexual violence (Parkes, Heslop, Ross & Westeveld, 2017). For example, the Stepping Stones intervention, a participatory gender transformative and livelihood strengthening intervention evaluated among young men and women in urban informal housing settlements in Durban, South Africa, found a significant reduction in women's experience of physical and sexual IPV (Gibbs et al., 2017; Jewkes et al., 2014). Moreover, there was a significant transformation in pervasive gender attitudes among both men and women, and men illustrated a reduction in controlling practices (Jewkes et al., 2014). Therefore, developing adolescent orphans' agency in addressing sexual violence in and around the school must involve access to supportive significant others, amplifying their voice, participation in decision-making and challenging gender inequalities.

2.6.2 Participatory Visual Methodology for Facilitating Agency among Orphans

In response to calls for interventions to address sexual violence against adolescent orphans, the use of PVM has gained prominence in the last two decades (Luttrell & Chalfen, 2010; Mitchell, de Lange & Moletsane, 2017; Mitchell & Moletsane, 2018). PVM involves the use of visual tools (drawing, photo-voice, collage, participatory video or cellphilms, digital stories) to ground social issues from the perspectives and experiences of individuals and communities (Luttrell, 2010; Mitchell, de Lange & Moletsane, 2017). Recently, researchers have lauded the methodology for its potential to develop agency among adolescent girls, in the context of growing sexual violations (Varjavandi, 2017). In their study, which examined the relationship between gendered power dynamics and sexual violence in the lives of girls in a rural township in South Africa, Wiebesiek & Treffry-Goatley (2017) used girl-authored visual artefacts (cellphilms and digital stories) to engage adolescent girls in what they termed resilience-related research. The authors report that the visual data helped to reveal the gendered nature of the adversity girls faced and demonstrated how unequal gender norms, practices and beliefs

rendered adolescents vulnerable to sexual violence. Furthermore, the scholars found PVM to be effective in unpacking challenges faced by girls, thereby addressing them and developing agency against sexual violence.

Similarly, in a project aimed at developing and implementing sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR) curriculum at two under-served township and rural schools in South Africa, Sibeko and Luthuli (2018) report using PVM to engage adolescent learners in order to understand and address issues related to SRHR in their lives. Of interest to this present study, the authors used photovoice, posters and drawing to engage adolescents in identifying, challenging and addressing GBV. The intention behind the use of these visual approaches was to allow learners to capture for themselves, their own experiences of violence. The authors found that PVM created a safe, youth-friendly environment through which learners explored their daily struggles with GBV, talk about their experiences of GBV and helped to develop their agency in addressing GBV in and around their schools.

Varjavandi (2017) investigated the use of PVM and their potential in exploring resilience-enabling factors in contexts of gender inequality that creates fertile ground for sexual violence. The study engaged 20 adolescents from a resource-poor public school situated in a poor community in Durban. The author reported that PVM enabled the adolescents to identify for themselves, the social issues they considered critical to their social contexts, such as sexual violence, unplanned teenage pregnancy and the issue of 'blessers' (older men who engage in sexual relationships with adolescent girls). Varjavandi concludes that PVM facilitated a process where resilience could be co-constructed and where adolescents could advocate for social change in their community and school.

A few studies have used these approaches with adolescent orphans. Khanare's (2015) doctoral work is perhaps the first to break this ground. In her thesis, she reports on how adolescent orphans attending two rural secondary schools situated in a poor community used PVM (collage, photovoice, drawing, etc.) to construct how they envisioned their care and support in lieu of the HIV and AIDS epidemic that plagued rural communities. Khanare found that PVM made a difference in the lives of these vulnerable children through, for example, encouraging thought about raising critical awareness of, and solutions to, providing care and support in their school. The author concluded that the visual artefacts they produced influenced the well-being of the children she worked with.

My thesis is premised on the understanding that the voices of adolescent orphans need to be amplified and heard in order to understand their vulnerability to, and the ways in which they develop agency in addressing, sexual violence. Linked to this, the WHO's INSPIRE Report (2016) provides, through seven strategies, an overarching framework for addressing violence, including sexual violence, against adolescents. The seven strategies include: implementation and enforcement of laws; changing norms and values; providing safe environments; parent and caregiver support; income and economic strengthening; response and support services; and education and life skills. This study aligns itself with the seventh strategy: education and life skills. The study used PVM as a strategy for understanding adolescent orphans' vulnerability to sexual violence in and around the school, and to develop their agency in addressing it (I discuss PMV in more detail in Chapter Four).

2.7 Discussion: Towards a Conceptual Framework

The study reported in this thesis examined the vulnerability of a group of adolescent orphans to sexual violence in and around their township secondary school. In particular, the study

examined how these vulnerable children identified, understood, experienced and communicated their vulnerability and how they negotiated their agency within this context. In this Chapter, I reviewed literature related to adolescent orphans' vulnerability to sexual violence and the interventions that have been implemented to develop their agency to resist and address this form of violence.

Sexual violence is a global crisis that hits hardest on adolescents. A durable finding across studies reviewed in this chapter is the likelihood that a majority of adolescents will experience sexual victimisation before their 18th birthday. Adolescents experience this violence in their homes, communities, public areas and schools, where they are victimised by a range of perpetrators including strangers, relatives, community members, peers, friends, teachers and intimate partners.

While adolescent boys experience sexual violence (and in some communities they experience it more than girls), it is the victimisation of girls that is particularly alarming. Across the globe, adolescent girls report more sexual victimisation when compared to their male counterparts. Likewise, prevalence is highest for adolescent girls living in resource-poor regions and communities across the globe. Indeed, girls living in SSA are among the most vulnerable group to sexual violence. Within these countries, those residing in resource-poor rural and township communities account for the highest number of reported sexual victimisation. For girls in poor settings, sexual debut is often forced or coerced, is a manifestation of sex inequalities, and is reinforced through cultural practices and an unequal balance of power. In fact, sexual violence is the most commonly reported form of trauma experienced by adolescent girls in resource-poor communities.

Schools, particularly those in poorly resourced communities, have been identified as sites for SRGBV, including sexual violence, against adolescents. This violence manifests in different forms, including physical, verbal and sexual abuse. Globally, the prevalence of SRGBV against learners in and around schools is as high as 62 percent; making it an inescapable reality for many school children. Indeed, all children face the threat of SRGBV, and both girls and boys can be victims and/or perpetrators. However, the literature suggests that adolescent girls are particularly at risk for sexual violence and this violence is most pronounced among them, with boys also most likely to be perpetrators. Girls' vulnerability is linked to unequal gender inequalities that are reinforced inside schools. Notwithstanding adolescent girls' vulnerability, other studies reveal that boys sometimes experience school-related sexual violence far higher than girls. These findings suggest that the vulnerability to sexual violence of both girls and boys can no longer be denied nor ignored. In schools, girls are further at risk even in their boarding facilities. Studies report the abduction, harassment, and rape of girls within these school facilities. What is also troubling is the finding that some learners experience sexual violence more than once; suggesting that learners face this violence frequently. Moreover, learners also experience sexual violence on the journey to and from school, which has resulted in some parents walking their children to school out of fear. Indeed, a disturbing finding relates to teachers requesting sex in exchange for grades. Yet, the prevalence of teacher-perpetrated sexual violence remains inconclusive because learners fear to report their teachers.

While there is ample evidence suggesting that adolescent orphans are at a very high risk of violence, neglect, abuse and other forms of maltreatment, very little is reported on their vulnerability to sexual violence. Indeed, even less is known about their encounters with sexual violence in and around their schools, and how they challenge and resist this form of violence. Given that relatives are thought to be the next line of defence against the harm of orphans, that

the maltreatment and neglect of adolescent orphans is also experienced at the hands of relatives and caregivers, where orphans have received violent blows and beatings that sometimes leave indelible scars, is particularly disturbing. As reported in studies about adolescents, studies on orphanhood reveal that orphaned girls are at heightened risk for sexual violence than their male counterparts. Furthermore, growing up in poor communities and households and experiencing poverty increases orphans risk for neglect and abuse, including sexual abuse. In poor communities, for example, orphaned girls are often forced into early marriage with older men as an option for escaping poverty. Therefore, being an adolescent orphan, a girl, and growing up in a poverty-stricken community and attending school within these settings exacerbates conditions for vulnerability to sexual violence.

A number of global-level, macro-level and micro-level/institutional responses to addressing sexual violence against adolescents, and orphans, in particular, have been set out over the last 30 years. These enabling instruments include international treaties and protocols, national policies and programmes, as well as dedicated institutions that oversee matters that impact on adolescents. These responses enshrine the rights of adolescents to safety and protection; including their safety in and around the school. They also underscore the importance of achieving change at the population-level and targeting societal-level factors in order to prevent and address sexual violence against adolescents.

Literature also reveals interventions that help facilitate agency among orphans in the context of sexual violence. These include having a voice, the presence of supportive individuals and environments which include community support and positive reciprocal relationships. Moreover, other protective agents such as female teachers, researchers, and peer groups are reported as resourceful in facilitating orphans' agency. Likewise, studies show that

participating in decision-making regarding issues that impact on their lives, facilitates orphans' agency. Finally, changing gender norms is significant in efforts aimed at facilitating orphans agency in the context of sexual violence.

2.7.1 Conceptual Framework

As stated above, the study reported in this thesis aimed to examine the vulnerability to sexual violence in and around a township secondary among a group of 27 adolescent orphans and examine factors that facilitated their agency in resisting and addressing sexual violence. Emerging from the literature reviewed in this Chapter is a conceptual framework for understanding adolescent orphans' vulnerability to, and agency in addressing sexual violence in and around a poorly resourced township secondary school. In particular, the conceptual framework is organised around two questions: *what explains adolescent orphans' vulnerability to sexual violence in and around the school*; and *what makes adolescent orphans thrive in the midst of their vulnerability to sexual violence*? Figure 2.2 presents the conceptual framework which guides this study.

As discussed in Chapter One, adolescence as a stage of development is increasingly challenging for children since they tend to be sexualised. As adolescents begin to physically mature, start assuming sexual identities, and are sexualised, they encounter more sexual violence. Further, as discussed in the literature reviewed in this chapter, adolescents are the most vulnerable group to sexual violence, with girls in particular, at an increased risk for this form of violence. Girls' vulnerability in this context is linked to unequal, often oppressive gender and cultural norms and practices that create fertile ground for their victimisation.
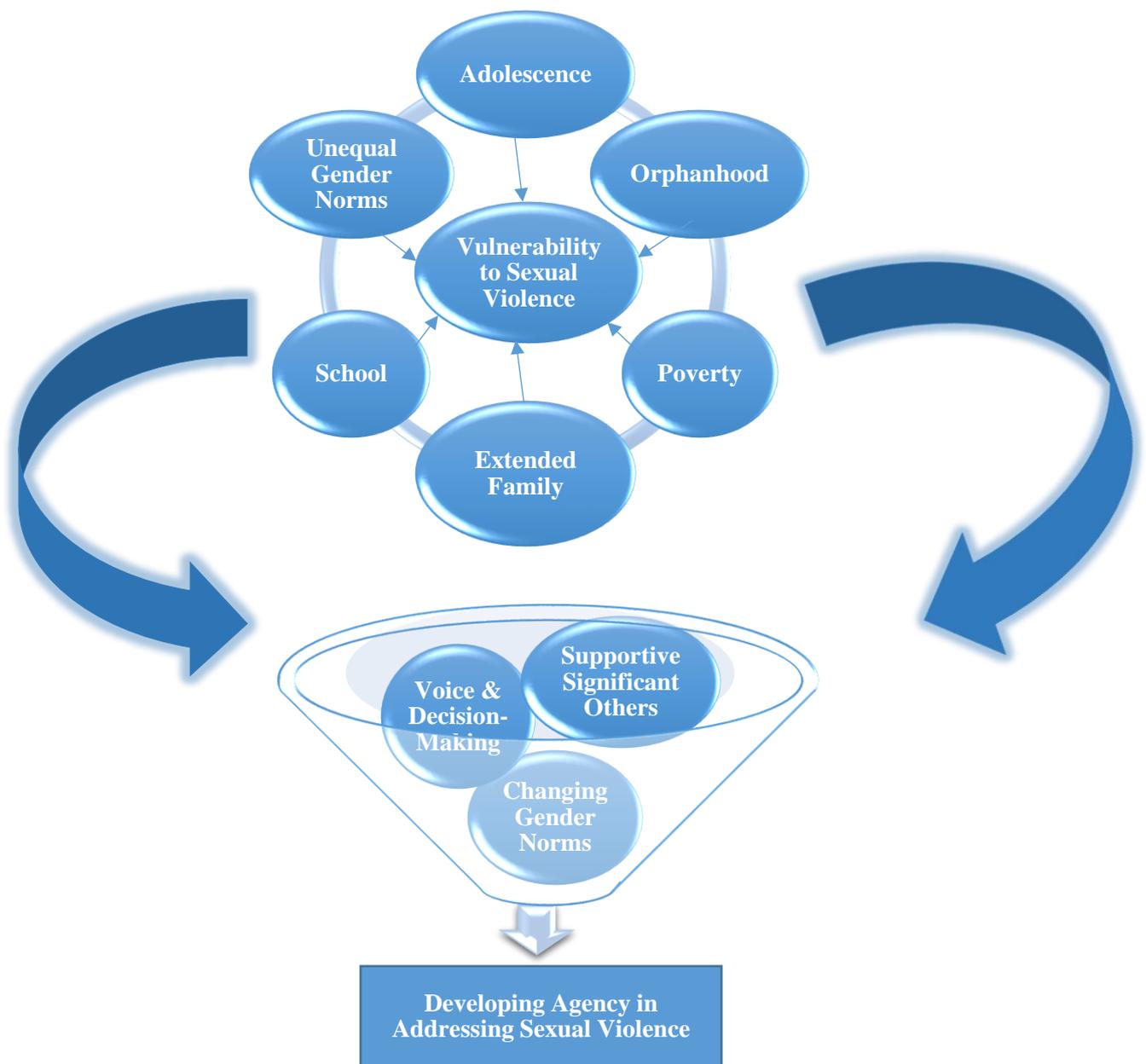
Figure 2.2: Framework for Understanding Adolescent Orphan's Vulnerability and Agency in the Context of Sexual Violence

Orphanhood heightens vulnerability to sexual violence, and girls who are adolescent orphans face the risk of experiencing this violence more than their non-orphaned peers. Vulnerability to sexual violence is especially acute in contexts where the child is a double orphan. Under these conditions, adolescent orphans have very little or no tools, means, strategies or support to address their risk for sexual violence. With the death of both biological parents, orphans are often placed at the care of relatives. However, living with relatives and other extended family

members, fuels orphans' vulnerability to sexual violence. Studies reveal that relatives of adolescent orphans are often the first perpetrators of sexual abuse against these children (Kidman & Palermo, 2016; Meinck, Cluver & Boyes, 2015). Therefore, the loss of both biological parents, further complicated by extended family's inability to provide full-time care and support amplifies adolescent orphans' vulnerability to sexual abuse.

Growing up and living in impoverished communities also places adolescent orphans at risk for sexual violence. These communities are often characterised by heightened levels of violence, under-development and limited resources. Scholars have argued that living in an impoverished community heightens the odds of children, including orphans, to experience sexual violence (Kiss, Yun, Pocock & Zimmerman, 2015). Adolescent orphans have little prospect of escaping poverty, and in turn surrender to abusive relationships, are forced to engage in sex work and/or engage in sexual activities as a strategy for escaping poverty. Thus, living in a poor community and experiencing poverty intensifies adolescent orphans' vulnerability to sexual violence.

Since schools have been dentified as sites of violence against learners, being enrolled in and attending school also puts adolescent orphans at risk for sexual violence. In particular, schools located in impoverished and under-resourced communities expose learners to sexual violence (Bhana, 2015; Ngidi & Moletsane, 2018a). As microcosms of the environments they are built in, schools reflect the socioeconomic contexts of the communities they serve. Being an adolescent orphan within this context and attending school in poorly-resourced communities renders them vulnerable to many forms of risk, includingsexual violence (Save the Children, 2019).

The study I analyse in this thesis was at the intersection of school-based sexual violence, orphanhood and adolescence. This area of research has received little attention in policy and state responses. Often, the experiences of orphans are muddled with experiences of the general child population (De Lannoy, Swartz, Lake & Smith, 2015). As evidenced by the literature reviewed in this thesis, the experiences of adolescent orphans are unique and merit targeted attention. Taking all of this into consideration, the study reported in this thesis was premised on the assumption that being an adolescent orphan, poor, living with relatives and attending school in a poverty-stricken community exacerbates an adolescent's vulnerability to sexual violence.

Given these conditions that increase adolescent orphans' vulnerability to sexual violence, and considering evidence which suggests that some tend to thrive in spite of these factors, a lingering question is: *What makes adolescent orphans thrive in the midst of this violence?* First, available literature suggests that communities who manage to provide support and opportunities for orphans are well positioned to secure these children's chances of escaping sexual violence and to develop their agency. As illustrated in Figure 2.2 above, having a voice allows adolescent orphans to communicate and address their sexual victimisation (Khanare, 2015; Spyrou, 2011).

Second, participating in decision-making has been identified as facilitating agency among vulnerable children, including adolescent orphans (Khanare & De Lange, 2017; Knowles-Yanez, 2005; UNICEF, 2010). Adolescent orphans need to be able to interact, communicate and make meaningful contributions in decision-making about interventions and the pedagogy of programmes that aim to develop their agency (UNICEF, 2010). For adolescent orphans to

participate meaningfully, they must be granted equal opportunities, safe spaces, time and voice to communicate and interact significantly (Kelley et al., 2016).

Third, having supportive significant others, including relatives, female teachers, peer groups and researchers, and community members, is also important for facilitating orphans agency against sexual violence (Bhana, 2015; Khanare & de Lange, 2017; Kelley et al., 2016). Fourth, changing gender norms is a well-accepted strategy for addressing sexual violence (Jewkes, Flood & Lang, 2015; WHO, 2009). This implies that interventions need to transform the social norms, relations and systems that sustain gender inequality. Thus, developing adolescent orphans' agency in addressing sexual violence in and around the school must involve enabling or enhancing their voice (ability to communicate), participation in decision-making, access to supportive significant others and changing unequal gender norms that produce GBV and sexual violence in their communities and schools.

Finally, PVM has been identified as resourceful for interventions aimed at facilitating orphans agency (Luttrell, 2019). PVMs have been noted for amplifying the voices of marginalised populations, including adolescent orphans, and for engaging these populations in work aimed at transforming their conditions. It was within these assumptions that I set out to research the vulnerability of adolescent orphans to, and their agency in addressing, sexual violence in and around a township secondary school. The literature reviewed in this chapter points to the need for sexuality education programmes to be situated in and shaped by the realities of adolescent orphans. This study, therefore, used PVMs to engage 27 adolescent orphans attending a township secondary school in order to understand their vulnerability to, and further facilitate their agency and resilience against sexual violence.

2.8 Synthesis

In this chapter, I reviewed local and international literature related to the vulnerability and agency of adolescents to sexual violence. The review focused on adolescent orphans because this group was the subject of study in this research. The review revealed that sexual violence is a worldwide epidemic that hits hardest on adolescents, and in particular adolescent orphans. While both male and female adolescent orphans are vulnerable to sexual violence, orphaned girls are, especially at risk. This is due to gender inequality that subordinates girls and assigns them inferior social positions compared to boys. Moreover, the review revealed that cultural practices fuel orphaned girls' vulnerability to sexual violence. Similarly, while schools are considered safe environments, the review revealed that they are sites for the sexual violation of learners. Schools tend to hold the characteristics of the communities within which they are located. Studies report incidents of both physical and psychological forms of sexual abuse of orphaned girls by a range of perpetrators that include teachers, adult men, boys and other adult community members. The literature review further revealed numerous implications for the victim; including physical, psychological and educational consequences. However, despite this pessimistic outlook, the review suggests that some adolescent orphans thrive in spite of their sexual violence experiences. Factors such as having voice, participating in decision-making, having supporting significant relationships with others and transforming gender norms, facilitate agency. Finally, the review revealed the resourcefulness of PVM as an agency-enabling tool in the context of sexual violence.

In the next chapter, I present the theoretical framework that provided the parameters for the study and guided data generation and analysis.

CHAPTER THREE

UNDERSTANDING ADOLESCENT ORPHANS' VULNERABILITY AND AGENCY IN THE CONTEXT OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE: TOWARDS A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

A defining condition of being human is that we have to understand the meaning of our experiences. For some, any uncritically assimilated explanation by an authority figure will suffice. But in contemporary societies we must learn to make our own interpretations rather than act on the purposes, beliefs, judgments, and feelings of others. Facilitating such understanding is the cardinal goal of […] education. Transformative learning develops autonomous thinking (Mezirow, 1997, p. 5).

3.1 Introduction

The study reported in this thesis focused on the vulnerability of adolescent orphans to sexual violence in and around their township secondary school in KZN, South Africa. In particular, I examined how and why this group of adolescents in this setting are particularly vulnerable to sexual violence. The main question in this study was: *How do adolescent orphans in a poorly resourced township school understand and resist their vulnerability to sexual violence?*

In the previous chapter, I reviewed literature on sexual violence against adolescents and in particular, literature related to the vulnerability of adolescent orphans to sexual violence and their agency in addressing it. I also reviewed literature on enabling responses in addressing sexual violence against adolescent orphans as well as the policy framework which guides these

responses. The literature reviewed informed the conceptual framework for understanding adolescent orphans' vulnerability to and agency in addressing sexual violence in and around the school.

In this chapter, I outline the theoretical underpinnings of the study. First, I position myself as a researcher, starting with how I became interested in transformative teaching and research, particularly in the context of the GBV epidemic in South Africa. As I explain in this section, bell hooks's idea of liberatory education and Paolo Freire's '*Pedagogy of the Oppressed'* are key to this study. The second section locates the study within the broader context of critical theory, outlining the relevance of critical theory as developed by the Frankfurt School for critiquing and analysing society on a meta-level, and being aware of the problems of authoritarianism in education. I use this to lead into the third section which introduces transformative learning theory, within which this study is located. As I argue, proponents of transformative learning theory such as Jack Mezirow draw on Paolo Freire's ideas on transformative education and were advanced by thinkers such as Dirkx and Taylor, Harrell-Levy and Kerpelman, Weiler, and Cummins. The chapter presents the theoretical underpinnings of the study and concludes with a set of propositions that guided my analysis in the thesis.

3.2 Positioning Myself

My educational journey has largely influenced my scholarly work and approach to research. As a high school learner, I experienced the conventional style of teaching and learning, where the educator prescribed the sort of information we were to learn. Looking back, I always experienced this as monotonous, top-down, oppressive, power-based and uninspiring. My first encounter with alternative ways of teaching (and learning) was in a psychology module I

attended in my second year of undergraduate studies at university: *Understanding violence in South Africa* (introduced briefly in Chapter One). The course introduced me to a number of teaching and learning methods that I found both engaging and transformative. Since then, I have sought alternative approaches to knowledge production and sharing both in and outside the classroom, as well as in my fieldwork.

In addition, the course influenced my interest in conducting research on sexual violence in South Africa. The lecturer used a variety of tools and resources such as feature films, documentary films, life histories, debates, personal reflections and many other methods of teaching and learning I had never encountered in my education. His approaches helped me to understand and interrogate my experiences with violence, abuse and childhood traumas that no other lesson had afforded me. Thus, the class became a site for learning as well as a form of healing through the confessional narratives of my classroom peers. In essence, it touched on both the personal and social, connecting them to theory in ways I had never been exposed to. Our experiences as students were linked to academic conversations in order to illuminate our academic material.

Feminist scholar bell hooks (1994) draws from her teaching and learning experiences and uses the term *liberatory* education to explain the type of pedagogy used in *Understanding violence in South Africa*. For hooks, this term describes approaches that defy classroom conventions and the student-teacher hierarchies that often dominate the learning environment. In explaining *liberatory* education, hooks argues that everyone's presence in the learning environment should be acknowledged and that this is best achieved through pedagogical practices that are disruptive and transformative. In order for teaching and learning to both disrupt and transform, the author contends that the classroom should be a participatory space where education embodies an

element of learning, healing from past experiences, knowledge sharing as well as providing excitement and fun for all those involved. In other words, education, and the classroom by extension, should be disruptive of oppressive hierarchies – where the teacher/researcher is rendered complete authority over the student/researched – and aim to transgress conventional pedagogical approaches (hooks, 1994).

Aligned with hooks' thinking, I experienced the psychology course, *Understanding violence in South Africa,* as *liberatory* for a number of reasons. First, the course created a safe environment for me as a student while promoting a supportive learning community. Second, the lecturer encouraged students to think critically about their experiences, beliefs and biases so as to understand their personal assumptions (Meyers, 2009). As a student in that classroom, I felt a responsibility to contribute to discussions without feeling disempowered, judged and undermined. Rather, I found that my knowledge, informed by my lived experiences, was validated through, for example, other students sharing similar experiences (particularly with regard to experiencing sexual abuse). Finally, the course enabled me to recognize the existence of oppressive systems and how they impacted on my social and academic life as well as those of my peers in the class. Therefore, education, I believe, should offer a degree of freedom from oppression and violence, while also contributing to the betterment of humanity. For example, in the context of a country like South Africa, with a violent history of colonialisation, oppression and segregation, education should encourage the student to reflect on their life-long learning and experiences. This might help forge new ways of transforming both the mind and the socio-political contexts they occupy. *Understanding violence in South Africa* challenged my thinking about GBV as a normalised phenomenon in our society, making me aware that violence emanates from a culture that privileges one social group over another, thereby normalising the abuse, exploitation and domination of the so-called subordinate group.

Gendered violence against young people in South Africa occurs through socially established, sanctioned and normalised gender roles that lay the foundation for the oppression of adolescents (Devries et al., 2014). Such gender roles tend to advantage boys and men, and locate girls and women as subordinate, thereby normalising gendered violence against girls, women and non-binary people, and not holding men and boys accountable for the violence they perpetrate. As a university course, *Understanding violence in South Africa* troubled dominant ideologies rooted in patriarchy by privileging women students' experiences of violence and allowing them to speak about them. It also offered us, as male students in the class, the opportunity to interrogate our violent socialisation. In this way, the course encouraged us to make our experiences available to others as a resource. Moreover, it helped us to think about our actions beyond the classroom. This was also a call for us to start imagining how we could act differently, specifically with regard to addressing GBV outside the classroom. The course therefore inspired me to seek different ways of addressing GBV in the various work and life spaces I occupy. This, I believe, should be the long-term view of education, which is reached through investing in non-conventional pedagogies in and outside the classroom.

In trying to understand both my position as a researcher as well as the positions of the adolescent orphans who participated in this study as co-producers of knowledge, I turned to the work of Paulo Freire (1970). In particular, I ascribe to Freire's work from the 1960s-70s in relation to what he calls the 'pedagogy of the oppressed'. In the main, Freire argues that what we teach should connect with "the inward, living core of […] students' lives" (Kritskaya & Dirkx, 2000, p.1; Palmer, 2008). With his pedagogy, Freire (1970) offers an alternative approach to the so-called 'banking model' in education. The banking model is a conventional style of teaching and learning which views students as passive recipients of information and the educator as a knowledge hub that fills students' empty minds. Freire questions this approach

and considers it as an extension of the oppression of students in which the educator objectively "exploits students and hinders their pursuit of self-affirmation" (Freire, 1970, p. 55). He further argues that banking education turns students into receiving objects by controlling their thinking and action, as well as inhibiting their creative powers.

This approach is devoid of the students' experiences, confessional narratives and critical engagement that are fertile ground for bell hooks' *liberatory* education. While banking education can arguably be time- and resource-efficient, particularly in the context of schools in poor or under-resourced communities, by giving teachers the power to think for, and impose their attitudes on students (and this applies in the researcher-participant interactions), it tends to hinder progress (Brown, 2004).

Freire, with his 'pedagogy of the oppressed' offers us a different way of seeing and experiencing education. For Freire, pedagogy should be rooted in the lived experiences and narratives of students; where these students are in control of knowledge generation. Informed by this perspective, the study reported in this thesis sought to facilitate mutual communication between myself (the researcher) and the participants (co-researchers). I located my work within Freire's pedagogy in order to unearth the perspectives of adolescent orphans on their experiences of sexual violence in and around their school. This, I argue, is the foundation of a critical, *liberatory* and transformative research. Therefore, in this study my assumption was that adolescent orphans' vulnerability to sexual violence is shaped by the contexts in which they live – including the social, political, cultural, and economic and gender values (as illustrated in Chapters One and Two). Thus, their realities are best understood through pedagogical interactions and exchange with them.

Philosophically, the methodology and design in this study are framed within the broader transformative paradigms (see Chapter Four). The Transformative paradigm has a specific goal of addressing a problem (such as sexual violence) and calling for change within the context of a specific social issue. It is "influenced by various philosophies and theories with a common theme of liberating and transforming communities through group action" (Chilisa & Kawulich, 2012, p. 12). The basic tenet of the transformative paradigm is that knowledge reflects power structures and relationships in a society. Hence, knowledge construction aids individuals to improve their societies. For this reason, I located the study within the transformative paradigm to facilitate an understanding of and resistance to the power structures and relationships that render adolescent orphans particularly vulnerable to sexual violence in and around their school. Located within this paradigm, data analysis in the study was informed by two theories, namely: critical theory and transformative learning theory.

3.3 Critical Theory

Critical theory[21] is a radical approach for analysing society, envisioning the emancipation of individuals and tackling hegemonic power. As a theory, it studies society in a dialectic way by analysing political economy, domination, exploitation and ideologies (Fuchs, 2015). Sim and van Loon (2002) describe critical theory as a reflective theory that gives individuals a kind of knowledge inherently productive of enlightenment and emancipation. Its emphasis is on the "critical, reflective use of reason in assessing and advancing society's enlightenment values such as reason, equality, individual and collective determination" (Dillon, 2014, p. 191). While traditional social and political theory is oriented towards only understanding or explaining society, critical theory aims to critique and transform society in its entirety. It provides the

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[21] There is no single critical theory. According to McKenzie (2013), the most uniting aspect of critical theories lies in what they oppose (i.e., hegemonic power and domination) rather than what they stand for.

foundational base for social enquiry aimed at reducing exploitation, domination and control, thereby making freedom and equality a possibility.

Indeed, critical theory questions power, troubles social domination and advocates for a just society. It seeks to provide individuals in society with the kind of knowledge and action plans that will free them from oppression (Fleming & Maynooth, 2012). It is rooted in radicalism in the sense that it advocates for the total emancipation of the oppressed (such as adolescent learners who are orphans and vulnerable to sexual violence); thereby directly or indirectly occupying itself with dismantling the status quo (systems and institutions that facilitate violence and abuse) that is rested on subjugation and control.

As its name suggests, critical theory is critical of the state of being. As a theory, it asks the 'why' and 'how' questions rather than the 'what' questions. For example, critical theory questions the conditions that make sexual violence a reality for adolescent orphans instead of providing simplistic symptomatic solutions to this sort of violence. In this study, critical theory challenges dominant institutions and ideologies that render adolescent orphans vulnerable to sexual violence. Put differently, whereas conventional approaches would ideally provide aid to victims or even suggest that incarcerating perpetrators would solve the issue of violence, critical theory interrogates the notions of patriarchy and masculinity that proliferate gendered violence.

3.3.1 The Historical and Philosophical Background of Critical Theory

The political and intellectual origins of critical theory can be traced back to the aftermath of the Russian Revolution and the social movements that emerged in the early 20th century (Thompson, 2018). Prior to this period, positivism was the dominant intellectual tradition

(Kirkpatrick, Katsiaficas & Emry, 1978). A positivist image of society discouraged a critical approach to understanding society and was devoid of reflection as a form of valid knowledge (Kirkpatrick, Katsiaficas & Emry, 1978). It was only after the works of Karl Marx that the foundations for a critical social theory were established (Dillon, 2014).

Karl Marx, through his work, sought to emancipate the social underclass from the bonds of economic exploitation, alienation and domination. In his view, inequality was an undeniable part of a capitalist society, which led to exploitation and repression. For Marx, capitalism – a mode of production based on unequal private ownership of the means of production, characterised how society was organised. Marx predicted that because of the exploitation they suffered, the social underclass would eventually develop consciousness and revolt. Inherent in Marx's theorizing, and perhaps as a basis for critical theory, was an emphasis on unequal social relations (mostly class-based inequalities) that create grounds for a revolution. His theory on power and unequal relations is based on the question of ownership of means of production. For him, the social and the political are tied to economic arrangements. Therefore, to transform society is to transform unequal economic relations. In this context, for transformation to occur, the social underclass must own their labour and production systems. Therefore, unity among the oppressed is a key principle of a revolution in Marxist thesis.

Marx's colleague, Friedrich Engels, incorporated gender-based oppression to his reading of society. Both Marx and Engels questioned the idea of gender domination and the patriarchy embedded in that system. In his 1884 publication, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, Engels drew attention to how capitalism created ground for the exploitation and oppression of women. *The Communist Manifesto* by Marx (1884) also critiques the gender oppression inherent in conventional capitalist society.

Both Marx and Engels can be thought of as conceptual revolutionaries for laying the foundations and transforming views about human society (Sim & van Loon, 2002). Yet, their work provides merely symptomatic explanations of, and a somewhat prophetic view of society, i.e., that the oppressed would eventually grow consciousness and revolt against oppressive institutions. A rigorous approach to cultural analysis that teases out hidden social agendas and leads to action lies in the tenets of critical theory.

3.3.2 The Frankfurt School and the Birth of Critical Theory

The term critical theory owes its origins to a group of German scholars, collectively referred to as the *Frankfurt School[22]* - whose first use of the term in the 1920s was an attempt to interpret Marxist theory (Morrow & Brown, 1994), and set a new agenda emphasising a broader cluster of issues ranging from philosophy, psychology, aesthetics and the critique of technology (Bronner, 1994). Indeed, philosophers like Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno and later, Jurgen Habermas, suggest that critical theory must analyse society within a historic context. Within this context, they argue for a critical theory which offers a holistic analysis of society through, for example, incorporating perspectives from all social sciences (McKenzie, 2013).

At the time of the Frankfurt School's establishment, Marxism was its leading principle. In fact, some scholars have argued that critical theory evolved from Marxism's commitment to disrupt bourgeois capitalism, inequality and a class-based society, into a sociocultural critique of systems of repression (Sim & van Loon, 2002). However, with the rise of Nazism in Germany, and Adolf Hitler's ascendance into power in 1933, the institute that housed the Frankfurt

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[22] It should be noted that the Frankfurt School is not a place in the literal sense, but a school of thought. It is so named because of its founding as an independent Institute for Social Research (ISR) in Frankfurt, Germany in the early 1920s. Frankfurt School's core members include Theodor Adorno, Max Horkheimer and Herbert Marcuse. However, the tenet of critical theory as a societal critique was pushed in a new direction by Jurgen Habermas.

School was closed down because of its hostility and critique of the state[23]. This did not dismay Frankfurt scholars, as they continued their work in exile, albeit, writing in German (which restricted theim from reaching English speaking audiences[24]).

According to Fuchs (2015), the Frankfurt scholars used critical theory as a camouflage term while they were in exile in the USA. During that period, these scholars were worried about being targeted as communists or Marxists thinkers, and thus took care in how they categorised themselves. Yet, for the Frankfurt School, at the very core of critical theory was criticism of hegemonic ideology. Frankfurt theorists argued that hegemonic ideology prevented individuals in society from correctly perceiving their daily experiences as repressive, thereby stifling individuals' real interests. They added that for true freedom from social repression to occur, individuals needed to reflect on their experiences and rid themselves of ideological illusions (Geuss, 1981). Their use of Marxist literature evolved "into something considerably more radical" (McKenzie, 2013, p. 20). This, they suggested, could be done through rejecting rigid disciplinary constraints (Bronner, 1994).

Overtime, critical theory has taken on new meanings and has perhaps, through the work of Adorno and Habermas, become one of the most important strand of cultural criticism. In fact, Adorno's brand of critical theory critiqued popular culture for restricting autonomy and promoting conformity of individuals (McKenzie, 2013). Similarly, Habermas "advanced a critical theory which projected an emancipatory promise and a new interdisciplinary perspective on society" which sought to inform the struggle of the oppressed and lead to collective and individual action (Leonardo, 2004, p. 15). In this study, I draw largely on the

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[23] According to Dillon (2014), the Hitler led government seized the Institute's vast library but did not take over its financial endowment, which Horkheimer, as its Director, had already transferred to Holland.

[24] The first translation of the Frankfurt School's work was in 1972 when Horkheimer and Adorno's book, *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, was translated into English.

work of Adorno because of its criticism of authoritarian education and his support for the use of visual approaches in education. For example, Adorno (1998) supports the use of visual medium with students to challenge existing social power structures that render them vulnerable. Drawing on Adorno's work, in this study, I used PVM to engage adolescent orphans to examine their vulnerability to, and agency in addressing sexual violence.

Morrow (1994) argues that the contemporary meaning of critical theory can neither be exclusively identified with the Marxist tradition – from which it has become distinct – nor can it be linked exclusively to the Frankfurt School (given its renewed variations outside of its original context). In this study, I draw on the views of Adorno, since his is one of the most sustained attempts by Frankfurt scholars to clarify the underlying epistemological assumptions of critical theory. In particular, his assumptions that individual autonomy and emancipation can be created if individuals engage in a systematic critique of the ways in which society is organised and the goals it serves, is useful in my analysis of the ways in which adolescent orphans experience, understand and resist sexual violence in and around their school.

Adorno's (1998) essay titled, *Education after Auschwitz*, warns against authoritarianism in education. He argues that education, particularly in childhood, should facilitate an intellectual, cultural and social climate in which the recurrence of past injustices would no longer be possible. Of particular relevance to this study, is Adorno's proposal that visual based models of education be used to change the state of students' consciousness. Furthermore, Adorno rejects the idea that hardness, or being strong, often associated with masculinity, produces what is considered the right type of person. Instead, he advocates for critical reflection in education, where students share their experiences of pain and abuse, and the emotions associated with them, in order that their conditions can transform. Adorno ends his essay by suggesting that

education, if done correctly, can provide hope for ending sadistic models of authoritarianism, toxic virility, violence and abuse. South Africa has arguably inherited authoritarian models of education that were instituted through colonialism and apartheid, and Adorno's analysis offers a useful lens through which to understand and challenge such models and the violence they produce in and around schools.

3.3.3 Using Critical Theory to Frame the Study

Critical theorists maintain that critical thought and reflection are suppressed in society by many dominant institutions (e.g., patriarchy, the media, family, education, culture, religion, corporations and politics). These institutions extend a controlling hand into all spheres of society. From the onset, critical theorists expressed an explicit interest in the elimination of social injustices (de Vita, 2014). Specifically, Callaghan (2016, p. 59) asserts that critical theory,

> Considers social science to be tasked with liberation from unnecessary restrictive traditions, ideologies, assumptions, power relations, identity formations […] that inhibit or distort opportunities for autonomy, clarifications of genuine needs and wants and therefore greater and lasting satisfaction.

Notwithstanding the very different era and society in which the Frankfurt scholars wrote, their analysis of society remains applicable today, particularly given the pervasiveness of patriarchal oppression and sexual violence. Research located within critical theory uses epistemologies that are positioned in the experiences, values and interests of groups that have traditionally been vulnerable, oppressed, or excluded such as adolescent orphans in the context of sexual violence (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992). Critical research is further associated with, and has its roots in, participatory research (as well as action research and feminist research).

The study reported in this thesis is rooted in critical theory and participatory research in four ways. First, the study focused on a group of vulnerable young people (in this case, adolescent orphans) in a school located in a township, an environment known for its violence generally, and GBV in particular. Second, informed by the transformative paradigm, the study was particularly mindful of ethical considerations related to the relationship between myself (as a researcher) and the adolescent orphans as the researched. In other words, in order to avoid research that engaged in the exploitation of participants, I was mindful that the participants were the primary producers of knowledge in the research. As such, I have attempted, in this doctoral thesis, to present as accurate an account of their experiences and understanding of sexual violence through the co-construction of knowledge and data analysis. Nelson and Prilleltensky (2005, p. 281) note that the process of critical research "involves a high degree of collaboration among researchers, disadvantaged groups, and other stakeholders". Informed by the tenets of critical theory, the study analysed in this thesis required constant communication, collaboration and feedback between the participants and myself. In essence, the research was conducted *with* the participants, rather than on or about them.

Third, linked to the above, the research involved reciprocity in terms of a bi-directional exchange of information, knowledge and benefit between me and the adolescent orphans, and the sharing of the research experience through mutual negotiation of meaning and power. In this regard, the study heeds Nelson and Prilleltensky's (2005) call for research that strives to develop authentic and supportive relationships between the researcher and those identified as vulnerable. Fourth, the participation of adolescent orphans in the study involved prioritising their experiences, voices and concerns as a group deemed vulnerable. Amplifying their voices was key for understanding their vulnerability to sexual violence.

The study was further informed by the transformative learning theory (discussed below). Through interweaving both critical theory and transformative learning theory, the research facilitated the participants' reflection and contributed to the emergence of their agency and positive action toward understanding and addressing sexual violence in their daily lives.

3.4 Transformative Learning Theory

This study aimed to elicit adolescent orphans' experiences and understandings of their vulnerability to and agency in addressing sexual violence in and around their township secondary school. Informed by the transformative paradigm, Mezirow's (1978) transformative learning theory also informed the data analysis in the study. Jack Mezirow[25] first introduced the concept, transformative learning, in his article entitled *Perspective Transformation*, based on his 1975-1978 study of adult women in the USA who were returning to post-secondary education after a long hiatus (Mezirow, 2009; Kitcherham, 2008). His qualitative investigation aimed to identify factors that were either impeding or facilitating adult women's progress when they re-entered the education system (Mezirow, 1978). Mezirow (2000, p. 22) identified ten phases (see Table 3.1) that facilitated transformation. Based on these findings, he concluded that, having reached Phase 10, these women had undergone a personal transformation (Kitcherham, 2008).

Phase 1	A disorienting dilemma
Phase 2	A self-examination with feelings of guilt or shame
Phase 3	A critical assessment of epistemic, sociocultural, or psychic assumptions
Phase 4	Recognition that one's discontent and the process of transformation are shared and that others have negotiated a similar change
Phase 5	Exploration of options for new roles, relationships, and actions

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[25] Jack Mezirow was a Professor of Adult Learning at Teachers College in Columbia University, New York. Paulo Freire and critical theorist Jurgen Habermas inspired his work. It was through Mezirow's work with adult education that he discovered a wide range of learning that reached into changes in identity.

Phase 6	Planning of a course of action
Phase 7	Acquisition of knowledge and skills for implementing one's plan
Phase 8	Provisional trying of new roles
Phase 9	Building of competence and self-confidence in new roles and relationships
Phase 10	A reintegration into one's life on the basis of conditions dictated by one's perspective

Table 3.1: Ten Phases that Facilitate Transformation (Mezirow, 1978, p. 12; Mezirow, 2000, p. 22).

Writing about his findings, Mezirow recommended a "recognition of a critical dimension of learning in adulthood that enabled [students] to recognise and reassess the structure of assumptions and expectations that frame thinking" (Mezirow, 2009, p.91). As discussed above, the theory aligns itself with, and has its foundations in, the work of Paulo Freire and Habermas, who claimed that learning, and knowledge thereof, is only transformative when all stakeholders in the learning community participate in its production and consumption. These philosophers make a critical distinction between instrumental learning and transformative learning. According to Mezirow (2009, p. 91), the distinction between the two is that:

> Instrumental learning pertains to learning involved in controlling or manipulating the environment, in improving performance or prediction… [whereas transformative learning] is rooted in understanding what a person means when they communicate with you – in conversation, or through a book, a poem, an artwork, or a dance performance.

Transformative learning casts doubt on problematic frames of reference such as cultural biases, religious doctrines, political orientations, moral-ethics norms, and fixed interpersonal relations to make them inclusive, open, reflective and emotionally able to change (Mezirow, 2003a). It focuses on how individuals could learn to think for themselves instead of assimilating social beliefs, values, feelings and judgments of others (Mezirow, 2003b). Transformative learning

involves a "deep, structural shift in basic premises of thought, feelings, and actions" (Kitchenham, 2008, p. 104).

Transformative learning explains learning as a process of development, in which learners or participants use their existing understanding of a situation to imagine or develop new interpretations (Mezirow 1998). Linked to this perspective, transformative learning considers participants (e.g., in this case adolescent orphans) as active critical thinkers, who are capable of understanding their experiences and of thinking about alternatives. According to Mezirow (2003c), transformative learning extends the tenets of critical theory and suggests that, to participate in education, learners must be free from coercion, and have equal opportunity to participate in the various roles of discourse. They must be open to alternative viewpoints, show empathy, care about how others think and feel, and withhold judgments. Further, learners must be able to understand, to weigh evidence and to assess arguments objectively, and must be able to become aware of the context of ideas and critically reflect on assumptions, including their own. Therefore, in this regard, transformative learning exists to affect social change (Mezirow, 1997).

3.4.1 The Evolution of Transformative Learning Theory

A number of theorists have advanced Mezirow's original tenets of transformative learning theory. Prominent among them are John Dirkx and Edward Taylor. To illustrate, Dirkx refers to transformative learning as *soul work* or *inner work* (Dirkx, 1997; Kritskaya & Dirkx, 2000). In his view, learning encompasses the whole being. He suggests an integrated and holistic understanding of a subject, which involves learning which "reflects the intellectual, emotional, moral, and spiritual dimensions of our being in the world" (Dirkx, Mezirow & Cranton, 2006, p. 125). At a session titled "Whole Group Learning: Integration of Theories" at the *Sixth*

Transformative Learning Theory Conference at Michigan State University held in October 2005, Dirkx and Mezirow engaged in a dialogue where they explored differences and similarities on views regarding transformative learning (Dirkx, Mezirow & Cranton, 2006). At this session, Dirkx argued that:

> [The] integrated view [in transformative learning] … seeks to account for the ways in which the social, cultural, and embodied as well as the deeply personal and transpersonal aspects of our being potentially play out in the process of transformative learning (Dirkx, Mezirow & Cranton, 2006, p. 125).

According to Dirkx (1997; 1998b), transformative educators do not teach remarkably different content from instrumentally oriented educators. However, through using different instructional strategies, they have a different end in mind. Transformative educators, as argued by Dirkx (1998), do not only work in the traditional classroom, but may be found in such diverse places as the workplace, research sites, teaching in adult basic education or running community-based educational/research programmes. Dirkx (1998) introduces four different strands in thinking about transformative learning. The first, borrowed from Freire's work, is *transformation as consciousness-raising*. Guided by a "desire for political liberation and freedom" (p. 3), *consciousness-raising* implies a process through which the learner develops the ability to "analyse, pose questions, and take action on social, political, cultural and economic context" (p. 3). The second strand is *transformation as critical reflection*. Central to this strand, and influenced largely by Mezirow's work on adult education, is the idea of creating meaning from our experiences through reflection; that is, reflection, critical reflection and critical self-reflection. Dirkx (1998) argues that through reflection the learner identifies and reformulates key assumptions about their perspectives. The third strand is *transformation as development*. The work of Larry Dazol (1986) is important in understanding this strand. Dazol sees

transformative learning as growth. Expanding on this idea, Dirkx suggests the need for a learner to find and construct meaning within their lives as key to participating in the learning experience. Here, the ability to make sense of all aspects of his/her life is related to the developmental movement of the learner's life (Dazol, 1986). Finally, *transformation as individuation*, rooted in Robert Boyd's (1991) ideas, is committed to facilitating personal transformation. Boyd is particularly interested, because of his psychology roots, in the expressive or emotional-spiritual dimensions of learning and, as Dirkx (1998, p. 7) writes, "integrating these dimensions more holistically and consciously with our daily experiences". From these four aspects, Dirkx argues that key to transformative learning is its occupation with actualisation of the self and society through liberation and freedom. Transformative learning helps us to identify coercive forces or factors within ourselves and our cultural context and free us from their coercive nature through dialogue, critique, imagination and action.

Taylor's (1998; 2000) extensive critical reviews of theoretical and practical debates on transformative learning theory found support for Mezirow's ideals for promoting rational discourse and critical reflection. The author points to the importance of fostering group ownership and individual agency through shared experiential learning. He asserts that future enquiries need to focus on elements for fostering transformative learning, such as "the role of relationships, how emotions are managed in the classroom to facilitate critical reflection and the impact of fostering transformative learning on learning outcomes" (Taylor, 2000, p.1). In the study reported in this thesis, transformative learning theory is used to analyse the ways in which the use of PVM might facilitate critical reflection, consciousness-raising and social action among adolescent orphans in the context of sexual violence in and around their school.

Moreover, using transformative learning theory as an analytical lens, and departing from a long tradition of focusing on adult learning, my analysis encompasses work with young people (adolescent orphans). My assumption was that, transformation, particularly in the context of sexual violence, should be developed from an early age. For this reason, the study focused on adolescent orphans as a learning community, and engaged them as active participants who are able to link awareness of social injustice with a reflection about actions for social change.

Other theorists who have worked with the theory include Hoggan and Cranton (2015) who define transformative learning theory as a "process of examining, questioning and revising our perceptions about the world we occupy" (p.13). This involves learning not only to 'read the word' as prescribed by authoritative figures, but to also 'read the world' as we have experienced it (Cummins, 2000). For Harrell-Levy and Kerpelman (2010), transformative learning theory explains teaching that fosters collaborative learning and empowers students to think creatively and critically. Further, borrowing from Freire's work, Weiler (1991) asserts that transformative learning theory endeavors to liberate individual thinking and facilitate a process where the student unlearns previously held beliefs and ideologies. Freire himself described the process of transformation as entailing an action and reflective dimension. Elaborating on the reflective dimension, he argued that it can be nurtured through educational processes (see also Nagda, et al., 2003). Further illuminating this rationale, Harrel-Levy & Kerpelman (2010, p. 81) write:

> Students should have influence over their own education because that influence empowers them and enables them to be their own example in the struggle for redemption. This process is characterised by the personal and social transformation of all members of the learning community that results from dialogue and reflection. In the transformative context, learning is a shared process that touches each student in a personal way.

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In his work on bi-literacy and empowerment, Cummins (2000) suggested that this theory explains an interaction between the educator and student that fosters the collaborative creation of power. Writing about societal power structures (including the division of status and resources in society), Cummins distinguishes between two forms: coercive and collaborative relations of power. The former relates to the use of power and privilege by a dominant group or individual to the detriment of a subordinate group or individual. Transformative learning theory thus speaks to the latter while seeking to transform the former. According to Cummins (2000), collaborative relations of power relate to the assumption that:

> Power is not a fixed pre-determined quantity but rather can be generated in interpersonal and intergroup relations, [thus] becoming additive instead of subtractive (p.1).

In other words, each person in the learning community is empowered and affirmed through collaboration and has a greater opportunity for effecting positive change in their immediate social environment. Drawing from Foucault's freedom and empowerment discourse, Levitt (2008) highlights the importance of transformative learning theory for educational reform in which all members of the learning community (educators, learners, parents, etcetera.) are agents of change. Through the theory's dialogic emphasis, all these stakeholders are engaged as critical thinkers, participating actors who envision alternative possibilities of social reality (Nagda et al., p. 167).

While the interaction of all the actors is important, in the context of schooling, the active participation of students, as knowers and producers of knowledge, what scholars have referred to as student-centred pedagogy (see Elenes, 2001), is key to transformation. Teaching (and research) informed by transformative learning theory aims to disrupt the creation of classroom-

based hierarchies, and seeks to create a learning environment founded on the equality of all participating in education. By so doing, such teaching or research disrupts oppressive, harmful and power-based violent hierarchies, and endeavors to be liberating through raising consciousness (Harrell-Levy & Kerpelman, 2010). Theorists such as bell hooks (1994) and others (McLaren & Leonard, 1993; Giroux, 2001) have adopted and elaborated on a feminist and critical lens of transformative learning theory. In weaving together transformative, critical and feminist education, these scholars aim to encourage students to critically examine their assumptions about the social world, cope with social issues and participate in social action. From a critical feminist perspective, transformative learning theory produces teaching and/or research that:

> Creat[es] safe spaces for [learners who are adolescent orphans]; encouraging [these learners] to think about their experiences, beliefs and biases; promoting [their] engagement and participation; posing real world problems that address societal inequalities that reinforce sexual violence; and helping [them] to implement action-oriented solutions (Meyers, 2009, p. 219).

Advocates of transformative learning theory cite several factors for locating their research and teaching within this framework. For them, first, transformative learning theory is a medium of reflection about social life and a springboard for positive change that is born out of said reflection (Fetherston & Kelly, 2007). Second, the theory promotes learning that nurtures humanity as well as facilitates the development of a fully functional and critical citizenry. Third, in order to cultivate humanity, the student has to have the ability to "think [about] what it might be like to be in [another person's] shoes" (Hoggan & Cranton, 2015, p. 7). In other words, the theory calls for us to allow the learner to place her/himself in another person's position and understand life from the perspective of that person – it develops empathy.

In this thesis, I use transformative learning theory to analyse adolescent orphans' perspectives on their experiences and understanding of and resistance to sexual violence in and around their school. I use the theory to understand how using PVM (discussed in Chapter Four), might facilitate the participants' agency in resisting and addressing sexual violence in and around the school. From this perspective, the adolescent orphans who participated in the study were viewed as active critical thinkers, capable of understanding their own situation and of imagining alternative possibilities for social change (Ngidi & Moletsane, 2015). By using PVM as a transformative learning tool, participants in this study worked collaboratively in order to generate data useful for analysis. In doing so, a sense of community and empathy was created (see Chapter Seven).

3.5 Discussion: Towards a Theoretical Framework

This study engaged adolescent orphans in understanding their vulnerability to and identifying possible strategies for addressing sexual violence in and around their school. To analyse data from the research, the study weaved together critical theory, particularly the work of critical education theorists (Taylor, 1998; Boyd & Myers, 1988; Dirkx, 2001) and Mezirow's (1978) transformative learning theory.

While each theorist conceptualises transformative learning differently, the tenets remain the same. Whether it is Freire's (1970) *social transformation* and *consciousness-raising*, Mezirow (1978) and Taylor's (1998) *transformative learning*, Dirkx's (2001) *emotive learning*, Boyd and Myers' (1988) *transformative education* or hooks' (1994) *educating to transgress,* transformative learning happens when oppressive, violent and unequal power structures are transformed in and out of educational settings. Using critical theory and transformative learning as a framework, in addition to developing a deeper theoretical understanding of sexual violence

from the perspectives of the adolescent orphans, this study examined how the participants themselves understood, experienced and resisted sexual violence in and around their school. It also sought to explore ways in which orphans from a poor under-served community responded to, thereby developed agency against, sexual violence in and around their school. I wanted to study how adolescent orphans might imagine an alternative world devoid of oppressive cultures and the normalised practices that produce sexual violence.

Learners in South African secondary schools are exposed to many types of violence, including sexual violence (Gevers and Flisher, 2012). This vulnerability can provide the base from which young people can rise up, aspire to change, and use their voice to facilitate a safe learning environment. Research located within a critical-transformative learning theory places freedom, safety, security, dignity and well-being at the heart of learning. It encourages research participants to disrupt normalised hierarchies that are often oppressive and violent, contributing as it does to social change. Underlying Mezirow's work is education for '*humanisation*'[26] (Graman 1988). While it focuses on developing participants' understanding of alternative perspectives and experiences (Meyers 2008), in this study it further contributed to expanding their awareness of how social forces around sexual violence impact on adolescent orphans. Critiques of transformative learning theory, include the argument that since humans have such a wide range of experiences, it cannot be possible for individuals to come together towards a social action or a call for justice.

However, Mezirow (1978) and Frere (1970) argue that it is in fact the need for social justice that is the driving force that can move people and often does. They contend that humans can

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[26] Education for humanisation is realised through critical reflection and critical dialogue by both learners and educators. This approach seeks to provide a conceptual framework for education that promotes peace in contexts of segregation, strained community relations and past traumas (Gill & Niens, 2014a).

share social values and organise to defend such through institutions of public action and social justice education. Transformative learning complements the idea that people can share in a common social action for social justice (Ray, 2006). The fight for equality, safety and human rights in education in this case, allows learners to share their experiences within and outside the secondary school system. Transformative learning involves the creation of safe spaces for participants to reflect on their experiences of sexual violence (either as victims, perpetrators and witnesses), and poses questions that challenge and transform conditions that stifle safety and security.

Central to my study, especially its use of PVM as transformative tools, was the need to create a safe space for adolescent orphaned learners to critically engage in dialogue about their vulnerability to sexual violence; thereby forming agency and resilience against it. In line with the tenets of critical theory and transformative learning theory (i.e., learning should transform violence cultures and facilitate safety and security), I sought to engage the participants in reflective exercises that examined dominant norms about sexual violence and how best to understand and address it. Adopting this framework, and using PVM as transformative pedagogical tools, in this study I draw on the experiences and contexts of adolescent orphans in order to explore their vulnerability to sexual violence in and around their school.

The main research question that I sought to address was: *How do adolescent orphans in a poorly resourced township school understand and resist their vulnerability to sexual violence?* To analyse data responding to the three research questions posed in this study, three propositions for data analysis in this thesis were formulated. The first sub-question that I sought to address was: *How do adolescent orphans identify, understand and communicate their vulnerability to sexual violence in and around a township secondary school?* Informed by

critical theory, analysis in this study was premised on the assumption that the inquiry must emphasise the creation of a sense of consciousness where adolescent orphans are able to identify and understand their vulnerability to sexual violence in and around the school. Such consciousness opens up possibilities for the participants not only to speak about their vulnerability to sexual violence, but to also critique the unequal power relations that produces it.

The second sub-research question in the study was: *What tools and strategies do they use to respond to and resist sexual violence in and around the school?* Linked to critical theory, in particular, its reflexive, empowering and transformative goal, the study was informed by the assumption that the emancipation of the oppressed (in this case, adolescent orphans) is possible if safe spaces are created in which they can freely analyse their oppression and critically imagine strategies for directly or indirectly dismantling social systems and institutions that subordinate them and render them vulnerable to sexual violence and abuse. In order to open up possibilities for social change, such spaces must necessarily unearth and privilege the voices of the participants. In such spaces, adolescent orphans can identify and develop the agency to challenge and address their oppression and the violence inherent therein. In this study, critical theory not only helped me to understand how adolescent orphans understood their vulnerability to sexual violence, but also provided knowledge about how, given the right opportunities and tools, they might develop their agency to address the norms and practices that make them vulnerable.

The third sub-research question asked: *How might the use of PVM facilitate these adolescent orphans' agency in the context of sexual violence in and around the school?* Linked to this question, informed by Mezirow's (1978) transformative learning theory, the third proposition

was that given a safe space and tools (involving the use of PVM) to communicate their perspectives, adolescent orphans can become critical, engaged and active agents who can envision possibilities for social change in the context of sexual violence. As Elenes (2001) notes, in such an environment, and as a learning community, participants critically engage in reflection and dialogue about their vulnerability and in developing agency towards understanding their vulnerability to sexual violence and taking action to resist and address it.

Guided by these propositions, data analysis in this study focused on adolescent orphans' constructions of their vulnerability to sexual violence, and on the ways in which PVM might help to develop their agency in resisting and addressing such violence in and around their township secondary school.

3.6 Synthesis

This thesis reports on a study that focused on how and why adolescents who are orphans and attending a township secondary school, are particularly vulnerable to sexual violence. In particular, I investigated the ways in which these learners themselves perceived, experienced and communicated about sexual violence in and around their township secondary school. In this chapter, I provided the theoretical framework which informed data analysis. First, I located myself as a researcher, starting with how I became interested in critical and transformative research. Critical theory, which analyses issues of power, violence and dominance in society informed this study. In particular, the theory was used for its emphasis on promoting well-being of the disadvantaged, the vulnerable, the oppressed and exploited. Informed by the critical, the study adopted a participatory research design which acknowledged that participants were producers of knowledge. The chapter also presented Mezirow's transformative learning theory that also informed analyses in this study. The theory argues for a learning environment

that liberates individual thinking and facilitates a process of unlearning previous beliefs and ideologies. It acknowledges that learning is also influenced by students' individual beliefs, ideas and experiences. Transformative learning theory was used to assist the participants in examining their experiences of sexual violence and then to take action that would have an impact on their agency and lead to social change.

The theoretical framework developed from these theories provided a lens for analysing adolescent orphans' vulnerability and their agency in the context of sexual violence in and around their school. The chapter concluded with a set of three propositions that were developed from the two theoretical framework. The propositions developed in this chapter were used to guide data analysis for this study.

The next chapter describes the research design and methodology used to address the research questions, as well as the research approaches used for generating data in this study.

CHAPTER FOUR

USING PARTICIPATORY VISUAL METHODOLOGY IN WORK WITH ADOLESCENT ORPHANS IN THE CONTEXT OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE

Children are often denied the rights to speak for themselves either because they are held incompetent in making judgements or because they are thought of as unreliable witnesses about their own lives (Fraser, 2004, p. 16).

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this study was to examine adolescent orphans' vulnerability to and agency against sexual violence in and around a township secondary school. Conducted in one co-educational school in KZN, South Africa, the study addressed the critical question: *How do adolescent orphans in a poorly resourced township school understand and resist their vulnerability to sexual violence?* In Chapter Three, I provided the theoretical underpinnings of the study. From these, I presented propositions that were used to guide data generation and analysis. In this chapter, I provide the research design and methodology used in the study. Moreover, in this chapter I respond to sociologist Ann Oakley (1994, p. 24) who asks, "what would it really mean to study the world from the standpoints of [adolescents] both as knowers and actors?". Building on Oakley's question and the notion that adolescents should be actively involved in research projects that seek to understand and respond to their own experiences and perspectives on social issues (Noble-Carr, 2006), I discuss and reflect on the qualitative approach I adopted in the study. In particular, I reflect on the use of PVM to address the research questions. Further, I discuss the participatory visual data generation methods used in

this study that enabled the participants to communicate, from their standpoints, how they see their vulnerability to sexual violence, and within this context facilitate their own agency in addressing this violence. Following this, I discuss the research context of this study. The chapter concludes with a discussion on the trustworthiness of the study and the ethical considerations that emerged during the study.

4.2 The Transformative Paradigm

As discussed in Chapter Two, the vulnerability of adolescent orphans to sexual violence is a global crisis which is located within social norms and inequalities in gender relations that render these young people vulnerable (UNICEF, 2017). The scale of sexual violence is indicative of underlying (often deep and unobservable) socio-political and cultural features that legitimise girls and women's subordination. As shown in Chapter Three, theory helps to unmask the deep structures that produce and legitimise vulnerability (Biddle & Schaft, 2015). Taking this into cognisance, and as a way of unmasking features that perpetuate sexual violence against adolescent orphans, this study was located within the transformative paradigm (Mertens, 2009).

Donna Mertens (2007) argues that the transformative paradigm provides a framework for addressing inequality and injustice by using culturally competent and sensitive methodological strategies. Therefore, researchers working within this paradigm are attentive to issues of power and make this attention central to their research (Romm, 2015). Further, this paradigm places key importance on the lives and experiences of those who suffer from oppression, violence and discrimination on the basis of their gender, sex, sexual orientation, age, and socioeconomic status, which includes orphanhood (Kivunja & Kuyini, 2017). According to Mertens (2007), true knowledge in research lies in the collective meaning-making by the people who are

research participants. Further, this knowledge must inform individual or group action in order to improve their situations. Linked to critical theory and transformative learning theory (both discussed in Chapter Three), the transformative paradigm advances the assumption that knowledge is constructed from the participant's frame of reference. Therefore, researchers whose work is located within the transformative paradigm are consciously aware of power differentials in the research context and they constantly search for ways to eliminate the effect of power, oppression and discrimination (Mertens, 2007; Shannon-Baker, 2016; Romm, 2014). As a result, the relationship between the researcher and the research participants is not based on power hierarchies, but involves the transformation of both the participants and the researcher. In this study, data was generated by adolescent orphans in order that I might understand their vulnerability to and agency against sexual violence in and around their school.

4.3 Researching *with* Adolescent Orphans

Literature has established the importance of involving young people in empirical research concerning their own lives (Mayeza, 2017; McLaughlin, 2015; Murray, 2015; Wilkinson & Wilkinson, 2017). Heeding this call, I sought to involve adolescent orphans in research on their vulnerability to, and agency against sexual violence. The involvement of adolescents, as both 'knowers and actors' in their own lives (Mitchell, de Lange & Moletsane, 2017), was key to understanding their vulnerability to and agency against sexual violence. Almost two decades ago, Fraser (2004) highlighted how this approach yields context-based benefits, including improving adolescent relations with family members, their learning in schools and their health outcomes. Researching *with* adolescent orphans as *co-researcher participants* or collaborators in the research process rather than *on* them as *objects* to be studied (Treffry-Goatley, Moletsane & Wiebesiek, 2018), was significant in the context of this study and for the topic of sexual violence for a number of reasons. First, enlisting their insights as a group of adolescents who are vulnerable to sexual violence was important for generating knowledge that is often

uncovered or silenced. Second, researching *with* adolescent orphans afforded them the opportunity to provide for themselves their own realities, narratives, and explanations about how they understood sexual violence. Third, researching *with* adolescent orphans was aimed at shifting and minimising the impact of the unequal power dynamics that are often observed in research (de Lange, 2012). Fourth, researching with the participants, as Mahadev (2015) observes, helps to make their often silenced voices heard. Finally, as stated in the previous chapter, in this study I aligned myself with qualitative researchers (Creswell, 2011; Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Huberman, 1994) broadly, and critical feminist scholars (Bhana, 2008; Mitchell, 2006; Moletsane, 2014; Posel, 2005) more centrally, because of their humanising work that seeks to contest power relations.

4.3.1 Examining Issues of Power and Agency in Working with Adolescent Orphans

Power encompasses all research processes, and research with adolescent orphans is not exempted (Spyrou, 2011). Notwithstanding my personal experience of growing up an orphan and growing up and attending schools in a township, I recognised my privileged position as an educated adult male professional coming from a university to work with adolescents in a school environment. My identity as an adult male studying sexual violence with vulnerable adolescents presented possible dilemmas that could influence knowledge production and data analysis (see also, Mayeza, 2017). As someone associated with an institution of higher education, a setting considered elite and powerful in relation to a school from a poorly resourced community, I conceded that my identity might dominate participants and the construction of knowledge (Declercq & Ayala, 2017). The inherent power relations between the researcher and researched has been a cause for concern in the literature (Karnieli-Miller, Strier & Pessach, 2009; Raheim et al., 2016; Treffy-Goatley, Wiebesiek, de Lange, & Moletsane, 2017). Studies continuously reflect on the privileged position of the researcher in

relation to research participants (Treffy-Goatley et al., 2017; von Benzon & van Blerk, 2017). In social science research, discussions about power suggest that participants are subordinates of researchers (von Benzon & van Blerk, 2017). However, scholars have also recognised the potential for researchers to support and usher in a research environment that is democratic, supports equal power sharing and the co-construction of knowledge (Karnieli-Miller et al., 2009; UNICEF, 2017).

To this end, there are growing attempts to increase the agentic potential of participants, and children in particular, in research (Treffy-Goatley et al., 2017); an imperative I took very seriously in this research. In fact, from recent literature, the trend of increasing participants' meaningful contribution comes in two variations. The first considers children as co-researchers or collaborators (Mitchell & Moletsane, 2018; Treffy-Goatley et al., 2017), while the second considers them as primary researchers (Mitchell et al., 2016). The former offers children the opportunity to make some, but not all, decisions about the inquiry (Freeman & Mathison, 2009). The second variant affords children greater control and complete involvement in all research stages and processes (Karnieli-Miller et al., 2009). For example, Freeman and Mathison (2009) contend that when children are primary researchers they are in charge of identifying research questions, methodology, data generations, analysis, and the sharing of knowledge. However, in this study, the participants were co-researchers since I determined the research questions and the methodology.

In order to reach this idealised setup within the research environment, scholars have made some critical suggestions. For example, in early work with children, Mandell (1988) used the notion of a '*least-adult role*' model to suggest that the researcher can, and should, minimise their adult characteristics, authority and privilege in order to blend in more easily with the participants. In

this study, throughout the research engagement with participants, I assumed the role of a facilitator instead of a sole-researcher, in which I attempted to create democratic power relationships (Pajalic, 2015) and at a minimum, lessen the unequal power relations between myself and the participants during the research activities.

Scholars such as Corsaro (2003) espouse to the role of a friend in order to dismantle the power imbalance that often characterises research with children. Whether participants are considered as co-researchers or primary researchers, one thing remains: this sort of engagement with children is turning the gaze on childhood from an insider perspective. Thus, I heed Mertens' (2007) scepticism with the concept of empowerment, which suggests the researcher has power and confers and gives it to the participants. Instead, I view the concept of power as not fixed, but as shifting in favour of the marginalised. In working with the adolescent orphans in this study, I emphasised their agency, co-construction of knowledge and collective learning. Further, as part of ensuring that the participants' needs and wellbeing were taken care of, and due to the participatory nature of the research, I assembled a small research team made up of myself, a champion teacher from the school, and two research assistants. I took on the role of a principal investigator (PI) by conceptualising and managing all study activities. As the PI, I took the role of a facilitator during data generation activities. The champion teacher assisted me with gaining access to the community and the participants. She also helped with organizing school-based data generating workshops by making sure I had access to school facilities, including classrooms. She was also my contact and connection with the school throughout the research. The two research assistants helped in a number of tasks that supported research activities. This included taking notes and capturing moments of data generation using cameras. I further relied on their assistance for collecting meals during lunch breaks. I also enlisted the help of a social worker who worked with vulnerable children, including those who were

homeless, in and around Durban. I was introduced to him by a mutual friend. The social worker further connected me with his female colleague who also supported the study. Both social workers were in place should any of the participants require psychosocial support.

4.4 Research Design

Why did I choose a qualitative approach? As discussed above, in this study, my point of departure was that research should be concerned with transforming oppressive and harmful power relations and with amplifying the voices of those whose knowledge or perspectives we seek to understand. I therefore, located this study within a qualitative research approach, which helps in providing answers to the "*how and why*" questions rather than the "*how many*" questions. Human experiences are a strong feature of qualitative research (Atieno, 2009) and therefore, within the context of sexual violence as experienced by adolescent orphans in and around schools, the approach enabled me to uncover a deeper understanding of the issue, given the complexities and multiple dynamics surrounding it. I was interested in the participants' 'voices' and 'subjectivity' rather than quantifying their experiences. In this study, I took the stance that an "inquiry from the inside" (Ospina, 2004, p. 2) – and from the perspectives of the adolescent orphans who participated in this research – would yield rich data and enable a deep analysis of their vulnerability to sexual violence.

4.4.1 Participatory Research

The United Nations International Children Emergency Fund (UNICEF) regards the meaningful participation of children as a fundamental right for all children, especially those who are most marginalised and vulnerable in society (UNICEF, 2010). UNICEF further suggests that children's participation should not be a gift bestowed upon them by researchers. Rather, they must participate meaningfully in order that they develop agency. Furthermore, within the

studies of childhood, there is a growing emphasis on working *with* young people in participatory ways in order that they might set the research agenda and participate more meaningfully in the research process (Lomax, 2012). Yet, I was aware that within the African worldview, children occupy a low social position where they are not free to express themselves in ways and languages that are meaningful to them. Also, sex is considered a taboo subject, especially one not to be discussed between adults and children (Ndinda, Uzodike, Chimbwete, & Mgeyane, 2011). Further, I was aware that the adolescent orphans I had invited as participants might not have had prior opportunities to identify and speak about their vulnerability to sexual violence, or to contribute to ideas about how to address the issue. For me in this study, participation became more than just taking part in the research. Rather, it involved engagement and collective decision-making in important aspects of the research process, including choices about data generation activities, scheduling and data use. It is for these reasons that I was keen to use creative methods that are youth-centred and that would enable the meaningful engagement of the participants in expressing their views on the issues and taking action to address them (Mitchell, 2008). This required approaches that allow those who may not typically engage in research to have a voice. This, I had hoped, would improve the participants' sense of personal efficacy, build self-esteem and confidence, and advance their decision-making capacity and strengthen democratic engagement (Mitchell, De Lange & Moletsane, 2017). For me, these included visual-based approaches (De Lange, 2012; Lomax, 2012) (I describe these in more detail below).

Building on the understanding that participatory research engages participants as active agents throughout the research process, Clark (2009) argues that in qualitative research, used alone, data generation techniques such as interviews and focus group discussions tend to yield limited results. Importantly, the author explains:

With spoken word, inevitably the centre of these methods, less attention is paid to factors that condition what is not verbalized in the research. [Given] the prevalence of violence in [adolescents'] lives, it is important to explore methodologies that transgress traditional and conventional ways of analysing and presenting data on this topic and highlights ways of 'hearing' and encouraging alternative accounts within the pervasive dominant discourses around gender violence (Clark, 2009, p.50).

Participatory research operates as an intervention in and of itself (de Lange & Geldenhuys, 2012; Mitchell, 2008). De Lange (2008) argues that an important factor about participatory research is the interventionist aspect, which creates a context for prevention, taking action and facilitating social change. She continues,

[This approach] heightens the engagement of participants, adds a sense of playfulness and creates contexts in which the participants become aware of their own agency, and in the process contribute to bringing about change (p.6).

The idea of *playfulness,* fun and excitement in research with young people has not received the attention it merits. Possibly, this omission emanates from a tradition that views this sort of reasoning in knowledge production as disruptive and transgressing conventional approaches (hooks, 1994). Certainly, as discussed in Chapter Three, bell hooks (1994) encourages the idea of pedagogical playfulness and argues that it deconstructs the hierarchies often observed in the learning environment. In South Africa, scholars working with young people in secondary school settings have illustrated the benefits of using action-oriented and playful methods (e.g., de Lange, 2008; Sibeko & Luthuli, 2018). For these reasons, in this study, I used PVM to address the research questions.

4.4.2 Engaging Adolescent Orphans through Participatory Visual Methodology

PVM involves the production, organisation, and interpretation of images such as those created through drawing, photography, video, etcetera (Prosser, 2007). In research, ethnographers in the field of visual anthropology have historically used photographic imagery to supplement their narratives when documenting indigenous human cultures (see MacDougall, 1997). Yet, as social change researchers argue, the use of the visual in anthropology was not participatory in nature since it placed human participants under the colonial gaze of the researcher (Prosser, 2007). Over time, and perhaps as a move towards decolonial research practices, visual methods have taken on a more participatory feature that draws on both non-mechanical tools (e.g., collage making and drawing) and mechanical tools (e.g., video making and photography).

To this end, and as briefly discussed in Chapter Two, PVM has been useful in engaging participants on issues that are not easy to talk about (Mitchell, Walsh & Moletsane, 2006). To illustrate, *Unwanted Images: Gender-Based Violence in the New South Africa,* a participatory educational documentary video, engaged learners to explore school-based gender violence through drawings. While acknowledging the difficult nature of speaking about GBV, the researchers recognised how drawing as a visual method helped young school children to demonstrate how sexual violence affected them (Mak, 2006). The use of PVM in this study is linked to the critical transformative and engaged pedagogical direction the research aimed to take (Mitchell, De Lange & Moletsane, 2017). I viewed the use of visual material as powerful tools for disrupting harmful practices, unearthing the silenced voices and experiences of adolescent orphans on a difficult and controversial subject such as sexual violence, and for creating an imaginative space to engage them for social change (Mitchell, de Lange & Moletsane, 2017; Mitchell & Moletsane, 2018). Additionally, PVM was useful for making the research process more accessible for the participants (Clark, 2009; Mahadev, 2015) and

facilitating their agency in the context of sexual violence (see for example, Altenberg et al., 2018; Khan, 2018; Lamb, 2018). In this study, I enlisted PVM because of its potential for understanding adolescent orphans' vulnerability to, and experiences of, sexual violence from their own perspective and for its potential to provide opportunities and tools for further reflection and taking action (de Lange, 2008).

4.5 Research Site

In Chapter One, I described the context – a township secondary school located in the INK township precinct, in the eThekwini Municipality in South Africa – within which the adolescent orphans in this study lived and attended school (Figure 4.1 is a map of the area).
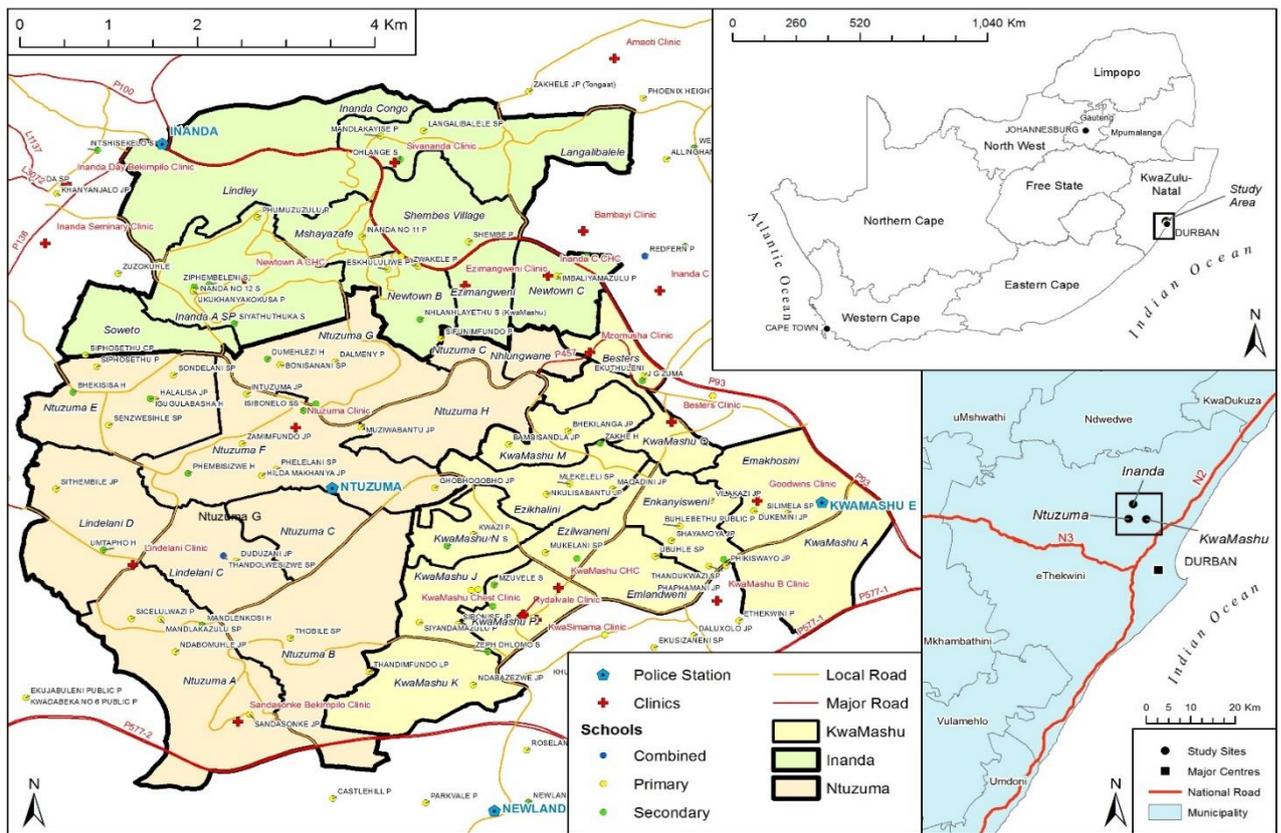
Figure 4.1: Map showing the INK Township area (Developed for this study by Brice Gijsbertsen in the Cartography Unit of the School of Agricultural, Earth & Environmental Sciences (SAEES) at the University of KwaZulu-Natal).

The INK township triangle is about 30 kilometres north of the city of Durban in the eThekwini Municipality.
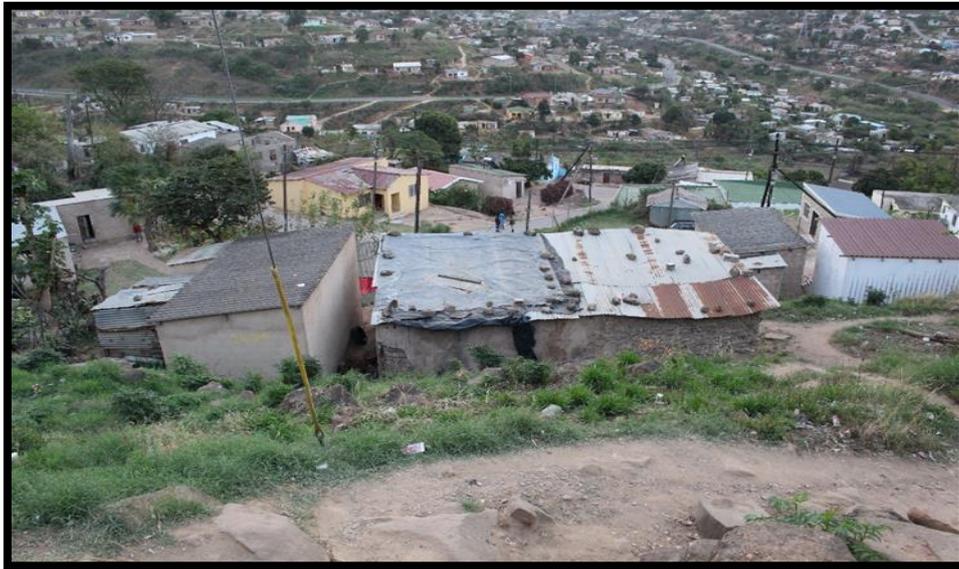
Figure 4.2: Own photograph of a portion of the INK Township area.

As discussed in Chapter One, as microcosms of the larger community, schools within these townships are sites for multiple forms of violence, including sexual violence, against adolescents (Bhana, 2015; Sibeko & Luthuli, 2018). Further, the KZN province, in which the school in this study is located, has one of the largest number of orphans in South Africa (Delany, Jehoma & Lake, 2016). Further, the school where the study was located attracted learners from all three INK communities. This was also true for the participants in this study.

While most of the research was located in the school, a few of the activities, including a teambuilding took place at Kululapa, a campsite in the KZN midlands (some 37km northeast of the city of Pietermaritzburg). The teambuilding exercises were imperative for creating rapport and formulating values that governed participatory data generation in the study. A third site was the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College Campus in Durban, where discussions regarding the learners' visual productions took place. Specifically, the university

was chosen at the request of my co-researcher participants who felt they would be more comfortable discussing their products away from the possible unwanted attention of school peers and teachers.

4.5.1 Siyaphambili Secondary School

The main setting for data generation for the study was Siyaphambili (not its real name), a co-educational school in the township of KwaMashu, one of INK township communities. The school was selected, first, on the basis that I was born and raised in KwaMashu, and it was in an area I was well acquainted with. Second, I had previously worked in schools around the area (see Ngidi & Moletsane, 2015), and third, in 2016, I was a co-facilitator for a project about sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR) education at the selected school. I had thus established a good working relationship with one of the educators who was assigned by the school's management to oversee learners' welfare and their participation in different school-based interventions. Significantly, the school enrolled children from all of three INK townships.

At the time of data generation in 2017-18, the school enrolled over 1330 learners and in some classes, I found over 80 learners crammed into one classroom. Its staff comprised of a principal, two deputy principals, and four heads of department (HOD) as well as 43 teachers. As discussed in Chapter One, on average, the teacher: learner ratio was 1:50. The Department of Basic Education's National Minimum Norms and Standards for School Infrastructure (2009) policy document for large schools[27] requires a 1:23 classroom teacher: learner ratio. Due to staff shortages and class overcrowding, both the deputy principals and HODs also helped with the teaching load.

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[27] Large public schools are considered those that have an enrollment of over 900 learners per academic year.

The KZN Department of Education classified *Siyaphambili* as a Quintile Two[28] school because of its location in a poorly resourced/low income community. Perhaps because it attracted learners from low-income families, it offered, through civil society donations, daily meals in the form of a feeding scheme and provided school uniforms and stationery for learners who could not afford these necessities. A majority of the learners who participated in this study benefitted from this social support programme. While the school was relatively better equipped compared to its neighbouring schools (for example, it had a functional computer laboratory), it remained under-resourced, with broken windows and doors in some classrooms and toilets, as well as crumbling infrastructure visible throughout the premises. An informal housing settlement (made up of shacks built from corrugated iron and other recycled materials) as well as small (two rooms) low-income government housing under the then Redistributive Development Programme (RDP) scheme[29] is located behind the school, with a thin security fence separating the school from the community. At the time of my data generation, there were a number of illegal openings in the school's security fence, which provided easy access for potential intruders to enter the school, and enabling community members to walk through the school grounds without going through the security gate. The school had only one security person stationed at the school gate whose task was limited to registering the names of any visitors entering the school. Therefore, security (or lack thereof) was a big issue for the school. The school had only two toilet blocks, one for boys and the second for girls, a number well below the Department of Basic Education's (DBE) own norms and standards for school

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[28] Public schools in South Africa are categorised into five quintiles based on the resource base of the communities within which they are located. Quintile one schools serve the poorest communities, while quintile five schools serve the communities with more resources. Due to their low resource base, schools in quantile one to three have been declared no-fee paying schools, while schools in quintiles four to five are fee-paying schools (Branson, Hofmeyr & Lam, 2015).

[29] RDP housing was a state funded low-cost housing programme that ensured the building of a basic single-family home with at least two bedrooms, a kitchen, living area and the installation of sanitary and water services.

infrastructure[30]. These toilets, which had thick walls that concealed the entrance, were located about 500 meters away from the teachers' staff rooms and behind the classrooms, and were largely unmonitored by the school's staff. Most of the sinks and water dispensers in the toilets were broken, leaving learners to use the school's only water tap built behind the toilets. Inside, all cubicle doors were either broken or without locks. Lighting in the toilets and classrooms was also very poor. *Siyaphambili* also had no recreational facilities and relied on the use of a community hall and sports-field for sporting activities such as netball, athletics, dance, drama, soccer and other school events. In addition to sports, extra-curricular activities included a school choir, a poetry club, and a drama society established and facilitated by learners. It was at Siyaphambili where most of the data generation workshops took place.

4.5.2 Kululapa Camp

Due to the sensitive nature of the issue we focused on in the study and the participatory nature of the methodology we adopted, I needed to build rapport between myself and the participants and among the participants themselves. Han-Ping and Cheng (2015) advocate for team building initiatives with research participants as these can create trust and produce reliable data. Moreover, team buildings have been reported to create cohesion and meaningful participation among participants (Han-Ping & Cheng, 2015). Thus, I took the participants to *Kululapa,* a bush camp I hired for a team building weekend in March 2017, and for the closing of the participatory visual data generation component of the project. Situated in the Karkloof Midlands, KZN, it was a one-kilometre walk from an unpaved road through an indigenous bush and a shallow stream. It had separate bedrooms for boys and girls, a common dining area, an activity room and bathrooms separated by sex and built outside of the main house. A dense

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[30] Norms and standards are regulations that outline the infrastructural conditions for making schools safe and functional (Equal Education, 2017). They outline the basic level of infrastructure that every school is required to meet in order to function properly.

bush dotted with streams, waterfalls, the *Mooi Rivier* (Afrikaans term for Beautiful River) and attracted a number of birds and other small harmless animals surrounded the camp.

Participating in a number of teambuilding activities throughout our first meeting weekend, helped establish working relationships and paved the way for data generation. Importantly, at the campsite, the participants, the two research assistants and I engaged in a values clarification exercise. The learners took lead in this exercise and determined for themselves the sort of values, conduct and outcomes they envisaged from engaging in research of this nature. Prominent in the values clarification exercise was emphasise on respect, support, empathy and creating a non-judgmental environment that would be conducive for generating meaningful data. *Kululapa* was further used to introduce PVM to the learners and their champion-teacher. In the evening of day two of the camp, participants received training on drawing as a research method (this is addressed in more detail later in the chapter).

4.5.3 The University of KwaZulu-Natal

Based on their experience from research with stigmatised populations, Smoyer, Rosenberg and Blankenship (2014), emphasise the need for locating spaces where participants can feel comfortable and confident that their privacy will be maintained (se also Bergold and Thomas, 2012). Thus, while most of the visual work produced by the participants was generated in and around their school, in agreement with them as co-researchers, we felt it would be easier, more comfortable and safer (as it was away from prying learners who hanged outside our workshop classroom inside the school) to be in a space that was away from school and their community for ensuing group discussions. At the time of data generation, my doctoral supervisor was the acting-director of the Centre for Critical Research on Race and Identity (CCRRI), at UKZN. For this reason, I was given permission to use the centre as a safe space to discuss the learners'

visual productions and for interpretive group discussions (IGD). The CCRRI was an ideal space because it offered a boardroom big enough to fit all the participants, two research assistants, a social worker and myself[31]. In addition, it had a common sitting area that we used for more informal group discussions. Finally, it provided a kitchen area for the delivery of food and refreshments during our lunch breaks.

4.6 Gaining Access

The means through which a researcher gains access to her/his study site has implications for data generation and, as Vuban and Eta (2019) argue, it is not just about physical presence. After I was granted permission to conduct the study in the school by the KZN Department of Education (KZN DoB) (see Appendix B), I applied and gained ethical clearance for this study from the UKZN Human and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (see Appendix A). I relied on telephone calls with the champion teacher to schedule meetings with the school's management. After having described and explained the project to her, she then arranged for me to meet with the school management, and set up conversations with other schoolteachers.

My first consultative meeting at the school was with the principal, one of the deputy principals and the champion teacher who had introduced me to the school. At the meeting, I introduced myself, the university where I was registered, and the nature of the work I intended to do. Further, I explained the project, briefing them about the purpose of the research, the nature of data generation process, the kind of learners I required as participants and how I would use, share and protect data. I also emphasised the protection of all school members (including management, staff, learners, parents/caregivers, and community members). I also provided the

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[31] Participants requested that their champion teacher not be present during these engagements at the CCRRI. They felt it would be easier to communicate and generate data if she was not present. In respecting their request, the teacher did not attend these sessions.

UKZN ethical clearance letter and permission letter from the KZN Department of Education. Once the principal had given me permission to conduct the study, he appointed the educator who was present at the meeting as a champion-teacher for the project and as my point of contact and communication with the school and the participants. The principal also advised me to discuss my study with the second deputy principal, who was absent from school during my first consultative meeting with school officials. The principal felt that the entire executive management of the school needed to be aware of the project and to give unanimous support for me to conduct the study the school. Therefore, my follow up consultative meeting was with the second deputy principal of the school, who, after I had explained the study and all study processes, gave me permission by signing a letter granting me access to the school and to conduct the study (see Appendix C). The school principal and the first deputy principal had given me verbal permission to conduct the study at the school. However, the principal asked that the second deputy principal give written permission on behalf of the school, should he agree that I do my research at the school (Appendix C).

4.7 Participant Recruitment

To identify and recruit the adolescent orphans who participated in this study, I used purposive sampling, which is a deliberate selection of informants in a study because of certain qualities they possess (Dolores & Tongco, 2007) and "who will [be better able] to assist with the relevant research" (Etikan, Musa & Alkassim, 2016, p. 3). The sampling criteria was learners from the school who were in the ages 14-17 years, attending Grades 8-10, and identified as double orphans. As a researcher, I envisioned what could be uncovered (regarding the vulnerability of adolescent orphans in the context of sexual violence in and around their school) and thus set out to find young people who would and were willing to provide the information I sought by virtue of their knowledge and experiences of the issue (Dolores & Tongco, 2007). Thus, I

identified adolescent orphans attending Siyaphambili Secondary School as key informants for this study. The experience of sexual violence was not part of the selection criteria.

In the context of poverty and related social challenges such as orphanhood, the Department of Basic Education (DBE) requires that schools identify children who are vulnerable in order that they might receive support including meals, uniforms, social services and other basic needs (SACE, 2011). The champion-teacher, based on her welfare task for learners at *Siyaphambili*, assisted in identifying adolescent orphans enrolled at the school. She already had a compiled list of these learners, but to be certain that every orphaned learner had a chance to participate in the project, she further verified the list with class teachers across grades eight to 10 and included those who might have been absent on her initial list. Once compiled, all the children who met the criteria were invited to a meeting in one of the classrooms after school. There, the champion-teacher offered to explain the nature of the project and its requirements and asked those who would be interested in being part of the study to stay after school the next day to meet with me.

The next day, I met with the children for the first time. At that meeting, about 80 learners that met the study criteria attended. After explaining the project, its requirements, the nature of data generation and data usage, I gave the children a chance to ask me questions. Once this process was completed, I then asked those who were interested in participating to stay behind and excused those who did not show interest. Thirty-eight learners stayed behind and I again explained consent and their autonomy in participating (or not) in the study, citing that participation was voluntary and that they may withdraw from the project at any time. I repeated this process in order to make sure that they did not feel pressured to participate. I also distributed a letter of information and consent forms (Appendix E) to be signed by their

guardians or caregivers, and a letter of assent (Appendix G) to be signed by the learners themselves. The documents were both in English and isiZulu, the learners' home language. The champion-teacher volunteered to collect these documents on my behalf once they were signed. I gave the learners a week to return the signed consent and assent forms. During that period, I received numerous calls from interested caregivers who needed further explanation about the project; a request to which I obliged. One caregiver asked to meet with me and I, together with the champion-teacher, paid her a visit and explained the project. This caregiver was the first to give consent for her child's participation in the study.

Since this study involved the use of visual data generating tools (such as cameras and cellular phones), access to a camera and cellular phones, albeit limited to the data generation period as I took these back to the university after each workshop, functioned as incentives for participation in the project. Another incentive included the fact that some of the workshops were held outside of the school and at UKZN. A number of the participants had never set foot outside of their township environment before the data generation phases of this study. Being outside of the school and township environment motivated them to attend most (if not all) of our data generating workshops. Furthermore, exposure to a university developed an interest in pursuing higher education once they completed their secondary school education.

In the end, 27 learners came back with signed consent and assent forms. Before the commencement of the recruitment process, I had set out to find and work with only 20 schoolchildren. However, when 27 learners came back with written consent from home and further showed keen interest, the champion-teacher asked me to work with all 27 learners. Upon agreement with my supervisor, I enrolled all of them in the study. Given the time-intensive nature of the research activities and the depth of the data being collected, 27

participants was a small enough number that it did not compromise the richness of the data or relationship between myself and the participants, and between the participants themselves (Sandelowski 2007). Table 4.1 provides a snapshot of biographical information, in no specific order, of the 27 adolescent orphans who participated in this study[32].

Pseudonym	Age	Sex	Grade
Great-Coupling	15	Male	9
Amanda-White	14	Female	9
Amanda-Eye	15	Female	9
Luthando	16	Female	10
Nomthi	16	Female	10
Mkhonto	15	Male	9
Future	16	Female	9
Happiness	16	Female	10
Small-Latter	14	Male	8
Sheezi	14	Male	8
Slender	14	Male	8
Ntwana	15	Male	8
China	15	Female	10
Sborh	17	Male	10
Fanzozo	16	Male	10
Twiggy	17	Male	9
Kwesta	17	Male	10
Nkosie	17	Male	10
Kimberly	17	Female	10
Baby-boo	15	Female	9
Alsina	14	Male	8
Pearl	15	Female	9
Kinati	15	Female	9
Tupac	14	Male	8
Emmanuela	14	Female	9
Sthandwa	14	Female	9
Mbali	14	Female	8

Table 4.1: Participants' Biographical Information

The participants were in grades eight to 10 and their ages ranged from 14 to 17 years. I recruited learners in grades eight to 10, because of their maturity and the likelihood that they would be

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[32] In order to protect their identities, I have used the pseudonyms they personally assigned themselves.

slightly more comfortable in participating in a project that focused on their experiences of sexual violence than younger children.

The main data generation phase took place in a series of workshops over an eight month period, from March to October 2017; thus all data collection activities were done in 2017 to make sure that the participation of learners from grade 10 did not spill over into their Grade 11 year; an important consideration for the children themselves, as well as for the school and the Department of Basic Education. However, I went back to the school on several occasions between November 2017 and April 2018 to hold informal discussions with the participants in instances where I had more questions or needed to clarify and/or verify certain aspects of the data they generated. As stated above, these workshops were largely held on the school premises, with a few held at the university to which the participants were bussed in. In all our engagements, the participants were encouraged to use a language of their choice. Thus, most of the captions on the visual products, and the ensuing discussions were in isiZulu, the local language of the area. The discussions were audiotaped and later transcribed. The transcripts were later translated into English for analysis. It is possible that some meanings may have been lost in translation. However, I recognise the possibility that participants' narratives, views and descriptions might have been lost or distorted in translation. To help mitigate this possibility, I listened to original audios several times and re-read transcripts to be sure that I captured the participants' views as accurately as possible. I also enlisted the help of the two research assistants to verify that I captured the participants' opinions as accurately as possible. Moreover, I, and the two research assistants, are first language isiZulu speakers, and my analysis relied heavily on our collective translation.

4.7.1. Getting to Know the Participants

My first official meeting with the participants was held at *Siyaphambili* on a Wednesday afternoon, after school. The workshop, a form of community conversation, was intended for both participants and researcher to have an informal chat about their lives as orphans living and studying in a township. Informal chats or community conversations in research are recognised as an important part of the research process as they help the researcher to get a better understanding of the issues affecting participants and is an important start to rapport building (Rikkers et al., 2015). In the workshop, I reminded the participants about the aim and objectives of the research, the visual methodologies for data generation, as well as the fact that they, as participants, had a right to withdraw from the study whenever they desired without any repercussions. I also shared my experiences of being an orphan, and of living and studying in KwaMashu Township, and of abuse. It was also in this workshop that we set out a plan of action for our engagements, as well as how the co-researcher participants would like the project to proceed. The meeting was generally pleasurable, filled mostly with laughter and a keen sense of commitment, which created a less intimidating environment (hooks, 1994; Mitchell, 2008).

4.8 Data Generation

As stated above, PVM was used for generating data in this study. According to Black, Davies, Iskander and Chambers (2018, p. 22), PVM involves an "array of facilitated processes that support participants to produce their own images or dramatisations". The visual outputs are thereafter used by participants (the producers of the visuals) to tell personal stories or to describe their lived experiences of issues important to them (Black et al., 2018). In the study described in this thesis, over a period of eight months, I engaged the participants in a series of workshops using multiple participatory visual approaches to generate data (see Figure 4.2 below).
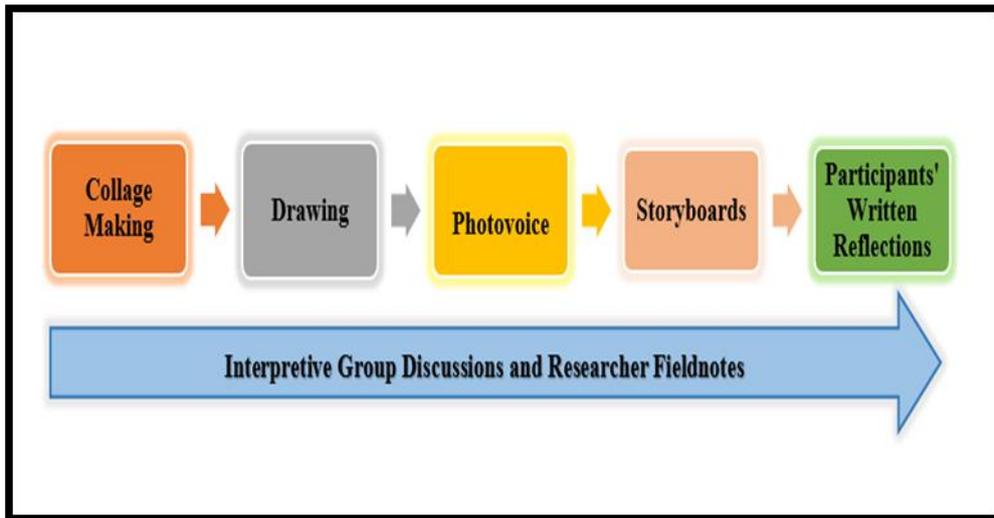
Figure 4.3: Visual illustration of the research methods used in this study

4.8.1 Collage making

At the request of the participants, the first data generation workshop was held at the CCRRI at UKZN. In agreement with the champion-teacher, we organised a mini-bus, through a driver who was designated by the school, to collect the participants from their school. Once all the participants had arrived and were welcomed by the two research assistants and myself, we had a short breakfast, which was followed by singing and dancing, initiated by one of the participants, that was joined by everyone in the room. This 'ice-breaker' activity helped to create what felt like a friendly environment within which we could commence our engagement.

The workshop involved collage making. The term 'collage' derives from the French verb, *coller* (to stick or glue) and is used to portray social phenomena. Thus, a collage is a visual composition made by sticking various materials that would not normally be associated with each other on a single flat surface (Butler-Kisber & Poldma, 2010; Cambre, 2013). Typically, collages are produced from printed images and other visual illustrations extracted from magazines, newspapers, books, post-cards, calendars and a variety of other print media (Davis,

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2008). These visual artefacts are organised to create a composition focusing on a specific social issue (Simmons & Daley, 2013; Stuart, 2010).

With growing interest on art-informed research, collage has emerged as an interesting approach for qualitative researchers because it affords them the freedom to work in a non-sequential and intuitive way through arranging visual medium that "reveal unconscious connections and new understandings" (Butler-Kisber & Poldma, 2010, p.3). Furthermore, collage allows participants to frame for themselves their own realities and narratives about social issues without the intrusion of a researcher (Gerstenblatt, 2013; Russo-Zimet, 2016). In this vein, Russo-Zimet (2016) argues that collage is an important research tool that allows researchers and research participants to understand the worldviews of those who are vulnerable and marginalised.

Of particular interest in this study is that collage making has been used in research with vulnerable groups, including orphans, as a tool that blends images and text in order to illustrate their realities and find meaning regarding those realities (Norris et al., 2007; Stuart, 2010). Similarly, in the context of gender inequality, collage making has been useful in understanding and challenging harmful gendered patterns in rural schools (see Stuart, 2010). Khanare and de Lange (2017), for example, used collage with a group of 20 adolescent orphans in rural KZN to explore their constructions of care and support in the context of HIV. The authors found that collage helped identify a need for a democratised model of care and support in relation to orphans' needs. In another study, researchers used collage making to engage female students to explore what sexual violence at their university looked like and what this epidemic meant for the participants (Treffry-Goatley et al., 2018). The authors found that collage making enabled deep reflections on the meaning and impact of sexual violence in and around campus.

Moreover, using collage prompted the female students to think about how they might break the silence around campus-based sexual violence.

In this study, collage was used to unearth adolescent orphans' experiences of sexual violence (a social issue). I took the position that, collage would enable the young people to be producers of knowledge (Stuart, 2010). It was also used to lay the foundation for the study, and to open up discussions about the vulnerability of adolescent orphans to sexual violence in and around their township secondary school. Understanding the burden of orphanhood, I wanted the first method of data generation to feel safe and less intimidating. Thus, I used collage as an innovative, fun and educational method of generating data with the adolescent orphans, what Simmons and Daley (2013) considers as a 'positive pedagogy'. I was informed by the belief that using collage in the initial phases of data generation would provide opportunities for the participants to creatively communicate their experiences of sexual violence and to offer new insights into their lives as orphans.

4.8.1.1 Creating Collages

The collage-making workshop took place over a five-hour session on a Saturday. To begin, I explained what collages were and the various ways they can be made and used. Taking advantage of the fact that we were in a university building with internet and computer resources, I screened a YouTube video[33] on how to create collages. Once the video had concluded, I explained the significance of using collages, stating, for example, that they were a means to reflect on our experiences. After explaining all these processes, I gave the participants an opportunity to ask me questions. To my delight, collage making had been part of their life-skills curriculum in primary school and the participants were familiar with the

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[33] The video can be accessed on here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IgvjqPyZG9c

method and its use. Once the tone was set, with the help of my two research assistants, we distributed magazines, newspapers, post-cards, pens and pencils, scissors, glue, and adhesive stick, glitter, various coloured pens and pencils, and other material. Each participant had a choice to pick a poster size plain paper, within which to create his or her collage, in any preferred colour.

Collage making was used to generate data responding to the first critical question in this study: *How do adolescent orphans identify, understand and communicate their vulnerability to sexual violence in and around a township secondary school?* The prompt for the activity was: *Create a collage about what feeling unsafe looks like for an orphan in the context of sexual violence in and around your school. Then write what your collage means.* I encouraged the participants to describe each of the images they would cut from a magazine/newspaper to add more meaning to their collage. The participants were given one hour to think about and create their collages, and they set out to different spots to work on them. Participants did this individually and were encouraged to use a language of their choice to caption their visual productions (see Appendix L).

4.8.1.2 Discussing and Reflecting on the Collages

At the end of creating the collages, we all assembled in the main boardroom, where I first reminded the participants of their consent forms and emphasised that those who did not feel comfortable with sharing or discussing their collages with the group were free not to do so. I offered them the opportunity to display their collages on the boardroom wall for others to view. Thereafter, each participant had five minutes to discuss their collage, and another five minutes for questions and/or comments from others present in the room. Once all those who were interested in sharing and commenting on their collages had done so, we engaged in what I have

come to know as interpretive group discussions (IGD) (see for example, Appendix K). An IGD is a form of participatory focus group discussion (FGD) used for engaging research participants to explore and construct verbal (or spoken) knowledge about a social issue (de Oliveira, 2011). According to Redman-MacLaren et al. (2014), an IGD engages groups of participants who share similar characteristics, brought together because of their similar experiences or knowledge in order to analyse data from an already existing dataset. In this study, the participants engaged in IGDs to analyse their own collages and the other visual datasets (i.e., drawing, photovoice, and storyboards) that they produced. In research that uses participant-created visual images, IGDs are key to reducing the risk of misinterpreting participants' data and the meanings attached to their data. In this regard, this research method increases the trustworthiness of the interpretation of research findings (Haroutunian-Gordon, 2014). In this study, IGDs were further useful in fostering a sustained dialogue among the participants (Haroutunian-Gordon, 2014). These discussions, helped participants to interpret for themselves their own visual data without my interpretive intrusion as a researcher. Although three participants (two males and one female) opted to be silent during the discussion about their collages, the rest of the participants were fully engaged and candid. Throughout the discussion, I reminded the participants of the values they had agreed on during our teambuilding activities (including mutual respect, empathy and non-judgmental attitudes) and that we needed to adhere to those values consistently.

4.8.2 Drawing

A month after the collage making workshop, on a Saturday morning, we reconvened; this time at *Siyaphambili* Secondary School for our second data generation workshop. The school principal gave us permission to use one of the Grade 10 classrooms, as there were no prior academic engagements planned to take place there. Specifically, in response to the first

research question: *How do adolescent orphans identify, understand and communicate their vulnerability to sexual violence in and around a township secondary school?,* to build on data generated through collage making in the first workshop, this workshop involved the us of drawing as a research method. Drawing is a useful participatory tool for engaging participants and for gauging their views regarding social issues.

Using drawing in work with young people is not new. In the field of child psychology, for example, therapists have historically used children's drawings to understand and find meaning to the challenges children presented with in the consultation room. Notably, its use within those settings was not participatory. It was only in the last two decades that drawing gained prominence within the field of social science studies, and participatory research in particular (Mitchell et al., 2011).

Departing from its de-contextualised use in areas like psychology, within participatory visual research, the focus of drawing is on its meaning making and the cultural contexts within which participants live (Hall, 2008). Therefore, drawing has been used as a participatory research tool for accessing participants' views about socioeconomic issues (Elden, 2012; Merriman & Guerin, 2006). Writing about drawing in PVM, Literat (2013) argues that:

> [b]ecause of its co-constructed and playful nature, as well as its lack of dependence on linguistic proficiency, participatory drawing emerges as a highly efficient and ethically sound research strategy that is particularly suited for work with children and young people across a variety of cultural contexts (p. 84).

However, drawing requires that participants not only draw but also talk or write about the meanings carried by the images they produce in a co-constructed and playful nature (Literat,

2013; Martin, 2019). Therefore, verbal or textual research methods complement drawing in participatory research in order to allow participants the opportunity to narrate the imbedded meaning of their drawings (Merriman & Guerin, 2006). Drawing gives research participants the necessary tools for self-expression and allows them to explore ideas, feelings and social issues (Elden, 2013).

Various studies in the last two decades have used drawing in work with young people. For example, Merriman and Guerin's (2006) study examined career aspirations of 151 youth living in the streets of Calcutta in India. The researchers asked these young people to draw pictures that represented the sort of person they wanted to be as adults. Participants drew over 22 occupations in response, suggesting that children living in the streets had career ambitions. The researchers found that drawing allowed engaged participation among these children who had limited literacy skills and that it was also enjoyable and was less intimidating than interview questions might have been.

Elden (2013) used drawing to explore care by engaging a group of children living in Sweden in a 'draw-your-day' exercise. One participant who stood out drew his everyday morning routine, which consisted of providing care and support for his younger sibling by helping him prepare for school. This provision of care was done while their mother prepared breakfast. Elden, by using drawing, was able to establish how care is negotiated through the support of an older sibling in the house. The author concluded that drawing amplified children's voices.

Finally, Green and Devon's (2019) study used drawing with children born in captivity and those affected by war under the Ugandan Lord's Resistance Army. Specifically, their study aimed to understand how children rescued from conflict settings integrated and fit within their

'new' social environment. An important and powerful finding was how the children described living in captivity as preferable to their post-war realities. Through their drawings, participants "explained that in captivity, they had both their parents present in their lives, high social status, and love (Green & Devon, 2019, p. 9). In contrast, their lives in the post-war period were characterised by community stigma, social exclusion and abuse by members of their new communities. The research concluded that drawing provided insight into a broader sociocultural context by which to understand participants' experiences. Just like with collage making, together with the participants, we used a workshop approach to gather information, through drawing, on the participants' vulnerability to sexual violence in and around their township secondary school.

4.8.2.1 Creating Drawings

Our drawing workshop commenced with an introduction to drawing, with examples of what others had produced in previous research projects. I explained to the participants the importance and use of drawing for generating information, emphasising the fact that the aesthetics of the drawings were less important, but that it was the meaning embedded in their drawings that mattered the most. After this process, participants were given sheets of white A4 paper, pencils, coloured pens, crayons and glitter to use in creating their images.

I asked the participants to think about their context, particularly as adolescent orphans and to consider how their schooling and living environment could potentially enable sexual victimisation. Following this introduction, I invited participants to create drawings in response to the prompt: *Draw what sexual violence looks and feels like for an adolescent orphan in your environment. Then write a short description of what the drawing means*. The participants were

given an hour to think about what they wanted to draw, create their images, and to write a caption or short description of their images.

Once everyone had concluded creating his or her drawing, we gathered and sat in a circle to engage in an IGD. Each participant was given an opportunity to present and explain his or her drawing to the whole group. These presentations created an opportunity for further input and discussion about sexual violence in and around the school.

4.8.3 Photovoice

The third data generation workshop used photovoice as a method to understand the participants' vulnerability to sexual violence in and around their school. Photovoice, a term coined by Caroline Wang (Wang & Burris, 1997), describes a technique that places cameras in the hands of the participants to produce photographs that document their own realities through photos (Harley, 2012; Hergenrather et al., 2009; Liebenberg, 2018; Singhal & Devi, 2003; Wang, 1999). This photographic technique gives participants the opportunity to ground social issues within their own definitions of their concerns (Luttrell, 2010; Peabody, 2013).

Photovoice emerged from a practice of engaging communities through visual creation, as espoused by Freire. For example, although visual anthropologists and visual sociologists have historically made use of photographs to document the social life of local communities as 'objects of study' (Pels, 1997), it was the work of Paulo Freire in the *barrios* of Lima in Peru that pioneered participatory photography (Singhal & Devi, 2003). Freire believed that visual images were truly participatory if community members played the main role in the creation and interpretation of those visuals. For example, in his work in Lima, Freire asked individuals to use photography – to show how exploitation affected their lives. Among the different forms

of exploitation the participants produced, one photograph of a 'nail on the wall' that was captured by a young boy who worked in the shoeshine business became the focal point of Freire's project as it illustrated the labour exploitation of boys in Peru. While the photo did not make sense to adults, it resonated well with the child population who did shoe-shining work. The photo triggered widespread discussions in the barrio community, and as Singhal et al. (2004, p.2) eloquently note, "the ensuing discussions showed that many young boys of that neighbourhood worked in the shoeshine business [with] their clients located mainly in the city [and far] from the barrio where the boys lived". The shoeshine boxes were too heavy for the boys to carry, thus they rented a nail on a wall in shops around the city where they could hang their boxes. For these boys, the nail on the wall represented exploitation. Freire provided a useful technique with which the visual can be incorporated into social practices, thereby inspiring participatory communication, reflection and social change.

Caroline Wang (1999) championed this approach, based on Freire's dialogical pedagogy, which emphasised mutual learning between the researcher and the researched. Wang used the visuals in developing stories that are often rejected, silenced and overlooked. Scholars who use photovoice in their various studies acknowledge that participants' perspectives are valuable and important for understanding a particular phenomenon (Kessi, 2011; Luttrell, 2010; Moletsane et al., 2007; Molloy, 2007; Morojele, 2013; Warne, Snyder & Gadin, 2012). This approach prioritises the 'voices' of community members and aids their efforts to recognise and speak about their problems and find solutions (Wang, 1999). As Singhal & Devi (2003, p.7) argue,

> The process of taking a photograph provides an opportunity to develop a story that was previously rejected, silenced or overlooked. [Moreover], the photograph's narrative

becomes a participatory site for wider storytelling, spurring community members to further reflect, discuss and analyse the issues that confront them.

Located within qualitative participatory approaches, photovoice is used to draw on research participants' active experiences, observations and stories in terms of both the visual and oral (Wang & Burris, 1997). It is valued for its potential as an alternative means of representation that gives people a platform for amplifying their voices in order that they might be heard. It relies on a dynamic, interactional and transformative process of dialogue between people (Luttrell & Clark, 2018; Singhal et al., 2004; Wang, 2003; Wang, Burris & Xiang, 1996). As a participatory research method, photovoice has been used in various settings with diverse populations. For example, scholars have used photovoice with women in under-served communities to study their health and well-being (Wang, 1999), as well as to explore how they experienced the communities they lived in (Mcintyre, 2003). Researchers have also engaged indigenous communities through photovoice in an attempt to develop culturally sensitive models of addressing the injustices they faced (Castleden, Garvin & Huu-ay-aht First Nation, 2008). Photovoice has also been useful in understanding issues of gender, relationships and sexuality among adult community members (Holman, Harbour, Said & Maria, 2016), the HIV and AIDS epidemic (Mitchell et al., 2005; Moletsane et al., 2007; Stuart, 2006), and to engage youth from poor communities in activities to build social solidarity (Kessi, 2011). A common theme drawn from all these studies is the usefulness of photovoice in facilitating meaningful and democratic participation of individuals and communities (see also MacDonald et al., 2011; Moletsane et al., 2009; Walia & Leipert, 2012). The photograph becomes a valued site for wider participation, discussion and reflection (Mitchell, 2011). As espoused by Freirean philosophical assumptions, photovoice is also a tool for the emancipation of the oppressed,

abused, neglected and often violated individuals in our societies (Musoke, Ndejjo, Ekirapa-Kiracho & George, 2016).

4.8.3.1 Using Photovoice

In this study, data generation using photovoice took place over three engagements (see Figure 4.3 below).
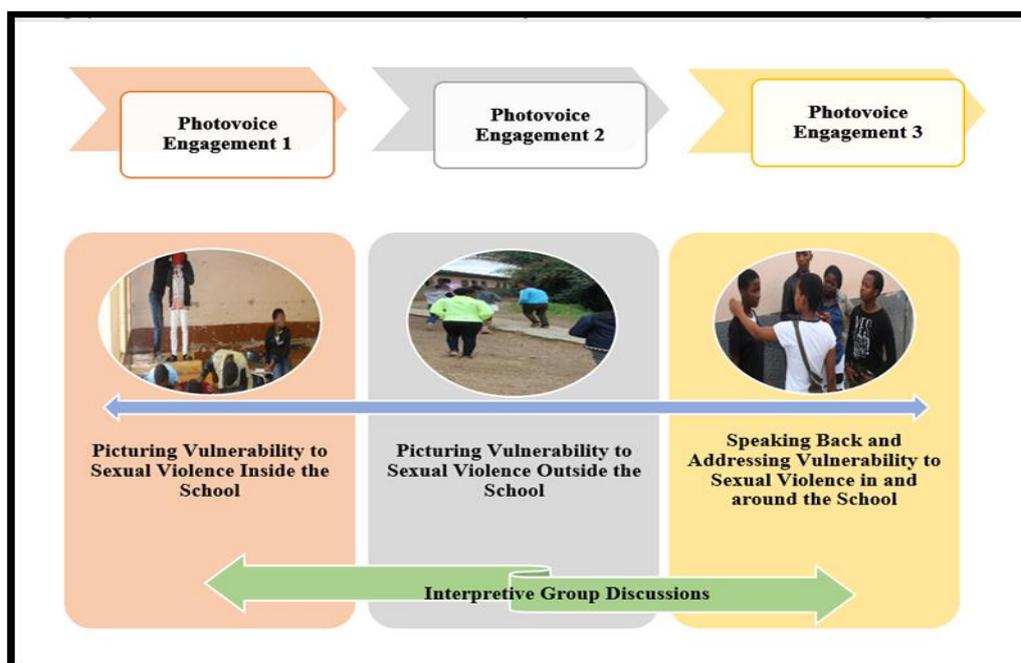
Figure 4.4: Visual illustration of the process of generating information through photovoice

On a Saturday, the first day of the Easter school holidays in 2017, with the assistance of my two research assistants, I conducted a photovoice workshop with the participants. Together with the participants, we had agreed that *Siyaphambili* Secondary School would be ideal for capturing context specific and meaningful photos. At our previous meeting, I had briefly explained to them that our next engagement was going to be photovoice, and I went on to explain briefly what it was. Understanding that they would have to take photos that illustrated their vulnerability to sexual violence, participants suggested that we needed to be in and around

their school. All of the participants had used a cellular phone camera[34] before our engagement, however, none of them had ever heard of photovoice. Therefore, it was important for me to introduce them to this technique of generating information.

First, drawing on my previous experience of using photovoice and on the work of Haghighi and Jusan (2012), I requested that we all sit in the form of a horseshoe (or u-shaped seating) for the workshop. According to Simmons et al. (2015), this seating arrangement provides for an elevated amount of talking and promotes engagement, discussion and appropriate behaviour from everyone in the classroom. Horseshoe seating brings everyone in the classroom in proximity to each other (Haghighi & Jusan, 2012).

Second, I circulated five copies of the workshop training manual, *Using a different lens for HIV and AIDS education* (HIV & AIDS Education Community of Practice, 2011), which provided good examples of doing photovoice. I further used the manual to show the participants examples of how photos were presented (i.e., as a poster, a single photo on a PowerPoint, etcetera). A brief training followed on how to operate a cellphone camera, and how to take photos. Finally, drawing on the HIV and AIDS Education Community of Practice (2011) manual, I provided ethical guidelines for taking photos and emphasised the importance of anonymity, by providing training on what has been called the 'no-face approach' (Mitchell, de Lange & Nguyen, 2016), where participants take pictures that do not have any identifiable markers such as people's faces, building names, etcetera. Participants could also take staged pictures and to ask for verbal permission should they take pictures in public areas, explaining why they were taking photos, and how they would be used for research purposes. This training

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[34] Instead of digital cameras, I opted for the use of cellular phone cameras (Mitchell, 2011). During our teambuilding camp, I noted that most of the participants carried with them a smartphone that had a camera. During free time at the camp, participants would take photos of each other, which they experienced as fun. I took advantage of this observation and bought cheap smartphones to use for photovoice.

process lasted for one hour and 30 minutes, with participants asking questions to make sure they understood photovoice well.

Third, I had brought nine cellular phones for participants to use for their photovoice engagement in the workshop. Cellular phones are recognised, tried and tested tools for generating data in participatory visual research (MacEntee 2015; MacEntee, Burkholder & Schwab-Cartas, 2016; Mitchell & de Lange, 2013). I had envisioned that nine phones would allow the adolescents to work in groups of three members each. I allowed them to get familiar with the cellphones, including using their cameras. To practice, I asked participants to take pictures of each other, which were deleted later. Once they were all comfortable, I asked them to form groups of three. To further gauge their understanding of photovoice, I asked each group to take a photo, using the prompt: "*Take a picture showing what gender-based violence looked like for you in and around school*". This prompt has been used in other studies (see Sibeko & Luthuli, 2018). The adolescents set off to capture their pictures. Once they returned, I printed their photos. I also opened a folder for each group on my laptop, uploaded their photos, and placed them in a file named 'Practice Photos'[35]. After our lunch break, we continued with each group presenting their photos to the bigger group. I also encouraged the participants to ask questions and/or add any points they might have had. I used this session to help the adolescents develop confidence in using a camera, to use photovoice for generating information and to comment on ethical issues regarding photovoice.

At the end of the training workshop, the participants requested to keep their practice photos, and acknowledging that the photos were their creative efforts (Mitchell, 2011), I conceded to their request. Thereafter, we held a brief discussion reflecting on the day and the use of

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[35] These photos were not going to be used as part of the data generation process for this thesis

photovoice. We also agreed to meet again the next Monday to commence our first photovoice data generating engagement.

a. *Picturing Vulnerability to Sexual Violence in School*

The following Monday (the first weekday of the 2017 Easter holidays), we gathered for our first photovoice engagement for generating data. Only 19 participants arrived on that day. Others sent apologies as they had to run errands in their respective homes, and one participant was not feeling well and had to go to the clinic. Once everyone had settled into the workshop classroom, we sat in a horseshoe arrangement and held a brief discussion about the previous engagement. Once we were all confident that everyone understood what photovoice entailed, I invited the participants, in groups of three, to engage in a data generation activity using photovoice. The participants suggested that since sexual violence was a sensitive topic, they preferred working with people they felt most comfortable around. I understood this as their democratic right and a way of exercising their agency (UNICEF, 2010). Thus, with the exception of one group that had three members, participants chose to work in pairs (some were single sex and others were mixed sex) making nine groups. Once they had constituted their groups, they were given the prompt: *Take photos showing what vulnerability to sexual violence against adolescent orphans looks like.* In response to this prompt, participants indicated that their vulnerability extended beyond the borders of their school and trickled into their homes and communities. Thus, in unison, they requested and agreed to capture photos showing their vulnerability both in and outside their school. I heeded this request, and at their suggestion, we opted to have two photovoice engagements focusing on their vulnerability (i.e., inside the school and outside the school). Therefore, to generate data on their vulnerability to sexual violence in school, I prompted them to: *Take photos showing what vulnerability to sexual violence against adolescent orphans' looks like in your school. Then create a poster to present*

your photographs. In your poster, add a short description for each photograph, followed by a curatorial statement describing your poster. Participants, in their groups, first brainstormed ideas of the sort of photos they would capture and the meaning that would be embedded in those photos. After this, I gave each group a cellular phone to capture their photos (an activity that lasted for one hour).

I opened a new folder that contained multiple sub-folders for each group to upload and save their photos. Once they all returned, I uploaded their photos onto my laptop and then printed them. Participants gathered in their groups over a working lunch to create poster narratives of their photos. I handed them sheets of A3 paper, pens, glue and extra sheets of A4 paper to write their curatorial statements. Once they had created their posters, I invited each group to share their work (see for example, Figure 4.3 below) with the bigger group in the form of an IGD.

Figure 4.3: Participants sharing their photovoice poster

The IGDs allowed the participants to share and discuss the photos they took (Drew, Duncan & Sawyer, 2012). I was also cognisant of the fact that discussions about their photos would promote critical dialogue (Hergenrather et al., 2009); thus I encouraged participants to ask questions and share their own thoughts on each poster. In order for participants to contextualise their photos, I used a root-cause form of questioning known by its mnemonic SHOWED[36] (Mitchell, 2011). This method helped in facilitating a rich discussion about participants' vulnerability to sexual violence. After the group discussion, we agreed to meet the next day.

b.   *Picturing Vulnerability to Sexual Violence in the Community*

On the following day (a Tuesday, still part of the Easter vacation period), the same 19 participants gathered in a classroom at *Siyaphambili*, and went straight into the groups they had formed the previous day. Once everyone had settled, I gave the participants the following prompt: *Take photos showing what sexual violence against adolescent orphans' looks like outside the school. Then create a poster to present your photographs. In your poster, add a short description for each photograph, followed by a curatorial statement describing your poster.* I handed them cellular phones to take these photos outside of the borders of their school. For safety reasons, my two research assistants and I accompanied those participants who wandered further away from the school. This session took just over two-hours to complete as some participants went to areas that were distant from school to take photos. Once all the participants had returned, I uploaded their photos to my laptop, printed them and participants created their poster narratives. We again engaged in an IGD using the SHOWED approach. This discussion lasted approximately one-hour.

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[36] SHOWED is a mnemonic used to describe six sets of questions for helping participants to contextualise their photovoice productions during a facilitated group discussion (Mitchell, 2011; Hergenrather et al., 2009). These questions are, 1. What do we see here?; 2. What is really happening here?; 3. How does this relate to our lives?; 4. Why does this concern, situation, strength exist?; 5. How can we become empowered through our new understanding?; and 6. What can we do?

Following these two photovoice engagements, the participants indicated that they could not freely share their perspectives within the confines of their school as they feared that other learners might be listening to our discussion. Therefore, they requested that we return to the CCRRI later to hold an extensive IGD of all the data they produced. Two days later, we gathered at the CCRRI for a two-part discussion of their photovoice productions. In the first part, they requested to be in single sex groups. Thus, my two research assistants facilitated these discussions in two separate rooms at the CCRRI, with the female assistant working with girls, and myself and the male research assistant working in a group with the boys. For the second part, we all gathered in the boardroom to have a combined discussion before we departed.

c. *Speaking Back to and Addressing Sexual Violence*

Focusing on the second research question: *What tools and strategies do they use to respond to and resist sexual violence in and around the school?,* our final photovoice engagement took place at *Siyaphambili* on the first Saturday of the winter school holidays. Only 14 of the 27 participants showed up for the workshop. One participant had fallen pregnant and decided to withdraw from school and the project. Two had migrated to live with new relatives in areas outside of the INK precinct and had changed schools, six had found temporary employment for the school holidays at a nearby shopping centre, while the other four had family commitments on the day. When we had all settled down, I explained the aim of the 'speaking back' workshop (Mitchell, de Lange & Moletsane, 2017), which was to engage them in challenging the unequal power dynamics that make them vulnerable to sexual violence and to envision for themselves, ways of addressing it. In other words, the participants were invited to 'speak back' to the issue of sexual violence plaguing adolescent orphans in and around the school. To this end, first, I engaged the participants in a reflective activity in which they

reflected on the photovoice productions and texts (written and spoken) from our previous photovoice sessions. To do this, the participants were asked to work in pairs to take six photographs responding to:

1. *What would it take to curb adolescent orphans' vulnerability to sexual violence*?

2. *How do you envision addressing sexual violence against adolescent orphans in and around the school*?

Second, I engaged the participants in a photovoice activity using the prompt: *Considering the photographs you took in phase 1, take four additional photographs to show how you believe sexual violence against adolescent orphans should be addressed in and around the school.* Using the cellular phones provided, in pairs and groups of three, the participants set off to take pictures. It took them about 50-minutes to take photos, which I uploaded on my laptop and printed for participants to create their photovoice poster narratives. Thereafter, each group was invited to share their work with the bigger group; leading to a group discussion of the issues revealed through their photos. The discussion lasted for about 45-minutes.

4.8.4 Storyboards

The fourth data generation method used in this study was storyboarding. Storyboards are visual story telling tools used for planning and communicating scenes of a story (Sova & Sova, 2006). In particular, storyboards involve telling a story through a series of images drawn by participants into frames that represent each scene of their story (Lillyman & Bennett, 2012). Historically, the use of storyboards was limited to the pre-production of feature films (Atasoy & Martens, 2011). Recently, they have emerged as a useful tool for engaging communities in participatory research in order that they can develop their own stories in relation to a specific social issue (Truong, Hayes & Abowd, 2006).

As a multiliteracy approach that links participants' visual images with written text, storyboards enable participants to construct their own views of reality (Love, 2014). They further help participants to capture important events of an experience by illustrating and viewing them in sequential order (Atasoy & Martens, 2011). According to Love (2014, p. 56), storyboarding "advocates for [participants] to create counter-narratives and worldviews of marginalised groups and individuals".

Storyboards were the last set of visual data generated for this study. This technique was selected because of my assumption that it could facilitate a process where participants could shape for themselves, the problems/issues they wanted to raise, as well as provide possible solutions to sexual violence in their community.

4.8.4.1 Creating Storyboards

For the storyboarding workshop, on a Saturday in August 2017, we again gathered in one of the classrooms at *Siyaphambili* Secondary School. Using the storyboarding workshop method outlined in the HIV and AIDS Education Community of Practice (2011) manual, after introducing the storyboard as a research method, discussing its use, and responding to participants' questions, I invited them to create their own storyboards. First, in mixed-sex groups of five (one group had four members), I invited the participants to brainstorm the various problems related to their vulnerability to sexual violence. In their groups, and using flipcharts, the participants listed their ideas, after which I asked them to each vote, using sticky dots, for the one idea they felt was most important for them, about which they would want to create a story. Once everyone had 'voted' for their most important ideas, each group discussed how best to create a story using the idea that received the most interest.

Second, I gave the prompt: *Create a storyboard about an aspect of vulnerability to sexual violence experienced by adolescent orphans in and around your school*. I provided each group with a storyboard template on which to plan and execute the story on their chosen topic and helped them, where necessary, to come up with a storyline to present their chosen topic. Each storyboard had six frames with which to draw up their story. The participants worked in their groups to create stories using their storyboards. All groups opted to draw their stories on each frame of their storyboard with a written text below each frame to explain each drawing. They also provided titles for each of their stories. I allowed them as much time as they needed to create their stories (see Figure 4.4 for an example of a storyboard).
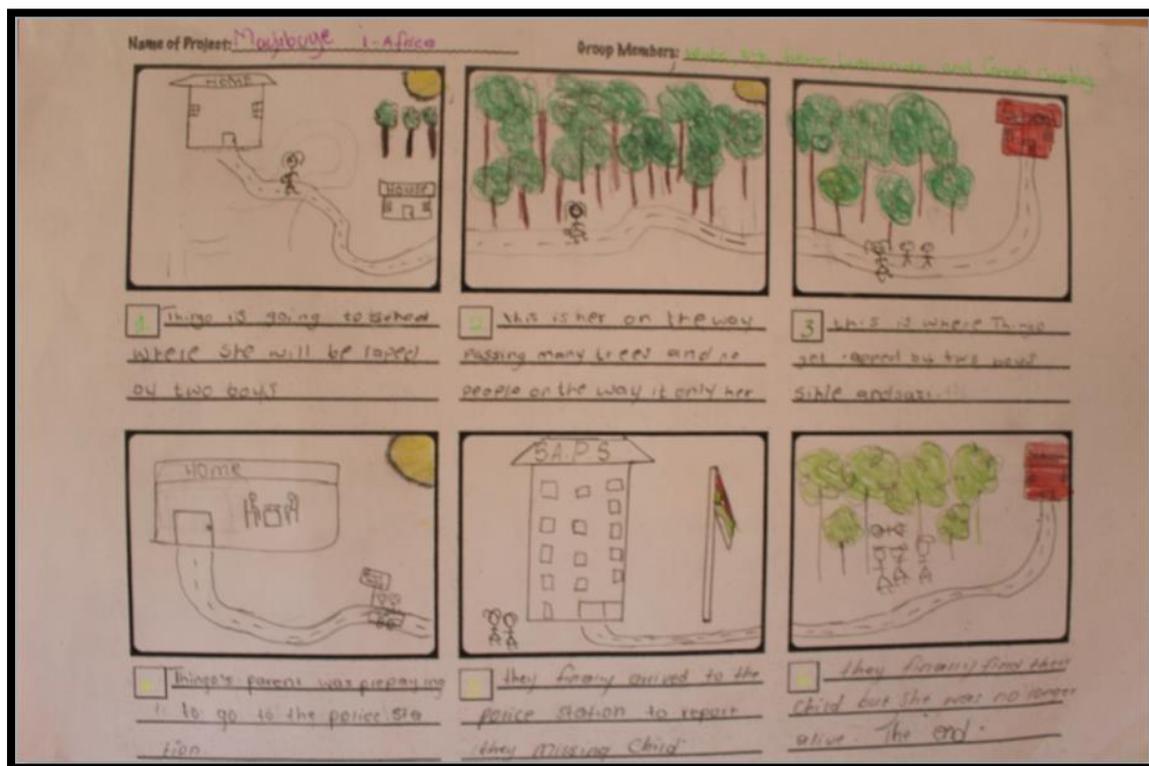
Figure 4.4: Example of a storyboard

Once that process was done, we sat as a big group, and each group presented their storyboards. I invited every participant to ask questions or add their input for each storyboard.

4.8.5 Researcher Field Notes

Researcher field notes, which, according Creese, Bhatt, Bhojan and Martin (2008) are written productions and recordings of what the researcher notices in the field, are common in ethnographic studies because of their role in documenting participant observation (Hoey, 2014). However, they have also become an important part of research in the broader social sciences. Involving written accounts of observational data produced by the researcher during fieldwork, field notes help in describing behaviours, practices, spoken words and other patterning of a community and interactions among the participants and the contexts within which they interact (Montgomery & Bailey, 2007).

In this study, my intention was to describe the adolescent orphans' actions, spoken words, contexts, and rationalities (Mulhall, 2003). Throughout the duration of the fieldwork, I took field notes of my engagement with the participants, including their written and spoken words, expressions or phrases, often in the sessions, but also after each session. To capture the participants' engagements throughout the project, I also took and used photographs of the participants while they were generating their data. These photographs also formed part of my field notes (see Appendix L).

4.8.6 Participants' Written Reflections

Our last workshop for the project was aimed at addressing the third research question: *How might the use of participatory visual methodologies facilitate these adolescent orphans' agency in the context of sexual violence in and around the school?* To do this, the participants produced written reflections. I invited the participants to reflect, through writing, on our engagement throughout the study, and in particular, on the use of participatory visual methods.

With renewed interests in reflective practices, participants' written reflections, although challenging to obtain, are an integral part of the research process (Tan, 2013) and have become a tool for understanding and learning from participants experiences (Hickson, 2011). They provide researchers with insight into participants' experiences of and perspectives on engaging in a research study (Ash & Clayton, 2009). Analysing reflective responses provides researchers with the opportunity to revise research methodologies, identify weaknesses and strengths, and intentionally facilitate reflection for action (Thorsen & DeVore, 2013).

It was for this reason that this study engaged the orphaned participants through written reflections. The participants used written reflections to evaluate the use of participatory visual methods in engaging them in a study that examined their vulnerability to and agency in addressing sexual violence. In particular, they were asked to respond to two prompts. The first was: *Having participated in this research project, please write a short reflection about your experiences of engaging through participatory visual methods to think about your vulnerability to sexual violence in and around the school.* The exercise took about 45-minutes, after which we gathered to discuss the written reflections. I invited the participants to read their written reflections to the group (some opted out of this aspect of the session).

After the discussion, the participants were asked to respond, again in writing, to the second prompt: *Write a short reflection on what participating in this project meant for you.* Again, this was followed by a group discussion, which then concluded all data generating engagements for the study.

4.9 Data Analysis

Using a variety of PVM in the study led to voluminous data co-generated with the participants. The complete data set compiled for analysis consisted of nine sub-sets of data, which were generated from the four visual methods (collage making, drawing, photovoice and storyboard), as well as from the IGDs, participants' written reflections, and my fieldnotes. Therefore, these data sets comprised of a visual component (e.g., the images created by the participants), a written component (e.g., captions, curatorial statements or descriptions provided by the participants in order to interpret their own images), and a verbal component (e.g., the audio recorded and transcribed group discussions). In order to manage the voluminous data, I organised it into small manageable chunks to allow for easy access. I started by creating folders and labeled each folder according to the research method. All data generated were digitised and stored electronically. The participants granted me permission to keep original documents in a paper file.

To analyse the data, first, I employed visual participatory analytical procedures (Mitchell, 2011; Mitchell, de Lange & Moletsane, 2017). I took stock of the fact that in participatory analysis, participants co-create data and provide their own analysis of their data (Prosser & Loxley, 2008). Informed by Fiske's (1992) idea of three sites of analysis, the data analysis process in this study involved three layers. Fiske argues that the visual product (e.g., drawing, photograph, collage, and storyboard) is the primary text, and what the producers (of the visual product) say about their productions (written or spoken descriptions) and how they experienced making them is the production text. Finally, what the audience (those who come to see the images) say about the visual products is considered the audience text (in this study together with the research assistants, I became the audience). Therefore, analysis in this study was in three layers: the first two layers entailed analysis and interpretation by the participants. This

involved the captions they wrote for each of their visual productions, and the explanations they gave about them during the IGD in each workshop. I conducted the third layer through thematic analysis in which I tried to remain as close as possible to the participants' meaning making and analysis.

4.9.1 Thematic Data Analysis

Thematic analysis is a method used to identify, analyse and report patterns or themes within the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In thematic analysis, the researcher searches for themes that emerge as being important to the description of the phenomenon under study (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). This method organises and describes the data set in detail, and further interprets various aspects of the research topic (Vaismoradi et al, 2013). The process of thematic analysis involves the identification of themes through careful reading and re-reading of the data and in response to a specific research question. In this study, thematic analysis offered a flexible form of analysis and did not require the detailed theoretical and technological knowledge of approaches such as grounded theory (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). In contrast to other data analysis methods, thematic analysis is not embedded in any pre-existing theoretical framework; thus, it can be used within different theoretical frameworks and can be used to do different things within these frameworks.

In this study, the thematic analysis process helped to analyse both the visual and the textual data described above. In this regard, the usefulness of a theme was not necessarily dependent on quantifiable measures, but in terms of whether the theme captured something important in relation to the three critical research questions. Since this study sampled a small group of adolescents, prevalence was not as crucial to the analysis as was the emerging themes the data produced. Scholars maintain that part of the flexibility of thematic analysis is that it allows the

researcher to determine themes in a number of ways (Tuckett, 2005). For this study, I provide, in the chapters that follow, rich thematic descriptions of the participants' views, experiences, meanings and realities, so that any reader gets a sense of the predominant/important themes that emerged from the data.

4.9.1.1 Generating Codes, Identifying Patterns and Defining Themes

In using thematic analysis in this study, I was guided by Braun and Clarke's (2006; 2012) six phases of analysis. Braun and Clarke (2012) argue that "analysis is not a linear process where [a researcher] simply moves from one phase to the next" (p.16). Rather, I moved back and forth throughout the phases, as needed.

4.9.1.2 Familiarising Myself with the Data

I was present at every data generating engagement with the participants, and I organised all the visual data, and transcribed and translated all the audio-recordings and textual data myself. Thus, I came to the data analysis with some knowledge of the data. Once I had organised the data into manageable chunks (by placing into folders each data set generated from each engagement), I immersed myself in the data to the extent that I became familiar with the depth and breadth of its content (Braun & Clarke, 2006). I repeatedly read the data (including transcribed and translated data), searching for meanings and identifying patterns. Before I started the coding process, I re-read the entire data set in order to identify patterns in the data.

First, I identified and produced initial codes for each data sub-set, after which I integrated these into a whole. For this phase, I enlisted the assistance of two critical friends who studied the data and affirmed the codes I generated. The critical friends affirmed my coding framework. For each sub-set of data, I created an analysis worksheet which combined all the data collected

from each particular activity. On each analysis worksheet, I started with semantic coding (Clarke & Braun, 2013) where I highlighted key words, expressions or phrases, and commonalities from the data. I further wrote down verbatim all key words, expressions and phrases. I then used pieces of sticky cards on each analysis worksheet to highlight what the participants were talking about or referring to in the data. These cards were then placed alongside the participants' words and phrases as codes. On separate sticky cards, I created core categories based on similarities in all the codes across all data sets.

Second, I identified patterns in the codes in order to generate themes. According to Braun and Clarke (2012, p. 63), a theme "captures something important about the data in relation to the research question". Taking this into cognisance, I turned to the three research questions to look specifically for patterns in the codes that addressed each research question. To this end, I asked: *How have adolescent orphans in this study conceptualised their vulnerability to sexual violence in and around their township secondary school*? Using this question, I searched for patterns that addressed how the participants identified, understood and communicated their vulnerability to sexual violence. I then searched for patterns in the codes that responded to the second and third research questions. In particular, I looked for similarities in what the participants considered the tools and strategies they used in order to respond to and resist sexual violence. I further searched for patterns in the codes that addressed how the use of PVMs facilitated the participants' agency in the context of sexual violence. I considered all the patterns in terms of which research question they addressed, and I grouped all patterns into categories that I subsequently assigned headings.

I understood that searching for themes was an active process where themes are not merely discovered but are constructed (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Therefore, I examined all the

categories I had constructed in more detail to identify what each category focused on in terms of the research questions. I started to consider the categories more conceptually as themes. I looked for similarities, relationships, links, differences and I considered the contexts that influenced the participants and the study. For example, I considered instances where the participants referred to themselves or others (e.g., "*I am afraid*", "*girls are frightened*", "*boys do these things*", "*I have also experienced it*") to fall under a particular sub-theme (e.g., *Portrayals of adolescent orphans' vulnerability*). I played around with the various categories I constructed from the codes until I was satisfied that they were possible themes. I repeated this process for all the research questions.

Third, I reviewed the themes I had come up with. I considered this phase as a form of quality checking (Clarke & Braun, 2013). Once I felt that all the themes had been organised into key ideas, I began to check the themes against the data. I also explored whether the themes worked in relation to the data. In this regard, I considered the following questions: *What does each theme tell me about the data set and my research questions? Are there sufficient data to support each theme?* In instances where I felt a theme did not work in relation to the data, or there was not enough data to support the theme, I relegated it into a sub-theme. Finally, I re-read all the data to determine if themes captured an aspect of the data, they responded to a research question and were aligned with the theoretical framework. I also held a number of discussions with my supervisor which helped in reviewing the themes.

4.9.1.3 Defining and Naming Themes

The next step was to define and name the themes. This entailed identifying the meaning embedded in each theme, enabling me to construct a concise and informative narrative for each theme. I searched for what was unique and specific about each theme by making a short

summary of the essence of that particular theme. I also made sure that each theme was closely aligned with the participants' meaning making by referring back to their visual, written and verbal data to identify images, phrases, quotes and expressions that they used. From these data, I selected extracts to present and analyse each theme, thereby setting out the narrative for each theme. I went back and forth between the phases in order to identify, refine and review the themes.

Finally, using the most appropriate and compelling extracts as examples to support the presentation of themes, the final phase of analysis involved a deeper discussion of the themes. In this phase, I went beyond descriptive analysis. Rather, I responded to each research question by providing a synthesis of the findings, drawing from the data extracts, existing literature and the theoretical framework that informed this study. Clarke and Braun (2013) maintain that this writing up phase should weave together the analytic narrative and data extracts to tell a coherent and persuasive story about the data, and contextualise it in relation to existing literature. In order to provide a rich analytic story about the data, I used literature to identify similarities and differences in order to assess the importance of the findings. In Chapters Five, Six and Seven, I have included visual and written extracts to illuminate the participants' descriptions of their vulnerability to and agency against sexual violence in and around their township secondary school.

4.10 Trustworthiness of the Study

As outlined above, this study was qualitative in nature and was located within a transformative paradigm, which influenced the topic, research questions, study design, as well as methods of generating data and analysis. Mays and Pope (2000, p.50) argue that "all forms of research depend on the quality of methods used". The issue of 'quality' in qualitative research has been

part of an ongoing discussion about the nature of the knowledge produced by qualitative research, and whether or not its quality can legitimately be judged, and if so, how (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Long & Johnson, 2000). There are no easy solutions to limiting the likelihood that there will be errors in qualitative research, however, there are a number of ways to improve its trustworthiness, each of which requires the exercise of judgment on the part of the researcher and reader (Mays & Pope, 2000). Research trustworthiness refers to qualitative research that is plausible, credible, authentic, and thus defensible (Johnson, 1997). Lincoln and Guba (1985) offer a number of criteria for establishing the trustworthiness of a qualitative study, including credibility, authenticity, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. In this study, I used these criteria to establish trustworthiness.

4.10.1 Credibility

According to Korstjens and Moser (2018), credibility is the confidence that research findings are true, and that they reflect the participants' narratives and lived contexts. Strategies to ensure credibility include triangulation, prolonged engagement (or extended fieldwork), and persistent observation. Triangulation compares the results from different methods of data collection (e.g., photovoice and researcher fieldnotes). This study applied both data triangulation and methods triangulation. The former refers to the use of multiple data sources to help understand a phenomenon, while the latter uses multiple research methods to study a phenomenon (Johnson, 1997). In this study, triangulation also involved 'cross-checking' participants' visual productions, narratives, experiences, knowledge, and conclusions using multiple data generation strategies including collages, drawings, photovoice, storyboards (including what the participants said about the data that they generated using these PVM), participant group discussions, participants' written reflections, and my own fieldnotes.

Spending a substantial amount of time in the research setting is also considered good practice in qualitative research (McKinnon, 1988). Extended fieldwork improves trustworthiness in the research. This means that data generation takes a long enough period such that themes and patterns start repeating (Johnson, 1997). Engagement with the participants and the process of generating data for this study took eight months involving a series of workshops in the school, at the university and in camps. This was sufficient for themes and patterns to have started repeating; thus suggesting that the key findings presented in this thesis are not 'anomalies' but are credible.

Furthermore, extended fieldwork helped me to overcome the problem of *observer-caused effects*. According to McKinnon (1988), *observer-caused effects* are the reactive effects of a researcher's presence on the phenomenon under study. This means that the "researcher's presence within the study setting causes the participants to alter their behaviour and conversations and that, as a result, the researcher is not observing the natural setting, but one which is disturbed by his or her presence" (McKinnon, 1988, p.37). This could potentially lead to the participants seeking to appear different from their usual selves. However, the longer I remained in the study setting with the participants the more they became comfortable being around me. In addition, engaging in teambuilding activities with the participants helped to create trust among all of us, and eliminated the possibility of someone not presenting as their usual self. Moreover, the longer the period of interaction between the participants and I, led to a wider number of activities that formed the data set for analysis. I further wrote detailed fieldnotes and used recorded audio and photographs of the participants during their various engagements (Mitchell, 2011), and with their permission, in order to ensure credibility.

4.10.2 Transferability

Transferability in qualitative research is concerned with the extent to which findings from one study are transferable to other contexts (Shenton, 2004). In quantitative research, the concern lies in showing that results from a study are applicable to a wider population. Yet, since findings in qualitative research are specific to a small sample of participants in a particular context, it is not possible to generalise findings and conclusions to wider populations and situations. Thus, in order to ensure that the findings are transferable, a thick description is necessary (Creswell & Poth, 2018). The context in which the research was carried out, its setting, sample, sample size, methodology, analysis, etcetera, must be understandable and useful to persons in other settings (Connelly, 2016). While others consider transferability as analogous to generalisability in quantitative research (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), it is however different from statistical generalisation in that the researcher focuses on participants and their narratives without equating those narratives to a broader population or situation. For this reason, transferability relates to the ways with which the reader can assess whether findings are transferable to their own settings.

It was, therefore, my responsibility, as a researcher, to ensure that sufficient contextual information about the study, fieldwork sites and the participants are provided in order for the reader to make such a transfer. I supported the study described here with a rich, detailed description of the context, location and that of the adolescent orphans under study. I have also provided a thick and transparent description of the analysis and a full description of the contextual factors impinging on the research (Guba & Lincoln, 1985).

4.10.3 Dependability

Dependability relates to reliability in quantitative terms (Thomas & Magilvy, 2001). It is concerned with the stability of the data over time (Connelly, 2016). In other words, dependability can be described as a process where one researcher is able to follow the decision trail taken by another researcher (Korstjens & Moser, 2018) in such a way that she or he would be able to implement a similar study in a similar context. Scholars argue that dependability does not necessarily suggest that findings will be similar if research is done elsewhere (Gunawan, 2015; Thomas & Magilvy, 2011). Of course, the meanings and understanding of an issue under study constantly evolve and are context-bound.

To ensure dependability in this study, in the sections above, I provide a detailed account of the research process and the data generation methods I used. I made sure that the study had clear research questions, that I spelled out the study design and I provided a detailed analysis procedure. It was also my responsibility as the researcher to ensure that findings responded to the research questions. Moreover, the voices of the adolescent orphans are represented in the findings using their actual responses as contained in the phrases, words, collages, drawings, photographs, storyboards and the written reflections they produced.

4.10.4 Confirmability

Confirmability refers to the degree to which research findings are consistent and could be confirmed (Connelly, 2016). This criterion is primarily concerned with the aspect of neutrality. According to Korstjens and Moser (2018), study analysis and interpretation must not be based on a researcher's own particular preferences and viewpoints. Rather, data must ground analysis and interpretation. In so many ways, conducting the research described in this thesis presented potential *researcher biases* that required my careful consideration for the entire research

process to achieve confirmability. Johnson (1997, p.284) defines *researcher bias* as resulting from "selective observation and selective recording of information, and also from allowing one's personal views and perspectives to affect how data are interpreted and how the research is conducted". The fact that I grew up an orphan, and have experienced sexual molestation and township schooling meant that I went into the study setting with my own 'researcher biases'. However, to reduce my biases, I considered what is termed *negative case sampling* (Johnson, 1997). I carefully and purposively searched for examples that disconfirmed my expectations and explanations about the participants and their environment (Johnson, 1997). In so doing, I found it more difficult to ignore important information and I, therefore, came up with more credible and defensible findings. As a researcher, I made a conscious effort to follow, instead of leading, the direction of the participants' engagements by asking them to provide clarity of terms, descriptions, expressions, and phrases (Thomas & Magilvy, 2011). Moreover, the visual participatory approaches used in this study required that the participants develop, narrate and document their own stories without my infringement. I ensured that their voices, experiences, narratives, and stories informed my analysis. I had many opportunities to clarify issues with the participants whenever I experienced uncertainties. I did this to reduce ascribing my own meanings to their realities and perspectives. Moreover, I discussed the findings with my supervisor and two colleagues who acted as critical friends. I further compared notes and discussed the findings with the two research assistants who were present throughout the data generation workshops. I also presented the findings at postgraduate student seminars and conferences. In following all these steps, I was able to ensure that my findings accurately reflected the participants' perspectives.

4.11 Ethical Considerations

All research with human participants raises ethical questions – questions about respect, autonomy, justice, beneficence, and rigor. Research ethics are put in place to govern research processes and protect participants from incurring harm through their involvement in studies. Key areas of ethical concern include "avoiding physical and emotion harm; protecting research participants' anonymity and confidentiality; and promoting research that serves a public good" (Cox, et al., 2014, p.7). In order to conduct research that was just, ethical and that protected the integrity and dignity of the participants (Mitchell, 2011), I needed to negotiate clear guidelines and examine the ethical issues inherent in research with adolescent orphans.

4.11.1 Ethical Considerations for Researching with Adolescent Orphans

The complexity of orphanhood, adolescence and sexual violence raises a number of ethical issues that require careful consideration by the researcher. The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) affirms children's full and meaningful participation in work focusing on issues relevant to them, as well as their agency in making informed decisions about participating in research. Further, the UNCRC upholds every child's right to protection and care. In order to ensure the safety and protection of the adolescents who participated in this study, several steps were taken. These included several levels of negotiations with gatekeepers and the participants.

The UKZN College of Humanities and Social Sciences Ethics Committee, and the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Education (KZN DoE) granted me permission to conduct this research (see Appendices A and B). Given that the study sought to work with orphaned adolescent

learners, written informed consent was provided by the school management[37] and the children's caregivers (see Appendices C and E). Prior to obtaining consent from these gatekeepers, I had provided them sufficient and appropriate information to support an informed decision (Dockett & Perry, 2011), this included a detailed study protocol that took into consideration the nature and context of orphaned children (Kelley et al., 2016). Information and consent letters were written in both English and isiZulu to allow for the flexibility of language (See Appendix F). I also recognised that consent from caregivers and the school management did not abrogate the need to seek assent[38] from the adolescent learners (Powell, Fitzgerald, Taylor & Graham, 2012). Rather, adult consent in this study was taken to mean that caregivers were providing me permission to approach the adolescent participants and to negotiate their participation in this study (von Benzon & van Blerk, 2017). Adult consent is a legal requirement for research with minors (children under the age of 18 years old) in South Africa (National Health Act, 2003).

In order to provide informed assent for their participation, each participant was given full information about the study, including the study topic (i.e., the vulnerability of adolescent orphans to sexual violence), methodology and contact details for the UKZN research office and my supervisor. To allow for the flexibility of language, information and assent letters to the participants were provided in English and isiZulu (see Appendices G and H). Noting that my study focused on a sensitive topic (Moletsane, 2014) and worked with a group considered vulnerable (Kelley et al., 2016), a referral system, for learners who might experience distress, was negotiated with two local social workers who managed an organisation that supported

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[37] School management representatives that granted me permission to recruit and engage with the schoolchildren were the principal and the two deputy principals.
[38] According to Dockett and Perry (2011), assent is a written or verbal agreement from individuals (i.e., adolescents) who are not capable to enter into a legal contract with a researcher. In this regard, I acknowledged that legal prescripts consider that children under the age of 18 years have neither sufficient age nor maturity to provide informed consent.

vulnerable children (see Appendix D). This information, including the social workers' contact details, was made available before the adolescents gave assent and were further reiterated throughout the research engagement. Once all the participants, their caregivers, and the school management had signed the consent/assent letters, the research commenced.

In keeping with the South African Children's Act of 2005, which sets out principles relating to the care and protection of children, and other international legal frameworks on a child's agency in participating in research, my point of departure in this study was that participation in the research could only be considered authentic when participants understood what they were doing and voluntarily chose to participate (Faist, 2010). Moreover, the processes involved in participatory research are lengthy, intensive, can be emotionally demanding and often call for focused commitment, over weeks and months, from both the participants and the researchers (Black Davies, Iskander & Chambers, 2018; Mitchell, de Lange & Moletsane, 2017). I therefore, made it clear to the participants that their involvement in the study was voluntarily, and that they had the right and freedom to withdraw from the research at any time they wanted without any repercussions. Furthermore, I requested their permission for all research engagements, including permission to use an audio recorder and to take pictures, to have two research assistants present at our engagements and to take notes in order to document all our engagements.

4.11.2 Ethical Considerations for Engaging Adolescent Orphans in Visual Research

There are ongoing debates among ethics committees and visual researchers on ethical guidelines and practices involved in PVM (Creighton et al., 2018; Mitchell, 2011; Prosser, Clark & Wiles, 2008; Wall, 2017). Since the visual outputs that are produced through PVM can be very personal, each phase of PVM engagement requires careful and sensitive

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consideration of its ethical implications (Black et al., 2018). In order to ensure ethically sound research using PVM, I was guided by Cox et al. (2014) who ground certain values, such as anonymity and minimising harm, when conducting visual research. In the section above, I discussed the consent processes involved in this study, as well as how I ensured research that did most good. However, consent was also negotiated throughout the information generation engagements. For example, in each workshop, I asked the participants to think about whether and what they were comfortable doing in the various activities, and which of their visual products they wanted to share, and which they were comfortable with me using for analysis in the thesis and elsewhere. Because I held the principle that the visual images belonged to the participants, with their permission, I took pictures of their images for analysis in this study, and accepted requirests from those who wanted to take the original images home. With every PVM engagement, I reminded participants of their consent documents and emphasised that those who were not comfortable with sharing or talking about the material they produced were free to- opt out in any of the workshops.

4.11.2.1. Negotiating Anonymity in Visual Research

Anonymity is a commitment by a researcher to protect and safeguard research participants' privacy, particularly when they disclose sensitive information. However, in research using PVM, maintaining anonymity is often challenging. This is especially the case in work using photovoice (Creighton et al., 2018; Wall, 2017). Photos can capture detailed and intimate illustrations of individuals and their environment (Murray & Nash 2016; Prosser et al., 2008). The information captured in photos can, in some way, identify research participants. As noted above, in order to ensure anonymity in photography-based images, Murray and Nash (2016) recommend training participants about the 'no-face' and 'blurring-the-face' approaches. While this training was done with the participants in this study, another challenge emerged. In using

photography, the participants are empowered to tell meaningful stories about their lives (Murray & Nash, 2016; Wall, 2017). Thus, if the photos produced by the adolescent orphans were to preserve anonymity, how would their autonomy and right to self-disclosure be acknowledged? A point of contestation ensued when some of the participants in this study argued that blurring or not showing their faces defeated the intention and meaning behind the stories they wanted to share. For them, removing their faces from the photos they generated was to tell an incomplete story. One of the participants wondered how their visual products could be used to tell their full stories if their faces had to be blurred or hidden. I considered this question and the concern about anonymity/privacy as another way the participants were exercising their agency and the right to self-expression. Giving participants' cellphone cameras shifted the power dynamics, and the participants felt validated in choosing for themselves, the sort of photographs that would best describe their context (see also Murray & Nash, 2016). It is therefore not surprising that some of the participants defied the 'no-face' and 'blurring-of-the-face' recommendations, and took pictures that showed their faces and other identifiable objects in their photographs.

My research is not the first to deal with this issue. Mitchell (2011), citing the work of Bagnoli (2009), pointed to young participants who questioned the aesthetics and the very intention behind blurring images. According to Bagnoli, participants felt that their narratives lost meaning by blurring certain aspects of their images (see also Wall, 2017). To ensure anonymity in this study, I used pseudonyms to identify both the participants and their school. However, in respecting the wishes and agency of the adolescent orphans, the photographs they produced have not been blurred or edited. Some of the photographs taken by the participants show identifiable objects, markers, and people (who granted participants verbal permission to be captured in photos).

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In this study, I read my participants' concerns in this regard as to suggest that, by removing their faces and other identifiers, they were further being made invisible. Thus, the issue of anonymity merits further engagement concerning visual ethics, and photovoice in particular. As discussed above, requesting participants' permission to use the photos they produced is another way of engaging with this issue of anonymity (Mitchell, 2011; Prosser & Loxley, 2008). In this study, I created a release form for participants to consent to the use of the photos and other visual artefacts they produced in each of the sessions (see Appendix G). Moreover, asking for permission was, for me, a way of acknowledging that participants were the rightful owners of the visual artefacts they produced (Wiles Prosser, Bagnoli, Clark, Davies, Holland, & Renold, 2008).

4.12 Synthesis

In this chapter, I described the research design and methodology employed in the study, and the research approaches used in generating the data. Specifically, I provided a detailed discussion of participatory visual research for social change research. I also provided a discussion of the context, the participants, data generation methods and the data analysis strategy employed. Finally, I answered questions regarding trustworthiness and ethical considerations in the study.

The next chapter presents findings in response to the first research question: *How do adolescent orphans identify, understand and communicate their vulnerability to sexual violence in and around a township secondary school?*

CHAPTER FIVE

ADOLESCENT ORPHANS' CONSTRUCTIONS OF THEIR VULNERABILITY TO SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN AND AROUND THEIR SCHOOL

There are compelling reasons to believe that orphans – many millions due to the AIDS epidemic – are more likely to be sexually victimized during childhood. (Kidman & Palermo, 2016, p.1)

5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I described the research design and methodology employed in this study, and the research approaches used for generating the data. In this chapter, I respond to the first question: *How do adolescent orphans identify, understand and communicate their vulnerability to sexual violence in and around a township secondary school?* I respond to the second and third research questions in the following two chapters. In this chapter, I discuss how a group of 27 adolescent orphans used PVM to construct their vulnerability to sexual violence in and around their school.

Data generation involved the use collage, drawing, photovoice, and storyboards. In particular, storyboards focused largely on adolescent orphans' experiences of sexual violence on their journeys between school and home. Data generated through storyboards also helped to frame the walk from home to school as dangerous. Furthermore, the visual data was augmented by IGD, and my field notes. Data analysis in this chapter was informed by the critical theory, which is premised on the assumption that an inquiry must emphasise the creation of a sense of

consciousness where adolescent orphans are able to identify and understand their vulnerability to sexual violence in and around the school. The findings are organised according to three main themes: 1) Adolescent orphans' portrayals of their vulnerability, 2) Myths and cultural beliefs about vulnerability to sexual violence; and 3) Geographies of school-related sexual violence. Each theme has sub-sections.

5.2 Adolescent Orphans' Portrayals of Vulnerability to Sexual Violence

How did the participants construct their vulnerability to sexual violence in and around their township secondary school? In essence, the visual artefacts they produced became "*another way of seeing [their vulnerability to] sexual violence*" (Nkosie, male participant, 17 years). In this section, I draw on these visual artefacts and the participants' descriptions thereof, to discuss the ways in which participants constructed their vulnerability to sexual violence.

5.2.1 Orphaned Girls' Everyday Vulnerability and Fear of Sexual Violence

The everyday vulnerability and fear of sexual violence was common and widespread in the lives of the girls. Kimberly, for example, expressed her concerns about safety in her everyday life: "*As an orphan I don't feel safe […] in the community because rapists are found in our community*" (Kimberly, female participant, 17 years, IGD, 4 March 2017).

In their photovoice activity, Kimberly and Nomthi further used a metaphoric photograph of a thick and growing bush that they captured outside their school to symbolise what they called "*the growing and inescapable sexual violations that [they were] exposed to*".

Figure 5.1: *The ever increasing bushes, and they grow every day, we compare it with the growing rate of sexual violence (sic) (*Kimberly & Nomthi, female participants, 17 & 16 years, photovoice).

Writing in their poster narrative, the pair was concerned about what they termed "*an increasing rate of girls who are raped*" in and around their community. One storyboard (Figure 5.2) produced by Happiness, China, Nomthi and Mkhonto highlighted girls' daily and looming risk of experiencing sexual violence. In that particular storyboard, an adolescent girl is abducted and raped by an elderly man while she is walking to school. Referring to this storyboard, Nomthi suggested that it was common for girls to be assaulted while walking on the road in their community. Relating a personal experience, Nomthi stated,

> *This one day I was walking to the shop … this guy who is always harassing me stopped me and pulled me by force, he showed me his penis and forced me to touch it. I was so scared I ran back home in fear. I didn't even reach the shop…even now I am still scared* (Nomthi, female participant, 16 years, IGD, 22 July 2017).
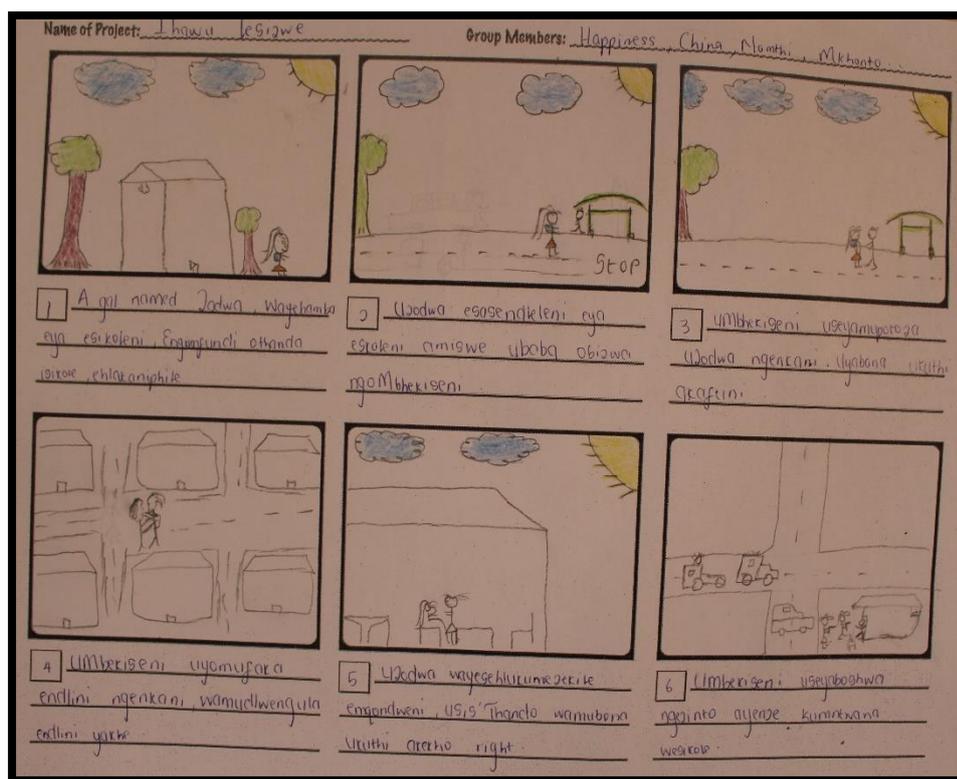
Figure 5.2: *Ihawu lesizwe (The nation's spear) (*Happiness, China, Nomthi & Mkhonto, three females and one male, 16 years, 15 years, 16 years & 15 years, storyboard).

In the table below (Table 6.1), I provide a translation of each frame from the storyboard in

Figure 5.2.

Ihawu lesizwe (The nation's spear)	
Frame no:	**Description of storyboard**
1	A girl named Zodwa is walking to school in the morning. She is walking alone. Zodwa is an intelligent learner who loves school and appreciates receiving an education.
2	On the road towards school, at a bus stop, Zodwa is stopped by an elderly man who is well known in the community. His name is Mbhekiseni. Zodwa respects Mbhekiseni.
3	Mbhekiseni starts fondling Zodwa and touching her genitals. Zodwa is clearly uncomfortable, and Mbhekiseni can see this. He continues fondling her against her will and even though he can see that Zodwa does not like what he is doing.
4	Mbhekiseni carries Zodwa by force and takes her to a nearby shack where he rapes her repeatedly. Zodwa emerges sometime later walking out of Mbhekiseni's shack. She is crying and seems powerless.

5	Days later, Zodwa was still traumatised and could not focus at school. Sisi Thando, a neighbour has been observing Zodwa and can see that she is not feeling well. She takes Zodwa for counselling where it emerges that she was raped by a community member.
6	Mbhekiseni is reported to the police and is arrested for kidnapping and raping an adolescent girl.

Table 5.1: Description of storyboard produced by Happiness, China, Nomthi & Mkhonto.

Nomthi, in the IGD quote above, suggested that this experience had left her feeling scared. Similar findings have been reported from studies which found that young people, especially girls, live in daily fear of sexual violence in and around their schools, and the broader community (Bhana, 2012; Dosekun, 2007; Human Rights Watch, 2001; Ngidi et al., 2018).

In their various visual illustrations, the participants positioned themselves as vulnerable, afraid, and as inevitable victims of sexual violence. While orphaned boys also described themselves as vulnerable to sexual violence (see Ngidi & Moletsane, 2018b), it was the vulnerability, fear and victimisation of orphaned girls that dominated the overall narratives of the girls in this study. In fact, a number of the participants' visual productions portrayed orphaned girls' as scared, vulnerable and unsafe. For example, one of Amanda-Eye and Future's photovoice images portrayed an orphaned girl sitting alone in a classroom with her head cupped in her hand (Figure 5.3).

Figure 5.3: *This girl has been sexually assaulted and now she is crying and afraid.* (Amanda-Eye & Future, 15 & 16 years, photovoice).

The two producers suggested that the girl in their photo represented an orphan girl who was afraid after an experience of sexual abuse.

Even those orphaned girls who reported that they had never experienced sexual violence, believed that they were 'inevitably' vulnerable to such violence because of their social status as orphans and as girls. Because they lacked the support and protection that is often afforded by biological parents, the participants felt unprotected from all forms of violence, including sexual violence, and therefore, lived in fear of sexual victimisation (Dosekun, 2007). In her study of schoolgirls' experiences of sexual violence, Bhana (2012) found that girls feared boys and men, including their boyfriends, teachers and other males in their neighbourhood and homes.

In this study, using their various visual artefacts, the girls relayed their fear of boys and men and indicated that because of them, orphaned girls were not safe anywhere. For instance, China's drawing of a man harassing, fondling and cat-calling a girl illustrated some of the multiple ways orphaned girls experienced sexual violence (Figure 5.4).
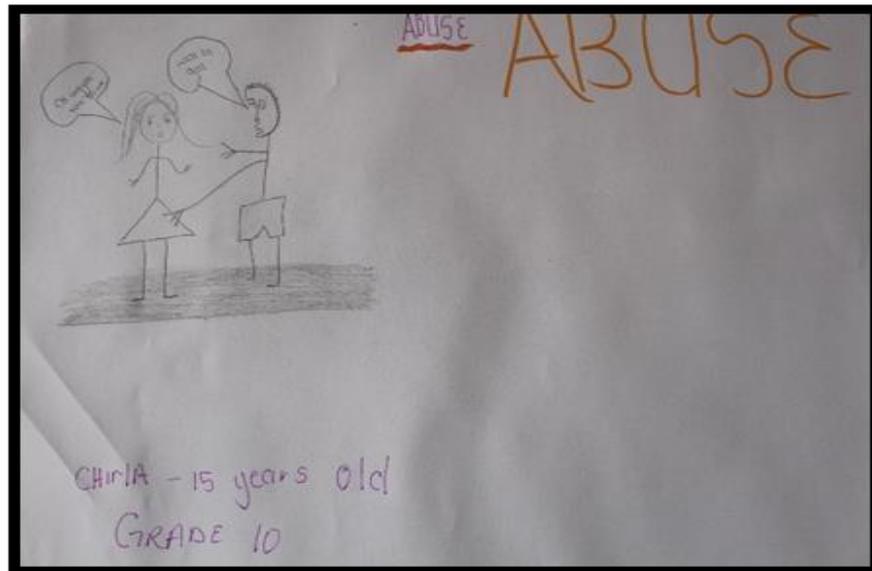
Figure 5.4: *Boys touch us by force* (China, female participant, and 15 years, drawing).

China's use of the word "*force*" implies that girls do not approve of or consent to boys and men touching them (I return to this point below). As Gqola (2016) highlights, boys and men sexually assault girls because they see their actions as permissible, and that girls (and their lives) do not matter. Yet, these actions were experienced as violent by the girls. Demonstrating the fact that girls experience such touching as violent, the girl in China's drawing objects by sternly stating, "*leave me alone you fool!*".

The girls in this study used their visual artefacts to show that for adolescent orphans generally, and girls in particular, sexual violence, or the threat of this form of violence, is widespread, inevitable and unpleasant. This leaves them afraid, feeling unsafe and unprotected from such violence.

5.2.2 Boys and Men Imposing their Will on Girls

The findings in this study suggest that boys and men tended to ignore girls' right to consent or refuse being touched, fondled or cat-called, and this exposed girls to sexual violence. Some of the descriptions the participants used for their visual artefacts contained such phrases as "*by*

force", "*without permission*", and "*without consent*" to suggest that both boys and men imposed their will on girls, often using force and violence. This was illustrated poignantly in two photovoice images produced by 15 year olds Baby-Boo and Great-Coupling. In Figure 5.5, the producers depicted a male teacher harassing a schoolgirl and described it as follows: "*This picture shows that teachers fondle girls by force*". Their second image similarly portrayed a boy pulling a girl inside a school toilet (an issue I return to later in the chapter), which they captioned "*this picture shows that boys force girls into toilets because they want to rape girls*".

Figure 5.5: This picture shows that teachers fondle girls by force (Baby-Boo & Great-Coupling, female and male participant, 15 & 15 years).

Significantly, even boys acknowledged this lack of consent in their engagements with girls. For example, Fanzozo made reference to China's drawing (above) and asserted that:

> *[…]A boy wants to touch a girl without her permission […] is unlawful. It is not good for a boy to touch a girl without her permission. The girl must open a criminal case so that the boy can be arrested and he won't be able to rape anymore* (Fanzozo, male participant, 16 years, IGD, 24 March 2017).

Other participants used their photovoice poster narratives to lament boys' use of force to subdue and sexually abuse girls in and around the school. To illustrate, Nkosie, Fanzozo and Sborh produced a photo (Figure 5.6) which depicted a boy "*trying to touch a girl on their private part without her consent* (sic)".

Figure 5.6: *Here we see a boy trying to touch a girl on their private part without (her) consent* (Nkosie, Sborh & Fanzozo, male participants, 17, 17 & 16 years, photovoice).

In the poster narrative of their photovoice collection, the three participants wrote:

> *This poster speaks about the abuse of girls. If a boy wants to touch a girl he must get permission (from the girl)* (Nkosie, Sborh and Fanzozo, male participants, 17, 17 and 16 years, photovoice poster narrative, 24 March 2017).

Available literature reports that young men often consider a woman's silence or non-objection to sexual advances as a form of consent (Lofgreen, Mattson, Wagner, Ortiz & Johnson, 2017). Yet, in this study, the participants suggests that even explicit objections by orphaned girls to male advances, did not protect them from being sexually harassed. Seventeen-year-old Twiggy

and 15-year-old Mkhonto produced a photo (Figure 5.7) reflecting this claim. In it, a boy is forcefully pulling a girl into a house "*even though the girl does not want to*".
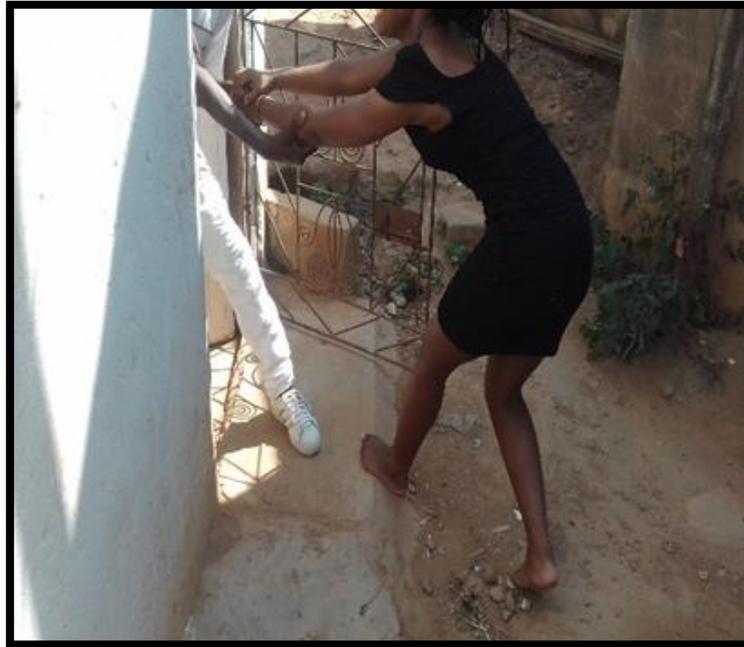
Figure 5.7: *A boy is pulling a girl into his house even though the girl does not want to (*Twiggy & Mkhonto, male participants, 17 & 15 years).

A number of ideas further perpetuate the belief that men and boys do not need permission or can use force over girls and their bodies. First, as discussed in previous chapters, boys and men in the communities where this research was conducted lived under impoverished conditions, which were characterised by low employment rates, under-education and low wages (Statistics South Africa, 2018). Extrapolating from research which suggests that men in impoverished settings use violence to reclaim their power and social status (see for example, Abbey, Parkhill, Beshears, Clinton-Sherrod & Zawacki, 2006), it is plausible to argue that boys and men in the community under study used violence against girls to assert and reaffirm their authority.

Second, dominant patriarchal ideologies and gender inequalities that are compounded by age-based hierarchies, permissive cultural practices and the high social status afforded to both men

and boys also influence violence against girls in communities (see also, Jewkes, Penn-Kekana and Rose-Junius, 2005). Not only do these ideas reduce girls' agency to refuse sexual advances, they further feed into the belief that girls should be controlled by males (Gqola, 2016). Within this context, Jewkes and colleagues (2005, p. 1809) argue that,

> [Sexual violence] is often an act of punishment, used to demonstrate power over girl children and manufacture control. [It] is also used as an instrument of communication with oneself (the perpetrator) about masculinity and powerfulness.

As shown in Twiggy and Mkhonto's image above (Figure 5.7), the participants illustrated the ways in which boys and men asserted their authority over, and used violence against girls including pulling, pushing, fondling, carrying, harassing and/or name-calling girls. Often, according to the participants, these acts were performed without consent from the girls. Mbali captured these non-consensual interactions persuasively in her drawing (Figure 5.8), in which a male figure is standing next to a girl who is crying. What captivates in Mbali's drawing are the male figure's words, "*woza la wena ntombazane. Angeke ngiku rape* (*come here girl. I won't rape you)*". Describing this particular drawing, Mbali wrote the following: *We are not safe anywhere. This is a boy at school and an uncle at home and the community who touch us by force* (Mbali, female participant, 13 years, drawing, 24 March 2017).

Figure 5.8: *We are not safe anywhere*. (Mbali, female participant, 13 years, drawing).

Mbali's drawing addresses a few things. First, as highlighted above, it supports the notion that for orphaned girls, the risk of experiencing sexual violence was inevitable, widespread and often perpetrated by people they know, including their peers in and around school, and their family members (uncles) at home. Second, the male figure's use of the word "*wena*" (an isiZulu subjective personal pronoun which means 'you') and "*woza la*" (an authoritative command used to summon a person in isiZulu) suggests a level of disregard or disrespect for the girl based on her low social status in relation to him. In Zulu tradition, this form of language has historically been used by a person of a higher social status to summon someone of a comparatively lower social status (i.e., an adult would often say "*woza la wena*" to call a child to come to them, but a child cannot use this similar language with an adult, as this would be seen as disrespectful) (Denis, 2008). Third, the male figure's insistence that "*I won't rape you*" means that boys and men are aware that girls live in constant fear of sexual violence, and that there is perhaps some awareness that girls would avoid men in order to protect themselves. Consequently, by suggesting that he would not rape the little girl, he is attempting to lure her. It is also possible that the man meant this as a threat, that should the girl refuse the command, the consequences could include rape. Finally, it is striking that Mbali describes the male figures

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in her drawing as *"a boy/an uncle ... in the community"*. Evidently, because of the notion of *ukuhlonipha* (respect in isiZulu) that is taught to, reinforced and expected of children, Mbali considered all men, including those that are not her kin, as 'uncles'. In most African communities, *ukuhlonipha* is emphasised in relation to children obeying all adults (Denis, 2008). *Ukuhlonipha* requires that children do not question, challenge, talk-back, or even resist adults' demands and/or expectations. Instead, children are expected to be silent and obedient in family and community decision-making, including those that affect their livelihoods (Bhana, de Lange & Mitchell, 2009). There are also gendered attributes to *ukuhlonipha*. Researchers argue that masculinity and manhood are premised on violence and respect (Morrell & Jewkes, 2014). Because girls often hold a low social status in comparison to boys, they are expected to show respect and reverence for adults as well as their male counterparts. In Bhana, de Lange and Mitchell's (2009) study in KwaZulu-Natal, for example, male teachers demanded respect from learners and female teachers. Therefore, *ukuhlonipha* requires that children broadly, and girls in particular, "show deference to their social superiors" (Denis, 2008, p. 8), in this case, men and boys. The participants used their visual creations to demonstrate how boys/men in their communities used their sociocultural positions to take advantage of and harass or even molest adolescent orphaned girls. As the World Health Organisation (2009) puts it, cultural and social norms play a pivotal role in shaping violence and violent behaviour. Therefore, if we understand sexual violence to be an expression of social inequality (including gender inequality), then we can deduce that in the context within which the participants in this research lived and studied, this violence was further used to create and maintain these inequalities (see also, Bhana, de Lange and Mitchell, 2009). In this regard, adolescent orphans' vulnerability to sexual violence can be linked to sociocultural norms and expectations such as respecting adults broadly, and male figures specifically, including boys. In turn, boys and men use sexual violence to solidify their higher status in the social hierarchy.

5.2.3 Barriers to Girls' Agency in the Context of Sexual Violence

The findings in this study illustrate that girls were often denied opportunities to exercise agency to resist or challenge acts of sexual violence by boys and men. Because girls generally, and orphaned girls in particular, are often socialised to be passive and submissive in relation to men and their male counterparts, in this study, the participants' visual artefacts showed that they were stripped of any agency to address their victimisation.

In his drawing (Figure 5.9), 15-year old Great-Coupling, portrayed a boy standing under a tree and summoning a young girl to him.

Figure 5.9: *Frightened and raped* (Great-Coupling, male participant, 15 years, drawing).

The boy is illustrated uttering the words: *"Come here girl! If you don't want to come there would be hell to be paid. You'll see (sic)"*. Moreover, Great-Coupling, using arrows as pointers to refer to both the girl and the boy in his drawing, used the words *"sad & scared"* and *"power"*, respectively. According to him, the boy in his drawing is a symbol of authority and

power, and this power manifests in intimidation, aggression and other violent behaviours towards girls. Likewise, the girl in the drawing symbolises the emotions of fear and sadness that characterises girls' everyday lives. Describing his drawing, Great-Coupling stated:

> *Boys hide under trees and in the bush waiting to abuse girls sexually. This makes girls to always be afraid whenever they leave home. Walking to school is dangerous, and staying at school is also dangerous. They [girls] are raped everywhere and are frightened* (Great-Coupling, male participant, 15 years, drawing, 24 March 2017).

Great-Coupling's caption "*Frightened and raped*", supports the notion that the girls' encounters with boys were persistently characterised by harassment and violence and as a result, they were constantly afraid of sexual victimisation. In fact, the boy in the drawing threatens to harm the girl if she does not come to him. As noted in Chapter Two, this scenario further demonstrates the unequal gender and power relations that often typify girls' encounters with men and boys. The use of what might be considered 'authoritative language' by the boy in the drawing to summon the girl is indicative of the ways in which boys feel entitled to girls' attention. To say, "*come here girl*", is to exercise a form of authority over the girl. In this context, an expected response by the boy is complete submission by the girl. This illustrates the normalised expectation for girls to be passive, non-agentic beings in the presence of boys and men. Writing about agency, Kiefer and Sanchez (2007) argue that boys and girls receive different prescriptions about agentic practices. Boys' expression of their agency, especially over girls, is favoured, and girls' expression of agency is discouraged (Kiefer & Sanchez, 2007). Moreover, Hollander and Rodgers' (2014) investigation of media portrayal of women's experiences of sexual violence shows that women's resistance was not mentioned in most news articles. These scholars conclude that refuting women's resistance reinforced the idea of women as passive victims and takes away their agency as actors in their own lives.

Critical theory and earlier work by critical theorists helps to unpack this finding (e.g., Mirkin, 1984). Extrapolating from the findings, we see boys as controlling the environment in and around the school, holding established power over girls generally, and orphaned girls in particular, and shaping their own patriarchal agenda. Within this context, orphaned girls become an oppressed group. Great-Coupling's drawing is an important example of what Mirkin (1984) calls 'the power of the male'. Writing about this phenomenon the author argues that:

> …girls live under the power of the [male], and [they] have access only to so much privilege or influence as the patriarchy is willing to accede to [girls], and only for so long as [she] will pay the price of male approval (Mirkin, 1984, p. 42).

In relation to Great-Coupling's drawing, the price for male approval is for the girl to remain passive and submissive in the face of sexual victimisation. His drawing highlights how orphaned girls are relegated to passive and/or submissive roles in a patriarchal society. Violating such boundaries and transgressing this authority presented harmful ramifications for these girls. An extreme consequence that girls faced was the risk of violence. Evidence of this was in how orphaned girls described experiences of physical violence when they refused to have, for example, sex with boys. This was illustrated in an image produced by Mbali and Ntwana (Figure 5.10) where a boy is physically assaulting a girl for refusing to have sex with him.

Figure 5.10: *Here, a boy is beating a girl because she does not want to have sex with him* (Mbali & Ntwana, female and male participant, 13 & 15 years, photovoice).

In this case, refusing to have sex was regarded as a form of defiance by the girl. As noted earlier, the participants suggested that it was difficult for orphaned girls to be safe because even in instances where they showed assertiveness, such as when they declined to have sex with boys, they still received unwanted sexual attention and/or violence. Murnen, Wright and Kaluzny (2002, p. 359) contend that "sexual violence keeps [girls] in a state of fear so that they are dependent on others (often men) for their survival". Similarly, in this study, the participants asserted that boys and men used sexual violence to instil fear on victims. For example, in their photovoice poster narrative, Mbali and Ntwana suggested that:

> *Our poster is about the sexual abuse of orphaned girls at the hands of boys who refuse*
>
> *to listen to our message that boys should stop sexually and physically abusing girls*
>
> (Mbali and Ntwana, female and male participants, 13 and 15 years, photovoice poster
>
> narrative, 3 April 2017).

Indeed, boys' dominance over girls' lives and bodies was not only illustrated in the participants' images but also came out strongly in subsequent group discussions. In these

discussions, girls indicated that they lived in fear and felt a sense of defeat against sexual abuse. They felt disempowered and defenceless in attempting to prevent unwanted sexual advances. I captured one such moment in my field notes during a discussion about some of the material the participants had produced:

*There is a great sense of fear and resentment from the young girls when they speak about the many ways they have attempted to prevent unwanted sexual advances from their male counterparts and how this has often been misinterpreted and completely ignored… It is noticeable that the girls have lost trust in their fellow male schoolmates because despite communicating that even when they (girls) smile and tell them (boys) to stop with their advances, which are often done in an aggressive manner, they do not stop (*Researcher field notes, 19 August 2017*).*

For girls, smiling was one of the ways in which they attempted to ward off this unwanted attention. However, the female participants spoke about how their actions were always, and intentionally, misinterpreted by boys whose intentions were to harass girls. As highlighted by Nkosie, Sborh and Fanzozo' image (Figure 5.11), boys saw nothing wrong with sexual harassment and perhaps viewed it as some sort of sport that they must play with girls. Within this environment, orphaned girls fare worse because they do not have a solid structure of support when they experience sexual abuse.

Figure 5.11: *A boy touching a girl's buttocks. The girl tries to remove his hand because she doesn't like it.* (Nkosie, Sborh & Fanzozo, male participants, 17, 17 & 16 years, photovoice).

During an IGD among the female participants, Amanda-White spoke of a similar photo that she produced in order to emphasise how girls' agency in addressing sexual violence in often trivialised:

> *I took a picture of a girl being touched by a guy on the buttocks (sic)... Most of the time, it is the guys who love doing this to the girls without their (girls) permission, [boys] end up getting used to this and think that it is fine to behave in this way and end up raping. When we try to show them how angry this makes us, they simply do not get it. We try to intimidate them as they do to us. The second picture showed that we need to respect each other and not take advantage of one another because we are different in terms of gender; we have to help one another understand and respect each other* (Amanda-White, female participant, 14 years, IGD, 3 June 2017).

According to the participants, linked to the boys' feelings of entitlement was that there were no consequences for their actions against girls, either from the school, the community or the law. This was partly because girls did not report their victimisation, and even when they did, for example, at school, no action was taken against the perpetrators. Moreover, as illustrated in

a dialogue I had with Emmanuela during one of the IGD, perpetrators even came to their homes and threatened girls for refusing sexual advances. Commenting on this issue, the following dialogue with Emmanuela ensued:

> **Ndumiso:** *Do you often see this happening in the community?* (Referring to a photo showing the sexual abuse of a young girl).
>
> **Emmanuela:** *We do see it happening. Close to our house an old man who raped a young child who did not have parents [was] taken to court and won that case even though he did commit the crime. Another old man who usually sends young children gifts, is also known to abuse young kids, he came to my house one day and he said that he would hit me because I never come to his house. I do not enter his house because I am afraid* (Emmanuela, female participant, 14 years, IGD, 20 May 2017).

In these cases, perpetrators often take advantage of the orphaned girls' social status and use it to incite fear so as to sexually abuse girls. The man described above saw no problem with inviting himself to Emmanuela's house, aware that there were no adults, and felt entitled to threatening to harm her should she not come to his house. Adolescent orphans, and girls in particular, are thus stripped of their agency to address sexual violence against them. They are denied the opportunity to speak-back, report or even resist their victimisation. They also do not have the buffer of protection which parents offer.

5.2.4 The 'Everywhere-ness' of Sexual Violence against Adolescent Orphans

The findings further showed that sexual violence against orphans happened in all the places they lived: in their school, their community, and in their homes. As orphans, the

'*everywhereness*' of sexual violence left them with hardly any place to be safe. This was supported by Emmanuela who mentioned that:

> *You can't tell me I am safe as an orphan when even at home it is dangerous. Sometimes I even hate being home. When you are an orphan you are not safe anywhere and there is nobody to talk to. When you experience something like rape you don't have a parent to go cry to. Nobody believes you. So you are not safe at home, you are not safe when you walk in the street, you are not even safe at school because some of these teachers and boys harass us* (Emmanuela, female participant, 14 year, IGD, 12 March 2017).

Specifically, while the home is typically regarded as a safe place for children, for the adolescent orphans in this study, home was often the first place where they experienced sexual victimisation. In one experience shared during a group discussion, Kinati[39] reported how one of her male cousins repeatedly harassed her at home to the point where she started moderating how she dressed when she was at home. Moreover, Kinati settled for avoiding sharing the same spaces with her cousin. For example, as she explained, whenever her cousin entered a room where she was alone, she would quickly leave that room. Kinati's experience was further devastating because of the reproach and backlash she received from her relatives when she tried to report her victimisation. She described her experience as follows:

> *When I told my aunt and grandmother about this, they called a family meeting. My aunt is also my cousin's mother so she defended her son. At the (family) meeting, he (cousin) denied everything and told them I was a liar. So everybody started shouting at me, and they told me I wanted to shame the family and ruin Menzi's[40] (the cousin) name in the*

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[39] The family described here was Kinati's paternal family. With the help of one female teacher, who was also serving as a welfare assistant for vulnerable learners at Siyaphambili Secondary School, Kinati was moved from her paternal family. During the period of data generation for this study she was living with her maternal grandmother, whom she described as nurturing and caring for her needs.

[40] This is a pseudonym I have given Kinati's cousin.

community. I was never even given the opportunity to speak about what happened. I was just told to never talk about this again. My grandmother said I would get into trouble if I ever accuse my cousin with my lies (sic). I was hurt because I was telling the truth (Kinati, IGD, 3 June 2017).

Kinati's experience is testament to the fact that orphans, and girls in particular, are denied the opportunity to speak for themselves. During the family meeting described above, Kinati was never asked about her version of the story. Rather, it was her cousin who was afforded the opportunity to defend himself. As critical theory asserts, gender inequality, that is often prominent in patriarchal communities, privileges boys over girls. Kinati was not only silenced, she further received secondary victimisation from her family by being dismissed. Moreover, the fact that she was told to never speak about her victimisation again implies that her agency in reporting her experience to the police or other social services was denied. The literature reviewed in Chapter Two showed how relatives play a part in heightening orphans vulnerability to sexual violence. Findings in this chapter not only affirm this claim, but also provide evidence that relatives may be neither willing to accept that the assault had occurred nor report it to social nor child protection services. Moreover, discouraging victims from further speaking about their abuse created what Malloy and Lyon (2006) call 'dead-end-disclosure', where a victim of violence is no longer able to report her victimisation because her family does not believe or support her.

In another incident, Emmanuela detailed how she and her younger sister were molested at home[41]. However, in her case, both the perpetrators were not her relatives. According to

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[41] These experiences described by Emmanuela occurred around the time she lived in the Eastern Cape Province. With the help of a local social worker, Emmanuela's paternal relatives were located and the two girls were moved to live with them. During data generation for this research, Emmanuela and her sister lived with her paternal

Emmanuela, her younger sister was the first to experience this abuse immediately after they became orphans. Speaking about incident she said:

> *I just want to talk about sexual violence at home a little bit more (suddenly looking away and not facing the other participants). It is not always our families that abuse us at home. I was eight years old when my mother died. I was young and living with my younger and older sister... Our older sister was actually a step-sister who continued living with us after my mother's boyfriend died. She (the older sister) used to have her friends visit our house and they would have drinks together. Even boys came to drink with her. One of the boys started molesting my little sister, touching her private parts and touching her in ways she didn't like. My little sister would often tell me that she didn't like this. She even has some visible scars from when the guy pinched her arms* (Emmanuela, female participant, 14 years, IGD, 3 June 2017).

Referring to this particular incident, Emmanuela suggested that for them, as orphans, experiences of sexual violence often started at home and immediately after the death of their biological parents. As I noted in Chapter One, this is something I also experienced. She went on to relate her first experience of sexual assault:

> *One New Year's day ... this man who was my (step) sister's friend and who use to visit her gave me money to buy him beer. My sisters were not at home. After buying the beer, I was scared to go back home, so I asked this boy from my neighborhood to come with me. I explained why I was scared, because I didn't trust that man. So the boy walked with me but stayed outside the house. As I walked in at home, the door suddenly slammed shut behind me. When I turned to see what was happening, this man (sister's*

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family, which included two aunts, cousins and her grandfather. Emmanuela was identified as one of the learners at Siyaphambili who needed social support. Thus, she received free school uniform, stationery, books and daily meals. She was also one of the few learners in this research who received ongoing support from a local social worker.

friend) grabbed me by the hand, pushed into the bedroom and threw me on the bed. I

screamed and the boy I had asked to accompany me came in quickly, took the beer

bottle and knocked the man on his head. That's how I escaped (Emmanuela, female

participant, 14 years, IGD, 3 June 2017).

While Emmanuela was lucky to escape a possible rape, her experience demonstrates a lack of

protection for orphans even in their homes. In relation to the backlash Kinati received from her

own family after reporting her abuse, Emmaunela detailed a similar experience. For example,

first, her older sister, who was her only caregiver at the time, did not believe her. Second, when

Emmaunela reported the incident to one of her schoolteachers, her sister punished her.

Emmanuela lamented,

I went and told my sister about it but she didn't believe me. Instead she told the guy

who abused me that I am busy spreading false rumours about him. So I reported the

issue to my teacher, and we went to report at the police station. The man was arrested

and the police came home to talk to my sister about the incident. As soon as the police

left, she started hitting me with a stick. What I can say is that even though I have

accepted what happened to me, but I still really hate most men. So now even when a

man accidently touches me I get scared (Emmanuela, female participant, 14 years, IGD,

3 June 2017).

In addition to it being widespread and occurring in a variety of places, participants illustrated

how sexual violence was often perpetrated by people they knew. For example, in a group

discussion among the girls, they spoke about how they were sometimes assaulted by their

uncles, teachers, male peers and a host of other boys and men they knew from their community.

This created an unsafe and uncomfortable environment. Due mainly to the fact that orphans

have no solid support systems and the people who assault them are often their kin, caregivers or others they knew, reporting was often difficult. The following discussion illustrates:

> *Happiness: I agree with Kinati, most of the time we get raped by people who we are closely associated with and end up not knowing who to trust. Some of us are raped by uncles. We completely lose hope in all men when we are raped at home and at school.*
>
> *Ndumiso: When you are assaulted at home or school, where do you go to for safety or help?*
>
> *Emmanuela: For me, it is an equal betrayal whether you know the person or not because you fear even going to the police either way as most rapists get released even after they have been inside prison. They are set free then they come after the victim and kill them.* (Female participants, IGD, 3 June 2017).

Experiencing sexual violence, especially at school and home, made it difficult to report[42] the crime. Besides the fact that orphans relied on their relatives and teachers for care and support and risked losing this support if they reported, they also ran the risk of not being believed when they reported sexual abuse by a relative or a teacher. Further, reporting led to more abuse where orphans were physically punished, denied basic necessities like food at home, were mistreated by teachers at school, and in some cases feared being chased out of home. One participants illustrated:

> *Where I live, I have my aunt (mother's older sister) with me as well as my uncle (aunt's husband) because my parents have passed away. Say for instance, if my uncle rapes me and I tell this to my aunt she is most likely not going to accept this. My aunt will most likely protect my uncle and I will be the bad person, they will scream at me and tell me*

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[42] As noted in Chapter Four, a referral system was negotiated and made available with two social workers for participants who might have experienced distress. Some participants, such as Emmanuela, Amanda-White and China were already receiving psychosocial support through various social workers even before they were recruited into this research.

if I ever speak about this again they will chase me away and beat me up. They will go on to mention that I will end up living on the streets if I am not careful. (Amanda-White, female participant, 14 years, IGD, 3 June 2017).

Pearl agreed and added that,

…this is much worst when it is somebody who comes from your own family or a teacher, you become the public enemy especially because you are an orphan (Pearl, female participant, 15 years, IGD, 3 June 2017).

These findings demonstrate that while sexual violence was common in and around the school, with the death of biological parents, the home became an unsafe place for orphans. At home, adolescent orphans were sexually assaulted by both their relatives and other non-related perpetrators. They were also not believed by their relatives when they reported their victimisation; rather they received a backlash or physical punishment for reporting. Therefore, added to their vulnerability to sexual violence in all their spaces in and around the school, participants saw their homes as dangerous.

5.3 Myths and Beliefs about Vulnerability to Sexual Violence

Although sexual violence is much more reported and visible today than any other point in history (Ritcher et al., 2018), myths regarding this form of violence persist and contribute toward its pervasiveness in families, communities and institutions. Myths are false beliefs about sexual violence, victims and perpetrators which often serve to shift the blame from the perpetrators to the victims (Suarez & Gadalla, 2010). Such myths are characterised by victim-blaming (Hayes, Lorenz & Bell, 2013; Schoellkopt, 2012; Suarez & Gadalla, 2010), self-blame (Filipas & Ullman, 2006; Kwenaite & van Heerden, 2011), and attributing victims' clothing to

their victimisation (Awasathi, 2017; Goodman-Delahunty, 2011; Moor, 2010; Wolfendale, 2016).

5.3.1 Female Beauty and Desirability in the Context of Sexual Violence

In this study, the participants constructed their vulnerability to sexual violence in relation to gender and desirability (beauty). In their portrayals of victims of sexual violence, the participants constructed orphaned girls as beautiful. This representation of beauty came out vividly in participants' drawings and collages. The girls in these various visual artefacts tended to fit the classic western standard of female beauty. They were described as pretty, thin, fashionable, able-bodied and young. Indeed, many of the girls portrayed in the participants' drawings had long hair, and in a few drawings, were adorned in colourful clothing. To illustrate, Baby-Boo used her drawing, with two images of a girl she described as "*beautiful and fashionable but in danger of rape*". In the first image (Figure 5.12), illustrating the girl before she is sexually assaulted, she is adorned in what Baby-Boo described as "*fashionable clothes representing her sense of style and beauty*". In the second image, the girl is crying after a rape experience.

Figure 5.12: *Beautiful fashionista[43] in danger of rape* (Baby-Boo, female participant, 15 years, drawing).

While these were important representations of the ways in which the participants viewed girls as victim of sexual violence, the images reinforce the myth that only girls who are attractive, and particularly those who fit a western idea of beauty, are at risk for sexual violence. In these artefacts, men desire girls who are beautiful and attractive, and because of this, they rape them. From this perspective, it is their attractiveness (to men) that places them at risk for sexual victimisation. In contrast, girls who are considered less desirable are not at risk. This is despite the fact that the participants reported the pervasiveness and inevitability of sexual violence in all girls' daily lives.

Framing orphaned girls who are victims of sexual violence as desirable and attractive also works to excuse and even defend perpetrators and their actions – proposing that being a beautiful girl inherently attracts sexual violence. It frames sexual violence as an act of lust

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[43] In the township, young people use the popular slang term '*fashionista*' to describe a person with an impeccable taste in fashion and is considered beautiful.

rather than violence. These views have been found in media representations of female victims of sexual violence (see Gordon & Riger, 1991; Schwark, 2017). For example, based on her findings from a study of media visual representations of rape, Schwark (2017) argues that,

> This is a dangerous misconception, as survivors, as well as criminal justice personnel, might not classify an incident as sexual assault if the person concerned does not fit this stereotype. Therefore, they may not report the incident to the police or might face disbelief if they choose to disclose the incident to others (p.5).

Data generation for this thesis coincided with a highly publicised spate of kidnappings, sexual assaults and murders of girls and young women in South African townships (see for example, Khoza, 2017). These acts of violence not only instilled fear and condemnation countrywide, they also highlighted the problematic views and feelings about sexual violence. For example, the highly publicised disappearance, and subsequent rape and murder of Karabo Mokoena[44], whose boyfriend was convicted of murdering her, received the most attention. Many argued that this was due to the fact that the public, media, government officials and other prominent public figures, focused on her beauty. Mojapelo (2017) highlighted public sentiment about Karabo's beauty rather than the gruesome nature of her murder. Ironically, given that public sentiments often view desirability as a condition for rape, the public found it hard to grasp why a perpetrator would assault such a beautiful woman. In fact, the then Minister of Police, Fikile Mbalula, commenting on the case, condemned Karabo's murderer for "killing such as beautiful

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[44] During the writing of this thesis, another highly publicized case of rape and murder of a University of Cape Town student, Uyinene Mrwetyana, received strong public condemnation and erupted protests in and around Cape Town. Uyinene was seen entering a local post office and that was the last time anyone saw her. Her lifeless body was found days later, and the perpetrator, who worked for the post office was arrested and convicted for her rape and murder. Of significance to the discussion in this section was how the focus of a number of narratives pertaining to her case focused on her beauty. Uyinene was also a model, and pictures of her as a model circulated on social media and the news. Notable comments by the public included such statements which suggested that it was her beauty that influenced her rape and murder (Nkanjeni, 2019). Such sentiments carried the narrative that rape and murder of women were phenomena that only happened to beautiful women. Cases of girls perceived as less desirable have not received widespread media, political and public attention.

girl, a yellow bone[45]" (Mojapelo, 2017, n.p). Similar sentiments have been shared by other leaders worldwide. For example, the president of the Philippines, Rodrigo Duterte, while reporting on the high prevalence of rape in his country, inappropriately joked that "as long as there are many beautiful women, there will be more rape cases" (O'Grady, 2018, n.p).

The fact that the participants in this study, and the South African public in Karabo's case, gave more attention to the beauty of the victims than the daily (and numerous) incidents of sexual violence not only blames these victims, but also negates the experiences of those who are not considered beautiful. As Schwark (2017) argues, this framing of violence against women creates three false assumptions. First, it skews any discussion about sexual violence against girls and fails to address concerns about why boys and men perpetrate violence, and how this can be stopped. Second, the framing distracts us from unpacking how ideas about beauty are "constructed in patriarchy, as a function of patriarchy, and create different dynamics in the objectification of women" (p. 6). Lastly, by focusing on and only condemning the violation based on the beauty of the victim rather than the violence implies that assaulters should target someone less desirable.

In contrast, the participants in this study portrayed boys and men as ugly and mostly dangerous perpetrators of sexual violence. For example, perpetrators were illustrated in drawings of men and boys who were merely unattractive stick figures. In Mbali's drawing (see Figure 5.8 above), for example, the male perpetrator is a drooling and untidy stick figure, suggesting someone who is not concerned about their appearance. It is possible that the participants' stick figure representations of men as ugly and dangerous perpetrators reflected received cultural

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[45] The term 'yellow bone' is a popular slang used by young South Africans in reference to black individuals with a lighter skin tone. Often these individuals are associated with beauty and attractiveness.

narratives about predatory men and girls' victimisation that are more easily drawn and spoken about. In one striking image (Figure 5.13) drawn by 14-year old Sheezi, the male perpetrator is wearing an eye-patch to suggest someone who is scary and dangerous.
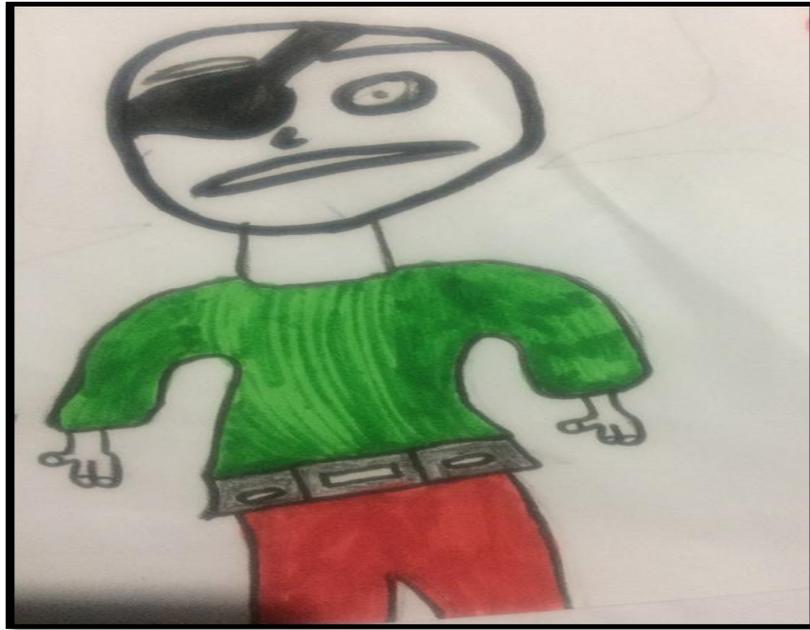
Figure 5.13: *Dangerous rape criminal* (Sheezi, male participant, 14 years, drawing).

Speaking about his drawing during a group discussion, Sheezi said that,

> *This is what they look like. My drawing shows these ugly rapists in our community. They don't want to go to school. They don't want to work. They do criminal things and rape girls when they go to school* (Sheezi, male participant, 14 years, IGD, 24 March 2017).

Furthermore, during some of the IGD, perpetrators of sexual violence were often described as devious and ugly monsters. For example, Mkhonto, a male participant, explained that, "*our photos showed ugly men who rape children and ruin their future*" (Mkhonto, male participant, 15 years, IGD, 3 April 2017).

In their IGD, girls referred to perpetrators as ugly men whose actions were predatory. For example,

> *It is some of these ugly men who know that we are poor and take advantage of us. They trick us with buying (us) gifts and take us out and then force use to have sex with them. When we refuse, they rape us anyway. This is why I am scared to accept a gift from any man, even my teachers* (Kimberly, female participant, 17 years, IGD, 3 June 2017).

Ugliness did not only describe physical attitributes of perpetrators, but included their actions as well. For instance, Kinati described her photovoice images as a demonstration of "*ugly people who are doing ugly things to us*". Therefore, in communicating about perpetrators of sexual violence, participants used 'ugliness' as a common term to describe not only these men, but to also include their predatory behaviours.

These findings are in line with other studies which found that participants held a narrow view of a perpetrator of sexual violence (McMahon & Barker, 2011; Pascoe & Hollander, 2016). For example, in her study which examined the changing perceptions on sexual violence, McMahon (2011) found that participants often described a perpetrator as an unattractive predatory male. Likewise, writing about sexual violence perpetration and masculinity in one American college campus, Pascoe and Hollander (2011) reported that students framed sexual violence as something that less attractive men perpetrated. O'Neil and Morgan's (2010) investigation about what constitutes sexual violence found that respondents perceived perpetrators as sick, mentally disturbed and ugly predators.

Certainly, the findings in this study suggest that in the minds of the adolescent participants a legitimate perpetrator was a violent person who embodied ugliness; a phenomenon that

McMahon (2011, p.2) calls the "classic perpetrator stereotype". Explaining this concept, McMahon (2011, p. 2) argues that "perpetrators of sexual violence [are] typically viewed as strangers who [are] psychologically disturbed [and] pathological men who preyed on women and children". It seems this stereotype resonates with perceptions that the adolescents in this study have about perpetrators of sexual violence. The distancing of 'better looking' boys in this and other research suggests that participants believe handsome boys are desirable enough that they have no need to use force to obtain access to girls' bodies (see also Pascoe & Hollander, 2016). This reasoning fails to consider how gender and cultural inequality manifests through the sexual violation of girls by boys and men of all forms and looks. Moreover, framing perpetrators as men who are ugly and predatory, fails to explore the nuances of sexual victimisation in which boys and men perceived as attractive and ordinary might engage in sexual dominance 'play' such as touching girls without their consent. However, scholars such as Gqola (2015) and Ratele (2016) have disputed these stereotypical views by arguing that sexual violence is not perpetrated by a few ugly and deviant bad guys. Rather, boys and men perceived as attractive and 'normal' can and do offend. Other studies have been instrumental in contradicting the classic perpetrator stereotype by revealing that many sexual assaulters are 'everyday' type of boys and men (Waterhouse, Reynolds & Egan 2016).

In their paper titled 'Good Guys don't Rape', Pascoe and Hollander (2016) highlight how men considered as 'good and attractive' are seldom reported, and when they are reported, societies often do not believe female victims. Thus, perceiving so-called unattractive men as sole perpetrators of sexual violence not only has implications for reporting, it further absolves good looking men from the identity of a perpetrator. These findings are important because they show that adolescents hold a stereotypical mental image of who symbolises a perpetrator of sexual violence.

5.3.2 Self-Blame, Blame Shifting and Victim Blaming

The findings revealed narratives around blame within the context of sexual violence. Some of the female participants blamed girls for experiencing sexual violence, implying that girls' victimisation was a result of their own poor decision-making. Referring to some of the images in her collage (Figure 5.14), China, for example, suggested that *"taking the wrong decision [will] lead to bad things happening in your life (sic)."*

Figure 5.14: *China's Collage* (China, female participant, 15 years, collage).

One of the images in China's collage had a picture of a woman wearing lingerie, which China used to express her belief that girls who wore 'revealing' clothing were making bad decisions which results in their sexual victimisation. Moreover, China used an image of a group of three women, whom she referred to as "*friends with bad influence*", drinking at a bar. In relation to their orphanhood and impoverished context, China implied that in both pictures in her collage the women made bad decisions by either wearing revealing clothes or drinking alcohol; which, according to her, caused their sexual victimisation. Writing about her collage, she said,

If you have no money or you don't have parents, bad things come your way and you make bad decisions such as drinking, then you get raped. Girls should not drink if they want to avoid being sexually abused (China, female participant, 15 years, collage, 4 March 2017).

Similarly, in a discussion among the girls in a group, Emmanuela stated:

I honestly think it is the young girls who invite rape to themselves. If as a girl, you flirt with men, the guys start to touch her inappropriately and think this is fine because you as a girl are smiling while he does this (Emmanuela, female participant, 14 years, IGD, 3 June 2017).

Ullman (2006) captures with persuasive insight how women who are victims of sexual violence may believe that they brought the violence on themselves. Further, the author emphasises the importance of understanding blame attribution in sexual assault because an increasing number of adolescent girls, and victims of sexual violence in general, continue to blame themselves. Self-blame has been noted to lead to harmful health consequences and non-reporting of sexual abuse (Collings, 1995).

Two girls, Amanda-White and Sthandwa, however, opposed these 'self-blame' narratives by arguing that sexual victimisation is never the victim's fault (see also Gqola, 2016). They argued:

Amanda-White: *I do not think that it is the fault of the girl because men rape even young children who do not dress inappropriately (referring to short skirts)*

Sthandwa: *I used to agree with this [view that] there are [girls] who dress inappropriately and attract the attention of men this way ... but I also disagree now.*

> *Boys rape because of their own intentions.* (IGD with the female participants, 3 June 2017)

The boys' narratives centred on blame shifting and victim blaming. For instance, in a group discussion with the male participants, I asked what they thought caused men to assault girls. The following discussion ensued:

> **Ndumiso:** *What do you thinking causes the men in our communities and school to sexually assault girls?*
>
> **Sheezi:** *I think it is just being possessed by evil spirits.*
>
> **Twiggy:** *For me, I don't think anything would change because the problem is we can't hold ourselves when we see [girls]. The problem is seeing [girls].*
>
> **Nkosie:** *It's because girls at our school enjoy being touched.*
>
> **Alsina:** *Some of these girls love it because they wear revealing clothes… which means they want it (male attention which leads to abuse)* (IGD with the male participants, 10 June 2017).

These perspectives blame the victims for their victimisation, suggesting that girls generally attract and actively invite abuse upon themselves. They also shift the blame and attribute sexual violence to some external 'evil' force that possesses men, leading them to commit sexual violence. Such blame shifting and victim blaming reinforce pervasive myths about sexual violence, and in particular, shift blame and responsibility away from the perpetrators to the victims or evil spirits.

Available literature reports that men and boys tend to believe in and endorse myths about sexual victimisation (Suarez & Gadall, 2010). This includes an adherence to a 'just world' belief. That

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is, the belief that a person's actions will cause them to "get what they deserve and deserve what they get" (Hayes et al., 2013, p. 203). Critical theory considers the acceptance of myths about sexual violence to be a self-serving approach for justifying an injustice, such as sexual violence (Suarez & Gadall, 2010). The theory posits that people use these myths to deal with their conflicting feelings about an issue. As a result, individuals reinforce their just world belief in order to deny or nullify an injustice through blaming the victim, or by making an injustice tolerable for them to live with (see also, Lerner & Miller, 1957). The latter is achieved through actions and attitudes that belittle the victim (Hayes et al., 2013). Likewise, individuals justify situations by placing blame on external factors, such as 'evil spirits' as was the case with some of the boys in this study.

In this study, the male participants' acceptance of myths was used to make the violence tolerable, thereby excusing perpetrators and justifying sexual violence. In addition, aware that most perpetrators were male, orphaned boys' acceptance of sexual violence myths further served as a buffer from accountability for male assaulters. It allowed them to distance themselves as boys from sexual violence perpetration. Finally, the acceptance of myths about sexual violence assisted orphaned boys to defend male sexual assault perpetration. This was demonstrated in a conversation that ensued in one group discussion where some orphaned girls voiced their disapproval and distress about men and boys who sexually abused girls. The boys defended these violent actions by placing blame on victims and external social factors. I reflected on these sentiments in my field notes:

> *The [atmosphere] in the room was tense because of the attitudes displayed by the boys because ... girls voiced out how unhappy, uncomfortable and distressing it was when men forced themselves on [girls] and sexually harassed them in the school premises as well as the community at large. The young boys defended themselves by stating that it*

was in the way that girls dressed (their short skirts), the way they walked, talked and smiled at [boys] which enticed [boys to sexually harass girls]. The boys seemed to believe that they were entitled to do whatever it is they please with the girls because they had uncontrollable sexual urges which were not of their own making or fault. [Instead], they seemed to suggest that it was girls' responsibility to avoid being confronted with sexual violence (Researcher field notes, 6 May 2017).

Clearly, the boys in this study used these blame shifting tactics, including attributing sexual victimisation to girls' behaviour and presence, to justify perpetration. Moreover, their sexual objectification of girls was illustrated in their belief that they were entitled to girls' bodies. Sexual objectification of girls has been described elsewhere as a mechanism where girls are reduced to sexual objects (Loughnan, Pina, Vasquez & Puvia, 2013). Not only were the boys excusing themselves, but by being part of, benefiting from, and privileged by a patriarchal society, they were also using these self-preserving mechanism to justify the violent actions of other boys and men in their communities. Writing about rape myths, Suarez and Gadalla (2010) argue that acceptance of these views allow boys and men to justify sexual violence and to minimise personal responsibility. Critical theorists argue that society's acceptance of patriarchy and male dominance promotes tolerance of aggression against women (Alcoff, 2018). In the context of the findings described in this section, it can be argued that gender inequality and male-dominance, that are the fabric of the participants' communities, perpetuate narratives of victim-blaming, and shift the responsibility for sexual violence from perpetrators to the girls.

5.3.3 Policing Girls' Bodies

Linked to the analysis above, and embedded in victim blaming, was the culturally constructed issue of a victim's clothing and its association with sexual violence. The findings reveal that the participants considered girl's clothing as an indicator of sexual availability and a reason for why boys assault girls. According to Tupac and Alsina, for example, the girls' revealing clothing choices invited sexual violence. The two boys used a pair of photos they produced to drive this narrative. The first photo (Figure 5.15) showed a girl wearing a tight fitting skirt and was captioned as follows: "*a girl is wearing a short skirt, eventually a boy lusts over her* (sic)".

Figure 5.15: *A girl is wearing a short skirt, eventually a boy lusts over her* (Tupac & Alsina, male participants, 14 and 14 years, photovoice)

In a similar image, Tupac and Alsina's caption suggests that *"the boy is touching the girl because he is lusting over her"*.

As argued above, perspectives such as these serve to shift the responsibility for sexual violence from the perpetrator to girls' bodies and how they dress (Turner, 2018). Surprisingly, some of the girls and all the boys held supportive beliefs towards this narrative. For example, describing

one of the photos she produced with China (Figure5.16) that showed a girl in a miniskirt, Happiness stated that,

> *[We] took a picture of a young girl wearing a mini skirt. This photo means that when young women wear short skirts, they attract the attention of boys, sometimes the guys follow you and if there is a chance they will harass you* (Happiness, female participant, 16 years, IGD, 6 May 2017).

Figure 5.16: *This picture raises awareness that girls should not wear short dresses* (China and Happiness, Female Participants, 15 and 16 years).

In another picture of a girl wearing a miniskirt in the street, China and Happiness wrote that:

> *This photo shows someone wearing a short dress on the street. This lures men into sexually assaulting [the girl]* (Happiness and China, photovoice, 3 April 2017).

Ntwana supported this narrative, stating that girls' revealing or tight-fitting clothing was the reason they were sexually assaulted.

> *But girls must also stop wearing clothes that reveal their buttocks and thighs because that is the reason why boys end up abusing girls sexually (*Ntwana, male participant, 15 years, IGD, 6 May 2017).

Ntwana's assertion here suggests that it is girls' provocative clothing that is to blame for their vulnerability to sexual assaults. Emmanuela, in the description of her collage, agreed, stating that, "*wearing short things can lead to sexual abuse. I don't like to see the youth showing off their* bodies" (Emmaunela, female participant, 14 years, collage, 4 March 2017).

While the girls who supported this narrative, such as Happiness and China, experienced boys' behaviour as violent, they nonetheless seemed to absolve them of this abominable behaviour by suggestion that this violence was caused by the girls themselves, for example, through the clothes they wear. For these participants, revealing clothing placed girls in danger and made them vulnerable to sexual violence. Moreover, wearing revealing clothing suggested that girls were open to sexual attention, and in turn, sexual assault (Wolfendale, 2016). In patriarchy-driven communities, women are expected to wear clothes that cover their bodies and wearing revealing outfits is regarded as a deviance from this culturally and socially sanctioned norm, and therefore, as an indication of sexual availability[46] (Moor, 2010). While scholars and gender activists have long since disputed the belief that what girls wear leads to their being harassed and/or raped (Moletsane, Mitchell & Smith, 2012), this myth persists.

These findings illustrate the pervasive belief that girls and women are to blame for the sexual violence they encounter in communities and institutions. In particular, mirroring beliefs in the wider society, the participants in this study suggested that girls and women who wear revealing clothing deserve being sexually assaulted. Notably, it was only girls' clothing that was described as provocative and signifying their sexual availability and desire for sex. Whether or not boys wore tight-fitting or revealing clothes was never associated with provocation nor

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[46] Young girls are socialised this way – even religious institutions advocate for the modestly dressed woman, perceived as pious – covered hair, lose plain clothes.

suggestive of sexual availability. Some of the girls found it difficult to consider their victimisation in the context of men and boys seeking dominance and power, and instead blamed themselves (and girls generally) for the sexual violence they encounter.

As noted above, all the boys in the study supported these beliefs. In fact, the boys considered their actions of harassing girls as excusable when the girl was wearing, for example, a short skirt. They further suggested that they could not hold their sexual urges when encountering girls in short skirts and revealing clothing. During an IGD with male participants (10 June 2017), the following discussion ensued:

> *Ndumiso: Does it give you a problem that girls wear short skirts and revealing clothes?*
> *Boys (Collectively): Yes!*
> *Sborh: When a girl at school wears short skirts it becomes problematic because a boy's urges for sex is very fast. [As a boy] you want to quickly get to the girl and have sex with her. This is caused by our feelings and sexual attraction that you feel inside as a boy and you end up touching and harassing her (sic).*

Turner (2018) argues that when sexual violence is viewed in relation to girls' clothing, boys paint it as something less terrible and less immoral. It might also be construed as desired by the girl as indicated by her clothing. This view further normalises and excuses the behaviour of boys who force themselves on girls. From this perspective, it is the girls who carries the blame for showing their bodies and embodying sexual appeal, which suggests that they are inviting unwanted attention and sexual harassment.

When asked about the strategies boys specifically, and society more broadly, could use to change their attitudes, male participants shifted this responsibility solely onto girls. For

example, boys felt that if girls could dress more conservatively, it would be easier for boys not to sexually harass them. Others felt that the only solution would be to complete secondary school and leave in order to avoid seeing girls in short skirts. According to the participants, their teachers also shared this perspective. For example, in an IGD with the boys (10 June 2017), Tupac argued, "*Even our teachers always warn girls about how they dress. But they continue wearing short skirts and open their zippers and shirts right in front of boys*". While Mkhonto's view was somewhat accepting of girls' autonomy, suggesting that *"a person has a right to wear whatever they want",* he nevertheless insisted, "*but they must also consider our feelings*".

These boys' perspectives highlight the gender bias that favours male dominance (power/control) and suppresses female autonomy and agency (Turney, 2018). That the teachers had reportedly warned girls against wearing short skirts is reflective of a society which privileges boys and men and which, rather than holding them accountable for the violence, blames girls and women. Further, such beliefs consider boys' sexual desire to be taken as a 'given' and even natural. Girls in this context are expected to monitor and negotiate their safety through their behaviour and clothing. Even though literature reviewed in this thesis suggests that orphaned boys experience many forms of abuse and violence, as males, they still enjoy privileges that girls do not have.

Not all the participants supported this narrative. For example, in some of their visual images, some of the girls highlighted the fact that victims who wore clothes that covered their entire body were still harassed and/or assaulted. One such example, was a drawing (Figure 5.17) by Nomthi who presented a girl wearing a full-length dress.
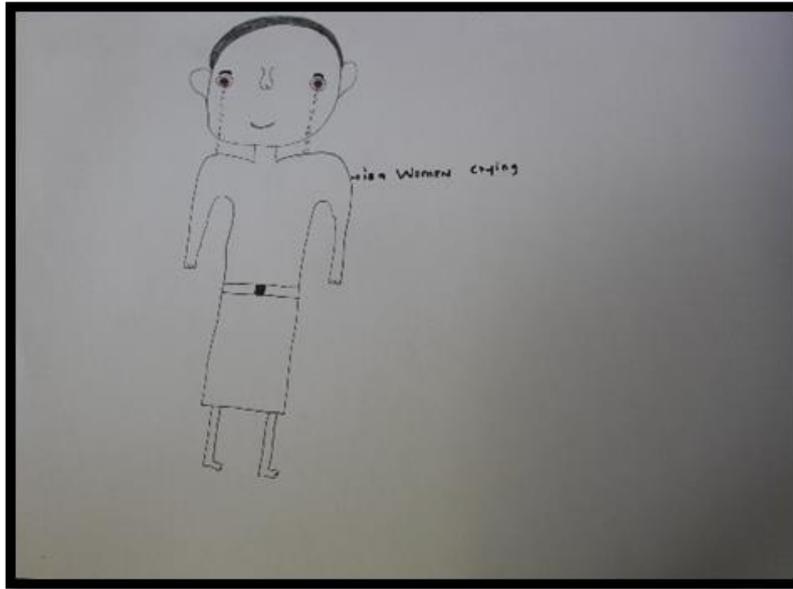
Figure 5.17: *A girl wearing a long dress to protect herself from sexual violence* (Nomthi, female participant, 16 years, drawing).

In her written description for her drawing, Nomthi suggested that,

> *My drawing was about a woman who is wearing a long skirt as a way of protecting*
>
> *herself and avoiding sexual harassment. She is crying. She was still raped even though*
>
> *she was wearing a long skirt* (Nomthi, female participant 16 years, drawing, 6 May
>
> 2017).

Nomthi's image suggests that modesty cannot be protective against sexual violence. Scholars argue that the female body is always under scrutiny and is constantly evaluated, resulting in its sexual objectification (Fredrickson and Roberts, 1997). Nomthi's drawing support the notion that even though the woman's clothes covered her body, the perpetrator still felt justified in harassing her. In fact, during this discussion, Sborh, a male participant, defended the perpetrator in Nomthi's image by apportioning blame to the tightness of her dress. According to Sborh, the assaulter could not control his sexual urges because, as he elaborated, "*But you said the dress was tight, which means traces of her buttocks were visible. That is why he stopped her. He couldn't control his feelings.*" (Sborh, male participants, 17 years, IGD, 6 May

2017). Other boys in the group concurred. In this case, there was general agreement among the boys that certain types of clothing were sexually provocative. In particular, clothing that revealed a girl's body shape and/or body parts were regarded as provocative.

It was for these reasons that the girls in this study resorted to policing their own bodies and clothing in order to negotiate their safety against sexual victimisation. They reported using clothing to be invisible to boys and to gain protection from sexual violence. However, even when they policed their clothing, such as when they wore longer dresses, girls still experienced sexual violence. For example, Amanda-White shared that,

> *I was also wearing a long dress that covered my body, but a group of boys who are always at the corner of the street by my house harassed me. It is so scary. We are even scared to leave our homes now* (Amanda-White, female participant, 14 years, 6 May 2017).

Kinati, who reported being assaulted by her cousin, added.

> *I try to always have clothes that cover my body when I am home. Ever since my cousin tried to rape me, I have been so scared that it will happen again. When I am washing dishes in the morning and wearing my short pyjamas I am always alert. When he wakes up, he always had an erection so to avoid another encounter I would always run away from the main house whenever he wakes up and quickly put on clothes that cover my body* (Kinati, female participant, 15 years, 6 May 2017).

While available research suggests that there is no correlation between wearing so-called revealing clothing and the likelihood of being sexually assaulted (Wolfendale, 2016 Rysst, 2010), social attitudes, as demonstrated in this section, continuously uphold this belief. The

continued attribution of girls' clothes to their sexual victimisation, as expressed by the participants, normalises and entrenches deeply problematic attitudes about girls' responsibility for boys and men's violent behaviour. Such attitudes not only affect girl's everyday experiences, but further impact how society treats girls when they are sexually assaulted and harassed. Further, these social attitudes arise from a culture of objectifying girls' bodies and privileging the social status of boys and men's sexual arousal and gratification.

5.4 Geographies of School-related Sexual Violence

In this study, the participants identified the link between their vulnerability to sexual violence and space and place in and around their school. In particular, using their visual productions, the participants identified certain spaces as 'hotspots' of sexual violence, and that these spaces, in turn, shaped the nature and forms of this violence

5.4.1 School Toilets as Sites of Sexual Violence

The majority of the participants in this study identified school toilets as the most dangerous areas at *Siyaphambili* Secondary School. They described the school toilet as a place where they experienced different forms of sexual violence, which ranged from sexual harassment, unwanted touching, pushing or pulling and threats.

As reported in Chapter Four, the toilets of the school in this study were hidden from the view of the teachers and other school personnel. It is was difficult to monitor these spaces and the sexual violence that occurred there went unchecked. Rather, because the toilets were isolated from other school buildings, perpetrators often acted in groups and used physical force to abuse girls. Referring to this, Luthando said:

They just close you in, hold you tight and put their hands here (pointing to her genitals).

One of the boys from my class tried to do this with his friends. They held me down and

strangled me, but I was able to fight them and pull myself out. I told them I would report

them to the principal (Luthando, female participant, 16 years old, IGD, 3 June 2017).

Boys also agreed that school toilets were the most dangerous areas for girls in the school. For example, describing their photo (Figure 5.18 below) Twiggy and Mkhonto described a boy trying to remove a girl's school uniform inside a toilet cubicle.

Figure 5.18: *Boy pulls a girl into the boys' toilet and forces her to take off her clothes*. (Twiggy & Mkhonto, male participants, 17 & 15 years, photovoice).

Similarly, in one of their photovoice images, Amanda-White and Future also presented an image of a "*boy pushing a girl inside a toilet because he wants to sexually assault her*" (Amanda-White & Future, female participants, 14 & 16 years, photovoice). As reported in Chapter Four, the school toilets had no lighting, which made these spaces very dark. Kimberly spoke about the violence girls experienced in their school toilets:

There are many atrocities that occur in the school toilets, but for us sexual violence is
the most devastating. Many of us are abused in the toilets because they [perpetrators]
close us up into the dark and small corners of the school toilets (Kimberly, female
participant, 17 years, IGD, 3 June 2017).

These findings highlight school toilets as hyper-masculine spaces which gave the impression
that it was okay to harass girls. Toilet-based sexual harassment was used as a tool to restrict
girls' access, limit their mobility and control their use of space (Ngidi & Moletsane, 2018a).
Girls had to negotiate their movement and how they accessed certain spaces within the school.
Their vulnerability was further heightened by the fact that, although toilets were public areas,
they remained private because of individual cubicles. What is more, during the school day,
toilets were not monitored and girls walking into them alone faced the risk of being singled
out. The female participants reported being held against their will inside the toilets and having
parts of their bodies touched by male peers, including reports of boys' forcefully closing girls'
eyes and choking them. Kinati, for example, spoke of an experience where she was assaulted
by two male learners while she was using the toilet.

Guys came from behind me and covered my mouth and choked me. One of them put his
hand on my breast. He's in my class ... The one behind me closed my eyes again and
another one unbuttoned my shirt. When he grabbed my breast again I punched him in
the face. Luckily a girl from Grade 11A came in and told them that she can see them
and I went to tell the teacher. They told her that they were playing with me because we
are in the same class (Kinati, female participant, IGD, 6 May 2017).

These findings illustrate the vulnerability of girls to sexual violence while using the school
toilet. Not only do boys construe this toilet-based sexual harassment as a form of play, they

also use the toilets (including the girls' toilet) as a space for exercising their power and dominance over girls. Girls' access and use of school toilets was restricted by their fear of a possible assault.

5.4.2 Bushes around the School as Unsafe Spaces

Participants also described bushy areas in and around the school as dangerous. To support this narrative, Mbali and Ntwana's produced two pictures of a bush around their school. The first photo showed a bushy area near the route they walk to school (Figure 5.19).

Figure 5.19: *In areas that are hidden like bushes, boys can pull girls in so that they can sexually assault them* (Mbali & Ntwana, female & male participant, 13 & 14 years, photovoice, 4 April 2017).

In a second picture, these participants depicted the aftermath of a rape incident, in which "*The girl is crying because a criminal raped her and left her in the bush"*. In an image produced by Amanda-White and Future, a boy is shown "*pulling a girl into the bush [and] sexually abusing her*".

Besides their photovoice images, the participants also used their storyboards to highlight the danger that girls faced when they walked near bushes around the school. For example, one such

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storyboard (Figure 5.20) showed a girl who is abducted, pulled into a bush and raped on her way to school.
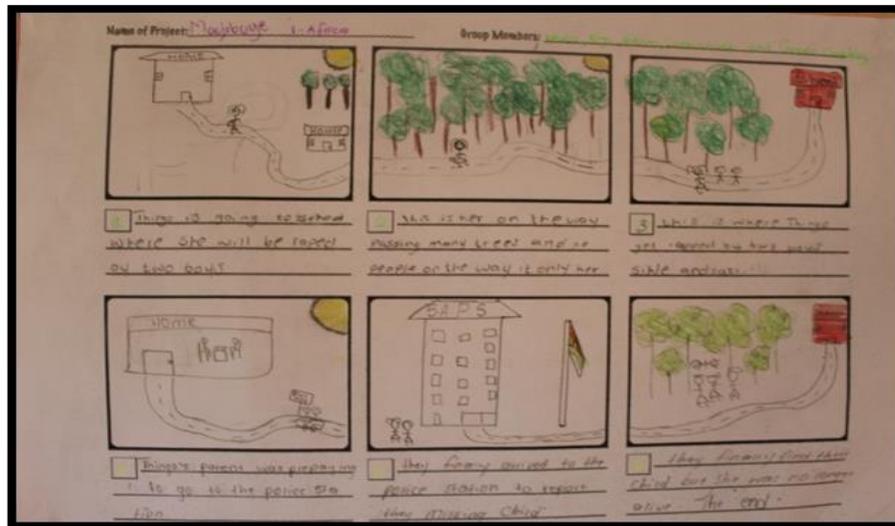
Figure 5.20: *Mayibuye i-Africa (Africa must return)* (Amanda-white, Amanda-Eye, Future, Luthando and Great Coupling, four female & one male, 14, 15, 16, 16 & 15 years, storyboard).

In the table below (Table 5.2), I provide a description of each frame from the storyboard in Figure 5.25.

Cellphilm 1: *Mayibuye i-Africa* (Let Africa return)	
Frame no:	**Description of the storyboard**
1	Thingo, an adolescent girl, is walking to school from home. The road to school is long and populated with thick bushes on the side of the road.
2	Thingo continues this long walk, passing through a thick bush. There are no other people visible while she walks through the bush.
3	While walking through the bush, Thingo encounters two adolescent boys, Sihle and Sazi. The two boys forcefully carry Thingo deep inside the bush where they sexually assault, rape and murder her.
4	It is late after school, and Thingo's parents are searching for their daughter in and around the community. Thingo's parents are distressed as it is getting late and their daughter has not been seen since she left for school. Her class teacher is also concerned because Thingo did not show up at school.
5	The next day, Thingo's parents visit the police station and report Thingo as a missing person. The police open a file and start the search to look for Thingo. The community also assist in searching for Thingo.

6	Thingo's lifeless body is discovered inside the thick bush near her school. Her parents and community members are distressed. The film closes with Thingo's mother trying to carry her daughter's lifeless body.

Table 5.2: Description of storyboard produced by Amanda-white, Amanda-Eye, Future, Luthando and Great-Coupling.

Being 'forced' into a bush, as depicted in this storyboard, highlights the gruesome nature of sexual violence against girls and that the actions of boys determined which spaces to navigate. Moreover, Mbali and Ntwana's photo (Figure 5.19 above) illustrated mental paralysis, the moment when the victim feels emotionally and physically powerless immediately after an assault (Duma, Mekwa & Denny, 2007). As shown in the image (Figure 5.19), the rape victim was left sitting alone with her head bowed between her knees to demonstrate a moment of mental paralysis. Small-Latter and Kwesta reinforced the idea that bushes around the school were places where victims were raped and killed. The two produced a photo of large bushy area in their community, dramatically describing it as *"a forest where they rape their victims and kill them and leave them there"* (Small-Latter and Kwesta, male participants, 14 and 17 years, photovoice, 4 April 2017).

The findings in this section suggest that bushy areas in and around the school were important geographies for understanding orphans' vulnerability to sexual violence. As highlighted in their visual artefacts, participants pointed to how in these areas sexual violence manifested in the form of rape and even murder.

5.4.3 Classrooms as Sites for Sexual Violence

The participants used their visual artefacts to illustrate that classrooms were also sites for sexual violence. Using photovoice for example, boys were depicted attempting to undress, carry by force and fondle girls inside the classrooms. Happiness and China captured, persuasively, classroom-based sexual violence in three photographs. In all three pictures, the producers

depicted boys' use of force with girls inside the classroom. The first photo shows a boy trying to kiss a girl by using force (Figure 5.21).

Figure 5.21: *This picture shows a boy who wants to kiss a girl without [her] consent* (China & Happiness, female participants, 15 & 16 years, photovoice).

In the second photo (which is not included here), "a boy *is forcefully unzipping a girl's skirt*", while in the third, "*a boy is forcing his girlfriend to have sex with him*".

Referring to the three images, Pearl noted that sexual violence,

> *... Happens anywhere, sometimes in the class and other times it happens outside (the classroom). A day doesn't pass without at least one incident happening inside the classroom. Boys harass us every day in our class* (Pearl, female participant, 15 years, IGD, 3 April 2017).

Similarly, Alsina and Tupac produced a photo in which "*the boy carries the girl into a classroom by force*". There was a notable absence of teachers in pictures depicting classroom-based sexual violence. This may suggest that sexual violence which occurs in the classroom happens at times when teachers were not present in those spaces and that perhaps, this could be prevented, if teachers attended to and were present in classrooms during school time. This

becomes complicated further in contexts like the school under study where the teacher to learner ratio is severely skewed.

5.4.4 The Paradox of the Staffroom as an Unsafe Space

In this study, the participants also described their teachers' staffrooms as unsafe spaces for learners. The participants referred to instances where teachers used 'suggestive' language and inappropriately touched learners. In a group discussion, Sthandwa shared an incident when one of her teachers used what she considered as inappropriate sexual language with her inside the staffroom.

> **Ndumiso:** *So how do you guys feel that even at school, there are teachers who harass you?*
>
> **Sthandwa:** *It makes us feel very sad because there is[this] one teacher[47] [when I] tried to sell [him] cakes[48]… he responded saying that he doesn't eat this kind of cake, saying that he has his cake at night. He said he wants the cake under my clothes. The other teachers laughed when they heard this, when they heard him say this. Some teachers, even when they speak they have inappropriate comments that they make (sic)* (Sthandwa, female participant, 14 years, IGD, 3 June 2017).

The participants reported that the teachers not only used sexualised language with girls, they further used inappropriate physical contact, which the girls experienced as abusive. For example, during a group discussion, Kinati spoke about a male teacher who often called her 'his wife' and touched her inappropriately and in ways that made her uncomfortable:

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[47] According to the participants, this particular teacher was not teaching at the school at the time of data generation.
[48] Sthandwa made pocket money by selling biscuits and muffins at school. She did this for a neigbhour who would then pay her R5 (US$ 0.33) at the end of each day.

One of the part-time teachers who has now left used to harass me whenever he saw me in the staffroom. Whenever, I walked in he would call me umakoti wakhe (his wife) and sometimes pulled me by the hand towards him. Sometimes he pulled me to sit on his lap. I used to be uncomfortable and I didn't like it but I was afraid of him. I couldn't even stop him, I just let him do it. Other teacher used to laugh. They saw this as a joke, but I hated it (Kinati, female participant, 15 years, IGD, 6 May 2017).

It is striking that teachers took these incidents lightly, often dismissing such grossly inappropriate behaviours by laughing. Perhaps, this demonstrates how normalised sexual violence is at the school, and how it has become an everyday part of the school culture. It also demonstrates how male teachers did not fear harassing girls, even in front of their colleagues. Perhaps the male teachers were aware that there would be no consequences for their actions. According to Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Morrell, & Dunkle (2010), sexual violence is integral to the performance of homogenised masculinity. This means that teachers use sexual violence as a powerful means to reinforce cultural dominance over girls. Therefore, by harassing school girls, the male teachers were demonstrating their masculinity and power. This also suggests that in the eyes of male teachers, girls' sexual objectification overshadows the fact that they are children in need of protection. Supporting this claim, in another group discussion Kimberly maintained that,

Male teachers are not afraid of anything. They touch our buttocks in front of other teachers in the staff and nobody stops them. So I receive some of my stationery and uniform from the schools' welfare (programme). This one day I went to the staffroom to collect my uniform. They always put us into two lines for boys and for girls. So when it was my turn to get into the staffroom and collect my uniform, one of the male teachers came from behind me and grabbed me on my hips and buttocks. He even used language

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that made me uncomfortable but I didn't say anything. I was scared I might not get my uniform if I told him to stop touching me (Kimberly, female participant, 17 years, IGD, 6 May 2017).

In her collage, China used a striking image from the internet, to depict a male teacher assisting a girl with schoolwork inside the teachers' staffroom. According to China, receiving help from a male teacher, especially after school hours, was dangerous as it might lead to rape by the teacher. Captioning it *#RapeMustFall*, China noted,

This picture shows a teacher helping a learner alone in the staffroom after school. I was trying to show that a teacher can also harass you when your teacher (sic) helps you after school. This can cause rape (China, female participant, 15 years, collage, 4 March 2017)

Therefore, these findings suggest that girls were vulnerable to sexual violence even inside their teachers' staffroom and in the presence of other teachers. This is a surprising finding given that the teacher staffrooms are often assumed to be a safe space for both learners and teachers (South African Council of Educators, 2011). Moreover, while research has shown that teachers do harass learners, it is surprising that the harassment of learners by teachers took place in the presence of other teachers inside the staffroom. These findings are worrisome given the fact that teachers should act *in loco parentis* and protect learners. According to the South African Council of Educators (SACE, 2011), the *in loco parentis* principle should act to protect learners, and not harm or exploit them. Smith and du Plessis (2011) suggest that *in loco parentis* involves a two-tier approach. The authors describe the approach as follows:

Firstly, educators are obliged to perform a duty of care as if the educator is the *diligens paterfamilias* at all times. This role is equal to the role of a [parent in their] family. Educators are legally and ethically obliged to protect learners from sexual harassment and violence at school. The second tier of the in loco parentis principle is that educators are obliged to keep the peace and maintain order and discipline at schools. The mere fact that educators fill the *in loco parentis* role for learners renders any form of sexual involvement inappropriate (Smith & du Plessis, 2011, p. 180).

Yet, the findings in this section suggest that male teachers used their power over girls to violate the *in loco parentis* principle. It seems that the authority male teachers hold over learners creates fertile ground for the abuse. Since the harassment takes place inside the teachers' staffroom (and in the presence of other teachers), girls may feel disempowered to refuse, resist or even report the sexual attention of their male teachers. Thus, the findings demonstrate that teachers misuse their power. Moreover, the findings point to power imbalances inside the school, where teachers have all the power and learners trust them as a source of protection. Indeed, by using the staffroom to harass girls, male teachers are in effect exploiting their position of power and trust. This behaviour by male teachers further violates Section 17 of the Employment of Educators Act, which prohibits teachers from engaging in sexual acts or any other form of harassment with and against learners (SACE, 2011). Moreover, the SACE prohibits this behaviour even if there was consent between a teacher and a learner. Likewise, the Sexual Offences Act prohibits these acts because the teacher is in a position of power and authority over the learner.

5.4.5 The Dangerous Journey between Home and School

There is growing evidence showing that the journey between home and school exposes learners to sexual violence (Pells & Morrow, 2017; Morojele & Muthukrishna, 2013; Morojele, 2013). In this study, the participants captured photographs outside the school to demonstrate this lurking risk of walking to and from school. In their various storyboards, they lamented their fear of walking these routes, especially when they had to walk alone. For example, in one storyboard (Figure 5.22 below), the participants illustrated the looming vulnerability to abduction and rape of girls as they walked to school and their fear of these daily journeys between home and school.
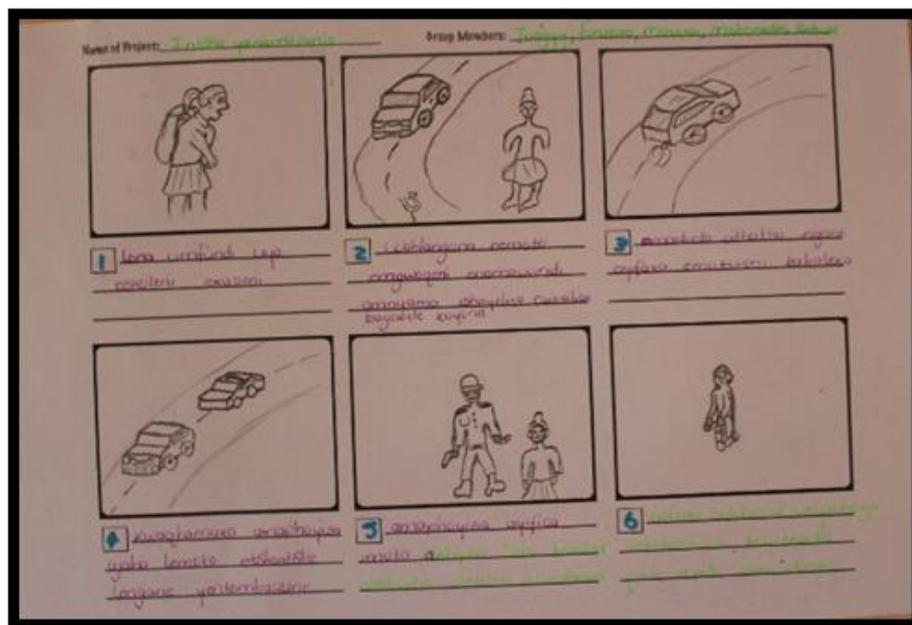
Figure 5.22: *Intsha yanamhlanje (Today's youth)* (Twiggy, Fanzozo, Nkosie, Mkhonto, & Boy, male participants, 17, 16, 17, 15 and 14 years).

In the table below (Table 5.3), I provide a description of each frame from the storyboard in Figure 5.32.

Cellphilm 2: *Intsha yanamhlanje* (Today's youth)	
Scene no:	**Description of the cellphilm**
1	It is the morning and an adolescent is walking alone to school. The girl is carrying her backpack and seems happy on the journey to school.

2	As the girl makes a turn towards another road, she is approached by a car with dark tinted windows. At first, she could not see who is inside the car. Eventually, a group of men come out of the car and pull the adolescent into the car.
3	The men get into the car and speed off with the girl inside. Inside the car, the girl is sexually assaulted and raped.
4	On the road, police notice a speeding vehicle and start chasing it. It is the same car carrying the girl who had just been abducted.
5	The car eventually stops and the police apprehend the men and save the girl.
6	The men who abducted the girl are arrested and sent into prison.

Table 5.3: Description of storyboard produced by Twiggy, Fanzozo, Nkosie, Mkhonto, & Boy.

The girls' experiences and fear of these journeys was cited as a form of gendered exclusion. The participants described a sense of helplessness in addressing and escaping sexual violence on the routes between home and school. For example, in a group discussion based on their photovoice products, Kimberly expressed a sense of defeat, suggesting that "… *we have no choice. We are forced to come to school, but it is not safe. Even school is dangerous for us girls"* (IGD, 16 September 2017).

Koskela (1999) notes that spaces are produced through gendered relations and reproduced in everyday sexual violence practices where girls do not have a choice over their own spatial behaviour. The routes the learners took to get to school and home were also cited as dangerous, and girls expressed fear of walking them. Within this context, participants expressed a permanent fear, with Sthandwa explaining, "*It makes me feel very sad because it means that I have to live constantly under threat of what might happen to me, I might be raped"* (Sthandwa, female participant, 14 years, IGD, 3 June 2017).

Madge (1997) argues that violence is a social control tool of girls' spaces. The findings from this study suggest that no space was either too private or too public for sexual assault; thus

affirming the notion of space as unsafe, especially for girls (Koskela, 1999). Inhibiting girls' navigation of areas in and around the school illustrated a spatial expression of patriarchy (Valentine, 1989). In sum, the findings suggest that the adolescent orphans, especially the girls, had to perpetually navigate and negotiate the complex social and emotional spaces and the places where sexual violence against them occurred (In Chapter Six, I look at some of the strategies they used to respond to the violence they faced).

5.5 Discussion

Available research identifies adolescents from impoverished and predominantly black African communities at high risk for sexual victimisation (see for example, Optimus Study, 2016). Within this context, this chapter presented findings on the participants' construction of their vulnerability to sexual violence and feeling unsafe in and around their school. The findings affirm that being an adolescent orphan made the participants in this study vulnerable to sexual violence. In an environment where violence was prevalent and often gendered (Bhana, 2015; Sibeko & Luthuli, 2018), the findings revealed that orphaned girls were fundamentally at risk of experiencing sexual violence in and around their school. For example, girls were positioned as victims, while both men and boys were described as the perpetrators of sexual violence. Embedded within these findings was an adherence to unequal gender norms which manifested in boys and men's sexual dominance and perpetration of sexual violence. The boys believed that their masculinity entailed sexual control and entitlement of their interactions with the girls (Shannon et al., 2012). From a critical theory perspective, we can see sexual violence against orphaned girls as a demonstration of informal power and "a kind of control practised by a dominant group (i.e., boys and men) on a subservient one (i.e., orphaned girls) (Shannon et al., 2012, p. 4).

Indeed, as argued throughout this thesis, the girls' orphanhood left them without the protection that is often provided by biological parents (Maranyz et al., 2013). Being orphaned in an environment with high levels of poverty compounded by normalised gender and social inequality in their families, their community and their school, amplified young orphaned girls' risk of sexual violence (Altenberg et al. 2018; De Finney et al. 2018; Leach, 2015; Moletsane et al., 2015). Further, the findings suggest that sexual violence in this instance violated the adolescent orphans' 'personal protective line', which according to Sigurdardottir and Halldorsdottir (2013) is a victims' psychological defence against violence. Given that the participants had lost both their biological parents, who might have acted as their first line of protection, their personal protective line was broken, thus rendering them defenceless and vulnerable to frequent victimisation.

The findings also suggest that sexual violence against orphans was actively perpetrated by boys and men in and around their school, including teachers, community members, male peers and male relatives. Boys and men were portrayed as individuals who frequently and violently pursued girls, while orphaned girls were portrayed as passive and vulnerable. This was demonstrated in how boys and men used what Willie, Khondkaryan, Callands and Kershaw (2018, p. 2) call 'sexual cultural scripts'. According to these authors, sexual cultural scripts "refer to males' defining and reducing girls to their bodies and valuing them as objects of male sexual desire and pleasure (p. 2)". Sexual cultural scripts not only influenced how boys and men acted violently, but also removed girls' agency in resisting sexual assaults. In this study, the boys' adherence to sexual cultural scripting meant that they viewed and treated girls as objects of their sexual desire, and therefore, interacted with them in sexually aggressive and often violent ways.

The participants in the study also reported that men and boys often used force to exercise their authority over them, leaving them with no agency to respond to or address the violence. Critical theory suggests that power imbalances that render girls vulnerable are often supported by patriarchal structures that favour male dominance and sexual entitlement in our societies. Indeed, the findings demonstrate how boys and men held and enjoyed powerful positions in the patriarchal community where the participants lived and learned.

The participants also reported beliefs in some pervasive myths about sexual victimisation. For example, girls' victimhood was located in discourses of gender and girls' desirability, in which the participants constructed victims as mostly 'attractive' girls, and perpetrators as ugly monsters. This conceptualisation of victims sustains the belief that sexual violence has to do with a girl's desirability instead of it being seen as violence and a human rights abuse. Other myths included victim-blaming (for example, 'if they wear short skirts, they are asking for it'). The findings revealed that it was victims who were blamed for experiencing sexual violence, while perpetrators were excused from their violent acts. Likewise, the boys in this study often shifted blame to something other than male violence. For example, the male participants attributed perpetration to external forces, such as evil spirits and a blinding desire that influenced men into abusing orphaned girls.

Finally, the findings indicated a wide-range of places and spaces that heightened adolescent orphans' vulnerability to sexual violence in and around the school. The participants identified such spaces as toilets, bushy areas, classrooms, teachers' staffrooms and paths between home and school as 'hotspots' for sexual violence. These spaces, in turn, shaped the nature and forms of this violence. Therefore, the findings suggest an 'everywhereness' and inevitability of sexual violence against adolescents generally, and orphans in particular.

5.6 Synthesis

This chapter presented data which responded to the first research question: *How do adolescent orphans identify, understand and communicate their vulnerability to sexual violence in and around a township secondary school?* The chapter presented the extent to and ways in which the adolescent orphans in the study, identified and understood their vulnerability to sexual violence in and around their school; the various beliefs and myths that informed their sense of vulnerability; and the various spaces and places in which they experienced sexual violence in and around the school. In sum, the findings in this chapter suggest that adolescent orphans felt vulnerable to sexual violence. For them, and in relation to their orphanhood, sexual violence was an intractable part of their lives. These findings are discussed and analysed in more detail in Chapter Eight. In the next chapter, I discuss the strategies that the participants identified for responding to and resisting sexual violence in and around their school.

CHAPTER SIX

ADOLESCENT ORPHANS' AGENCY IN RESPONDING TO SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN AND AROUND THEIR TOWNSHIP SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Although greater investment is needed to increase our knowledge about how best to prevent violence against children, we already have sufficient evidence to allow us to stop the violence and replace it with safe, stable and nurturing environments in which children can thrive (World Health Organization, 2016, p. 7).

6.1 Introduction

This chapter examines how adolescent orphans envisioned responding to sexual violence in and around their school. In particular, I address the second research question: *What tools and strategies do they use to respond to and resist sexual violence in and around the school?* Data generation, involving a photovoice activity, occurred in two phases. In the first phase, I invited the participants to work in pairs or in a group of three participants each, to take six photographs responding to: *What would it take to curb adolescent orphans' vulnerability to sexual violence*?

In the second phase, working in groups of three or four, I provided the participant with the prompt: *Considering the photographs you took in Phase 1, take four additional photographs to show how you believe sexual violence against adolescent orphans should be addressed in and around the school.*

The photographs they produced were then printed and handed back to them for captioning. The participants were then asked to create poster narratives using their images. Following this, they were engaged in a 45-minute IGD (Redman-MacLaren et al., 2014) in which I asked them to describe their photovoice creations in relation to the prompts. The discussion was audio-taped, transcribed and translated for analysis.

To analyse the textual and photovoice data, I employed visual participatory analytical procedures which involved what Fiske (1992) calls 'three sites of analysis'. Thus, as addressed in Chapter Four, data analysis was in three layers: the first two layers involved the participants' own analysis of their photovoice images, the captions they wrote and the explanations they gave about them during the IGD. The third layer involved my own thematic analysis of the participants' data. From this analysis, two broad themes emerged: 1) Tools for reducing adolescent orphans' vulnerability to sexual violence; and, 2) Strategies for addressing sexual violence against adolescent orphans. These themes are used to organise the discussion of findings in the sections that follow. Each theme comprises sub-sections which are used to further organise the findings.

The Chapter is structured into five sections (including Section 6.1). In the next section (Section 6.2), I explore the tools the adolescent orphans identified as solutions for reducing their vulnerability to sexual violence. The tools included structural solutions (6.2.1), economic solutions (Section 6.2.2) and educational solutions (6.2.3). In Section 6.3, I examine the strategies envisioned by the participants for addressing their vulnerability to sexual violence. The strategies included the imprisonment of perpetrators (Section 6.3.1), the banishment of perpetrators from their communities (Section 6.3.2), using mob violence/justice to punish perpetrators (Section 6.3.3), relying on available community-based resources (Section 6.3.4)

and on school-based resources (Section 6.3.5). In Section 6.4 I discuss the main findings. I conclude the chapter with a synthesis (Section 6.5).

6.2 Tools for Reducing Vulnerability to Sexual Violence

Adolescent orphans in this study identified structural, economic and educational solutions for reducing their vulnerability to sexual violence. This section discusses each of these tools in three sub-sections, namely: 1) Structural solutions for reducing sexual violence; 2) Employment as a solution for reducing sexual violence; and 3) Education as a solution for reducing sexual violence.

6.2.1 Structural Solutions for Reducing Sexual Violence

The findings suggest that the participants largely recommended structural solutions for reducing their vulnerability to sexual violence. As discussed in previous chapters, *Siyaphambili* Secondary School and the community in which this study was conducted, were plagued by high levels of violence and poverty. Thus, predictably, the participants reported that they not only experienced violence at school, but that they also faced it in their homes, in their community and as they travelled between their homes and the school (see Chapter Five). To this end, in considering measures to curb their vulnerability to sexual violence, the participants referred to structural solutions. Their photovoice images included visible security measures; that is, locked school gates and visible security guards and policing. The participants used these images to suggest that closed and monitored school gates provided safety from sexual violence. For example, in their pair work, Great-Coupling and Nomthi produced an image of a girl locking her school's gate. Using the photo's caption (Figure 6.1), the two producers recommended that "*the gates of the school must be closed at all times*".

Figure 6.1: *The gates of the school must be closed at all times* (Great-Coupling & Nomthi, male & female participant, 15 & 16 years, photovoice).

This means that, the solution they envisioned lay not with them, but rather with formal structures, as well as with the physical environment in and around their school.

Linked to this, the participants' responses tended to be gendered, with the boys dominating the discussions that identified solutions to sexual violence. First, in their masculinised responses, the boys held that solutions were mostly structural. For them, school security guards, a security fence, and locked school gates would go a long way in curbing instances of sexual violence in and around the school. For example, captioning their photovoice image of a locked school gate (Figure 6.2), Mkhonto and Twiggy wrote that "*...we can always be safe if there is a gate anywhere*".

Figure 6.2: *This photo shows that we can always be safe if there is a gate anywhere* (Mkhonto & Twiggy, male participants, 15 & 17 years, photovoice).

Likewise, another photo of a locked school gate, produced by Sborh, Nkosie and Fanzozo had a caption which proposed that in order to prevent sexual violence the "*school should have locked gates while learners [are] inside [their] classrooms*".

Supporting the idea that school gates provided maximum security, and referring to the image they produced, Sborh stated that,

> *Yes, the school should have locked gates while we are inside our classrooms… [and that] the school should have security guards who close all gates so that criminals can't access the school and abuse learners* (Sborh, male participant, 17 years, IGD, 3 July 2017).

This is understandable considering the fact that while *Siyaphambili* had a gate, during the period of data collection, I often found it not properly secured. In fact, most of the school's physical infrastructure was debilitated and did not offer any prospect of safety. It is for this reason that Great-Coupling emphasised that,

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Our school gate must always be locked so that criminals will not have access [to the school]. The gates of the school must be closed at all times (Great-Coupling, male participant, 15 years, IGD, 3 July 2017).

Nonetheless, even in schools that are well-resourced, such as those in South African middle-class suburbs, with lockable and functional gates, the threat of violence still persists (Burton & Leoschut, 2012; Collins, 2013; UNICEF, 2017; Xaba, 2006). For example, writing about these schools[49], Collins (2013) reports that the male learners often exercised their power and authority through both physical and sexual violence against learners deemed as weak. It is not surprising then, that in poorly resourced schools such as *Siyaphambili*, attempts to strengthen physical security systems will not work to stop the violence (Prinsloo, 2006; Xaba, 2006).

The participants also identified a security fence around their school as a possible physical structure for protecting girls against sexual violence. For example, an image (Figure 6.3) produced by Small-Latter and Kwesta showed a security fence erected around the school. To describe this photo, the two boys wrote a caption which insinuated that a security fence made learners feel safe while inside the school premises. The caption read as follows: "We *need[ed] to be in a safe place as orphans and also feel safe in [our] community and school*". This safety, according to these boys, would be possible if there was a fence securing the school.

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[49] According to Collins (2013), these schools are often 'protected' by high walls, gates and other complex security and surveillance systems such as cameras, security guards, turnstiles and biometrics access systems.

Figure 6.3: *We need to be safe as orphans in our community and school. (*Small-Latter & Kwesta, male participants, 14 & 17 years, photovoice).

The participant's also recommended visible security guards who should patrol and control access to the school in order to reduce sexual violence. To support this view, Sborh, Nkosie and Fanzozo produced a photo (Figure 6.4) of a wooden security office (a Wendy House) which was stationed near a school gate. Describing this particular photo, the three participants inscribed the following: "*There must be security guards inside the school*".

Figure 6.4: *There must be security guards inside the school. (*Sborh, Nkosie & Fanzozo, male participants, 17, 17 & 16 years, photovoice).

The three producers of the image above further used their poster narrative to highlight the importance of security guards at school by adding that,

> *[our] poster illustrates what can be done in the…school in order for criminals to stop assaulting. At the school there should be security guards who close all gates so that criminals can't access the school and abuse learners* (Sborh, Nkosie & Fanzozo, male participants, 17, 17, & 16 years, photovoice poster narrative, 3 July 2017).

China and Happiness produced an image (Figure 6.5) of an actual security guard[50]. The two participants used their image to support the proposal that security guards were needed and should enforce the law in order for learners to feel safe at school.
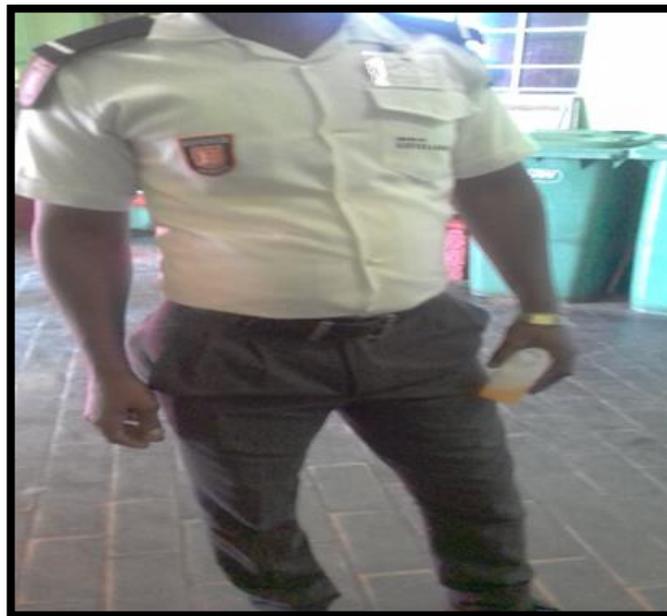
Figure 6.5: *This photo shows that the law must take its course in our community (*China & Happiness, female participants, 15 & 16 years, photovoice).

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[50] Prior to going out to take their pictures, the participants were taught about visual ethics, which include not taking pictures of people outside of the project and that in cases where this was necessary or desired, they were to ask for permission to take such pictures and inform the person what the picture was going to be used for (see Chapter Four).

Adding to the views about structural solutions, Kwesta asserted that,

> *It is girls who are at risk for this [violence], so we need security guards and to lock the gates at school so that they (girls) can be safe and protected from sexual violence. A security guard can help to chase thugs and criminals away from the school and girls will not be abused* (Kwesta, male participant, 17 years, IGD, 3 July 2017).

Nkosie, another male participant agreed, adding:

> *Yes, I agree here. If we had good security guards who know what they are doing, criminals would not enter our school. Plus they (school management) need to fix the gates and the fence so that only we (learners) and teachers can enter the school. That way we will see if someone is not part of the school and we can isolate them if they come to harass girls* (Nkosie, male participant, 17 years, IGD, 3 July 2017).

Given that the school was located in a violent community, and that on numerous occasions, community members had entered the school illegally through the various openings in the school fence, some of the participants argued that the school needed more than a single security guard to patrol areas in and around the school. For example, Fanzozo spoke about the need to "*have [a number of] security guards inside and all around the school*" in order to provide maximum security to learners.

While security guards are important safety-providing resources for the school, there is evidence that they too can pose a threat to the safety of learners. In South Africa, for example, a security guard was arrested in 2017 for the sexual abuse of 87 girls and the rape of three others inside a Soweto primary school in the Gauteng province (Chabalala, 2017). In the USA, a security guard was arrested in January 2019 for the sexual assault and abuse of four girls in a Chicago

school (Sobol, 2019). These cases challenge the belief that the presence of security guards at school reduce learners' vulnerability to sexual violence.

Finally, the participants cited the police as another structure of protection from sexual violence. Indeed, the police are key 'gate keepers' whose role is to protect communities from crime and violence (Freccero, Harris, Carnay & Taylor, 2011, p.7). Again, it was mostly the boys who supported the idea of police as key actors for reducing sexual violence and protecting girls against it. For example, Small-Latter highlighted the importance of involving *"the police and telling them about this issue of sexual abuse we are faced with in our community"* (Small-Latter, male participant, 14 years, IGD, 3 July 2017). Adding to this, referring to the girls who have experienced sexual victimisation, Kwesta, a 17 year old male participant suggested that, they needed to *"call the police and arrest the people that do wrong things such as harassing girls"*. For the boys, police officers were an available resource that girls could access in order to receive protection from sexual violence. In other words, they believed that proximity to the police shielded those who are vulnerable from sexual violence. This was demonstrated through their images and accompanying captions about police presence, their visibility and continuous patrol in and around the school. For example, Small-Latter and Kwesta' image of a police officer, proposed that adolescent orphans needed to collaborate with the police in order to respond to sexual violence.

Likewise, Mkhonto and Twiggy produced a photo (Figure 6.6) of a police car from the local police station. Describing this photo, the two participants wrote that they were illustrating how "*we can be protected if we are at close proximity to the police*".

Figure 6.6: *This photo illustrates that we can be protected if we are at close proximity to the police* (Mkhonto & Twiggy, male participants, 15 & 17 years).

Nomthi and Great-Coupling produced a similar photo of a police car servicing the Kwamashu community. The police car was captured while patrolling their community and very close to the informal housing settlement built adjacent to their school. The two participants used this photo's caption to recommend that "*the police must always be present and patrolling dangerous areas*" in order to prevent sexual victimisation. Supporting this idea, Great-Coupling emphasised the importance of the "*police to patrol all the time, protecting [their] community from criminals*" (Great-Coupling, male participant, 15 years, IGD, 3 July 2017). Similarly, China and Happiness' photo (Figure 6.7) of two girls standing next to a police car further emphasised that the police were important actors that girls could access when needing to report a case of sexual assault. The participants described the two girls in their photo as victims of sexual assault. Using their photo description, the two producers suggested that "*this photo shows girls going to report a case of sexual assault at the police station after they were assaulted*".

Figure 6.7: *This photo shows girls going to report a case of sexual assault at the police station after they were assaulted. (China* & Happiness, female participants, 15 & 17 years, photovoice).

It is ironic that China and Happiness produced a photo which suggested that the police were a solution in the context of sexual violence. Given that the orphaned girls had indicated numerously that they did not trust nor could they rely on the police, this finding is surprising. It seems to me that, for the orphaned girls, relying on the police was a coping strategy in a context where resources for addressing sexual violence were limited. A number of scholars have found that coping was a protective buffer for children who are exposed or vulnerable to violence (Chaffin, Wherry & Dykman, 1997; Gaylord-Herden, Gipson, Mance & Grant, 2008; Rasmussen, Aber & Bhana, 2004). This suggests that either the girls aspired to a situation where the police could assist them in addressing violence in or around the school, or simply that these were normative responses.

Literature about girls who have experienced sexual abuse suggests that they often rely on behavioural coping strategies (i.e., seeking help) and exhibit a range of outward-facing behaviours, such as a reliance on others as sources of protection (Cavanagh, Dobash, Dobash & Lewis, 2001). By relying on the police, the orphaned girls demonstrated that they expected

responses to sexual violence to come from elsewhere, including from people such as the police who had (ironically) not assisted them in previous cases.

The orphaned girls' judgement was not wrong per se. The police are tasked with providing safety and justice in their various communities (Smythe, 2008). However, this reliance on the very people who did not offer them much assistance suggests that there are limited resources within their communities for addressing sexual violence. In other words, because of this limitation, the female participants could not imagine other alternative modes of protection from sexual violence beyond reliance on the police. As illustrated in Chapter Five, sexual violence remained a shadow that followed girls every day and everywhere. Thus, their reliance on the police was likely a call for a more responsive police force.

It is also noteworthy that the police, and not the participants' immediate family members, were seen as one of the first lines of protection from sexual violence. Indeed, as I have discussed in previous chapters, for the participants, living with relatives placed them at risk since their experiences of sexual abuse often started at home. It is thus not surprising that they perceived the police as offering more protection than their own family members. In fact, none of the participants discussed their families as a solution for reducing sexual violence. Smaller-Latter explained:

> *[…] Since they (orphaned girls) are abused at home as well, I think the best solution are the police. If there are police in our community, girls will be safe. The only problem is that there are few police stations so we need more so that everyone can feel protected* (Small-latter, male participant, 14 years, IGD, 3 July 2017).

As noted above, it was the boys who dominated the discussion about the use of structural arrangements as tools for reducing sexual violence. Perhaps, given the fact that boys did not perceive themselves as largely vulnerable to sexual violence when compared to girls, coupled with their privileged social status as boys, they did not question the violent masculinities and rape culture that manifested in and around the school. The reliance on structural solutions (i.e., locked gates, security guards, the police, and etcetera) dominated the conversation even though the participants themselves, and girls in particular, had reported experiencing sexual violence even inside the physical security structures provided by the school. For example, as discussed in Chapter Four, *Siyaphambili* was fully equipped with a security fence and a security guard at the gate. Yet, as shown in the previous chapter, the learners, especially the girls, remained vulnerable to sexual violence in and around the school. This suggests, instead, that while such structural measures might function to keep threats from outside the school at bay, or give the impression of safety when the police are visible, perpetrators in their homes, their community and in the school still posed a threat to girls' safety.

I read these findings as what Collins (2001, p. 32) describes as the "children's phenomenological interpretation of their reality of safety". That is, how young people make sense of their situation. Within this context, the boys did not perceive themselves at great risk. They also did not see themselves as a worthy conduit in the fight against sexual violence; this despite the fact that girls had reported several times how they were mostly abused by boys and men.

Understood differently, the boys might have recognised the limit of their agency in addressing sexual violence. For them, there was not much they could do to stop perpetrators from harming girls. Rather, their only hope was the security structures and systems that could be made

available in and around the school. Moreover, the boys might have been demonstrating a sense of concern for, and a level of protectiveness for the girls. The call for systems and structures to be put in place to strengthen girls' safety might also be considered as boys' active response to sexual violence. The boys' responses were directed at the problem of girls' sexual victimisation, and while being aware of their overall limit to ending this threat, they could still have some control over the violence with the assistance of structural and systematic arrangements.

6.2.2 Employment as a Solution for Reducing Sexual Violence

The participants also suggested economic-based solutions for reducing sexual violence in and around their school. These included access to better financial and employment opportunities. It was again the male participants who predominantly advanced this belief and commented on the link between the poverty and the sexual violence prevalent in their community. As a solution to both, the participants suggested opening up employment opportunities. To support this point, Sborh, Nkosie and Fanzozo produced a photo (Figure 6.8) which showed men working on the street.

Figure 6.8: *There must be job opportunities so that sexual violence can be curbed.* (Sborh, Nkosie & Fanzozo, male participants, 17 years, 17 years & 16 years, photovoice).

According to Sborh, their picture "*showed that creating job opportunities would stop violence and protect victims*" (Sborh, male participants, 17 years, IGD, 3 July 2017). As a description to this photograph, the three producers inscribed the following: "*there must be job opportunities so that sexual violence can be curbed*". When I asked them to comment on their photo, Nkosie added that,

> *As I said some days ago, there is a lot of crime in this community because people don't have jobs. If you can see many people who rape are not employed and they go around harassing women because they don't feel like real men. They can't provide for themselves and are always broke so they always feel the need to do crime. So yes, we need more jobs in our community if we want to end sexual violence* (Nkosie, male participant, 17 years, IGD, 3 July 2017).

Elaborating, Kwesta declared:

> *Yes, we need more jobs for everyone, even criminals. People become criminals and rapists because they are bored and don't know what to do with their time. So if they get jobs they will have no time to think about crime and assaulting girls. The streets would be clean because all these boys who stand on the road and harass girls would be at work and happy with their lives* (Kwesta, male participant, 17 years, IGD, 3 July 2017).

Providing employment opportunities has been found to not only alleviate poverty, but also create empowerment opportunities for both women and men (Gibbs, Willan, Misselhorn & Mangoma, 2012; Mayoux, 1998). The provision of these resources is premised on the idea that a lack of financial capital is a key barrier to transforming gender inequality that often manifests as gendered violence (Gibbs et al., 2012). For example, the IMAGE project, a South African-based intervention that provided communities with microfinance for gender equity, reported

that the intervention reduced women's risk for GBV by 55 percent (Gibbs et al., 2012). Therefore, interventions that provide access to finances, such as employment opportunities, might reduce adolescent orphans' vulnerability to sexual violence, as suggested by the participants in this study.

The orphaned boys were essentially suggesting that access to the job market was another way of reducing orphans' vulnerability to sexual violence and for creating a sense of safety. However, for girls, the financial empowerment that comes with employment did not necessarily reduce their vulnerability to sexual violence. For example, during the IGD, Happiness reported that:

> *Even if I have my own money, because I do babysitting jobs and I clean people's homes on weekends and holidays, that doesn't protect me much. At home I am now safe because I bring money and sometimes food, so nobody ever harasses me anymore. But walking at the taxi rank or when I pass under the bridge (referring to a bridge that connected the two main roads in her community) I still have guys harass me. So having money is not always a solution. Thugs even mug you when they know you receive money and they can even rape you* (Happiness, female participant, 16 years, IGD, 3 July 2017).

Happiness points us to how financial independence might not always reduce girls' vulnerability to sexual violence. While it seems that having a source of income allowed her the opportunity to negotiate her safety and protection at home, still, this income could not protect her outside of home. Indeed, bringing home an income, and providing basic needs such as food shifted the power dynamics, where her presence and place in her family were now valuable. As suggested in Chapter Two, living in poverty often forced adolescent orphans to surrender to abusive relationships at home where relatives' pressure orphaned girls to exchange sex for basic needs

(Mmari, 2011). According to Morantz et al (2013), at home, the abuse manifests as a result of the household's resources being overstretched and orphans being seen as an added burden. However, by asserting that "…*at home I am now safe because I bring money and sometimes food, so nobody ever harasses me anymore",* Happiness was suggesting that her relatives no longer saw her as a financial burden since she could now contribute towards household resources. Yet, with this security at home, she could not use this financial bargaining power outside of home, where the threat of sexual violence loomed. In fact, as she shows, carrying money in her community seemed to heighten girls' vulnerability to both crime and sexual abuse. As discussed in Chapter One, crime in South Africa often manifests in the form of gendered violence. Thus, for Happiness, having money as an adolescent posed the double threat of being mugged and sexually assaulted in the community. These findings illustrate the pros and cons of using economic solutions to address sexual violence. While employment, and access to finance by extension, can minimise the risk of abuse at home for orphaned girls, it seems to also attract both crime and sexual violence towards them while traversing their broader community.

6.2.3 Education as a Solution for Reducing Sexual Violence

In accordance with available literature (e.g., Parkes et al., 2017; UNESCO, 2016), the participants referred to access to education and relevant curricula in school as important tools for reducing their vulnerability to sexual violence. Speaking in relation to access to education, Luthando, for example, suggested that,

> *Orphans must access tertiary education because it [is] important for [our] freedom and livelihood. Education is our only way to escape from our violent homes and this community. When I finish university or college I can find a job, find my own place to live and have a car so that I am safe from walking in the streets. So it is really important*

for us (orphans) to access tertiary education. That's the one way to fight sexual violence

(Luthando, female participant, 16 years, IGD, 3 July 2017).

Luthando further made the association between access to education and being employable, which she felt would provide her the necessary resources (i.e., a car) to navigate and negotiate her safety against sexual violence. With educational qualifications, the participants felt their options for safety would be much broader. As Luthando suggested, achieving higher education could potentially empower them to buy their own property, which would serve as a shield from the abuse they experienced while living with relatives. These findings support research which finds that education empowers girls. For example, Uze (2013), writing in the context of Nigeria, argues that education in the long term inherently empowers girls who are disadvantaged by the undue attention paid to the education of boys over girls especially in impoverished communities.

A surprising finding was the suggestion that providing access to education for perpetrators was important for curbing the sexual violence crisis in their communities. Drawing from a photo she and Great-Coupling had produced a week earlier, of young woman wearing a shirt with the words "*tertiary access and success*" (Figure 6.9 below), Nomthi suggested that it was not only orphaned girls who needed to be empowered through education, but perpetrators needed it as well. In fact, the caption which accompanied the photo suggested that perpetrators "*... should [also] go to tertiary so that they can stop harassing us*".

Figure 6.9: *They (perpetrators) should go to tertiary so that they can stop harassing us* (Nomthi & Great-Coupling, female & male participant, 15 & 16 years, photovoice).

Speaking about this particular photo, Nomthi further added that,

> *One of the ways to make these men to stop harassing us is to send them to university (gives a little laugh). From my experience, the boys who always harass me spend the day sitting on street corners and they have nothing to do with their time. So now if they go to university they will be too busy to harass anyone. Also they will learn about respecting other people's rights. They must just be put in a truck and sent to college* (Nomthi, female participant, 16 years, IGD, 3 July 2017).

Linking the violence perpetrated by boys to school dropout, a second girl agreed:

> *I agree with Nomthi. I think the problem is that many boys drop out of school or don't go to university when they finish matric (Grade 12). So they spend the day doing nothing and they see harassing girls as a way to have fun. Ahhhm when we walk to school they are always sitting at bus stops waiting to call us and grab [us] by force …*

But if they were at school, I think, maybe, maybe they would leave us alone and be busy

with their education (Sthandwa, female participant, 14 years, IGD, 3 July 2017).

The two girls point to the importance of not just providing educational opportunities for those deemed vulnerable, but also to perpetrators. Indeed, it seems that the orphaned girls were very critical in their thinking about using education as a tool for reducing sexual violence. Even at their young age, these participants demonstrated an understanding of the link between social systems of power and their vulnerability to violence.

Some participants supported the idea of learning about their rights as orphaned children. The participants commented on a distinct silence in their school curriculum about their rights as orphans. They suggested that such rights would enable them to address sexual violence in their lives. Not only did the participants identify a need for access to education, they also saw a particular kind of education, which is human rights-linked, as key to reducing their vulnerability to sexual violence. Sborh's comment during a group discussion illustrates:

What we can do is to be taught about our human rights so that we can be aware that

we also have rights as orphans. We have so many questions that only our parents could

have answered and offered support regarding sexual violence. Orphans are just

becoming victims of this thing (sexual violence) and we need more education about it.

Learning about our rights can also teach us where to go when we experience sexual

violence (Sborh, male participant, 17 years, IGD, 3 July 2017).

Emmanuela agreed:

At school we don't learn about our rights. We don't even speak about orphans even in

our LO (Life Orientation) class…it's bad… we didn't even know our rights not to be

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abused until this project (referring to their participation in this study). So if teachers can include human rights when they teach we would know what to do and avoid sexual violence. Unfortunately we don't have our parents…they were going to teach us these things but they are dead now and we don't have people who teach us what rights we have as children. Maybe our school can do more to help us, that's what I think anyway (Emmanuela, female participant, 14 years, IGD, 3 July 2017).

The sentiments shared by Sborh and Emmanuella, point to a gap in the school curriculum, and especially the kind of curriculum that is rights-oriented and inclusive of orphans. In this regard, the adolescent orphans have established that there are very few supportive people and resources within this context. Therefore, by calling for a rights-centred curriculum, they were essentially pointing to the need for a school-based intervention. For the participants, knowledge about their rights as children would have been better offered by their parents. However, given that they were orphans, they felt that they did not have any other person to talk to in order to gain answers for the many questions they had about their rights as orphaned children. A curriculum linked to their human rights would also point them to support systems available for orphans in and around their school, as well as offer comprehensive knowledge about sexual violence prevention and post-assault care and support. This highlights the need for a school curriculum that is embedded in the needs of orphaned children, especially in contexts where these children cannot rely on their relatives.

To reiterate, in this study, I did not ask the participants about what they thought they could do about sexual violence. Rather, I invited them to imagine the strategies and/or tools that might help to address sexual violence. Hence they identified structural, economic as well as educational responses. These tools and strategies were critical in their fight to combat sexual

violence. However, the tools they identified are not without shortcomings. For example, access to education does not always provide a shield against sexual violence. As highlighted in Chapter Five, girls lamented their daily experiences of sexual harassment inside their school. Likewise, the literature reviewed in this study suggests that schools do not often provide safety against violence for learners. Rather, scholars (e.g., (Bhana, 2012) have identified schools as sites for sexual violence. Therefore, access to institutions of learning might reduce the incidence of assaults in the streets (where financial solutions do not always work), but it does not guarantee the eradication of this violence inside the school or even at the various tertiary institutions that the participants wanted to access.

The female participants saw the education of perpetrators as an important strategy for addressing violence. In other words, girls centred perpetrators in how they envisioned addressing sexual abuse. While this centring is not necessarily wrong, it merits a critical lens. Studies report that girls' use of agency in how they envision addressing sexual violence inevitably interacts with male agency that is supported by sociocultural beliefs which reinforce patriarchy in order to control how women might respond their own victimisation (Cavanagh, 2003). Locating perpetrators at the centre of these solutions, and even suggesting that they merited an education, must be understood within the broader context where men and boys use violence to not only control girls' bodies, but also how they think about what should be done to protect themselves.

Structural solutions have their own limitations. For instance, providing school gates, increasing police visibility or providing security guards, as detailed above, does not end sexual violence. Orphaned girls in this study talked several times about the '*everywhereness*' of sexual violence, in which they saw it as an imminent and inescapable threat in their lives, including behind

closed school gates. The girls also reported that they did not trust the police because they seldom received any help from them.

Responses to sexual violence did not question or challenge the status quo, nor did they address unequal gender norms and inequalities. Rather, prevention efforts, such as opening educational opportunities, seemed to absolve perpetrators who were identified as mostly boys and men. Similarly, none of the male participants in the study identified boys and men (including teachers), nor themselves as part of the solution. Likewise, the boys, in their responses did not consider themselves at risk for sexual violence. Rather, for them, sexual violence in and around the school was something that happened to girls. This is in spite of the evidence from literature which suggests that boys are increasingly at risk of sexual violence in institutions and communities (Ritcher et al., 2018). The implications for these findings are discussed in Chapter Eight in this thesis.

6.3 Strategies for Addressing Sexual Violence against Adolescent Orphans

A second phase of the photovoice activity asked the participants to think about and identify strategies for addressing sexual violence against adolescent orphans like themselves. In a context where sexual violence was rife, and where young people had very little resources at their disposal for addressing it, the participants relied on punitive strategies for punishing perpetrators, including arresting, banishing or even using violence against assaulters. For the participants, using these strategies against perpetrators seemed to be a way of 'cleansing' their community of sexual violence and sexual predators. The strategies they identified included 1) imprisonment of perpetrators; 2) banishment of perpetrators from the community; 3) using violence to punish perpetrators; 4) social workers as important actors for post-assault care and support; and, 5) care and support at school.

6.3.1 Imprisonment of Perpetrators

The participants proposed that perpetrators of sexual violence must be sentenced to life imprisonment. This, for them, was an important post-sexual assault strategy. For example, in the description provided for their image (Figure 6.10) which depicted a man behind 'prison' bars, Small-Latter and Kwesta wrote that "*We need to call the police and arrest the people that do wrong things*".

Figure 6.10: *We need to call the police and arrest the people that do wrong things* (Small-Latter & Kwesta, male participants, 14 & 17 years, photovoice).

Likewise, China and Happiness produced an image of a perpetrator behind prison bars and wrote that "*people who have offended must rot in jail*". Supporting the idea that perpetrators must 'rot' in prison, Happiness asserted that "*in order to address this problem (sexual violence), perpetrators must just be arrested for life*". This opinion from the participants arose from what they perceived as the law's inability to keep perpetrators out of their community. For example, in various discussions, the participants highlighted how alleged rapists in their communities would often serve short sentences in prison, or would be released on bail, which further placed girls at risk. This was highlighted by Amanda-White:

We always see people who have raped children walking free in the streets. They get arrested and a few weeks later they are out of jail. The law must send them to jail for life otherwise we will never be safe. When they come back from jail they abuse us even more. So the best way is to put them in jail forever. The government must make sure that the law does not forgive these monsters (referring to perpetrators), they make us all suffer (Amanda-White, female participant, 14 years, IGD, 3 July 2017).

Future agreed:

I also think they must just rot in jail. Right now we know many of them who were arrested but came back after a few days. What's the use of sending them to jail for a few weeks because they come back to hurt their victims… We live a hard life because of rapists and all these boys who harass us. They must just stay in jail for the rest of their lives to feel the pain they make us go through (Future, female participant, 15 years, IGD, 3 July 2017).

The girls perceived a lifetime prison sentence for perpetrators as one strategy with which to remove perpetrators from their communities[51]. Further supporting this idea, Amanda-White, Future and Mbali, produced an image (Figure 6.11) of a boy who is handcuffed. The three participants, using their poster narrative, suggested that lifetime imprisonment for perpetrators was a "*solution that might be considered…when someone has been sexually assaulted*".

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[51] At the time of writing this thesis, Judge Mokhine Mosopa, at the Gauteng High Court in Pretoria handed a life sentence to convicted rapist Nicholas Ninow. Ninow was convicted of a rape of a seven-year old girl inside a toilet at the Dros restaurant in Pretoria. This sentence was ground-breaking because it was not usual in South Africa's post-apartheid history that a judge deviates from the minimum prescribed sentence for rape, which is 25 year imprisonment.
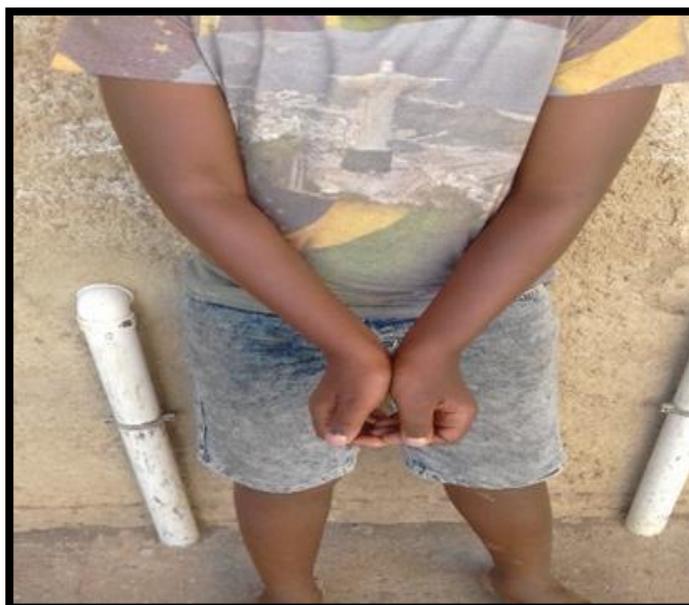
Figure 6.11: *This boy has been arrested because he sexually assaulted a girl* (Amanda-White, Future & Mbali, female participants, 14, 16 & 13 years, photovoice).

Nkosie was the first male participant who agreed with the girls by supporting the idea of sending perpetrators to life in prison. For him, there was a risk that if released, perpetrators would continue assaulting their victims. Adding to the chorus of participants who supported life imprisonment, he suggested that:

> *What we can do is report a person who has raped, for example. So a victim must open a case with the police so that the perpetrator can be arrested. They (perpetrators) must spend their life in prison because if they are released they will rape again* (Nkosie, male participant, 17 years, IGD, 3 July 2017).

It is striking that despite their lack of trust in the police, and the justice system broadly, the participants still relied on these institutions for support. Zimring and Johnson (2006) argue that this consistent call from impoverished communities is a cry for a more intimate relationship with the punitive state (i.e., prisons and the police). According to Super (2014, p.11), this relationship translates into "calls for more arrests, punitive punishments, including long prison sentences, and the reinstatement of capital punishment". Therefore, by virtue of being part of

an impoverished community, the participants in this study suggested that the prevention of sexual perpetration would include an intimate relationship with law enforcement, who thereafter would instil punitive measures against perpetrators. Given that they did not have any immediate source of protection, this may also reflect a desire for protection. It was not clear whether or not capital punishment was suggested for all forms of sexual violence perpetration. There is the possibility that the participants might have been referring to explicit forms such as rape. In hindsight, I should have asked this of the participants. Nonetheless, sending perpetrators of sexual violence to spend a life term in prison remained an important solution for the adolescent orphans in this study.

6.3.2 Banishing Perpetrators from the Community

Banishing perpetrators from their community was another strategy that participants envisioned for addressing sexual violence. This was demonstrated by one photo (Figure 6.12) produced by Amanda-White, Future and Mbali where a male perpetrator carrying a backpack is supposedly being banished from the community. Strikingly, in the image the perpetrator is assaulted with sticks. Describing the photo, in their caption, these producers suggested that "*this boy has been banished from the community because he is a sex offender*".

Figure 6.12: *This boy has been banished from the community because he is a sex offender (*Amanda-White, Future & Mbali, female participants, 14, 16 & 13 years, photovoice).

The use of violence, and even weapons, against perpetrators was a prominent feature in a number of the images the participants produced. Perhaps, through feelings of helplessness in dealing with assaulters, and in a community with limited resources, participants saw the use of violence as a form of recourse. Referring to the image above, Amanda-White stated that,

> *What else can be done? The police don't show up … so the community must deal with these criminals. We must chase them out of our communities. If they refuse we must use sticks and stones to chase them out. There is no other way of stopping but to beat them until they run away from our communities…We also need to feel safe here* (Amanda-White, female participants, 15 years, IGD, 3 July 2017).

Studies show that the banishment of criminals is a common practice in impoverished communities, particularly where community members do not trust police interventions (Gross 2016; Super, 2014; Zimring & Johnson 2006). Banishment includes the demolition of the property of alleged criminals (Super, 2014) or a collective decision by a street-level committee to banish an offender by burning their property and even assaulting them (Zimring and Johnson, 2006). Moreover, these studies report that banishment from a community is a strategy that is often supported by male participants. Nonetheless, in this study, it was mostly the girls who suggested the banishment of perpetrators.

However, banishing perpetrators does not necessarily stop sexual violence. Barker (2008) illustrates how a banished criminal goes on to continue their criminal activities in other foreign communities. In other cases, perpetrators wait until the community has 'calmed down' and return to continue their deviant behaviour (Dlamini, 2009; Khumalo, 2011. The participants, perhaps because they felt helpless and powerless against their victimisation, turned to these seemingly extreme forms of protection. As illustrated in the literature, the banishment of

perpetrators will only mean that they continue their predatory behaviours elsewhere. Moreover, the idea of banishment seems to locate sexual perpetration in distant communities. Yet, as shown in Chapter 5, perpetrators of sexual violence often include relatives, teachers, neighbours and school peers. Available literature has also shown that sexual violence victims find it difficult to report sexual violence when perpetrators are known to them (UNICEF, 2017; WHO, 2017).

6.3.3 Using Violence to Punish Perpetrators

Another extreme strategy proposed by the participants centred on mob justice practices. Mob justice included the use of physical violence and even the killing of perpetrators as a way of addressing sexual violence. Small-Latter and Kwesta, using one of their photos (Figure 6.13), showed a sexual assault perpetrator who is stoned to death by a community mob.

Figure 6.13: *We need to do this when we see that sexual violence is become prevalent in our community (*Small-Latter & Kwesta, male participants, 14 & 17 years old, photovoice).

Describing this particular photo, the two producers suggested that *"We need to do this when we see that sexual violence is become (sic) prevalent in our community"*. In a similar illustration by Amanda-White, Future and Mbali, a boy is assaulted with a rock on his head. According to the producers, this violent act was common and often practiced by community members when the police had failed to make an arrest. As shown in the extracts below, other participants had witnessed community mob justice where, for example, community members 'hunted' down people accused of sexual perpetration, and once caught, physically assaulted them. Another example of such a scenario came later in the data generation process where Emmanuela, Sheezi, Small-Latter, Ntwana and Slender produced a storyboard that depicted mob justice. In fact, they titled their storyboard "*Life is too short for thugs*", suggesting that the life of perpetrators will ultimately be cut short through community mob justice. In that particular storyboard, two men accused of abducting a boy while he is playing at a public park near the school are apprehended by a community mob, beaten and hanged to die.
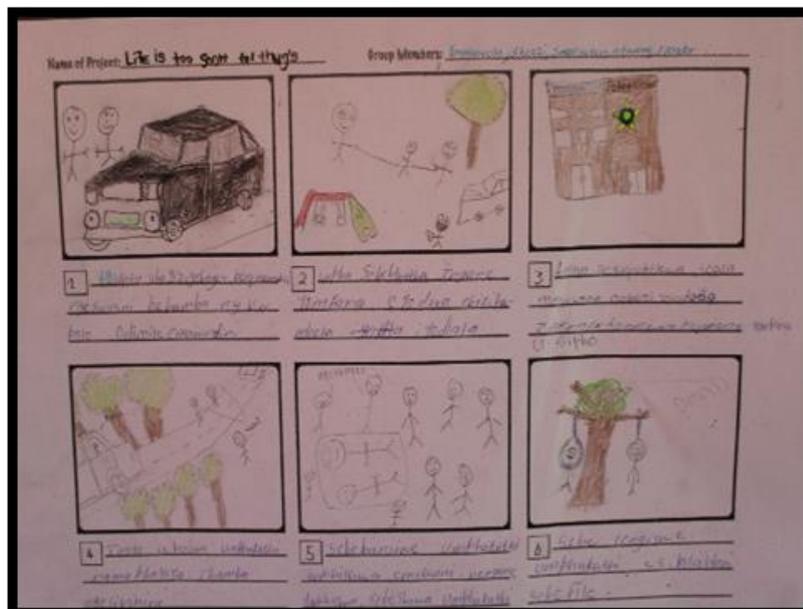
Figure 6.14: *Life is too short for thugs* (Emmanuela, Sheezi, Small-Latter, Ntwana & Slender, Female four male participants, 14, 14, 14, 15 & 14 years).

In the table below (Table 6.1), I provide a description of each frame from the storyboard in Figure 6.14.

Life is too short is too short for thugs	
Frame no:	**Description of the storyboard**
1	Two men, driving a black VW Polo, approach a park where children are playing after school. The car has dark tinted windows. The park is on route home from school, and school children decided to go play before they head home.
2	The men enter the park and abduct one adolescent boy who was walking to play at the park. The men carry the screaming and resistant boy into their car and speed off to the fear of other children who witnessed this incident.
3	The rest of the children rush to a nearby police station to inform the police. They reveal that the boy who was kidnapped is Sipho from their school.
4	The community and police search for the VW Polo that was identified by children who were at the park. It is finally spotted driving over the speed limit in another section of the community.
5	The community eventually catches the two men, and force them out of the car. The community rescues the boy who was abducted, and they turned to beat the two culprits.
6	The community assaults and hang both perpetrators from a tree until they die.

Table 6.1: Description of storyboard produced by Emmanuela, Sheezi, Small-Latter, Ntwana & Slender.

The participants suggested that these seemingly extreme strategies (using violence) for addressing sexual violence and predatory behaviours were necessary in a context where the police had failed to make an arrest. Emmanuela and Ntwana explained:

I have seen around here rapists getting a beating by the community. This one man who raped a little girl from my neighbourhood was beaten so bad he couldn't even stand up and run. They beat him with stones, sticks and any material they could find. Many people just joined in the beating. I think some people didn't even know why he was getting a beating but they just joined and started beating as well. They only ran away when a police van (car) came. They ran like flies... like nothing happened. I don't think

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that man will ever rape again. He was red with blood all over his body. So beating him saved many other girls like me (Emmanuela, female participant, 14 years, IGD, 17 August 2017).

Yes, beating them until they die is a good idea. They rape innocent people so they must also feel pain… many many times I saw criminal getting a beating here (sic). Once the community gets you there is no running away. Anyway, the police are useless so we might as well deal with you ourselves. They beat you even when you scream "I'm sorry" they don't stop. Some rapists and criminals have been killed by the community beating. One time this woonga[52] boy who always harassed girls was caught by mothers in the community, they tied him to an electricity pole (a streetlight pole), took off his clothes and beat him with sticks, belts and sjamboks[53]. He screamed for help and then he scream "I'm sorry" but those ladies were not joking with him. He even soiled himself (laughs)… Today he is a good person, very respectful. He even went back to school. He goes to school down there at Lubanzi[54] (Ntwana, male participant, 15 years, IGD, 17 August 2017).

Available literature affirms this claim and argues that mob justice is often the default response to escalating crime and violence in communities that are impoverished and largely under-serviced (by the police and other social systems) (Gross, 2016; Yeboah-Assiamah & Kyeremeh, 2014; Outwater, Mgaya & Campbell 2013). According to Outwater and colleagues (2013), communities use violence against perpetrators as a desire to keep a community peaceful and free of crime. Using violence against perpetrators remains a valuable asset among

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[52] Whoonga is a slang word which describes a form of heroin drug mixed with other substances that is used widely in impoverished South African townships (Groenewald, Essack and Khumalo, 2018).
[53] A sjambok is a weapon made with thick rubber that is used for beating.
[54] Not the real name of the school mentioned by Ntwana.

marginalised communities for advancing safety and security (Baker, 2008). This is because these communities tend to be excluded from formal security provisions (Baker, 2008; Gross, 2016). In fact, as suggested by the participants, marginalised communities have access to a range of alternatives that they use in order to secure their everyday safety and protection (Baker, 2008). These include banishing, assaulting and even killing perpetrators (Outwater et al., 2013; Yeboah-Assiamah & Kyeremeh, 2014).

According to Super (2014), for example, marginalised South African communities have historically used self-policing strategies such as assaulting perpetrators in order to address crime. These acts of what Baker (2008) calls *informal security provision,* are common in impoverished townships and date back to the apartheid period (Gross, 2016; Dlamini, 2016). During the apartheid era, it was not unusual for community members to physically assault and even murder perpetrators of violent crimes (Dlamini, 2009). In his book, *Native Nostalgia*, Jacob Dlamini recalls incidents where, during the apartheid era in his township, a community mob assaulted and killed alleged perpetrators of violence and crime (see also, Posel, 2005). Prominent among these forms of punishment was the act of *necklacing*, where a car tyre would be placed around a perpetrator's neck and set alight until the alleged assaulter died. Using violence as an informal security provision to stop violence is still a feature in the post-apartheid period, and especially in poor township communities. Super argues that, while it is unlawful,

> [in] a context of great scarcity and rampant social and economic inequality, 'mob' justice serves as an occasion for victims, and the communities with which they are linked, to proclaim the extent of their suffering and seek punitive redress (2014, p. 8).

Researchers elsewhere also maintain that among marginalised communities, informal solutions to addressing crime and policing are still attractive (Yeboah-Assiamah & Kyeremeh, 2014).

This is not because these alternatives reduce the incidence of offences. Rather, it is that they give victims the assurance that something is being done about their victimisation and gives the sense of retribution (Super, 2014). The participants were perhaps suggesting this form of retaliation based on this reasoning and because it was one strategy they were exposed to for addressing violence in the community, including sexual violence.

My analysis in this thesis suggests that in instances where the participants felt police interventions were limited, they resorted to alternative, albeit punitive and violent strategies (Yeboah-Assiamah & Kyeremeh, 2014). For the participants, seeing that the state remained absent and failed to curb sexual violence, and because their community lacked the resources that well-off communities have access to (such as private security), their way of addressing sexual violence was to exercise informal police power as a service to victims. However, as Super (2014) argues, there is always a danger in rallying around combatting crime because it unleashes violent practices in the name of a moral community. These violent practices are not sustainable and have long-lasting effects on the community's psyche (Gross, 2016).

6.3.4 Social Workers as Important Actors for Post-Assault Care and Support

In terms of post-assault care and support, the participants identified the need for psychosocial services. In this regard, social workers were recognised as important individuals to help orphans deal with the psychological burden of sexual violence. For example, an image (Figure 6.15) produced by Amanda-White, Future and Mbali portrayed a social worker and a young female victim holding hands. The inscription that accompanied this image read as follows: "*This picture shows a girls going to a counselling because she was harassed* (sic)".

Figure 6.15: *This picture shows a girls going to a counselling because she was harassed* (sic) (Amanda-White, Future & Mbali, female participants, 14, 16 & 13 years, photovoice).

Given that the participants had anticipated non-supportive responses from their relatives, their next line of care and support, especially for psychosocial healing after an experience of sexual abuse, were social workers. This was emphasised by Future, who stated that,

> *The only people who can offer us help are social workers. Our families don't believe*
>
> *us and they hurt us every day. So I think it is best to find a social worker and talk to*
>
> *her. It's just that they are not many of them here. We need more social workers to help*
>
> *us deal with abuse at home and at school. Actually it would be better to have a social*
>
> *worker at school, we can see her every day. They can even take us to the police to report*
>
> *a case when we are scared* (Future, female participant, 15 years, IGD, 3 July 2017).

While there were social workers servicing the community under study, they were not enough to support the entire population. In response to this gap, the participants suggested that they *"need[ed] more social workers in order to receive help"* (Luthando, female participant, IGD, 3 July 2017). Thus, some of the pictures they produced were of girls receiving care and support

from social workers. For example, China and Happiness' photo (Figure 6.16), demonstrated

the support orphans needed. In their photo, they portrayed a girl and a social worker holding

hands in a gesture that suggested support for the girl.

Figure 6.16: *This photo shows that when someone has been assaulted there are counselling services available and there are people in the community that can help you.* (China & Happiness, female participants, 15 & 16 years, photovoice).

Describing this particular photo, the producers wrote:

> *This photo shows that when someone has been assaulted there are counselling services*
>
> *available and there are people in the community that can help you (*China and
>
> Happiness, female participants, 15 and 16 years, photovoice, 1 July 2017).

Studies report that children often report their victimisation to their biological mothers first (van

Toledo & Seymour 2013). In the absence of a biological parent, the orphaned participants in

this study reported that their next line of support were social workers. This was because they

expected non-supportive attitudes from their relatives. According to the 2013 NACOSA

Guidelines and Standards for the Provision of Support to Rape Survivors in the Acute Stage of

Trauma, social workers are tasked with providing support and act as the victim's advocate to

prevent secondary victimisation. Social workers are among those who act as the first line of response in cases of sexual violence. They are important actors because, even when victims are not aware of their right to press charges, they may still seek mental health-related support (Freccero, Harris, Carnay & Taylor, 2011). However, there is criticism in the services provided by social workers within marginalised and impoverished communities. Writing about social worker services within this context, Chavanagh (2003, p. 230) argued that:

> Despite improvements, the provision of effective services for women [and] children is significantly dependent on the extent to which social workers seek to develop their knowledge and understanding of women's experiences of and responses to violence and abuse, and it is here that practitioners are much criticized.

Even though the participants recognised the difficulty of accessing social work services, still, their work was seen as important for supporting victims of sexual violence. Therefore, the support of social workers in the context of this study is significant not only in the aftermath of sexual abuse, but also for victims to be able to open criminal cases and be reintegrated into a healthy social life.

6.3.5 Care and Support at School

Female teachers were also recognised as a reliable source of care and support at the school-level. In relation to their pictures of care and support, participants suggested that some female teachers were easier to talk to and open up about their experiences of sexual violence. For example, a photo (Figure 6.17) produced by Mbali and Small-Latter, illustrated a female victim of school-based sexual abuse. In the picture, the girl is embraced by a female teacher and a classmate. Referring to this photo, the two producers highlighted the importance of *"emotionally supporting and comforting each other when [one of them] was in pain or in a bad situation"*.

Figure 6.17: *This picture shows loving and supporting each other…this picture shows us that we must have sympathy towards other people* (Mbali & Small-Latter, female and male participant, 13 & 14 years, photovoice).

Happiness made reference to the photo above, and mentioned that "*home is the most dangerous place… [I] preferred going to speak to a female teacher when I have a problem*" (Happiness, female participant, 16 years, interpretive focus group, 3 July 2017).

Given that orphans experienced sexual abuse at home, it is perhaps not surprising that they felt their care and support would come from female teachers and social workers. Research reports that parental support is positively associated with emotional and behavioural adjustment after experiencing sexual violence (van Toledo & Seymour 2013). Therefore, given that the children in this study were orphans, they relied on people other than their kin for support and care. Work by Bhana (2015) affirms these findings. The author argues that in the context of orphanhood and poverty, schoolteachers were an important resource for orphans to negotiate protection against, as well as care and support after experiencing, sexual violence. Happiness' views above, also demonstrate not only a caregiving gap, but also that talking about their abuse was

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important for orphaned girls. Since girls speak in ways that are limited, controlled and often shaped by boys and men's social power, it was important for the orphaned girls to have gendered spaces with female teachers and social workers.

Within the context of their orphanhood, the participants also identified each other (orphans) as a resource for care and support. For example, Nomthi emphasised the importance of "*showing sympathy and offering support to each other*", especially after an experience of sexual abuse. As orphans, they noted that they needed extra care and support, especially when sexual violence carried the heavy burden of stigma, discrimination and shame. For them, one of the ways of communicating about their victimisation was to converse among themselves. A photo produced by Happiness and Amanda-White (Figure 6.18) showed three girls embracing each other in a hug. The two producers suggested that one of the girls in the picture was an orphaned victim of sexual abuse, while the other girls were also orphans who came to provide support. Describing this photo, the two participants wrote that "*This picture show a girl who lost her parents. She was sexually abused at school, and she went to talk to other orphans because nobody will understand her*" (Happiness & Amanda-White, female participants, 15 & 14 years, photovoice, 1 July 2017).

Figure 6.18: *This shows that they are emotional(ly) support(ing) and comforting each other* (Happiness & Amanda-White, female participants, 15 & 14 years).

Other participants emphasised the need to form a social group as orphans in and around their school (an issue I discuss at length in Chapter Seven). For example, Mkhonto and Twiggy took a picture (Figure 6.19) of learners walking as a group at their school. Referring to their picture, the two participants suggested that *"[orphans] can be protected if [they] walk together as a large group of orphans"*.

Figure 6.19: *We can be protected if we walk as a large group of orphans.* (Mkhonto & Twiggy, male participants, 15 & 17 years, photovoice).

Supporting the idea that orphans needed to form a social network of care and support, Sborh emphasised the importance of communicating with each other, especially with regard to formulating ways to protect themselves and other orphans against sexual victimisation. Sborh further pointed to how society sees the abuse of orphans as a minor issue that did not merit attention. Thus, for him, transforming society's attitudes about both orphanhood and sexual violence was important. He explained,

> *I think we should talk more to each other as orphans about how to protect ourselves and anyone who is a victim or in danger of being a victim of sexual abuse, especially rape, and how to change people's minds and how they see sexual violence, because they think it is a minor issue but it is not* (Sborh, male participant, 17 years, IGD, 3 July 2017).

With regard to the impact of sexual violence on the lives of orphans, having a secure attachment with significant others may aid agency by enabling orphans to seek protection and assist in their recovery by improving their chances of securing other supportive relationships later in their lives. A relationship with a supportive significant other has been shown to play a positive role in the outcome of victims of sexual violence, including reducing the risk of self-harm and depression (Kidman & Palermo, 2016). These findings highlight the need for social connectedness and for institutions such as schools, law enforcement and healthcare to provide all children, including orphaned youth, with a clearer sense of support, care and belonging. As pointed out by Baby-Boo and Great-Coupling, their visual illustrations were intended to create awareness about adolescent orphans' vulnerability to sexual violence at school, home and their communities. Describing their overall visual artefacts, these two participants, in one of their poster narratives wrote the following:

Our [images] emphasise mainly about child abuse, especially children that do not have parents. So with this collection we are creating awareness to everyone. Actually, we are worried about being abused at school. School is supposed to be a place where we are protected. Our collection further highlights sexual violence in the school, and our homes, even in the community. So as we are standing in front, we should not be silent when we are facing abuse. Even if you do not have a parent, speak to someone you trust, let us speak to each other as orphans (Baby-boo & Great-Coupling, female & male participant, both 15 years, poster narrative, 1 July 2017).

Baby-Boo and Great-Coupling implied that there should be relevant persons available for adolescent orphans to communicate with about their abuse. However, neighbours or family members were not recognised as a source of protection or safety. Rather, the participants perceived their neighbours and families as threats to their safety. These findings point to the need for responses to sexual violence that recognise that orphans are a vulnerable group who are prone to many forms of maltreatment, including sexual abuse. Such responses must be gender sensitive and informed by these children's unique experiences as adolescent orphans.

6.4 Discussion

This chapter reports on adolescent orphans' perspectives on the tools or resources they identified as solutions for reducing their vulnerability to sexual violence, and on the strategies they proposed for addressing it. The tools and strategies they identified represent the ways in which these adolescent orphans coped with the violence they were facing in and around their school. According to Dempsey (2002), coping is the totality of physiological, cognitive and behavioural processes with which children respond to their victimisation. Linked to this, researchers have identified two strategies that children use to respond to or cope with violence

and abuse: problem-focused strategies and emotion-focused strategies (Bryant-Davis, 2005; Chaffin et al., 1997; Joseph, Govender & Bhagqanjee, 2006). According to Allen, Wolf, Bybee and Sullivan:

> Problem-focused strategies are aimed at problem solving or acting in some way to directly alter the level of [threat of, or vulnerability to sexual violence]… [while], emotion-focused strategies refer to efforts to manage or ameliorate the emotional distress associated with [sexual violence] (2003, p. 126).

The findings from this chapter show that in their responses to sexual violence, the participants employed both of these strategies. First, in terms of problem-focused strategies, the participants looked to structural solutions including locked school gates, security fence and visible security guards and police in and around the school. Available literature notes that vulnerable populations gravitate towards safety precautions as a coping strategy when their safety is compromised (Allen et al., 2003; Dempsey, Overstreet & Moely, 2000). Accordingly, these safety measures (closed gates, security guards, and etcetera) would serve to increase the adolescent orphans' sense of security and protection against violence as it happened. According to Piekarska (2000) safety is a vital strategy for vulnerable young people living in impoverished communities where the continuous threat of sexual violence persists, and the insufficient security threatens their lives.

A second category of problem-focused strategies for addressing sexual violence included access to education and employment for both victims and perpetrators. For example, in some of the images they produced and the ensuing discussions, they called for socioeconomic systems (i.e., education and employment) to be strengthened in order to reduce and prevent sexual violence. Indeed, education and employment are direct problem-focused strategies

(information seeking and resource generation) that have been found to reduce violence, especially in resource-poor communities (Allen et al., 2003).

A third direct problem-focused approach that the participants identified as a strategy for addressing sexual violence involved confronting violence and perpetrators with violence and mob justice. While the participants seemed to acknowledge their agency in addressing sexual violence directly, their solutions were characterised by mob justice, including fighting sexual violence with violence, jailing or killing and banishing perpetrators from the community. Research shows that these seemingly vigilante responses are increasingly becoming common given poor criminal justice system responses to violence in poor communities (Super, 2014; Outwater et al., 2013; Yeboah-Assiamah & Kyeremeh, 2014).

Long and Jackson (1993) argue that these problem-focused strategies serve to increase the victim's emotional well-being and self-concept. They often rely on eliciting community support by locating sexual violence as a community problem that must be handled directly by the community (Long &Jackson, 1993). Indeed, as highlighted above, in marginalised communities, the legal fraternity is often not considered a viable option for assisting victims. Thus, with the assistance of the community, victims of sexual violence find the agency to confront their perpetrators (Long &Jackson, 1993; Outwater et al, 2013; Super, 2014).

Finally, emotion-focused coping strategies involved access to and reliance on the support of professionals and community members such as social workers, female school teachers and orphaned peers in and around their school. For the participants, relying on these important social actors helps to regulate the emotional reaction to sexual violence (Joseph et al., 2006). Available literature has noted the value of identifying and talking to significant others

(professional and non-professional) in order to explore themes related to the impact of sexual violence or for finding ways to address its impact (Gregorowski & Seedat, 2013). Often, these significant others are family members, neighbours and/or friends (Gaylord-Herden, Gipson, Mance & Grant, 2008). Yet, the participants did not recognise family members as possible significant others that they might turn to for care and support in the context of sexual abuse. Rather, family members were identified as instigators of violence, including sexual abuse against orphans. Bryant-Davis (2005) reports that survivors of sexual abuse instigated by a relative reported separation from the perpetrator as an effective strategy. My analysis in this chapter suggests that the participants emotionally separated themselves from their relatives in order to cope with the burden of sexual victimisation. Since they were orphans, and relied on their relatives, they could not always physically separate themselves. Social workers, female teachers, and orphaned peers therefore became a social support network that responded to the sociocultural experiences of adolescent orphans, who demonstrated a justified mistrust of their family members. The participants' preference for community-based support and resources is further evidence of their agentic means to address their victimisation.

As discussed in Chapter Three, this thesis is located within the critical theory. Research located within critical theory uses epistemologies that are situated in the experiences, values and interests of marginalised, oppressed and vulnerable groups. Thus, as an important tenet of critical theory, this study prioritised the voices and concerns of adolescent orphans. In particular, in this chapter, the participants reflected on their experiences and vulnerability to sexual violence, thereby imagining and constructing strategies for addressing this violence. Importantly, critical theory maintains that addressing sexual violence against orphans is possible if they are provided with safe spaces in which they can freely analyse their

victimisations and critically imagine strategies for actively reducing and addressing sexual violence.

The findings in this chapter suggest that the participants refused to be non-agentic in terms of addressing sexual violence. They conjured up efforts to imagine a world without sexual violence, or where its emotional impact can be mitigated. For instance, in their responses to sexual victimisation, they could have applied passive strategies such as denial or acceptance of, distraction from, or a total avoidance of thinking about their sexual victimisation. Instead, their responses referred to active coping strategies against this victimisation. According to Allen et al. (2003) young people choose active coping strategies when they believe that they have some control over a stressful situation. In this study, the adolescent orphans imagined that they had agency in addressing sexual violence. For instance, their call for education and a right-centred curriculum, as well as the recommendation for employment opportunities give evidence to how they saw a 'window of hope' to minimise their risk for violence. Therefore, the findings from this study validate the need to consider adolescent orphans' distinctive responses to their vulnerability to sexual violence and to begin to more thoroughly examine their coping strategies (Allen et al., 2003). It is also important to view them as agentic and active individuals operating within complex social systems (Bryant-Davis, 2005). As Long and Jackson (1993) contend, how the participants imagined and constructed their responses in order to cope with their vulnerability should be considered important for both their inherent value and because of the role they might play in determining how they adjust, cope and respond to sexual violence.

While the PVM used in this study enabled the participants to identify tools and strategies for addressing sexual violence in and around their school, missing in their responses were solutions that would address behavioural change and challenge the unequal gender norms that create the conditions for sexual violence in the community and school. As highlighted in Chapter Two,

curbing and ending sexual violence in only possible when unequal gender norms are challenged (Parkes, Heslop, Ross, Westeveld & Unterhalter, 2017). Within this context, approaches that involve reflection and consciousness-raising on gender norms and inequalities help to reduce the risk and experience of sexual violence (Gibbs et al., 2017; Jewkes et al., 2014). Linked to unequal gender norms, the boys in this study failed to recognise their culpability and/or vulnerability to sexual violence. Rather, their solutions suggested that they regarded sexual violence as a girls' problem. This is problematic since available literature has shown that boys are not just victims (Dolan, 2018), but they are often the instigators of this violence (Ward, Artz, Leoschut, Kassanjee & Burton, 2018). Implications from these findings will be discussed in the concluding chapter of this thesis.

6.5 Synthesis

This chapter examined adolescent orphans' perspectives on tools and strategies for responding to and resisting sexual violence in and around their school. In particular, the chapter responded to the second research question: *What tools and strategies do they use to respond to and resist sexual violence in and around the school?* Adolescent orphans in this study used photovoice to identify the tools that could be used to address sexual violence and to construct their own solutions to the violence. In particular, they identified law enforcement (the police and security guards), and physical structures such as locked gates and a security fence as tools for addressing sexual violence in and around their school. In terms of strategies, the participants identified measures that would directly confront and challenge the perpetrators of violence. However, these included violent means such as beating, banishing, and even killing perpetrators. In the following chapter, I provide a discussion of findings that responded to the third research question: *How might the use of participatory visual methodologies facilitate these adolescent orphans' agency in the context of sexual violence in and around the school?*

CHAPTER SEVEN

DEVELOPING AGENCY AMONG ADOLESCENT ORPHANS IN THE CONTEXT OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE

Talking about images is known to introduce topics, mobilise feelings, and surface knowledge that might otherwise be overlooked or not fully understood by outsiders, in this case, adults, like us, who are trying to learn with and from children and youth (Luttrell & Clark, 2018, p. 775).

7.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I presented a discussion of findings that responded to the second research question: *What tools and strategies do they use to respond to and resist sexual violence in and around the school?* In this chapter, I present a discussion that responds to research question three: *How might the use of participatory visual methodologies facilitate these adolescent orphans' agency in the context of sexual violence in and around the school?* For this chapter, data analysis was informed by the transformative learning theory (Mezirow, 1978), which argues for a safe space for liberating individual reflection and facilitating agency among those who are often marginalised.

To analyse data responding to all three of the research questions posed in this study, three propositions for data analysis were formulated. Linked to the third research question, and informed by the transformative learning theory, the proposition was that, given a safe space and tools to communicate their perspectives, adolescent orphans can become critical, engaged and active individuals who can reflect on their experiences and imagine an alternative reality

in the context of sexual violence. In this chapter, I therefore present a discussion to illustrate how PVM were resourceful in facilitating agency among adolescent orphans to communicate about and address their vulnerability to sexual violence.

In order to generate data that responds to the third research question, the participants were given two prompts:

1. *Having participated in this research project, please write a short reflection about your experiences of engaging through PVMs to think about your vulnerability to sexual violence in and around the school;* and,

2. *Write a short reflection on what participating in this project meant for you.*

In response to these prompts, the participants used written reflections to explore their experiences of using PVM to reflect on their vulnerability to sexual violence, as well as to how the methods that were used in the study facilitated an understanding of their agency in addressing sexual violence in and around the school. After writing their reflections, each participant was asked to present his or her reflections; an exercise which was followed by an IGD.

For this chapter, using thematic analysis, I analysed the participants written reflections, supplemented by data from the IGD. Two primary themes emerged for the data: 1) PVM enables personal agency in the context of sexual violence*;* and, 2) PVM builds positive relationships among adolescent orphans. These two themes were used to organise the discussion in the sections that follow.

7.2 Enabling Personal Agency in the Context of Sexual Violence

In their reflections, the participants in this study discussed how PVM had enabled their personal agency in the context of the sexual violence they encounter at home, in their community and in their school. In particular, they reflected that PVM enabled them to identify, understand and communicate or talk about their experiences of sexual violence. My analysis suggests that these adolescent orphans viewed the role of PVM in enabling their personal agency in five ways: 1) PVM as a tool for increasing awareness about sexual violence; 2) PVM as a visual language for framing the unsayable; 3) PVM as a safe space for free expression and listening for marginalised voices; 4) PVM as a tool for enabling agency, willpower and a positive future outlook; and 5) PVM as tool for enabling cohesion among adolescent orphans. I discuss these themes below.

7.2.1 PVM as a Tool for Increasing Awareness about Sexual Violence

According to the participants, PVM engaged them and enabled them to use images or pictures to generate knowledge that increased their awareness about their vulnerability to, and experiences of sexual violence in and around their school. In particular, according to some of the boys, the visual illustrations produced by the girls began to shift their attitudes about sexual violence. They became aware of its prevalence and its negative impact on the girls. Ntwana, for example, observed:

> *I […] learned a lot about sexual violence and how it affects the lives of many [orphans]. I also learned that people must watch over [themselves] because sexual violence can even lead to their death* (Ntwana, male participant, 14 years, written reflection).

Importantly, as demonstrated by 14 year old Kwesta below, some of the boys began to acknowledge that they were also vulnerable to sexual violence:

We have highlighted sexual violence against orphans…. We are now aware that abuse is widespread, that many people are abused, and that even boys are also abused… What really helped us to understand [sexual violence] was engaging in photovoice and drawings. There is very little we do not know about sexual violence now because of the project we have been part of (Kwesta, male participant, 17 years, written reflection).

As stated above, the participants reported that PVM assisted them to identify and name the different forms of sexual violence they encountered. As 13 year old Mbali shows below, before engaging with PVM, the only form of sexual violence she could identify was rape. However, from seeing how the other participants illustrated and described sexual violence, she began to be aware that there were other forms of this violence. She stated:

I also learned a lot about sexual violence particularly that it can occur in a number of ways. I had thought that rape was the only form of sexual abuse, but now I know that even if there is no rape, when I don't agree to being touched or pulled by boys that is also abuse. Now I know that when a boy shows me their private part or when they whistle at me on the road that means they are harassing me and I should report it (Mbali, female participant, 13 years, written reflection).

This is not surprising. Phasha's (2010) research reveals that young victims of sexual violence might not be adequately mature to recognise the many manifestations of sexual abuse. Indeed, young people might also not possess knowledge about social norms and concepts of personal rights and responsibilities within the context of sexual violence (Phasha, 2010). Using PVM,

according to the participants, increased their knowledge about sexual violence. Writing in the context of HIV and AIDS, Moletsane et al. (2007) assert that using PVM creates a new form of awareness of the epidemic. In this study, the adolescent orphans revealed that their engagement with PVM helped them to be particularly aware of the many forms of sexual violence and the ways it affected them.

In Chapter Five, I reported how the male participants in the study constructed sexual violence within dominant discourses and myths that shifted responsibility from and excused perpetrators, mainly men and boys (Alcoff, 2018). In particular, the boys validated attitudes which blame girls for their sexual victimisation. However, in their reflections at the end of the project, the boys suggested that their thinking had shifted and that they had become more aware of how sexual violence occurred and affected victims, and recognised how boys and men were at the centre of sexual violence perpetration. Alsina's reflection illustrates:

> *What made me excited was to learn about sexual violence and I saw that there are many things we need to avoid like sexually harassing another person or touching their private parts without their consent is a huge problem and you can end up in jail for years (sic). That will ruin your future. [PVM] helped me a lot in identifying things I was previously not aware of, like how we boys are usually perpetrators of sexual abuse. I also know that girls are not to blame when they experience abuse. We just need more time to talk about how boys abuse girls every day* (Alsina, male participant, 14 years, written reflection).

Similarly, Twiggy observed:

> *I learned a lot because now I know that when a boy touches a girl without consent that is a violation and it shows that as a boy you don't care about girls' human rights. Sexual*

violence happens in any country and it happens a lot in our communities. (Twiggy, male participant, 17 years, written refection).

The orphaned boys in this study also acknowledged that sexual violence was a violation of girls' human rights and that touching girls without their consent was a form of abuse. Engaging with PVM provided the orphaned boys' with knowledge about consent, and that lack of consent in their engagements with the girls was a form of sexual victimisation. Not only did PVM allow the girls to articulate how they identify, understand and communicate about sexual violence, it also enabled the boys to identify their own culpability in the perpetration of sexual violence.

Luttrell (2010) argues that images have the power to reveal knowledge that might have been hidden in plain sight. In this study, the boys' narratives of what constituted sexual violence was initially not aligned with how girls experienced this violence. Rather, because of their socialisation in contexts of unequal gender norms, the boys saw their actions as harmless, playful and as a way to demonstrate their manhood or masculinity (Langa, 2010). However, by engaging with the girls' images of their experiences of sexual violence, and how these experiences were unwanted and experienced as abusive, the boys began to see what Luttrell (2010, p.224) calls "alternative narratives and hidden (girls) realities".

7.2.2 PVM as a Visual Language for Framing the Unsayable

How can a researcher engage young people to show what is often difficult to communicate about? The findings from my study point to how the use of PVM has assisted adolescent orphans to generate a 'new' language to help them speak for themselves about a sensitive topic. PVM made it possible for the adolescent orphans in this study to engage with a subject that is often difficult to speak about (sexual violence) (Mitchell, Walsh & Moletsane, 2006). As

scholars have agreed, PMV has the power to unearth silences around GBV (Clark, 2010; Mahadev, 2015). The participants noted that using PVM helped them to give more meaning and to better explain their vulnerability to sexual violence. In her written reflection, Mbali, for example, stated that the "*photovoice exercise taught me that a person can actually speak and tell a story from just taking a photo",* while Twiggy observed that he *"also learned about … how you can take a picture about something to give it more meaning and a better explanation".* Thus, engaging with PVM gave the adolescent orphans the opportunity not only to reflect on their vulnerability, but to also communicate about a topic they previously could not express in everyday language. As highlighted in Chapter Five, due to the prevailing social norms in the participants' communities, it is taboo for young people to speak about such topics as sex and sexual violence (Khanare & de Lange, 2017). Yet, PVM provided a culturally appropriate tool that allowed adolescent orphans to communicate through the visual (Moletsane, Mitchell, Smith & Chisholm, 2008). This was addressed in a group discussion, where, for example, the participants commented on how they did not even have to use their voices to communicate about their vulnerability to sexual violence. To illustrate, 14 year-old Emmanuela commented: "*Ever since we started in [this project], I have learned so many things. [PVM] taught me how to speak without using spoken words, but to speak through a photograph".* Similarly, Sthandwa, another 14 year old girl, observed that she *"… learned to speak without saying a word, and talk with just [an] image. […] I learned to understand other people's problems".*

These experiences of being able to "*talk with just an image*" or to "*speak without using spoken words*", align with Enright and O'Sullivan's (2012) contention that images can act as a bridge where access to spoken language is limited. Since there is no easy way to communicate about sexual abuse, and dialogue about sexuality remains challenging for young people in their families, school and communities, the visual artefacts they produced in this study became an

alternative form of language and expression. For the participants, the artefacts they produced acted as language in and of itself; what might be called a *visual language*. In the context of this study, adolescent orphans, a group that is often marginalised in communities and schools, used *visual language* to communicate about a subject that is often difficult to talk about in everyday spoken language. Not only did the visual artefacts they created help the participants to find ways of thinking about their vulnerability, they also provided them with a *visual language* to voice their vulnerability to sexual violence, thereby amplifying their voices on their experiences of sexual violence in and around their school. It seems the visuals supported the development of an oral language to talk about sexual violence – an almost layered approach to dealing with sensitive issues – when orphans cannot find the words at first to articulate their perspective, they used a picture and the words come in later.

As highlighted in the Chapter Two, for the orphaned girls, having a voice allows them to communicate confidently and address their sexual victimisation (Khanare, 2015; Spyrou, 2011). Using PVM in this instance provided the girls with the voice they needed to confidently communicate their vulnerability. In so doing, the use of PVM gave the orphaned girls a unique opportunity of reproducing their realities while the boys took on the position of *audiencing/seeing* girls realities (Fiske, 1992; Luttrell, 2010; Mitchel, 2015). What also emerged from these findings, as 14 year old Sthandwa noted above, is how using PVM assisted the adolescent orphans to understand others' experiences of sexual abuse. PVM, as Martin (2019) argues in her work that addressed how children used drawing to speak about their bodies, made the adolescent orphans feel comfortable to speak about their experiences; thereby reinforcing their existing knowledge about what constitutes sexual violence. Going through the process of thinking of what images to take, taking them and thinking of captions allowed for time to formulate words around these issues. In this study, I asked the participants to produce

visual artefacts about their vulnerability to sexual violence, and thereafter to use these visuals to comment on their vulnerability to this violence. In response, and using their new found *visual language*, they made references to their experiences of abuse. Focusing on their visual products made it easy to communicate about their experiences of sexual violence.

7.2.3 PVM as a Safe Space for Free Expression for Marginalised Voices

According to the participants in this study, using PVM created a safe space in which they could express their feelings and emotions in relation to their vulnerability and experiences of sexual violence (Enright and O'Sullivan, 2012). The participants suggested that they could express their feelings because, to a large extent, they were in charge of the knowledge production. In this way, the visual artefacts they produced gave them an opportunity to express their thoughts in ways that they had previously not experienced. As noted by 15 year old Kinati, "*this was the first time I could speak about personal issues so freely*". For Kinati, using PVM assisted her to show her feelings in a safe space. According to her, she felt safe because she was in charge of the sort of knowledge she wanted to communicate within this context. By producing their own visual artefacts, the participants felt they had control over the narratives they wanted to advance. This is a similar finding to that of Groenewald, Essack and Khumalo's (2018) study, in which they reported that PVM helped the adolescents to represent their perspectives and experiences as experts on their lives and needs.

Moreover, for participants like Future, the fact that they had to hide their faces (an issue that was initially contentious for some of the participants) in their photovoice images empowered her to freely open up about her feelings in relation to sexual violence. She observed:

We also learned to take [...] photographs like capturing a person without showing their face. These speaking photographs enabled us to show our feelings (Future, female participant, 16 years, written reflection).

The 'no-face' approach applied during the photovoice engagements gave Future an emotional distance from her images, while allowing her to narrate her reality. In addition, during the sharing of images in the larger group, the participants saw images produced by their counterparts and listened to the narratives that accompanied these images. In a way, using PVM gave the participants front row access to seeing and listening to what vulnerability to sexual violence looked and felt like for other adolescent orphans like themselves. While some participants depicted their experiences and expressed their emotions in relation to adolescent orphans' vulnerability to sexual violence, others became the audience to the experiences and perspectives of their counterparts. Seeing and listening together prompted, what Enright & O'Sullivan (2012, p. 46) call, "self-reflection and collaborative learning", among the participants. As Amanda-White suggested in her written reflections:

We learned to listen to other people's stories and see their pictures... We learned to think about ourselves and the things we experienced, we were also teachers and learned together without being judged (Amanda-White, female participant, 14 years, written reflection).

As we found from a different study about GBV against learners in a township school (Ngidi and Moletsane, 2015), the participants in this study saw the process of self-reflection as rewarding because it enabled them to face the realities of their lives and develop agency to address violence in the various spaces in and around their school. Hearing about the life experiences of their counterparts helped them to build a sense of connection and solidarity.

Therefore, using PVM was also a tool for seeing, listening and reflecting (Clark, 2011), and building connections and solidarity.

For participants like Happiness, cited below, using PVM provided a tool for expressing emotional pain and to also find relief. For example, she wrote how using PVM taught her to speak about things that caused her to worry, including attempts by other people to hurt her. For her, speaking about her experiences was one way of gaining emotional healing.

> *I learned that if there is something worrying you, you have to speak about it so that you can find relief... We were showing how to speak about another person's attempts to hurt you. With drawings we were demonstrating the type of futures we want for ourselves. Using magazines and newspapers (collage making) we showed what people do in our communities* (Happiness, female participant, 16 years, written reflection).

The participants' reflections on their experiences of using PVM, suggest that it offered them an opportunity to express their emotions. Fanzozo, for example, suggested that using PVM helped him to express his feelings without even talking about them. For him, the use of PVM offered an alternative in the context of the rampant sexual violence in his community and school. Fanzozo had produced a dramatic drawing depicting his feelings about sexual violence. Elsewhere, we write about Fanzozo's experiences and describe them as follows:

> His drawing of a hand pouring boiling water from a kettle onto the head and body of another person who was sitting down illustrates both the physical and psychological pain experienced by [adolescent orphans'] victims. Surprisingly, the victim in [Fanzozo's] drawing was a male figure crying that the water was hot. Perhaps this further illustrates the extent of helplessness experienced by male orphans (Ngidi & Moletsane, 2018b, p. 111).

Supporting his assertion that "*if you want to express your feelings, you don't just show it by speaking but you can do it in many ways*", Fanzozo used his drawing to not only show that sexual abuse was also a concern for him, but to further express that it "*feels like boiling water over [his] skin*". Moreover, Fanzozo affirmed the finding that producing visual artefacts in the context of sexual violence could be used to "*show another person how you feel [including] how a person treats you*". He was discussing this in relation to how he had kept his victimisation a secret because of the shame and fear he felt. Relating his experience, and referring to his drawing, he stated:

> *I have also experienced this at school and my community. As orphans we are abused mostly at home. It is a dangerous place, and when we are harassed sexually we keep it to ourselves because of shame and fear of [being] judged*[55] (Fanzozo, male participant, 16 years old, IGD, 03 October 2017).

Using PVM gave Fanzozo, for the first time, an opportunity to express his views that sexual violence's "*impact feels like boiling water*". Moreover, through seeing and listening to the other participants' images and narratives, he began to be aware that many adolescent orphans were victims of sexual violence. He also acknowledged the psychological trauma that is often experienced by victims, such as believing that any person who gets closer to them does so with the intention of harming them. He wrote,

> *What I learned regarding sexual violence is that many orphans are victims of this violence and it is not easy to speak about it. It really helped me to be part of this group*

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[55] These findings have been published as part of an edited book chapter. To read more, see: Ngidi, N.D. & Moletsane, R. (2018b). Using Drawings to Explore Sexual Violence with Orphaned Youth in and around a Township Secondary School in South Africa. In C. Mitchell and R. Moletsane (Eds), *Disrupting Shameful Legacies: Girls and Young Women Speaking Back through the Arts to Address Sexual Violence*. Leiden: Brill Publishers.

because I can now identify people who are oppressed by sexual violence. The first thing I learned is that people who have been victimised are very emotional and they are also scared. They believe that anyone who comes close to them or tries to touch them wants to abuse them (Fanzozo, male participant, 16 years, written reflection).

These sentiments support literature from the field of child psychology where therapists have used images produced by children, particularly through drawing, to help young people to express their feelings (Elden, 2013; Merriman & Guerin, 2006). The findings suggest that using PVM gave the adolescent orphans a tool for self-expression, and, as Elden (2013) states, allowed them to explore their feelings and how best to show them. Showing emotion and expressing their feelings emerged as an important asset for developing agency and healing from their physical and sexual victimisation. This was also emphasised by Amanda-White, who wrote:

I learned that photovoice can be regarded as a speaking photograph without you even speaking with your mouth. Or even something that can help you think and speak about your feelings. What made me really happy about drawings was that they made me understand many things that [have] happened to me and that we can also show our emotions and thoughts without even speaking (Amanda-White, female participant, 14 years, written reflection).

Interestingly, using PVM also assisted some of the boys, like 15 year old Mkhonto, to start opening up about their own experiences of sexual victimisation and helped them to express how they felt about this.

*[…] Photovoice helped me to learn not hide my abuse, but to speak so that I can receive help. I also learned a lot about my own life and the principle of perseverance (*Mkhonto, male participant, 15 years, written reflection).

For Mkhonto, just as was the case with Fanzozo, using photovoice assisted him to no longer keep his abuse a secret. Rather, it gave him the courage to report it so that he could receive help. Seeking or accessing help often means findings ways to disclose your abuse or feelings and PVM can provide such tools to facilitate access to care and support. Using PVM, therefore, gave the boys a voice to speak about their own victimisation; something which their patriarchal upbringing considers a taboo (Langa, 2010).

As discussed above, the use of PVM enabled the adolescent orphans to reflect on their experiences and helped them to express the feelings/emotions they associated with these experiences. These findings are in line with work which suggests that using PVM offers the opportunity for reflection (Theron, 2012). For a researcher like myself, such feelings might have been inherently oblivious. I turned to PVM because, as Luttrell (2010) and Clark (2011) argue, it was a useful instrument for my participants to construct their realities in relation to sexual violence and for them to express their feelings. Producing and engaging with the images gave the participants tools to reflect on feelings and emotions that might not have been previously considered (Enright & O'Sullivan, 2012).

7.2.4 PVM as a Tool for Enabling Agency and a Positive Future Outlook

According to the participants, using PVM assisted them to develop the willpower to heal from their past experiences. Indeed, the participants began to develop a positive future outlook and started expressing the need to let go of painful experiences. In terms of developing agency,

participants such as Twiggy, cited below, recognised their own power and the will to deal with their abuse. One of the ways of dealing with the abuse was to report it. In this way, using PVM in this research encouraged him to report should he ever experience sexual abuse. He suggested that as orphans they would no longer be afraid to report their victimisation, confirming D'Amico et al's (2010) finding that using PVM empowers participants to change their social world through reporting undesired experiences.

> *Before attending these workshops I was a very angry person, but now I can let go of painful things and focus on my future. We can get up and dust ourselves when we have experienced abuse and we will not be afraid to report when we are sexually assaulted* (Twiggy, male participants, 17 years, written reflection).

Nomthi agreed:

> *What I discovered is that when you face a problem you must speak about it because there are people available to help you like teachers, social workers and the police* (Nomthi, female participant, 15 years, written reflection).

As discussed in the previous chapter, reporting their abuse to available authorities and significant others was another way for the participants to reclaim their power. More than anything, reporting sexual abuse works to shift its stigma away from the victims by exposing that which is hidden and allows the victims to find the will to heal (Phasha, 2010). Therefore, using PVM enabled the participants to recognise the power of speaking about their sexual victimisation, as well as available community resources they might tap into in order to curb the effects of their experiences.

For China, photovoice developed her agency to 'fight' against sexual violence. She believed that engaging in photovoice was "*legendary*" because it allowed her to speak for the first time about sexual victimisation.

> *Photovoice was a way of speaking. We were shouting and fighting against sexual violence in a way that will be legendary and memorable* (China, female participant, 15 years, written reflection).

Ntwana commented on the ability of PVM to assist in developing their confidence as well as being able to speak without fear. Perhaps because of their long engagement in this research using PVM, the participants started to develop the confidence they needed to speak openly.

> *I was really happy with [PVM] because I was initially very shy but today I have confidence, because photovoice taught me many things regarding building my self-confidence. [PVM] is very important to me. If you look at me now, I am no longer the person I was when we started engaging [in this work] because I am no longer scared of people. Also, photovoice taught me to speak up and speak confidently* (Ntwana, male participant, 15 years, written reflection).

D'Amico, Denov, Khan, Linds & Akesson (2016) argue that PVM leads participants to reflect on their realities, and empowers them to think and act on the conditions that shape their lives. As suggested by the participants, using PVM presented several advantages for them. These included developing their agency in addressing their victimisation, finding the willpower to heal from the mental burden of sexual violence, as well as developing confidence and a positive future outlook. For the adolescent orphans, reporting about their experiences presented a step towards developing their agency against the potency of sexual violence. Scholars have positioned PVM within the social change context (De Lange, Mitchell and Stuart, 2007;

Mitchell, Moletsane & De Lange, 2017; Moletsane et al., 2007). Sibeko and Luthuli (2018), for example, comment on PVM in helping children report their experiences of GBV at school, thereby developing a sense of healing from the impact of this violence. Likewise, Treffry-Goatley, Moletsane and Wiebesiek (2018) have demonstrated the power of using PVM with adolescent girls in remote communities to challenge cultural practices and norms that violate them, thus helping them begin the process of healing. In both these studies, as well as in my research, using PVM became resourceful for developing the agency of vulnerable children to address and heal from sexual violence.

7.3 PVM Builds Positive Relationships among Adolescent Orphans

In this study, the participants reported that using PVM assisted them to draw on each other as a support system and a resource for developing agency within the context of sexual violence. Using PVM assisted the adolescent orphans to see their collective capability in offering each other care and support, and for working in solidarity to establish values that promote their humanity. The discussion under this theme is organised around two categories: 1) *Ubumbano and the social-protective line*; and, 2) *Evoking the spirit of ubuntu.*

7.3.1 *Ubumbano* and the Social Protective Line

Ubumbano is a Zulu word which loosely translates to solidarity, unity or togetherness. By using PVM, the participants began to be aware of their collective capability in producing their subjective knowledge about their vulnerability to sexual violence. Moreover, using this approach assisted them to think of ways they could work together to advance this knowledge. In turn, they started to recognise themselves as an important resource of support and developing agency. The participants used the term *ubumbano* several times in their various discussions. For them, they could not have produced the knowledge they did if it was not for their

ubumbano. In fact, towards the end of the data generation processes, the participants decided together to form a social club at their school. They called this newly established club *Imbumba Heroes* (*United Heroes*).

The intention behind this formation was to remain united, as a group of adolescent orphans, in order to provide care and support to each other. As the participants kept insisting, "*umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu (a person is a person through others)*", they felt that they needed to be a united group in order to manage their adversities. For example, Sborh explained:

> *What I learned from this project is that we need to work together as [orphans] in order to come up with solutions to address this problem (sexual violence) we are facing. I say this because we face so many issues and some of them are never resolved. Just like sexual violence which is something I always hear about and now have learned about and I don't ever wish to happen in my life* (Sborh, male participant, 17 years, written reflection).

The conceptual framework developed from the literature reviewed in Chapter Two, suggested that adolescent orphans cope best with sexual violence if they have a supportive relationship with significant others. Findings in this study support this claim. Through engaging with PVM, and working as a collective in generating their visual artefacts, the participants developed a sense of *ubumbano* and began to identify each other as resources.

The participants identified the importance of collaborative efforts as young people in order to negotiate the solutions needed to address their adversarial circumstances. In China's words:

> *In this project we did a lot of things that have helped me on how to protect myself and continue with my life. Each day we face a number of challenges. It is not easy to go*

through life alone, you need people beside you who will guide you into making well informed decisions… Because of this project we can now support each other and we will have the knowledge needed to help other peers. We can get up and dust ourselves when we have experienced abuse and we will not be afraid to report when we are sexually assaulted (China, female participant, 15 years, written reflection).

As noted by 17 year old Sborh, working as a group during the PVM workshops ignited the idea that by working together they could resolve many other issues that they faced as adolescent orphans. For others, like Nomthi cited below, participating in this study, and using PVM made her realise that there was a network of other orphaned children in the school that she can reach out to. She further revealed that doing PVM work helped them to strike a sense of friendship. An important finding for me was that the participants started spending time together even outside of our research engagements. Therefore, according to the participants, this research, and the methodology used, assisted them to become what Nomthi called "*my new family*".

I was not aware that they were other orphans at school. I didn't even think other people shared my experiences. Now I know I have people I can go talk to when I have a problem. Being in this project and doing all the work we did has made us to be friends. Even when you (the researcher) are not around we hang together during break and after school. We also have our own meetings now and we are using our cellphones to talk about other things. These guys are like my new family now (Nomthi, female participant, 16 years, IGD, 3 October 2017).

It is important to note Nomthi's reference to her orphaned peers as a family. Studies reveal that in the absence of biological parents, and where relatives are not reliable supportive structures, children turn to their peers for care and support (Malloy, Lyon & Quas 2007; van Toledo &

Seymour, 2013). Since the participants did not have family support, their next and immediate defence system is what I call a 'social protective line'. This is a social network of support that the adolescent orphans formed because of shared experiences. By suggesting that the other participants had become her "*new family*", Nomthi reveals that they were now the people she could trust and rely on for care and support. The other participants had become her form of a support group.

Since the methodology used in this study required that the participants meet regularly and work together, some of them began to be encouraged to change certain harmful practices. For example, Fanzozo reported that working with the other participants made him happy and helped him to deal with his cannabis addiction.

> *[This] is a great group that is dedicated and I am happy to have been part of it. It has helped me to solve a number of situations I have been facing and all the other learners who participated were encouraging. An example about me: I have found help in dealing with my drug addiction. Being surrounded by other orphans with issues that are almost similar to mine helped. We worked with each other and became united. Meeting every weekend and discussing things that will help us build a better future has assisted me in quitting [cannabis]. It did not stop there, but I also learned other things such as respect, to respect each other. I learned that we need to respect each and every person so that we may also be respected* (Fanzozo, male participant, 16 years, written reflection).

Thus, PVM facilitated the adolescent orphans' "collaborative learning, talking together, sharing meanings and understandings" (Enright & O'Sullivan, 2012, p. 47). The artefacts they produced and the subsequent discussions about their vulnerability to sexual violence led to a "shared construction of the participants' daily experiences" (Groenewald et al., 2018, p. S60).

Given its emphasis on group participation and teambuilding, using PVM offers a process that assists in alleviating the isolation that is associated with the adolescent orphans' marginalisation (Denov, Doucet, & Kamara, 2009). According to D'Amico et al. (2016, p. 531), the group engagements that are inherent in using PVM helps the participants to "develop and nurture a sense of belonging, collective identity and foster a sense of empowerment". Therefore, as the participants revealed, working together using PVM shaped their feeling of contributing to something meaningful, while, as Small-Latter asserted below, promoting a good time. This affirms the idea that PVM supports the promotion of '*collectivity*' (Mitchell, 2011).

> *We have had a good time together since the beginning of the year. I can now see what it is that I joined this project for. In addition, I can see how everything we did is helpful in my life. Now I know how to accept a person as they are and what they have. I am now patient with everything I have been through and all that I have seen in my life... I gained a lot of knowledge because whatever exercise we did, we worked together in unison. I saw the importance of working with others all the time* (Small-Latter, male participant, 14 years, written reflection).

The findings suggest that using PVM promotes a sense of closeness, which is seemingly the most desired need for adolescent orphans. Supportive relationships with significant others confirm humanness and develops hope among those who are vulnerable (Hammer, Hall & Mogensen, 2012). Therefore, orphaned peers play an important role for adolescent orphans who are vulnerable to sexual violence. The participants found solace by being part of a group and engaging through the various PVM tasks, as this was better than the exclusion they experienced in their community, their homes and their school. Thus, for them, a creative option for developing agency was to form an emotional attachment or *ubumbano* with each other. This gave them space to negotiate ways of addressing their adversity (see Motsa & Morojele, 2018).

7.3.2 Evoking the Spirit of *Ubuntu*

The concept of '*ubuntu*' is found in a number of southern African communities. *Ubuntu* is a Nguni word which means that we are all part of humanity. It emphasises human virtues such as humanity, compassion, nurturing, support, care and love. The philosophy behind *ubuntu* is the fact that we are who we are through our human interconnectedness with others (Marston, 2015). As argued throughout this thesis, the participants felt dehumanised because of their social status as orphans as well as their experiences of sexual violence. However, using PVM gave them the opportunity to support one another, which in turn made them feel like they were part of a community. As indicated by China, the participants began to recognise that they needed each other in order to deal with their victimisation.

> *What I know is izandla ziyagezana (hands wash each other). The principle of ubuntu (I am because you are) suggests that you should not leave a person when they have been abused* (China, female participant, 15 years, written reflection).

China conjured the Zulu expression, "*izandla ziyagezana*", which means that hands wash each other, in order to highlight the need to show *Ubuntu* (a sense of reciprocity and support) towards each other. According to her, no person should be left alone when they have experienced abuse. This means that the adolescent orphans recognised the importance of supporting those, like themselves, who have been sexually abused so that they do not carry alone the emotional burden that comes after an abusive experience. Similarly, evoking the spirit of *ubuntu*, Happiness highlighted the need to lean on other peers, and the need for mutual respect. Her written reflection illustrated how she became emotionally attached to her peers, who in turn gave her a sense of solace from which she could draw strength to face life each day.

Things I learned [in this project] are that you must lean on your peers and trust each other. I learned that in order to respect other people you must first respect yourself. I learned that you have to be able to speak about what is bothering you. I learned that you have to respect, endure, forgive and many other things (Happiness, female participant, 16 years, written reflection).

Likewise, Sborh highlighted the importance of co-existing with others and talking openly about his experiences. In line with the tenets of *ubuntu*, he found that his participation in the research taught him to love and respect other people.

What I learned through this project is to coexist harmoniously with other people. I can also talk to other people about my life, and I learned about love and respect. Another thing is I learned how to behave as a person. I was taught how to treat other people as a boy. We learned to apply our minds when there is something to resolve and not rush the process (Sborh, male participant, 17 years, written reflection).

It is encouraging that, despite growing up in an environment that did not offer them much love, the participants noted the importance of showing love and care towards one another. As Sborh continued, being shown love seemed to have motivated the participants to change and to grow emotionally.

What I learned … is to love other people and helping each other as children from different households, and the importance of knowing yourself and what you want in life. I can see change in my life ever since I became part of this project. I have grown and I am person among other people now (Sborh, male participant, 17 years, written reflection).

His assertion that he was now a "*person among people*" suggests that he began to see himself in a positive attitude which bolstered his confidence. Being shown *ubuntu* made him realise his value and contribution among his peers. He also became visible to himself and others. In turn, he reported that he also learned to love and help others.

For the participants in this study, putting other people's (adverse) experiences at the centre of discussions became a way of extending the ideals of *ubuntu*. Through sharing their experiences with each other, the participants began to develop values such as love and care which assisted in developing their agency against abuse. The use of PVM became a way of transforming the adolescent orphans' interaction into the creation of value for each other. In this study, *ubuntu* has kept the participants connected to each other by enabling them to offer and receive love and care (Marston, 2015).

7.4 Discussion

The findings from this study suggest that PVM was useful in developing agency among the adolescent orphans in the context of sexual violence. The participants revealed a number of ways that PVM facilitated their agency. First, PVM helped to increase their awareness and shifted attitudes about sexual violence. Within this context, the participants used their visual artefacts to extend their knowledge about what constituted sexual violence. For example, prior to engaging in this study, they had only considered explicit forms of violence, such as rape, as abusive. This belief was more pronounced among the male participants, who had initially considered their sexual behaviours as a form of 'innocent play'. These attitudes were influenced by a culture of patriarchal socialisation where boys' sexual aggression was noted as a show of manhood (Posel, 2005). Yet, for the girls, these behaviours were experienced as abusive and unwanted. Thus, the girls used their images to show not only the forms of sexual

violence they experienced, but also how they felt about these experiences. In other words, the girls used PVM to construct and reveal knowledge about sexual violence that was initially hidden in plain sight (Luttrell, 2010). This knowledge thus made the boys aware that sexual abuse violated girls' human rights and further revealed boys culpability in the victimisation of girls.

Second, PVM enabled the girls in the study to express their knowledge and concerns about sexual violence in ways that were sensitive and non-threatening (Adam & de Lange, 2018; Ezcurra & Mitchell, 2018; Groenewald et al., 2018). This ultimately encouraged an open discussion as well as explicit representations of their experiences with violence. In doing so, the orphaned girls' were able to unearth hidden transcripts about their experiences of sexual violence (Treffry-Goatley et al., 2018). By controlling the process of producing their own visual artefacts about sexual violence, the girls were able to shape, order, organise and package their experiences with the violence into meaningful and accessible information that the boys, as well as myself as a researcher, could read, interpret and understand from the orphaned girls' perspectives (Khan, 2018; Sibeko & Luthuli, 2018). Therefore, using PVM allowed the orphaned girls in particular, to represent their perspectives and experiences of sexual violence as experts on their own lives (Lamb, 2018). As I argue above, it gave girls a visual language with which to communicate about sexual violence, thus developing their agency in addressing this violence. It also provided the orphaned boys, and myself, with new knowledge that increased awareness about the vulnerability of adolescent orphans to sexual violence.

Third, expressing their feelings emerged as an important asset for developing agency and healing from their physical and sexual victimisation as adolescent orphans. Engaging with PVM was also useful for arousing emotion and reframing conversations about adolescent

orphans' vulnerability to various forms of violence, including sexual violence (Arcidiacono, Grimaldi, Di Martino & Procentese 2016; Luttrell, 2010; Mitchell & Moletsane, 2018). Bell and Cartmel (2019) concur that there is value in using PVM for expressing marginalised voices. In this way, the use of PVM acted a means of expression (Grimaldi et al., 2016). In this study, the use of PVM enabled the creation of new vocabularies for the adolescent orphans to express feelings and emotions that might have otherwise been silenced in relation to sexual violence (see also Bell & Cartmel, 2019).

Fourth, involving adolescent orphans in the research process helped them to come to terms with their adversities. The findings suggest that the use of PVM became a means of empowerment and agency among the adolescent orphans who participated. PVM holds promise in terms of intervention (Luttrell & Clark, 2018). In line with other studies, using PVM promoted healing for the participants (Elden, 2012; Khanare & De Lange, 2017; Hammer, Hall & Mogensen, 2012; Theron, 2012). Similarly, citing their work that used PVM with women diagnosed with gynaecological cancer to explore how they expressed the meaning of hope, Hammer, Hall and Mogensen (2012) report that their participants developed the willpower to heal from the psychological burden that comes with a cancer diagnosis. According to the authors, their participants started having a positive outlook and had hope that they will be cured, get back to their normal lives and had the internal power to fight against hopelessness. Likewise, Linda Theron's (2012) work with teachers in the context of HIV and AIDS affirms this finding. The researcher reports that teachers associated the experience of generating visual artefacts with healing and therapeutic meaning making. The adolescent orphans in this study shared similar sentiments, illustrating that using PVM created a space for them speak, vent, and "make meaning of lived experiences of pain and loss" (Theron, 2012, p. 386). The findings

speak to the potential for using PVM to make a therapeutic difference in the lives of adolescent orphans within the context of their experiences of sexual violence in and around the school.

Fifth, using PVM assisted the adolescent orphans to develop confidence and influence a positive future outlook. According to Motsa and Morojele (2018, p. 798), a positive future outlook describes the desires and ambitions that children hold about their future, "which has a potential to help them escape from painful life situations". For the adolescent orphans, positive future aspirations were a form of escape from their orphanhood, poverty and the violence that devastated their lives. This was not the first time the participants envisioned future aspirations. In the previous chapter, I highlighted how they saw post-secondary education as an escape from their poverty and the violence they experience. Perhaps because using PVM helped them to reflect not just on their past experiences, but also their future, the participants began to imagine a different world that was free of sexual violence despite their orphanhood status. The findings reveal that, although the adolescent orphans were vulnerable to various forms of violence, including sexual violence, engaging through PVM helped them to develop a sense of hope and a positive outlook to life and the future. The findings suggests that adolescent orphans have a desire to escape their vulnerability into a life where violence was not a regular feature (Motsa & Morojele, 2017; Phasha, 2010). Indeed, the findings further suggest that using PVM contributed to developing the participants' agency and confidence.

Finally, PVM assisted the adolescent orphans to draw on each other as a source of support and a resource for developing agency. Research about agency among children who are sexually abused reveals the positive impact of a social support system (Bhana, 2015; Motsa & Morojele, 2017; Phasha, 2010). By using PVM, the adolescent orphans identified peers as an important support system. The participants drew from each other as a form of social capital for care and

support against their daily abuse. As revealed in Motsa and Morojele (2018), children's agency emerges from how they stand in *ubumbano* (or solidarity) with each other as youths who are vulnerable to sexual violence. Phasha (2010) has long argued that vulnerable children who are victims of sexual abuse draw on elements of identification within their social environment in order to rebound from the impact of violence. In this study, the adolescent orphans identified with each other because of their shared experiences (i.e., orphanhood and sexual violence), and used this to reveal that they could be each other's support system. Since the school, their homes and the larger community provided them with very little tools and support to address their victimisation, they turned to each other as a group of vulnerable children to respond to and resist sexual victimisation. *Ubumbano* (or cohesion or unity) is an important resource and a coping mechanism that adolescent orphans could use to deal with sexual abuse in and around their school. Thus, using PVM helped them to discover their sense of *ubumbano*, which allowed them to assert themselves as a resource, and an agentic and capable community of vulnerable children.

Data analysis for this chapter was located within the transformative learning theory. In line with this framework is the idea that adolescent orphans can share in a common social action for social justice (Ray, 2006). The fight for their safety and human rights in and around their school allowed them to share their experiences, as well as learn from them. Transformative learning theory argues for the creation of safe spaces for participants to reflect on their experiences of sexual violence (either as victims, perpetrators and witnesses), and poses questions that challenge and transform conditions that stifle safety and security. As suggested in Chapter Three, at the core of my decision to use PVM as transformative tools was the need to create a safe space for the adolescent orphans to engage critically in dialogue about their vulnerability to sexual violence; thereby forming agency against it. Therefore, linked to the

third research question posed in this study, and informed by the transformative learning theory, findings in this chapter support the proposition which suggests that giving adolescent orphans a safe space and tools (involving the use of PVM) to communicate their perspectives, they became critical, engaged and active individuals who envisioned possibilities for social change in the context of sexual violence.

7.5 Synthesis

The focus of this chapter was to examine how the use of PVM might facilitate adolescent orphans' agency in the context of sexual violence in and around their township secondary school. In particular, the chapter analysed and discussed data which responded to the third research question: *How might the use of participatory visual methodologies facilitate these adolescent orphans' agency in the context of sexual violence in and around the school?* Data analysis was informed by the transformative learning theory, which argues for a safe space for liberating individual reflection and facilitate agency among those who are often marginalised.

Central to my decision to use PVM was to explore adolescent orphans' vulnerability to and agency against sexual violence in and around their school. Not only has this methodology allowed me to see the adolescent orphans' experiences and impact of sexual abuse in their lives, but, as this chapter has shown, it assisted these young people to develop their agency within the context of this violence. The findings suggest that PVM can be used by adolescent orphans to represent their marginalised voices, especially in research examining their vulnerability to, and experiences with sexual violence. Using PVM assisted the participants to produce their subjective experiences of sexual violence, and in doing so, allowed others (and male participants in particular) to acknowledge and be aware of these experiences. Moreover, PVM was helpful in providing the participants with a *visual language* with which to communicate

about the difficult and often sensitive subject of sexual violence. By providing them with a *visual language*, the methodology supported the participants with sense-making because it assisted them to engage critically with their visual artefacts (Enright & O'Sullivan, 2012). PVM enabled them to overcome their silencing and marginalisation in their homes, community and the school. It empowered them to communicate their experiences and express their views safely. As such, it enabled their agency and developed among them a sense of positivity about their future.

Even though the participants were part of a marginalised group of children, the findings revealed that these children could rely on each other for support, take decisions and address unpleasant experiences. In supporting each other, a sense of *ubuntu* was evoked among the participants. It appears to me that using PVM had a positive impact on the participants in terms of speaking, listening, seeing, self-expression, knowledge production, confidence, empowerment, solidarity and *ubuntu*. A conclusion that can be drawn is that there is value in using PVM with adolescent orphans in the context of sexual violence.

In the next chapter, I conclude the thesis by offering a summary of the findings and reflect on the contribution that the study makes regarding understanding adolescent orphans' vulnerability and agency in the context of sexual violence in and around a township secondary school.

CHAPTER EIGHT

ADOLESCENT ORPHANS' VULNERABILITY AND AGENCY IN THE CONTEXT OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE: CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

8.1 Introduction

My interest in this study was largely personal. As discussed in Chapter One, I was orphaned at the age of eight, and as an orphan, experienced sexual violence, and as an adolescent, I attended a township secondary school. In addition, my journey towards, and interest in pursuing this doctoral study was further influenced by the dramatic increase in the reported incidents of sexual violence directed at adolescents, particularly in and around their schools (Ritcher et al., 2018; Optimus Study, 2016). While sexual violence against adolescents in South Africa has reached crisis proportions, and literature on this phenomenon is abundant (see Chapter Two), I could only locate a limited number of studies that focus on the particular vulnerability of adolescent orphans (e.g., Pascoe et al., 2010; Thurman et al., 2006). Moreover, my review of the literature did not yield any studies that focused on the vulnerability of adolescent orphans to and their agency in addressing sexual violence in and around a township secondary school in South Africa.

Adolescent orphans are a group considered at risk for many forms of abuse, neglect and maltreatment (Humanitarian Relief Foundation, 2014). As highlighted in previous chapters, they often lack the safety net that is usually provided by a biological parent (Meinck et al., 2016). As a consequence, their status as orphans and adolescents fuels their vulnerability to many risks, including sexual violence, in their homes, communities and schools (Abrahams et

al., 2014). Yet, as a vulnerable population, they are rarely considered and written about as significant actors within the context of sexual violence (Taft, 2010). Rather, in instances where they appear in research, it is often the researcher who speaks on their behalf (Kidman & Palermo, 2016; Pereda, Guilera, Forns & Gomez-Benito, 2009). For this reason, this study sought to amplify the voices of these adolescents regarding their unique vulnerability to sexual violence.

I approached this study armed with the following question: *How do adolescent orphans in a poorly resourced township school understand and resist their vulnerability to sexual violence?* In pursuit of this critical research question, the study further addressed three sub-questions:

1. *How do adolescent orphans identify, understand and communicate their vulnerability to sexual violence in and around a township secondary school?*

2. *What tools and strategies do they use to respond to and resist sexual violence in and around the school?*

3. *How might the use of participatory visual methodologies facilitate these adolescent orphans' agency in the context of sexual violence in and around the school?*

The study was located within the transformative paradigm (Mertens, 2007) and used participatory visual methodology (PVM). PVM has been identified as resourceful for interventions aimed at facilitating orphans agency (Khanare & De Lange, 2017). In particular, scholars have reported on the effective use of PVM in amplifying the voices of marginalised populations, including adolescent orphans, and for engaging these populations in work aimed at transforming their conditions (Mitchell & Moletsane, 2018; Groenewald, Essack & Khumalo, 2018; Luttrell & Clark, 2018). It was within these parameters that I set out to research

the vulnerability of adolescent orphans to, and their agency in addressing, sexual violence in and around a township secondary school.

To address the objectives of the study, I worked with a group of 27 adolescents who were identified as double orphans[56] (those who had lost both parents) in one co-educational public school in the Inanda, Ntuzuma and Kwamashu (INK) township precinct, near Durban, KwaZulu-Natal (KZN), South Africa. To generate data to address the research questions, I used such visual methods as collage making, drawings, photovoice, storyboards, and participants' written reflections. Linked to each of the visual methods and to make sense of their visual expressions, I engaged the participants in interpretive group discussions (IGD). In addition, my own researcher field notes added to the data generated in the study. Data analysis was informed by the critical theory and Mezirow's (1978) transformative learning theory. Three proposition that were linked to the three sub-research questions were formulated (I reflect on these below).

8.2 Theoretical and Methodological Reflections

This study was premised on the notion that being an orphan, poor, and attending school in a community characterised by poverty, unemployment and violence, heightened adolescents' vulnerability to sexual violence. The literature reviewed in this thesis suggests that being an adolescent and an orphan, living with relatives (extended family), attending a poorly resourced school in a context of poverty, inequality, as well as oppressive gender and cultural norms and practices, make adolescent orphans, particularly girls, especially vulnerable to sexual violence (Dolan, 2015; Richter et al., 2018; Von Hohendorff et al., 2017). To develop adolescent orphans' agency in responding to and resisting the violence, the literature suggests that

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[56] These adolescents gave me permission to use the term 'orphans' and to use some of their visual productions, and share their stories for scholarly purposes.

programming must provide them with opportunities and skills for voice and decision-making, supportive significant others (including peers) and aim to challenge and change gender norms (see Chapter Two).

In view of this, I located the study within two theoretical lenses: Critical theory and Mezirow's (1978) transformative learning theory. As discussed in Chapter Three, research located within critical theory and transformative learning theory places freedom, safety, security, dignity and well-being at the centre. It encourages research participants to confront and disrupt normalised hierarchies that are often oppressive and violent, contributing as it does to social change. Underlying both these theories is research for *humanisation* (Graman 1988). Research for humanisation is realised through critical reflection and critical dialogue by both research participants and researchers. This approach seeks to provide a framework for research that promotes peace in contexts of violence, strained community relations and past traumas (Gill & Niens, 2014b). Thus, in addition to developing alternative perspectives and experiences among the participants (Meyers 2009), the study further aimed to expand their awareness of how social factors around sexual violence impact on their lives as adolescent orphans. The theoretical lens underpinning this study complement the idea that adolescent orphans can share in a common goal for social justice (Ray, 2006). The need for equality, safety and human rights in research and education allowed the participants to share their experiences within and outside the secondary school environment. In particular, first, informed by critical theory, I sought to encourage the participants to identify and reflect on their vulnerability to sexual violence and to find ways to communicate about it. Second, informed by the transformative learning theory, I undertook to create a safe space for the participants to reflect on their vulnerability to sexual violence (either as victims, perpetrators and/or witnesses), and to pose questions that

challenged them to engage in critical dialogue so as to identify opportunities, tools and strategies for social change.

Informed by the theoretical framework adopted in this study, I developed three propositions. Linked to the first critical question posed in the study (*How do adolescent orphans identify, understand and communicate their vulnerability to sexual violence in and around a township secondary school?),* the first proposition was that creating consciousness about the unequal power relations and social factors that render adolescent orphans vulnerable to sexual violence in and around their school is the first step towards not only understanding sexual violence but also challenging it. In this study, PVM was used to enable the adolescent orphans to safely explore their vulnerability to sexual violence and what informs it and to assist them to understand the unequal power relations that produce their vulnerability to this violence.

There were some notable successes in using PVM to understand adolescent orphans' vulnerability to sexual violence. The various visual methods became an alternative knowledge building and communication tool for the adolescent orphans in the context of the social taboos against speaking about sex, sexuality and sexual violence. Given that sexual violence is a sensitive topic which often carries stigma and shame, and that there is often silence around this violence, it was important for me to allow the participants to not only generate their own knowledge, but to further use it to safely communicate their experiences. I took the position that the participants, on the basis of their lived realities, were best placed to produce the sort of knowledge I wanted to uncover. Using PVM enabled the participants to produce knowledge about their vulnerability to sexual violence, and minimised my influence as a researcher engaging with vulnerable children.

Tied to the above, the use of PVM became an important tool for meaning-making and learning. As shown in Chapter Seven, since the participants produced their own knowledge, using their various visual productions, they were also able to engage in a meaning-making process. The descriptions that accompanied their artefacts and the subsequent interpretive group discussions provided a unique opportunity for communication and learning from each other. For example, while some participants used their visual artefacts to speak about their vulnerability, others, and myself included, were granted the opportunity to listen and learn from these engagements. Therefore, the use of PVM enabled the adolescent orphans in this study to document their experiences and facilitate knowledge exchange among themselves and with myself as a researcher. In other words, not only did the participants become co-researchers, they also took on the role of meaning-makers.

Finally, as Clark (2010) argues, using PVM redraws the boundaries between the researcher and the participants. In this study, the boundaries were between myself – an adult researcher – and the adolescent orphans as co-researcher participants in the research process. For example, throughout my engagement with the participants I alternated between being a researcher and a research audience (Mitchell, de Lange & Moletsane, 2017), a particularly unique and important feature of using PVM with vulnerable adolescents. Being part of the research audience required that I temporarily relinquish my role as a researcher, and instead listen to the participants as co-researchers. As an audience, I only asked questions in instances where I needed clarity from the participants. To a large extent, taking the position of a research audience addressed the power imbalances often prevalent in research engagements in favour of a more democratic form of knowledge production. This assisted the participants to speak freely about their experiences of sexual violence. This is not to say that the power imbalances between myself and the participants were completely eliminated. Rather, by making a conscious effort to listen

to their perspective without immediately interpreting what they were communicating, enabled their voices to occupy a prominent role in the research space.

Notwithstanding these successes, using PMV in the context of producing knowledge about adolescent orphans' vulnerability to sexual violence was not without its challenges. Since the participants produced knowledge about a sensitive and taboo issue, a key challenge was the extent to which power was negotiated in the study. For example, in their photovoice activities, the participants had the power and control over what knowledge they wanted to reveal. However, I had asked them to use the 'no-face' approach (taking pictures without people's faces) when producing photographs. Admittedly, it was often difficult to ensure that they strictly adhered to this approach. As I discussed in Chapter Four, some of the participants felt that the 'no-face' approach robbed them of their full power to produce the knowledge they wanted and in ways that appealed to them. In other words, they argued that photos without faces did not tell the full story about their experiences. Thus, some of the participants produced photos with faces, usually of each other. I took this to be the first step where the participants, using PVM, were reclaiming their power, agency and voice away from the researcher. The participants understood that they owned the images they produced in order to illuminate their narratives. In refusing to adhere to the no-face approach, the participants were perhaps reminding me that they had the power and agency in choosing how they wanted to present their knowledge. Essentially, when I asked them to follow the no-face rule, I was controlling their research process; a request that some participants rejected. Because we had worked hard to make the research space as safe as possible, the participants were able to not only challenge the power of the researcher, they also provided compelling reasons for why they chose to do so. Looking back, I realise that PVM requires a longer period of participant training which

should involve ongoing negotiations with the participants. A longer period of negotiations would have also led to a process of managing expectations and negotiating the power dynamics.

Linked to the second sub-research question (*What tools and strategies do they [adolescent orphans] use to respond to and resist sexual violence in and around the school?),* my second proposition going into this study was that the emancipation of the oppressed (in this case, the adolescent orphans) is possible if they are engaged in safely imagining endeavours aimed at directly or indirectly dismantling the systems and institutions that create a fertile ground for violence and abuse. I therefore, undertook to use PVM to provide a safe space for the participants to creatively articulate tools and strategies for resisting and challenging their vulnerability. This not only helped me to recognise how they understood their vulnerability to sexual violence, but also provided knowledge, from their perspective, about the tools and strategies they might use to develop their agency within this context. I reflect on this at length later in the chapter.

Linked to the third sub-research question (*How might the use of participatory visual methodologies facilitate these adolescent orphans' agency in the context of sexual violence in and around the school?),* my third proposition was informed by Mezirow's (1978) transformative learning theory, which lays the framework for the ways in which the participants can become critical, engaged and active agents who can envision possibilities for social change in the context of sexual violence. I sought to use PVM to develop solidarity among the participants, and between them and myself. I endeavoured to create a safe space, where I, as a researcher, together with the participants, received their perspectives on their vulnerability to sexual violence in and around their township secondary and the strategies they might employ to address it, with respect and acknowledgement.

The qualitative design, and in particular the use of PVM in this study, yielded some positive as well as negative outcomes. First, it provided insights into the experiences and realities of adolescent orphans in the context of sexual violence. Through the use of their own visual artefacts, their voices were not only elicited, but were also heard. The participants used these visual artefacts to narrate their own realities, thus minimising the chances of me imposing my own ideas, beliefs, experiences and attitudes. The study design further allowed me to approach the research and analysis from a variety of sources. For example, the visual artefacts as well as their descriptions were corroborated by the interpretive group discussions at the end of each workshop. This was an important element of the research because it helped the participants to interpret their own visual data and allowed them to add meaning to their visual productions (Haroutunian-Gordon, 2014). The interpretive group discussions became an important participatory approach to soliciting the adolescent orphans' voices regarding their experiences and subjective realities of sexual violence in and around their school (de Oliveira, 2011). The approach involved the participants doing the first layer of analysis by speaking to their own visual creations. Given the difficulty of analysing participants' visual data, I relied on the interpretive group discussions in order to minimise my own influence and the potential for "missing the mark" (Redman-Mclaren, Mills & Tommbe, 2014, p.2) and misinterpreting the participants' visual representations (de Oliveira, 2011). Therefore, using the interpretive group discussions to supplement the participants' visual data contributed to ensuring trustworthiness in this study. In addition, the different visual approaches (i.e., photovoice, drawing, collage and storyboards) supplemented each other to give a sort of data and methods triangulation so as to increase my confidence in the findings. I took stock of the argument that methodological triangulation provides a fuller picture about participants' experiences and their perspectives; in this case, adolescent orphans' perspectives on their vulnerability and agency in the context of sexual violence (Heale & Forbe, 2013).

As indicated above and in Chapter Four, there are, however, a few concerns about the methodological approach I adopted. First, while the participants demonstrated keenness in producing visual images using the various approaches, I noticed that some of them did not speak much during the interpretive group discussions. In particular, at the commencement of the research, when we engaged during mixed-sex group discussions, it was mostly the boys who dominated the conversations. To remedy this situation, I invited the participants into separate group discussions that were formed according to the sex of the participants. However, even in these same-sex interpretive group discussions, some of the participants appeared reluctant to speak, often giving one word answers and seemingly shy. It was mostly the boys and the older girls or those in the upper grades (such as Grade 10) who tended to be more vocal. In retrospect, I should have separated the participants according to gender, school grade and even age groups. This would have reduced the risk of the younger participants (mostly girls), feeling intimidated, and therefore, being silenced. My research is not the first to experience this challenge. For example, extrapolating from her study about engaging adolescents on sensitive topics such as HIV & AIDS, de Oliveira (2011) found that separating participants along the lines of gender, sex, and age and school grade improved their participation among. Given an opportunity to do a study similar to this, I would heed this recommendation.

Second, for the production of their photovoice and storyboard images, the participants were asked to work in pairs or groups. Linked to the above, there is a possibility that this could have led to certain participants dominating both the planning and production of the visual artefacts. As such, the data might represent the experiences of the more dominant participants in the pairs or groups, while the voices of the less dominant were silenced. Future studies need to formulate means of actively motivating participants to share power during the research process (Mitchell,

2011). Researchers must play an active role in facilitating this process, which will require ongoing negotiation among all those involved in the research.

Third, in the collage making workshop, the participants were given a variety of resources such as magazines and postcards to use to develop their visual narratives. In essence, the adolescent orphans used the images, messages and text that they sourced from these various media to construct their narratives. It is possible that these tools might have limited the scope of what the participants might have wanted to say. This means that the narratives in their collages might have been influenced by the material that was available at their disposal. Looking back, I should have leveraged on the long time frame it takes to develop collages (Treffry-Goatley, de Lange, Moletsane, Mkhize & Masinga). In doing so, I would have asked the participants to look for material outside of what I provided them. In this way, the participants would not have been limited by the images I provided, but would have made their own selection of materials and media to use to strengthen their narratives.

Fourth, in this study I worked with 27 participants from one township secondary school. Therefore, the findings are not representative of the experiences and perspectives of all adolescent orphans in South Africa. It was not my intention, in this qualitative study, to generalise the findings and analysis to all adolescent orphans in the country. Rather, I wanted to engage in a deep, information rich and more participatory study with a purposely selected group of adolescent orphans. This was important to me because, as scholars have argued, a small sample supported the depth of the case oriented analysis that was adequate for this research (Vasileiou, Barnett, Thorpe & Young, 2018). In other words, the 27 adolescent orphans I recruited provided me with rich textual data that was relevant for answering the research questions posed in the study and enabled me to raise questions and get a richer

understanding of their lived realities in the context of sexual violence. For that reason, in this study, I provided an in-depth account of the research processes, which I hope will enable researchers in similar contexts to draw some lessons and implications from the findings of this study.

Furthermore, the scope of the research did not allow the participants to implement their constructions, thoughts, realities and narratives into action. For example, the findings from the study have implications for engaging with school stakeholders (i.e., participants' peers, teachers, school management and governing body), the participants' families and the wider community. Emerging research has illustrated the importance of using PVM research findings to engage communities and policymakers in order to challenge social barriers to change (Mitchell, de Lange & Moletsane, 2017). Engaging communities would have enabled the participants to engage in political activism by, for example, using their visual artefacts and narratives to influence social change in their school and community (Mitchell & Moletsane, 2018).

Had these engagements taken place, in which the adolescent orphans used their visual artefacts to communicate their realities and tell their stories in their own ways, an important step towards creating the public consciousness needed for social change would have been taken. Yet, in a context characterised by violence, I cannot ignore the potential danger such engagements could pose for the participants. Informed by the work of various scholars who have engaged with marginalised populations in similar contexts, such danger to their safety could be mitigated by engaging in adult-facilitated activism, in which adults work with and mediate on behalf of adolescents, while at the same time privileging their voices. For example, in a rural South African community, in which researchers worked with adolescent girls to address sexual

violence in the community (Moletsane, 2018), using PVM, and with the help of the researchers, the girls organised a march against gender-based violence in their community. The march enabled the girls to communicate their experiences of violence and needs for safety in the community, and while the adult researches acted as mediators and protected the girls against possible backlash and violence, their voices were heard (Moletsane, 2018). Thus, beyond producing knowledge from the perspectives of the participants themselves, research using PVM must use the artefacts and narratives that emerge from engaging with participants to engage communities in developing and implementing interventions for social change.

Despite these limitations, research of this nature holds some promise for social change. Certainly, participating in this study contributed to raising the adolescent orphans' consciousness and knowledge in relation to their vulnerability to, and sometimes, their collusion in sexual violence. Using PVM, in particular, allowed a safe space in which the participants reflected on their vulnerability to sexual violence and how they envisioned addressing this violence. As such, this study makes several contributions to the scholarship on adolescent orphans' vulnerability and agency in the context of sexual violence. These are discussed later in the chapter.

8.3 Reflecting on the Findings

This study addressed the research question: *How do adolescent orphans in a poorly resourced township school understand and resist their vulnerability to sexual violence?* The findings in this study suggest that being an adolescent orphan fuelled the participants' vulnerability to sexual violence. In particular, the participants faced the risk of sexual victimisation regularly in and around their homes, community and school. Since these children lacked the support and protection that is usually offered by biological parents, they remained exposed to many forms

of maltreatment, neglect and abuse, which included sexual victimisation (see Bhana, 2015). The threat and experience of sexual violence left them without the agency they needed to resist this violence. Importantly, since they experienced sexual violence in their homes, their school and the wider community they lived in, adolescent orphans had limited access to care and support that is critical for addressing sexual victimisation. While the findings highlight sexual violence as a problem in the lives of all adolescent orphans in this study, a key finding was the gendered differences in how the participants' articulated and responded to their vulnerability to sexual violence.

8.3.1 Gendered Differences in Articulating Vulnerability to Sexual Violence

In this sub-section I reflect on key findings that responded to the first sub-research question: *How do adolescent orphans identify, understand and communicate their vulnerability to sexual violence in and around a township secondary school?* As discussed above, the findings point to gendered differences in the ways in which the boys and the girls in this study communicated their vulnerability to sexual violence. Notably, using the visual artefacts they produced, the girls tended to talk freely about their own vulnerability, portraying themselves as victims and witnesses of sexual violence, including in various spaces, with relative ease. Linked to their orphanhood, they cited gender inequality that is often compounded by age-based hierarchies, and unequal gender norms that tend to attribute high social status to boys and men as some of the factors that influenced their vulnerability to sexual violence (Gibbs, Sikweyiya & Jewkes, 2015). In addition, the girls highlighted their inability to report such violence due to the blame and silencing they are often exposed to in both their school and community.

What explains these trends? Available scholarship suggests that gender socialisation and the prevailing norms in the community mean that girls are expected to remain virgins until

marriage, and where sexual violence is often blamed on them, with stigma and shame attached to being a victim of rape (Howson, 2006; Messerschidt, 2000). In contrast, boys are socialised to be assertive and to show sexual prowess. As the girls pointed out, reporting their victimisation with the police or to the school authorities was often met with disbelief, blame and inaction. In addition, while speaking about sexual violence is often a difficult endeavour for children (Bhana, 2012), especially in contexts where culturally, ideas about *ukuhlonipha* (respect) and talking about sex and sexuality, particularly to adults is taboo, the girls' ability to articulate their experiences with such relative ease can be attributed to the ways in which PVM aids self-expression (Luttrell, 2010). In line with the tenets of the theoretical framework that guided this study, PVM became a tool with which girls could interrogate and speak back to the dominant gender norms and age-based hierarchies that often silence their experiences of abuse. This consequently troubles the notion that girls do not tend to speak about their victimisation until later in their adult lives (Barbara et al., 2017; Blake et al., 2014; McClanaha, Huff, Omar & Merrick, 2014). Instead, using PVM enabled the orphaned girls in this study to find the tenacity to portray their vulnerability to sexual violence. These findings also suggest that the environment created by the researcher plays a major role in how girls might open up about their lived experiences.

The boys in the study, in contrast, chose to focus on the vulnerability of girls and the need to protect them, and only hinted at their own exposure to violence as adolescents and as orphans. This was worrying given that there is increasing research which reports that boys also experience sexual violence (Dolan, 2015; Ritcher et al., 2018; Von Hohendorff et al., 2017). In this study, there were many opportunities where the boys could have highlighted their vulnerability. Instead, they used their visual artefacts to highlight girls' victimisation. Linked to their gender socialisation as providers and protectors, and therefore, as strong in the face of

adversity (Bird, 1996; Hearn, 2004), they also portrayed themselves as either perpetrators of violence or protectors/defenders of girls against the violence.

Furthermore, in their visual artefacts and during the interpretive group discussions that followed, the boys were vocal about, and seemed to endorse various societal myths about sexual violence, including those that blame girls for their own rape and other forms of GBV. For example, some of their visual artefacts revolved around the myth that girls who wear short skirts were asking to be raped. Linked to this, the boys portrayed themselves as unable to control their sex drive and to resist girls' bodies. In essence, in addition to masking their own vulnerability, while they often portrayed themselves as perpetrators, they absolved themselves of any culpability in the victimisation of girls and women, and instead blamed the girls for their own victimisation and other forms of GBV. It was only towards the end of the research, through their written reflections (an aspect I reflect on later), that the boys started reflecting on their own vulnerability, experiences of, and culpability in sexual violence.

So, what explains boys' silence about their own vulnerability to sexual violence even when they were provided with a safe space and the tools needed for self-expression? Is it because they do not experience sexual violence? Based on my own experiences (discussed in Chapter One) and the findings from the literature reviewed in this study, I do not think this is the case. Rather, their silence, as discussed above, might be linked to their gender socialisation and the unequal gender norms that govern relationships and behaviour in households and communities. For example, male virility, a show of strength (even in the form of perpetration), and the affinity towards being strong protectors of girls and women is encouraged from an early age (Bird, 1996; Connell, 1978; Howson, 2006; Messerschidt, 2000). Linked to this, the boys in this study found it easier to speak of themselves as perpetrators. When I enquired about this, as suggested

by other researchers, admitting to sexual violence would have been seen as a sign of weakness or even homosexuality (see also, Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Morell & Dunkle, 2010). Speaking about violence communicates a non-normative form of masculinity for the boys, especially if they are the victims (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Ratele, 2016). Since boys are socialised to be strong, the expectation is that they will be able to fight back (Gibbs, Jewkes, Sikweyiya & Willan, 2015). In a society where male weakness is negatively associated with femininity and homosexuality, boys stand to be judged harshly and marginalised if they admit to abuse (Bird, 1996; Hearn, 2004; Messerschmidt, 2000; Morrell, Jewkes & Lindegger, 2012). This means that, in the context of hegemonic masculinities, where boys and men are positioned as strong and assertive (Connell, 1987), for a boy to acknowledge being vulnerable to or being a victim of sexual violence would render him weak and less of a man in the eyes of other boys and men, and sometimes in the eyes of girls and women. For the boys in this study, this was further complicated by their orphanhood which, in the absence of their biological parents, required them to 'man-up' and find ways to fend for themselves. For them, admitting their vulnerability to, and experiences of sexual violence might signal a failure to 'stand up' for themselves, a failure considered demeaning to their masculinity.

8.3.2 Gender Inequality as a Barrier to Adolescent Orphans' Agency

In this sub-section I reflect on key findings that responded to the second sub-research question: *What tools and strategies do they use to respond to and resist sexual violence in and around the school?* The findings revealed a range of strategies that adolescent orphans identified for addressing sexual violence in and around their school. In their responses, the adolescent orphans described both problem-focused strategies and emotion-focused strategies. The problem-focused strategies they envisioned included reporting to the police (who would arrest the perpetrators), and banishing and even assaulting or killing perpetrators. Emotion-focused

strategies included those that addressed the emotional burden of sexual assault for victims, including accessing counselling services and providing care and support for those who experience sexual violence.

Emerging from these findings is the 'genderedness' of the participants' responses regarding how they envisioned addressing sexual violence in and around their school. For example, the girls' largely suggested strategies for addressing their post-sexual assault needs, and in so doing, resigned themselves to the inevitability of sexual violence in their lives. Linked to the pervasiveness of sexual violence in their lives, the girls did not envision any possibility where sexual violence did not exist. Rather, they seemed to accept it as inevitable, and their only remedy as existing in finding post-assault care and support. Thus, the strategies they identified were largely meant to help them cope with the emotional impacts of sexual violence. The findings provide a map that delineates a gendered, cultural and socioeconomic pattern of who gets victimised and silenced. They suggest that orphaned girls bear the brunt of sexual victimisation, and experience it in many forms, spaces and on a regular basis. In the absence of the protective layer that is often provided by biological parents, adolescent orphans face the full blow of sexual victimisation and, as argued by the participants in this study, cannot imagine a world where it does not occur.

In contrast to their silence around their own vulnerability, the boys in the study were vocal about tools for preventing and addressing sexual violence. The structures and systems they identified included locking the school gates, erecting security fences and having security guards and the police visible in and around the school. Notably, the boys identified punishment for perpetrators as their preferred method of addressing sexual violence in the school and community, including jailing them, banishing them from the community, as well as assaulting

and even killing them. By assuming the role of both protector and responder to girls'
victimisation, the boys located their solutions within normative performances of masculinity
(Ratele, 2016), thereby cementing their dominance over girls and the perpetrators of violence,
the latter as subordinated masculinities (Morrell, Jewkes & Lindegger, 2012). Critical theory
cautions about these 'normalised' patterns demonstrated by the orphaned boys in this study and
troubles the taken for granted attitude of boys' dominance over girls (as their protectors) and
over other men (by punishing perpetrators). These findings demonstrate how orphaned boys –
a group that is also vulnerable and marginalised – use girls' vulnerability to, as Messerschmidt
(2000) argues, 'do masculinity'. This involves boys appropriating a form of masculinity that
emphasises male power through the protection of girls and being aggressive towards
perpetrators of violence (Anderson & Umberson, 2001). Proposing the use of violence against
perpetrators is not unique to the boys in this study. As scholars of masculinity note, there is a
cultural connection among young men between admired masculinity and aggressive responses
to threat (Anderson & Umberson, 2001; Ratele, 2016; Morrell, Jewkes & Lindegger, 2012).
As discussed in previous chapters, punishing perpetrators does not stop sexual violence. Yet,
for the boys in this study, the use of violent strategies against perpetrators would likely yield
"admiration, esteem and social power" from others (Messerschmidt, 2000, p.298). For them,
aggression and violence are legitimate when employed in response to a threat against girls.
These findings suggest that gender norms played an important role in informing the strategies
adolescent orphans in this study envisioned for addressing sexual violence.

A second key finding in relation to the second sub-research question is related to the
participants' agency in responding to sexual violence. The adolescent orphans were able to
think about and articulate the kinds of resources and actions they needed to address violence in
their lives. However, as discussed above, these resources and actions were external to them;

they needed to come from elsewhere and not from the orphans themselves. So, what limited adolescent orphans' ability to reflect on their personal agency in addressing sexual violence? The answer largely lies in the context within which the adolescent orphans lived. To illustrate, as argued in Chapter One, South African townships are plagued by violence, unemployment, poverty, poor infrastructure, and hopelessness (Swartz, 2009). In fact, being an orphan under these conditions, and attending a school within such a context limits children's access to the resources they need to achieve positive educational and social outcomes. At the more macro-level, South Africa is a welfare state and South Africans are dependent on social systems and community. This dependence was clearly articulated in the tools and resources the adolescent orphans in this study identified for addressing sexual violence. Their responses to sexual violence were largely reliant on available state and community resources; tools and strategies outside themselves.

In sum, the findings in this study suggest that PVM enabled some agency among the participants in this study. By articulating their problem- and emotion-focused strategies, these children were essentially demonstrating enormous agency and the will to change their context. However, the findings reveal that, even with a strong need and will for social change, for the adolescent orphans in this study, their actual involvement, and personal agency in addressing sexual violence was largely unimaginable. Their position as adolescent orphans, and for the girls, their location at the bottom of the social hierarchy in their homes and their community, being involved in taking action to effect social, and having your ideas and actions taken seriously might have been impossible to imagine. For this reason, this study set out to use PVM as an intervention aimed at enabling the participants to identify what they, as individuals and as a group, might do to address sexual violence in and around their school.

8.3.3 PVM as Intervention

In this sub-section, I reflect on the key findings that responded to the third sub-research question: *How might the use of participatory visual methodologies facilitate these adolescent orphans' agency in the context of sexual violence in and around the school?* This was informed by the notion that given a safe space and tools to communicate their perspectives, adolescent orphans can become critical, engaged and active individuals who can reflect on their experiences and imagine an alternative reality in the context of sexual violence. To address this question, as outlined in Chapter Seven, I asked the participants to use writing to reflect on their experiences of using PVM to explore their vulnerability to sexual violence, as well as to how the methods used facilitated their understanding of their agency in addressing sexual violence in and around the school.

In their written reflections, the participants identified a number of ways in which PVM facilitated their understating of and agency in addressing sexual violence. First, PVM helped to increase their awareness and to shift attitudes about sexual violence, including changing perspectives about what constitutes sexual violence. For example, beyond rape and other explicit forms of sexual violence, what the boys often regarded as innocent play, including unwanted touching, whistling, and verbal comments, was in fact sexual violence for the girls. Thus, for the girls, PVM helped them to teach their male counterparts about how their actions towards girls, even when unintended, often constituted sexual violence. In other words, the girls used PVM to construct and reveal knowledge about sexual violence that was initially hidden in plain sight (Luttrell, 2010), that sexual abuse violated girls' human rights and further revealed boys culpability in the victimisation of girls.

PVM also helped the participants to express their emotions around their physical and sexual victimisation and in re-imagining and reframing conversations about it (Luttrell, 2010; Mitchell & Moletsane, 2018). In particular, it helped them to conceptualise new vocabularies for expressing their feelings and emotions that might have otherwise been silenced in relation to sexual violence (see also Bell & Cartmel, 2019). Linked to this, PVM helped the participants to not only acknowledge their abuse, but to use that awareness to identify how to change the status quo. For example, in the spirit of research as intervention (Luttrell & Clark, 2018), for the participants in this study, PVM enabled healing (see also Khanare & de Lange, 2017; Hammer, Hall & Mogensen, 2012; Theron, 2012). Further, the participants reported that using PVM assisted them to develop confidence and imagine a positive future. Their imagined futures became a form of escape from their orphanhood, poverty and the violence that devastated their lives, in which they developed a sense of hope, however limited, for a better life.

Furthermore, for the participants, PVM supported them in identifying resources that they could leverage for emotional care and support. One resource they identified involved people they could trust in the context of their vulnerability to sexual violence in the school and in the community. The participants identified their group (who participated in this study) and female teachers as resources for dealing with the emotional impacts of their orphanhood and sexual violence. As discussed in previous chapters, the boys in particular, had initially struggled to articulate their vulnerability. It was only later in the research process, and after a lot of trust and a community had been developed in the group that they started to open up about their vulnerability to, and experiences of sexual and other forms of violence. As they observed in their reflections, PVM provided them with tools for seeing, listening to and hearing each other's experiences of this violence; what Lorenz (2011, p.259) calls "a way into empathy".

Moreover, since discussing sexual violence is taboo in their community, and their vocabulary about this subject was limited, PVM and the discussions it enabled, provided these participants with a language to communicate and make sense of their experiences. It also allowed them to critically engage about this subject, thus enabling them to learn from each other.

Finally, PVM assisted the adolescent orphans to draw on each other as a support system and a resource for developing agency within the context of sexual violence. Using PVM, the adolescent orphans identified peers as a support system. They began to draw on each other for care and support against their daily abuse. In particular, they identified the notion of *ubumbano* (cohesion, unity or coming together) as an important resource and a coping mechanism that they could use to deal with sexual abuse in and around their school. PVM enabled the development of a sense of community among the participants. By working together to produce knowledge over an extended period of time in a series of workshops, the participants felt a sense of connectedness which was useful in developing their agency against sexual violence. From this sense of community and connectedness – *ubumbano*, the participants drew on each other as a resource for providing care and support in the context of sexual violence. Through their participation in the PVM workshops, the participants developed trust for one another and leveraged this new found trust to negotiate a social network of support and care. For example, the boys began to speak about their vulnerability and experiences of abuse, albeit they began to do so much later in the process. In a way, PVM assisted the boys to finally see that their masculinities were not tied to silence about their experiences of abuse. Rather, using PVM, they began to freely articulate their vulnerabilities and fears without feelings of shame and judgement. Importantly, PVM helped the boys to emotionally gravitate towards each other in non-normative ways. As argued above, hegemonic masculinity is sustained through boys distancing themselves from experiences and feelings that might be deemed weak (Anderson &

Umberson, 2001; Connel & Messerschmidt, 2005). However, the findings suggest that, in the latter part of the research process, the boys in this study began to use their vulnerability to claim personal/internal agency and to defy established ideas about what it means to be a man.

In sum, PVM supported the adolescent orphans to identify individuals they could trust, largely relying on each other, and to a lesser extent, on female teachers in their school. They leveraged this trust to negotiate care and support for themselves and others. Second, PVM helped to build a sense of community and unity among the participants that arguably would not have been possible with other methodologies. They began to look out for and to help each when needed, both during the research activities and outside. Whether they have been able to sustain this sense of community after the research project is beyond the scope of this study. Finally, PVM became a tool for the adolescent orphans to re-imagine their role and agency in addressing sexual violence in and around their school. For the boys, this involved reconstructing their masculinity to imagine their roles as both vulnerable to sexual violence and also as change agents in addressing it, evident in their open discussions about their own vulnerability to sexual violence.

8.4 Contributions of the Study

Addressing the question: *How do adolescent orphans in a poorly resourced township school understand and resist their vulnerability to sexual violence,* this thesis makes both scholarly and methodological contributions to scholarship. First, as argued throughout this thesis, while sexual violence against adolescents in South Africa is well-documented and literature on the phenomenon is abundant, scholarship that focuses on the particular vulnerability of adolescent orphans, and in particular, those who live and learn in poorly resourced communities and schools is limited. Thus, the study adds to the research literature that focuses on the

vulnerability and agency of adolescent orphans in the context of sexual violence in and around township secondary schools in South Africa, with implications for schools and communities in similar contexts.

Second, the findings suggest that adolescent orphans in the study understood their vulnerability to and agency in addressing sexual violence in particular ways. Their understandings were influenced by their identities as adolescent orphans, their gendered locations in their families, the school and the community, the school context, and socio-economic and socio-cultural factors in their community. Notably, their understandings were gendered, with the girls recognising and acknowledging their own vulnerability, while the boys ignored theirs and instead focused on the girls' exposure to violence and portrayed themselves as either perpetrators or protectors of the girls. Similarly, influenced by the unequal gender norms prevailing in the participants' community, the tools and strategies they identified for addressing sexual violence were also gendered, with girls focusing on post-rape psycho-social support and the boys looking to structural solutions and punishment of perpetrators. Notable here is the participants' reliance on external resources rather than on personal agency. Thus to address this, the study used PVM to develop a sense of personal agency in addressing sexual violence among the participants. In this regard, a conceptual framework I developed from the literature review in Chapter Two suggested that developing adolescent orphans' agency in responding to and resisting sexual violence depends on changing or addressing the unequal gender norms that govern their position in society, the support of significant others (including extended family members, peers and teachers), and developing and supporting their voice in decision-making.

Informed by the findings from the study, this thesis expands on the conceptual framework developed in Chapter Two. First, the framework argues for programming that develops

adolescent orphans' sense of personal agency in responding to and resisting sexual violence. To do this, the socio-cultural factors that impact their lives need to be addressed. For example, using PVM, such intervention must involve developing an understanding of the influence of unequal gender norms on gender-based violence generally, and sexual violence in particular from the perspectives of the adolescent orphans themselves. Informed by this understanding, PVM might be used to explore the role individuals (adolescent orphans) and groups might play in addressing the violence. This is supported by literature which suggests that PVM offers valuable insights into, not only how sexual violence functions in resource-poor communities, but also into how vulnerable children in such contexts understand this violence and their vulnerability to it (Adam & de Lange, 2018; Ngidi & Moletsane, 2015; Treffry-Goatley et al., 2018; Treffry-Goatley, Wiebesiek & Moletsane, 2016). Moreover, studies confirm the resourcefulness of using PVM to work with young people in order to develop their agency in addressing sexual violence (Sibeko & Luthuli, 2018; Treffry-Goatley & Wiebesiek, 2018).

Second, developing agency among adolescent orphans requires using methodologies that address the actual learning and engagement needs of adolescents. The findings from this study suggest that PVM is best placed to engage often marginalized populations such as adolescent orphans in producing knowledge that informs understanding about issues that impact their lives, including their vulnerability to sexual violence. For example, scholars have identified drawing, photovoice, storyboard and other participatory visual methods as appropriate strategies for working with adolescents in research that seeks to influence and/or effect social change in institutions and communities. Scholars argue that PVM can influence policymaking for addressing sexual violence while enabling marginalised children to fight for social change (Adam & de Lange, 2018; Literat, 2013). Within this context, the culturally sensitive, 'co-constructedness' and playful (and enjoyable) nature of PVM makes it an efficient strategy that

is suitable for working with young people, particularly in resource-poor contexts (Literat, 2013; Lomax, 2012; Treffry-Goatley et al., 2017).

Finally, premised on the notion that participatory visual research holds promise for social change for marginal groups such as adolescent orphans, the framework proposed here argues that while PVM may have been effective in influencing individual change among the participants, for example, by increasing and/or extending their understanding of sexual violence and their vulnerability to it, the study stopped short of actively influencing social change beyond the research project. For example, to influence social change in which sexual violence is addressed at school and community level, interventions need to engage stakeholders in these spaces in efforts aimed at understanding as well as responding to and resisting the violence against adolescent orphans and others. In particular, using PVM, such stakeholder engagement could involve engaging in critical reflection and debate on understanding and addressing unequal gender norms, including notions of femininity and masculinity in these spaces. Supporting this assumption, researchers working with vulnerable groups in marginalised communities have noted how PVM assists community members to communicate prevalent issues with policy-and-decision makers (Mitchell, de Lange & Moletsane, 2017; Wang, Morrel-Samuels Hutchison, Bell & Pestronk, 2004). In the context of the findings in this study, this could involve adolescent orphans' activism including the creation of policy posters or organizing and participating in a march to create awareness against sexual violence in their community (Adam & de Lange, 2018; Moletsane, 2018). Figure 8.1 illustrates.
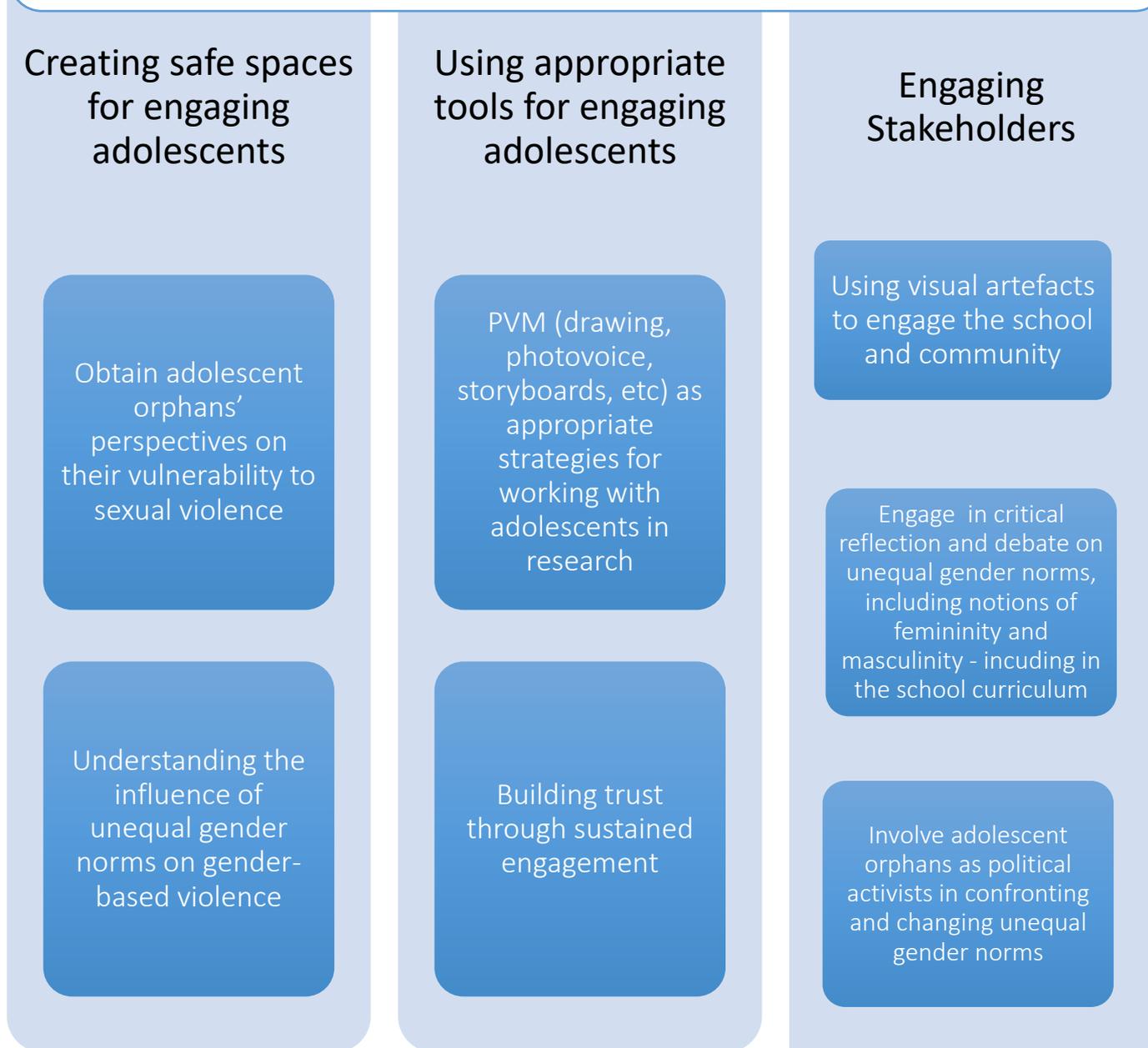
Figure 8.1: Developing Adolescent Orphans' Agency in the Context of Sexual Violence.

This thesis also makes a methodological contribution to the scholarship about the use of PVM in engaging adolescent orphans in understanding, responding to and resisting sexual violence in and around schools. As described throughout this thesis, my research process and the findings highlight the value of PVM as not just an important research tool but as an

intervention. This study illustrates the ways in which PVM can be a critical tool for identifying, understanding and addressing sexual violence against adolescent orphans. This requires creating a safe space in which the participants can freely analyse their vulnerability using the right tools (e.g., PVM). Providing such a space is likely to enable them to freely communicate their perspectives, and to become critically engaged and active agents of social change. As the findings in this study illustrate, such an intervention requires long/sustained engagement in which relationships of trust can be built, not only between the researchers and the participants, but also among the participants themselves.

8.5 Implications

The findings in this study and the conclusions drawn have several implications. First, the findings have implications for programming that targets adolescent orphans such as my participants in this study. To illustrate, this study was premised on the assumption that adolescent orphans occupy marginal positions in their communities and schools and are therefore, vulnerable to sexual violence. Furthermore, in the context of the taboos against speaking about sex, sexuality and sexual violence, as a marginal group, adolescent orphans are often denied the opportunity to articulate their understandings and experiences of such violence. While available research and policy frameworks support the participation of adolescent orphans in research and development programming, the findings in this study suggest that the institutional contexts as well as prevailing social norms and cultures in which adolescent orphans operate limit their full and meaningful participation. To enable their full participation, as the framework developed above suggest, safe spaces must be created, both in school and the larger community, within which orphans can freely express and analyse their knowledge of sexual violence.

Second, the study was also premised on the understanding that programming that seeks to enable adolescent orphans' agency in the context of sexual violence must involve the active participation and support from the school and community stakeholders (such as teachers, school leadership, political councilors and other community leaders). The findings in this study suggest that stopping at individual change (e.g., changing the individual adolescent's perspective) will not go a long way in changing the environment that silences them, and makes them non-agentic in the face of abuse. Thus, the findings have implications for understanding adolescent orphans' full participation as much more than just taking part in research. Rather, as UNICEF (2010) puts it, full and meaningful participation involves participants' active engagement in decisions made about their lives and the implications of those decisions. As I have argued in this thesis, this can only be realized if they feel safe to participate, and confident that their voices will be heard and taken seriously in school and community decision-making.

Third, the findings have implications for policy, particularly at school level. For example, premised on the understanding that safe spaces need to be created for adolescent orphans to fully and actively participate in understanding and resisting sexual violence, the school could create new opportunities for their views to be meaningfully represented in key decision-making structures. This could involve ensuring that they are represented on such structures as the Learner Representative Council and School Governing Body, this to ensure that their perspectives are meaningfully represented in these decision-making structures.

Finally, the findings in this study have implications for future studies. For example, the findings suggest that the use of PVM in this research raised the adolescent orphans' consciousness in terms of their vulnerability to sexual violence and the sociocultural ecologies that render them at risk. However, consciousness about sexual violence did not help develop their personal

agency in addressing the violence. With this understanding, there is a need for research and interventions that seek to transform the status quo (e.g., change the prevailing unequal gender norms), so as to develop adolescent orphans' personal agency, and enable them to be political activists who can confront sexual violence. Future research is needed that will include exploring the role of, and strategies for engaging the community, the family and the school in changing unequal gender norms and developing individual and group agency in addressing sexual violence against adolescent orphans and other marginal groups in schools and communities.

8.6 Conclusion

I entered this research with a personal history of sexual violation as an orphaned child. Based on this experience, I knew that speaking about sexual violence was difficult, and that for me, there were no people I could trust and no safe spaces in which I could share my experiences. I spent some time before the commencement of writing this thesis thinking about my own experiences of growing up an orphan in a township, including what could have helped me report my abuse, and, with this hindsight, how I could best engage with adolescent orphans and report their narratives with care and consideration. From reflecting on my childhood, and through my engagement with scholarly literature, teachers and community members, I came to better understand how and why adolescence and orphanhood renders children vulnerable and exposes them to neglect, abuse, and violence (Cluver, Gardner & Operario, 2007; Morantz et al., 2013).. Linked to my own experiences, I was interested in adolescent orphans who, like me, lived and studied in township communities. I wanted to understand how adolescent orphans identified, experienced and communicated their encounters with sexual violence in and around a secondary school. Importantly, I explored how the use of participatory visual methodology might facilitate their agency in addressing this violence.

As I conclude this study and thesis, I have come to understand how social cultures shape inequality and the gender norms that inform the social ecologies that place orphans at risk for sexual violence. The findings from my study suggest that sexual violence remains a threat in the lives of adolescent orphans. Within this context, girls are especially at risk of experiencing this violence in theirs schools, their homes and their wider communities. As a result, they live in continuous fear where they see sexual violence as inevitable, and as such, their agency in responding to and resisting the violence is often diminished. Informed by their position in hegemonic masculinities, in which they are positioned as dominant over girls, women as well as boys and men who are regarded as weaker, the boys in this study tended to minimise and even deny their vulnerability to sexual violence, an instead positioned themselves as either perpetrators and/or protectors of girls. To move them towards developing a sense of personal agency, this thesis, framed within a transformative paradigm, argues that the socio-cultural factors that impact the lives of adolescent orphans need to be addressed. In particular, such interventions could involve the use of participatory visual methods to create safe spaces in which adolescent orphans can communicate their perspectives on their vulnerability to sexual violence and the strategies they envisage for addressing it. This knowledge can then be used to engage stakeholders in the school and community in a critical reflection on the unequal gender norms and power relations that limit the agency of marginal groups such as adolescent orphans, girls and women in these spaces. Unless we understand sexual violence from the perspectives of those who experience it (for example, adolescent orphans, girls and women), and use these understandings to develop, together with them, interventions that target their needs, efforts to curtail such violence will continue to fail, and their violation will continue unabated.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

LETTER OF ETHICAL CLEARANCE AND APPROVAL

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL
INYUVESI YAKWAZULU-NATALI

6 March 2017

Mr Ndumiso D Ngidi 207511848
School of Education
Edgewood Campus

Dear Mr Ngidi

Protocol reference number: HSS/1764/016D
Project title: Picturing orphans' vulnerability, resilience and agency: Using participatory visual methods as transformative pedagogies to address sexual violence among orphans attending a township secondary school in KwaZulu-Natal.

Full Approval – Full Committee Reviewed Protocol

In response to your application received 18 October 2016, 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

Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)
Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

/pm

cc Supervisor: Prof Relebohile Moletsane
cc Academic Leader Research: Dr SB Khoza
cc School Administrators: Mrs B Mnguni, Ms P Ncayiyana, Ms M Ngcobo & Ms T Khumalo

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Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee
Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)
Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building
Postal Address: Private Bag X54001, Durban 4000
Telephone: +27 (0) 31 260 3587/8350/4567 Facsimile: +27 (0) 31 260 4609 Email: ximbap@ukzn.ac.za / snymann@ukzn.ac.za / mohunp@ukzn.ac.za
Website: www.ukzn.ac.za

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APPENDIX B

LETTER OF APPROVAL: KWAZULU-NATAL DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

education

Department:
Education
PROVINCE OF KWAZULU-NATAL

Enquiries: Phindile Duma	Tel: 033 392 1041	Ref.:2/4/8/1149

Mr ND Ngidi
02 Stellar Green Mansions
124 Esther Roberts Road
Glenwood
4001

Dear Mr Ngidi

PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN THE KZN DoE INSTITUTIONS

Your application to conduct research entitled: **"PICTURING ORPHANS' VULNERABILITY, RESILIENCE AND AGENCY: USING PARTICIPATORY VISUAL METHODS AS TRANSFORMATIVE PEDAGOGIES TO ADDRESS SEXUAL VIOLENCE AMONG ORPHANS ATTENDING A TOWNSHIP SECONDARY 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 27 January 2017 to 07 June 2019.
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 Connie Kehologile 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.

JG Zuma Secondary School

Dr. EV Nzama
Head of Department: Education
Date: 01 February 2017

...Championing Quality Education - Creating and Securing a Brighter Future

APPENDIX C

LETTER OR REQUEST TO CODUCT REASERCH AT THE SCHOOL

AND PERMISSION FORM BY SCHOOL MANAGEMENT

The Principal

███████████████ School

███████ Road

█████████, Kwamashu

KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa

Cc: Chairperson of School Governing Body

Dear Mr ████████

<u>Letter of Requesting to Conduct Research at ██████████████ School</u>

My name is Ndumiso Daluxolo Ngidi. I am a PhD candidate at the University of KwaZulu-Natal in the School of Education. This letter is a formal request to conduct a research study at your school as part of my Doctoral Studies. The title of the study is:

Picturing Orphans' Vulnerability, Resilience and Agency: Using paticipatory visual methods as transformative pedagogies to address sexual violence among orphans attending a township secondary school in KwaZulu-Natal.

While my study focuses on the vulnerability of orphans attending a township secondary school to sexual violence; it further seeks establish and develop the learners agency and resilience against sexual violence. The study will use participatory visual methodologies (such as, participatory-video, photo-voice and role-play) to work with learners identified as orphans. I envision commencing with all project activities in the first term of 2017, and continue until the end of the third term. Research activities will take place mostly on weekends and on selected days after school hours. Therefore, learners' academic programmes will not be affected.

This letter will further explain what this project is about. Attached to the letter is a certificate of consenting for the participation of learners in your school in the project. Before you decide if you would like your school to be the study site, I would like to explain the project, its risks, its potential benefits, and what the learners will be asked to do. You may ask questions as we discuss the study, so that you understand what the study is about. It is important you know that:

Learners' participation in this study will be entirely voluntary;

- The school's identity (including that of teachers and learners, and other staff/stakeholders) will be protected and kept anonymous or assigned pseudonyms that only I and supervisor will be aware of.

- You can ask questions now and/or at any time during the project, particularly if there are phases of the project that you do not understand; and

- If learners volunteer to join the project, the can change their mind later and withdraw from the study at any time.

Before you can make a decision regarding my request, I would like to explain the purpose of this project; how the project may help learners or others; any risks learners may face while participating in this project; and what is expected of the learners during the project

Once you understand the project, and if you allow me to conduct the project at your school, I will ask that you give consent by signing the attached certificate of consent, and you will be given a signed copy of it to keep.

Purpose of the project
Participants in the project will be both female and mate learners from your Secondary School. The purpose of this project will be to explore how a group of orphaned learners attending a township secondary school identify, understand and speak about their own vulnerability to sexual violence. I also aim to examine the use of visual participatory methods in addressing sexual violence among learners identified as orphans in your secondary school.

Study procedures
There will be a maximum of twenty participants in this project. Participants should be learners from grades 9 to 10 whose both parents have died, They need to be interested in participating in using various methods to discuss and explore how they identify, understand and speak about their own vulnerability, resilience and agency to sexual violence. Participants need to have the consent of their caregiver or legal guardian to participate in the project, and to give assent.

Possible risks
The possible risks associated with participation in the study are minimal. There may be things that learners find uncomfortable in talking about. However, they will not be forced to discuss anything that they do not feel comfortable discussing. As mentioned above, the learners, the school and all staff and stakeholders within and outside the school will remain anonymous, and their confidentiality will be protected by the use of pseudonyms (false names) that will be known only by the project team.

Reimbursement
No one will receive any form of payment for participating in the study. However, learners will receive two books (novels) related to the project, stationery (including diaries, notepads and other writing material), and training on using cameras and cell phones for the purposes of data collection.

Confidentiality
All data will be treated with the strictest confidentiality. All study information or material will be identified only by individual participant code numbers or pseudonyms and will be kept confidential in a locked file drawer at the researcher's residence. This information or material will be available only to the research team. No real names (including learners, school, management, teachers and other staff) will be used in any publication or presentation about this study. No photographs or video footage in which any stakeholder are recognisable will be used in any publication or presentation about this study without the prior consent of the school's stakeholders.

In addition to the research team, the data may be reviewed by the ethics committee.

Digital Recordings

The participants will be asked to allow the project team to digitally record the workshops, so that the project team can make sure that these activities are being carried out correctly and that the project team understands what is being said by participants. The digital recording may take the form of voice recording or video recording. Each digital recording will be transcribed, and all recordings will be erased within two years of publication of study findings, or if there is no publication, no later than six years after the study has ended. Information from the recordings may be presented at professional meetings or in written articles, in which case no names or other personal identifiers will be used.

Digital recording is a requirement for study participation. All project activities will be confidential; everyone involved will be identified only by a unique number or pseudonym assigned to them, and no individual names will appear on the audio file or the transcript of the interview. No one, except the research team, will have access to any of the audio files or the transcripts of study activities, Learners can decide to withdraw from the study at any time. If they do not want the project activities to be digitally recorded, they are not eligible to participate in the research project, since it is important that the research team is able to listen to the digital recordings so as to understand exactly what is being said.

Alternative to study participation

If learners choose not to participate in the project or choose to withdraw, they will not be affected in any way

Contact details

If you have any questions about this study or study procedures now or in the future, please contact Ndumiso Ngidi, who is conducting this research UKZN on 078 774 1407 or ndumison@gmail.com.

You may also call my supervisor, Professor Lebo Moletsane, at:

Faculty of Education
University of KwaZulu-Natal,
Edgewood Campus
Private Bag X03
Ashwood
3605
Tel (0027) 31 260 1024 Fax
(0027) 31 260 7594 emails:
moletsaner@ukzn.ac.za,

I look forward to hearing from you, and hope that the school will take my request into consideration.
Yours Sincerely,
Ndumiso Daluxolo Ngidi (Mr)

Certificate of Consent by the School's Management

I _____MR PRAGASEN NAIDOO_____, hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project, and I agree to allow the school to be used as a study site and my learners as participants in the project.

I understand that both the school and learners have the freedom to withdraw from the project at any time. I further understand that the information given by learners, their identities and that of the school as well as all stakeholders will be treated with utmost confidentiality. I further understand that my identity and the identity of my school, family and those close to me will be protected at all the time during and after the research project,

███████████ _____   18/10/2016 . _____

Signature of School Principal:

                                        Date:

APPENDIX D

SOCIAL WORKER'S LETTER OF SUPPORT FOR THE RESEARH

AND RESEARH PARTICIPANTS

uMthombo - Street Children
(Section 21 Reg: 2005/000362/08 – Non-Profit Number: 040-513-NPO)

Offices: 4 Buxton Gardens,
Umbilo, Durban
4075
South Africa

Tel: 031 205 0512
Fax: 031 205 0492

Email: info@umthombostreetchildrensa.org
Web: www.umthombostreetchildrensa.org

05 October 2016

RE: Clinical / Counselling Support to Mr. N D Ngidi and Study Participants

To: Ethics Committee Members – College of Humanities

I hereby wish to express my willingness to offer psycho- social support to Mr. N D Ngidi and the study participants as they undertake the project in the chosen field of research.

This support will also be co-facilitated with my mentor and uMthombo's external consultant, Dr. Rubeena Partab, offering debriefing support either on an individual or group basis, as agreed to with Mr. Ngidi and the study participants.

My expertise in the helping profession stems from almost close to 15 years of experience in the field of providing care and support to careers, disenfranchise population as well as victims of trauma. Leading and facilitating workshops, group work sessions as well as one on one (individual) sessions that enables participants movements & focus away from life destructive realities, choices and decision towards more life giving experiences, choices and decisions.

The above mentioned experience has been an accumulation of knowledge and experience gained from various institutions that I have been involved with, namely -: South African National Defense Force, Methodist Church of Southern Africa, Diakonia Council of Churches, Pietermaritzburg Agency for Christian Social Awareness, Institute for Healing of Memories as well in my current field of work, with families and children who street connected.

It will be my pleasure together with Dr. Rubeena Partab to offer both psychosocial as well as when required to an empirical research support to the "POVRA" Research Team (Picturing Orphans' Vulnerability, Resilience and Agency).

The research to be undertaken will also be mutual beneficial to the work that am currently undertaking in respect to former street connected children who have been successfully reintegrated back to their communities. The outlined research objectives, community mapping and including the community situational analysis perfectly assimilates many case studies we have been engaged with over the past 5 years.

Looking forward to a mutually beneficial project, which its intentions are based on real developmental principles and redressing our communities' social contrast.

Sincerely

Mpendulo E Nyembe
Director.

APPENDIX E

EXAMPLE OF INFORMED CONSENT FORM FOR CAREGIVERS

DEAR PARENT/GUARDIAN

Good day, my name is **Ndumiso Daluxolo Ngidi**. I am a PhD candidate at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. I am seeking your permission to have your child participate in a study to help me understand about issues of violence, safety, and security in the lives of orphaned children in and around schools. The title of the study is: Picturing Orphans' Vulnerability, Resilience and Agency: Using participatory visual methods as transformative pedagogies to address sexual violence among orphans attending a township secondary school in KwaZulu-Natal.

Before you decide if you would like your child to join this study or not, I want to explain what the project involves, and what the child will be asked to do. You may ask questions as we discuss the study, so that you understand fully before you make the decision. It is important for you to know that:

- Your child's participation in this study is entirely voluntary;
- Yu can ask questions now or at any time during the project; and
- If you allow your child to join the project, you can change your mind later and withdraw her/him from the study at any time.

I would like to invite your daughter/son to meet with me and other children from your child's school on a series of workshops. In these workshops, which will take place at break time, on Saturdays and school holidays, we will have art-making sessions and discussions. These sessions will focus on how art and technology can be used to tell a story or express ideas and messages about safety for young people in Grade 9-10 and violence prevention. In these workshops, your child will have an opportunity to learn about new arts-based methods (i.e.: take photographs with digital cameras, create films with cellphones, create drawings, storyboards, poster narratives, collages, and plan a photo exhibition). Your child will also participate in focus group discussions with other children in the project. The group will present their views to other children in the school and to teachers. However, the data that they will be a joint opinion of all participants, and will not reflect any one child at any time.

Activities:

These sessions will focus on how art and technology can be used to tell a story or express ideas and messages about vulnerability to sexual violence for young people. We will do different kinds of fun activities including photography, participatory video through cellphones, drawing (Like storyboards) and other visual art making. We will talk about how these activities can be used to show ideas and experiences, work together with others, and learn about different art forms and technologies. These activities will be a way for participants to talk about things that are important to them or things that they find hard, such as sexual violence, so that we can work towards ways to make them better. Participants will be given supplies to use for free and they will be able to keep what they make; they will also be able to use different kinds of tools and materials and get the chance to share their creations, experiences, and ideas with others. If it is okay with you, we would like to take pictures of their artwork for us to keep. The participants will have an opportunity to talk about their artistic productions and what messages they are trying to get across. We will audio record what the group says about the images and these audio recordings will later be transcribed. No one but me and my supervisor will have access to these audio recordings. The audio recordings will be transcribed (words written down) and afterwards

destroyed. The documents will be kept in a locked file cabinet in the offices of the research team and copies will be destroyed at the end of the project.

The child in your care if she/he is willing, will participate in activities like those described above several times t. As a part of this project, with the support of the research team, your child and the other the children will organize viewings and exhibitions of their films, photographs and artwork. This is a way to start school and community discussions about issues of safety and to help orphaned children to influence school and other policies.

Compensation:

Participation in the project will be voluntary. Your child and others will not receive any monetary compensation for participating but we will make sure that there are refreshments during the workshop, and in any part of the study at any point in time we will make sure that he/she knows that it is possible to withdraw.

Risks:

The possible risks associated with participation in the study are minimal. There may be things that you are uncomfortable talking about. You will not be forced to discuss anything that you do not feel comfortable discussing. You will remain anonymous, and your confidentiality will be protected by the use of pseudonyms (false names) that will be known only by the project team that you have already met.

Benefits:

This project is a way to start larger discussions about issues of safety and to help orphaned and other children shape policies. Some of the things I want to learn about this project include, what does sexual violence mean to young children who are orphaned? What messages would they like to give communities and policy makers about making girls' everyday lives safe and secure? How does improving communities change how young people feel safe? Do the children themselves feel the same about these things? The findings from the study may be presented at conferences, in academic journals, books or in reports, and through exhibitions.

Confidentiality:

All data will be treated with the strictest confidentiality. All study information or material will be identified only by individual participant code numbers or pseudonyms and will be kept confidential in a locked file drawer at the researcher's residence. This information or material will be available only to the research team. Your name will never be used in any publication or presentation about this study. No photographs or video footage in which you are recognisable will be used in any publication or presentation about this study without the prior consent of your parent or legal guardian, and your assent.

In addition to the research team, the data may be reviewed by the ethics committee.

Digital Recording

You will be asked to allow the project team to digitally record the workshops, so that the project team can make sure that these activities are being carried out correctly and that the project team understands what is being said by participants. The digital recording may take the form of voice recording or video recording. Each digital recording will be transcribed, and all recordings will be erased within two years of publication of study findings, or if there is no publication, no later than six years after the study has ended. Information from the recordings may be presented at professional meetings or in written articles, in which case no names or other personal identifiers will be used.

Digital recording is a requirement for study participation. All project activities will be confidential; you will be identified only by a unique number or pseudonym assigned to you, and no individual names will appear on the audio file or the transcript of the interview. No one, except the research team, will have access to any of the audio files or the transcripts of study activities. You can decide to withdraw from the study at any time. If you do not want the project activities to be digitally recorded, you are not eligible to participate in the research project, since it is important that the research team is able to listen to the digital recordings so as to understand exactly what is being said.

Withdrawal from Study:

Please know that even if you wish to present to policy makers, you can, at any point in the duration of the project, change your mind, and still be part of this project. Abstaining from one part of the project does not disqualify you from participating in other parts of the project.

Contact Information:

Relebohile Moletsane (Supervisor)	**Ndumiso Daluxolo Ngidi**	HSS Research Ethics
JL Dube Chair in Rural Education	PhD Candidate	Administrative Officer
School of Education	School of Education	HSS Research Ethics Office
University of KwaZulu-Natal	University of KwaZulu-Natal	Email:
moletsaner@ukzn.ac.za	ngidindu@gmail.com	Tel: 031 2603587
Tel: +27 (0)31 260 3023	Tel: +27 (0)78 774 1407	
Fax: +27 (0)31 260 1598	Fax: +27 (0)31 260 1598	

Kindly respond to the following questions:

Workshops
I will allow my child to participate in the first 2 workshops each lasting 2 hours: **Yes __ No__**
I will allow my child to participate in the long-term project for up to 24 months: **Yes __ No__**

Photographs:
I allow the photograph my child produces to be to be viewed in public during exhibitions. **Yes _ No__**
I allow photographs of my child to be viewed in public during exhibitions.   **Yes __ No__**

Videos:
I allow the videos my child creates to be viewed in public during exhibitions.   **Yes __ No__**
I allow videos my child appears in to be viewed in public during exhibitions.   **Yes __ No__**

Visual Art:
I allow the visual art my child creates to be viewed in public during exhibitions.   **Yes __ No__**

Audio-Recordings:
I allow my child's voice to be audio-recorded during focus groups and workshops: **Yes __ No__**

If your child does not wish to have their audio recorded, I with talk with them separately and their words will be written down on paper.

I allow my child to be interviewed one-on-one with a researcher.   **Yes___ No___**

Signature:
YOUR CHILD'S NAME_____
YOUR NAME (Parent/Guardian):_____
YOUR SIGNATURE:_____
TODAY'S DATE:_____

Consent

I_____ hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project, and I agree to allow my child to participate in the research project.

I understand that I have the freedom to withdraw my child from the project at any time. Should I so desire to allow him/her to participate, I understand that the information s/he gives and his/her identity will be treated with utmost confidentiality. I further understand that my identity and the identity of my family and those close to me will be protected at all the time during and after the research project.

_____   _____

Signature of Guardian/Caregiver: Date:

APPENDIX F

EXAMPLE OF TRANSLATED INFORMED CONSENT FORM FOR CAREGIVERS

Ifomu lemvume

Ngiyakubingelela mzali/ mqhaphi wengane.

Ngiyakubingelela ngentokozo enkulu, igama lami ngingu Ndumiso Daluxolo Ngidi. Ngingum'fundi owenza izifundo ze Phd esikhungweni semfundo ephakeme okuyiNyuvesi yaKwaZulu-Natal. Bengingathanda ukuthi ungiphe imvume yakho ukuze ingane yakho okambe ingane oyiqhaphile ibambe iqhaza ocwaningweni engilwenzayo mayelana nezingqinamba eziphathelene nokuhlukumezeka, ukuphepha, kanye nokuvikeleka kwezimpilo zezingane ezingesanabazali ezikoleni abafunda kuzo nangaphandle kwamasango esikole. Igama laloluvcaningo libizwa ngokuthi: Picturing Orphans 'Vulnerability, Resilience and Agency: Ukusebenzisa izindlela ngokubamba iqhaza ngokugcwele iyona ndlela engasetshenziswa ukukhuluma ngokuhlukunyezwa ngokocansi ezinganeni eziyizintandane ezifunda ezikolweni zamazinga aphakeme emalokshini esifundazweni saKwaZulu-Natal.

Ngaphambi kokuthi uthathe isinqumo mayelana nokuthi ungathanda yini ingane yakho ibambe iqhaza noma cha, bengingathanda ukuchaza okuqukethwe ilolucwaningo, nanokuthi yini elindelwe enganeni yakho. Unalo ilungelo lokubuza noma yini njengoba sisachaza nje, khona uzoqonda kabanzi ukuthi lolucwaningo lumayelana nani ngaphambi kokuthatha isinqumo. Kubalulekile ukuthi wazi ukuthi: Ukubamba iqhaza kwengane yakho akuphoqelekile kuloluvcaningo; uvumelekile ukubuza imibuzo manje noma inini inqobo nje ucwaningo lusaqhubeka; unelungelo futhi lokuyekisa umtwana wakho ekubambeni iqhaza noma ingasiphi isikhathi, uma ushintsha umqondo.

Ngingathanda ukumema undodakazi wakho okambe undodana kanye nezingane zesikole abafunda kuso kuma workshop (ukukhalinywa) azothatha izikhathi ezahlukene okungathatha isikhathi esila kuma hora amabili njalo uma sihlangene. Kulokukuhlangana kwethu okuzokwenzeka ngezikhathi zokuhlaba ikhefu kwabafundi ngesikhathi seskole, kungaba imiGqibelo okambe amaholidi eskole. Lapho sizobe senza khona izinto zobuciko okambe imisebenzi yezandla siphinde sixoxa futhi. Lokhu kuhlangana kwethu nezingane kuzobe kugxile kakhulu ekuthini ezobuciko kanye nezobuchwepheshe zingasetshenziswa kanjani ekuxoxeni okambe ekuvezeni umqondo noma ukudlulisa umubiko mayelana nokuphepha kwezingane ezifunda amabanga awo grade 9-10 kanye nokulwisana kokuhlukunyezwa kwazo. Kulokufundiswa kwezingane(workshops) ingane yakho izothola ithuba lokufundiswa mayelana ngezindlela ezintsha-zobuciko,njengoku thatha izithombe ngohlobo olusha lwekhamera ethuthukisiwe ngobuchwepheshe, ukuqopha amafilimu ngomakhalekhukhwini, ukudweba, ukuxoxa indaba ngokudweba, izindaba ezinokuxwayisa, ukudweba ngokuhlanganisa izicucu zamaphepha noma okunye, kanye nokuhlela umbukiso wokwezokuthwebula ngekhamera. Ingane yakho izophinde futhi ibambe iqhaza lapho izobe ehlanganyela khona nezinye izingane ezingxoxweni ezizobe zibanjwa kulo lona lolucwaningo. Iezingane neyakho zizobe sezithula imibono yazo mayelana nezikutholile kwezinye izingane esikoleni kanye nothisha. Kodwa lokhu kuzobe kwenziwa ngokuhlanganyela kwawonke umuntu obambe iqhaza, hhayi ukuthi kobe kumele kwenziwe ingane ngayinye noma ingasiphi isikhathi.

Izinto ezihlelelwe ukwenzeka:

Lokukuhlangana kwethu nezingane kuzogxila ekutheni ubuciko nobu chwepheshe kungasetshenziswa kanjani ekuxoxeni okambeni ukubukisiswa udaba lokuphepha kwentsha. Sizokwenza izinhlobo

eziningi zezinhlelo ezijabulisayo njengo ngokuthwebula izithombe, umbukiso wokukuziqopha wena ngomakhalekhukhwini, ukudweba (uxoxa indatshana) kanye nolunye uhlelo lokuqhopha ubuciko obujabulisa amehlo. Sizoxoxa ngokuthi lezizinhlelo zingasiza kanjani ekuqwashiseni kanye nasekufundeni izinto ezintsha, ukusebenzisana ndawonye kanye ngokufunda ngohlobo oluthize lobuciko kanye nobuchwepheshe. Lezizinhlelo zizoba umhlahlandlela ekutheni izingane zikwazi ukuxoxa ngezinto ezisemqoka ezimpilweni zazo kanye nezinto okunzima ukuxoxa ngazo njengokuhlukunyezwa ngokocansi. Lokho kuyokwenza ukuthi kusetshenzelwe ezindleleni ezingcono ukubhekana nesimo. Izingane ngeke zikhokhiswe ekusebenziseni izinsiza, ziyonikwa smahla, futhi ezobe zikukhiqizile ngeke ziphucwe kona, ziyonikwa ihlobo lwamathuluzi azinhlobonhlobo kanye nabayokusebenzisa khona bezokwazi ukwabelana ngamakhono abo, abakufundileyo kanye namasu abanawo nabanye. Uma ungenankinga singathanda ukuthwebula umsebenzi wabo abazobe bewenzile ukuze sikwasi ukuwugcina. Bazonikwa nethuba lokuthi baxoxe ngemikhiqizo yabo nanokuthi ikhuluma ngani empeleni. Sizoqhopha futhi inkulumo ezobe ithulwe yizo izingane mayelana nayo imibukiso abayikhiqizile lokhu kuqoshwa kuzobeke kushicilelwa phansi ukuze kufundeke. Akekho omunye ngaphandle kwami nom'phathi wami onelungelo lokulalela lokukuqhoshwa kwenkulumo yezingane. Njengoba sengishilo ukuqoshwa kwenkulumo kuzobulawa emuva kokushicilelwa phansi okambe ukubhalwa phansi. Lokukubhalwa phansi kuzobeke sekugcinwa emashalofini akhiy'wayo emahhovisi ngokuqaphela kuyokuthi mhlazane lolucwaningo selufike ekupheleni kwalo, lubulawe nalo futhi.

Uma umtwana wakho ezimisele ngokubamba iqhaza kulolucwaningo njengoba seluchazwe kabanzi ngenhla. Njengengxenye yalolucwaningo nangoxhaso lweqembu labacwaningi, ingane yakho nezinye zizonikwa ilungelo lokuzihlelela zona imibukiso yabo ngomsebenzi abazobe bewenzile, ngikhuluma ngama filimu, izithombe ezishuthiwe kanye nomsebenzi wezandla. Lena kuzoba indlela yokwenza umhlahlandlela wokuthi ezikolweni nasemiphakathini kuxoxwe ngezinto eziphathelene nokuvikeleka kanye nokusizwa kwabantwana abayizintandane ukuze kube noshintsho ezikolweni abafunda kuzo na kweminye imigomo esungulwayo.

Ukukhokhelwa.

Ukubamba iqhaza kulolucwaningo kungukuzithandela qha. Ingane yakho nezinye ezibamba iqhaza ngeke zikhokhelwe ngokubamba iqhaza. Kodwa sizoqiniseka ukuthi uma sekuqala ukuhlangana kwethu nezingane, ukuhlinzekwa ngokuya ethunjini kwazo kuyenzeka. Futhi siyokwenza isiqiniseko sokuthi zazi ukuthi zinalo ilungelo lokushiya phansi uma zinquma kanjalo noma ingasiphi isikhathi, aziphoqiwe ukubamba iqhaza.

Okungathanda kube ingcuphe.

Singasho ukuthi nje mancane amathuba obungozi mayelana nokubamba iqhaza kwengane yakho kulolucwaningo. Kungenzeka kubekhona izinto ongeke ukhululeke ukuxoxa ngazo la. Awuphoqelekile ukuxoxa ngezinto ongathandi ukuxoxa ngazo la. Igama lakho ngeke laziwe, ukuvikeleka kwegama lakho kuqinisekisiwe ngokuthi kunalokho kuyosetshenziswa amagama angekho ukuvikela elakho. Abantu abayokwazi ngalokhu iqembu elihola ucwaningo leli ozobe ukhulume nalo.

Inzuzo.

Lolucwaningo liyindlela enkulu yokuqala izingxoxo mayelana nezingqinamba ezibhekene nokuphepha kwezingane eziyizintandane kanye nezinye izingane ukuze kube nemithelela ekwakhiweni kwemigomo. Ezinye izinto engifuna ukuzithola lolucwaningo ezithintayo ukuthi ngabe kusho ukuthini ukuhlukunyezwa ngokocansi ezinganeni eziyizintandane? Ikuphi abangathanda ukukudlulisela emphakathini kanye nabashayi-mthetho mayelana nokuqinisekisa kokuphepha njalo kwamantombazane emphakathini? Ukuthuthukiswa komphakathi ngabe kukushintsha kanjani ukuzizwa kwentsha ukuthi manje isiphephile? Ngabe izingane ziyahambisana yini ngokwazo ngalezinto ekuxoxwa ngazo la? Ulwazi oluzobe luqoqiwe kulolucwaningo luzothulwa kwizinkomfa

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ezahlukene, izincwadi ezikhungwini zemfundo ephezulu, imibiko okambe amabhuku ajwayelekile okambe ngemibukiso.

Ukuvikeleka kwegama lakho.

Lonke ulwazi esiluqoqiwe luzoqashelwa ngeso lokhozi. Lonke ulwazi locwaningo okambe obamba iqhaza uzokwaziwa ngekhodi okambe inombolo yakhe futhi imininingwane leyo izogcinwa eshalofini elikhiywayo la kuhlala khona umcwaningi. Lolulwazi luzovuleleka kuphela kwiqembu labacwaningi. Igama lakho ngeke lisetshenziswe kunoma ikuphi ukushicilelwa okambe nasekuthulweni kweziphumo zalo ucwaningo lolu. Akukho zithombe okambe I vidyo okungenzeka uyabonakala kuyona eyosabaliswa emphakathini okambe emaphephandabeni noma ekuthulweni kweziphumo zocwaningo ngaphandle kokuba kucelwe imvume kumzali wakho kuqala noma umqhaphi wakho, nanemvume yakho. Okunye imininingwane yocwaningo ingaphinde idlule esweni lekomdi lwezimilo.

Ukuqhopha ngendlela yeDigital (ngendlela yezinamba)

Uzocelwa ukuvumela ithimba laloluwango ukuqopha ngokwedigital okuzobe kwenzeka ngenkathi kufundiswana, ukuze ithimba leli lizoqinisekisa ukuthi yonke into yenzeka ngohlelo futhi lokho kosiza ithimba labacwaningi baqonde okushiwo izingane ezibamba iqhaza. Ukuqoshwa nge digital kuqopha izwi lalo okhulumayo noma ividyo kulabo ezobe I khamera ibheke ngakubona. Ukuqoshwa ngakunye nge digital kuzoshicilelwa phansi, konke okuzobe kuqoshiwe emva kwalokho kuzosuswa iminyaka emibili ingakapheli imibiko yocwaningo isisakaziwe, noma uma ingakasakazwanga ngeke iphele iminyaka eyisithupha ucwaningo lwaphothulwa ingasuswanga. Okutholwe kuqoshwa kungathulwa emihlanganweni ehloniphekile okambe ngemibhalo emaphepheni lapho kungeke kubhengezwe gama lamuntu obebambe iqhaza. Ukuqopha ngendlela ye digital kubalulekile kuloluwcaningo okambe kubamba iqhaza kuloluwcaningo. Konke okuzobe kwenzeka kuloluwcaningo kuyovikelwa, uyokwaziwa kuphela ngekhodi okambe inombolo ozobe unikezwe yona ukuvikela igama lakho. Akukho gama lamuntu eliyovela ekuqoshweni kwamazwi abantu kanye nase kushicilelweni kwengxoxo. Akekho omunye oyoba nemvume ekukwazini ukulalela okuqoshiwe noma okubhaliwe ngezinto eziphathelene nocwaningo. Uma uthatha isinqumo sokuyeka ukuzihlanganisa nocwango ungakwenza noma ingasiphi isikhathi, lokho kuyilungelo lakho.

Ukuhoxa ekubambeni ucwaningo.

Kumele wazi ukuthi uma unesifiso sokwazisa okuthile kubashayimthetho unelungelo lokwenza lokho, noma ngabe isiphi isikhathi sokuqhubeka kwaloluwcaningo. Ungawushintsha umqondo, kodwa ube usayingxenye yaloluwcaningo. Ukungalibambi iqhaza kwenye ingxenye yocwaningo lokho akukhipheli ngaphandle. Ungaqhubeka nezinye izingxenye zalo.

Imininingwane yabahola ucwaningo:

Relebohile Moletsane (Supervisor), JL Dube Chair in Rural Education,School of Education, University of KwaZulu-Natal, moletsane@ukzn.ac.za, Tel:+27(0)31 260 3023, Fax:+27(0)31 260 1598.

Ndumiso Daluxolo Ngidi PhD Candidate, School of Education, University of KwaZulu-Natal, ngidindu@gmail.com, Tel: +27(0)78 774 1407, Fax: +27(0)31 260 1598

Administrative Officer, HSS Research Ethics Office, Tel: 031 260 3587

Sicela uphendule lemibuzo elandelayo:

Workshops(Ukufundiswa kwezingane)
Ngizoyivumela ingane yami ukuthi ibambe iqhaza kuma workshop okuqala amabili ama hora amabili ngalinye: **Yebo_ Cha_**
Ngizoyivumela ingane yami ukuthi ibambe iqhaza isikhathi eside kuloluwcaningo isikhathi esingangezi nyanga eziwu-24: **Yebo_ Cha_**

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Photographs (Ukuthathwa kwezithombe)
Ngizokuvumela ukuthathwa kwesithombe iingane yami esikhiqizile ukuba kubukiswe ngaso embukisweni womphakathi. **Yebo_Cha_**

Ngizokuvumela ukubukiswa kwezithombe zomtanami ukuba zibukwe embukisweniwomphakathi: **Yebo_Cha**

Videos: (Ukuqoshwa kwemibukiso ehambayo)
Ngizokuvumela ukubukwa kwama vidyo azobe ekhiqizwe umtanami embukisweni emphakathini **Yebo_Cha_**

Ngizowavumela amavidyo umtanami avela kuwona ukuthi abukiswe kumbukiso emphakathini. **Yebo_Cha_**

Visual Art: (Ubuciko ngom'bukiso)
Ngizokuvumela ukubukwa kwe virsual art ezobe ikhiqizwe umtanami embukisweni womuphakathi: **Yebo_Cha_**

Audio-Recordings (Ukuqoshwa kokulalelwayo)
Ngizokuvumela ukuqoshwa kwezwi lomtanami ngesikhathi behlanganyela nabanye nangalenkathi befundiswa: **Yes_No_**

Uma ingane yakho inganaso isifiso sokuqoshwa kwezwi layo, ngizokhuluma nayo ngasese futhi ekukhulumayo kubhalwe phansi ephepheni.**Yebo_Cha_**

Ngiyavuma ukuthi ingane yami ibuzwe yodwa imibuzo futhi ibuzwe umcwaningi oyedwa. **Yebo_Cha_**

Ukusayinwa:
IGAMA LENGANE YAKHO………………………….
IGAMA LAKHO(umzali/umgadi wengane):…………………………..
SAYINA……………………………………
USUKU LWANAMUHLA:………………………….

Imvume

Mina……………………………………………………………..ngiyaqinisekisa ukuthi konke okuqukethwe kulolucwaningo ngiyakuqonda futhi ngiyavuma ukuthi ingane yami ibambe iqhaza kulolucwaningo.

Ngiyakuqonda ukuthi nginalo ilungelo lokuhoxa kulolucwaningo noma inini. Uma kwenzeka ngimuvumela abambe iqhaza, ngiyaqonda ukuthi azobe ekusho noma amagama akhe azovikelwa emphakathini. Futhi ngiyaqonda ukuthi igama lami nelomndeni wami lizovikeleka kanye nelalabo engisondelene nabo lizovikeleka ngesikhathi kusaqhubeka ucwaningo, futhi noma seluphelile.

_____   _____

  Kusayina ogade ingane   Usuku

APPENDIX G

EXAMPLE OF PARTICIPANTS ASSENT FORM

Picturing Orphans' Vulnerability

Good day, my name is **Ndumiso Daluxolo Ngidi**. I am a PhD candidate at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. I would like to invite you to participate in a research study that I am doing as part of my Doctoral Studies. The study focus is on the vulnerability of orphans attending a township secondary school to sexual violence.

Introduction

This letter, called an Informed Assent Letter, will explain what this project is about. Attached to the letter is a certificate of consent to participate in the project as well as a legal guardian or care giver's consent form for their child to participate in the project. Please read this form or have it read to you. Before you decide if you would like to join this study or not, I want to explain the project, its risks, its potential benefits, and what you will be asked to do. You may ask questions as we discuss the study, so that you understand what the study is about. It is important you know that:

- your participation in this study is entirely voluntary;
- you can ask questions now or at any time during the project; and
- if you join the project, you can change your mind later and withdraw from the study at any time.

Before you decide if you would like to join this project, I will explain what the project is and what you will be asked to do during the activities. Once you understand the project, and if you decide to take part, you will be asked to sign the attached certificate of consent, and you will be given a signed copy of it to keep. This process is called informed assent. We will also send an Informed Consent Form for you to take home for your caregivers or legal guardian to sign.

Purpose of the project

Participants in the project will be both female and male learners from your Secondary School. The purpose of this project will be to explore how a group of orphaned learners attending a township secondary school identify, understand and speak about their own vulnerability to sexual violence. I also aim to examine the use of visual participatory methods in addressing sexual violence among learners identified as orphans in a township secondary school.

Study procedures

There will be a maximum of twenty learners from grades 9 to 10 whose parents have both died. To participate, you need to be interested in participating in using various methods to discuss and explore how you identify, understand and speak about their own vulnerability to sexual violence. Most importantly, you need to have the consent of your caregiver or legal guardian to participate in the project, and to agree to take part.

Possible risks

The possible risks associated with participation in the study are minimal. There may be things that you are uncomfortable talking about. You will not be forced to discuss anything that you do not feel

comfortable discussing. You will remain anonymous, and your confidentiality will be protected by the use of pseudonyms (false names) that will be known only by the project team that you have already met.

Reimbursement

No one will receive any form of payment for participating in the study.

Confidentiality

All data will be treated with the strictest confidentiality. All study information or material will be identified only by individual participant code numbers or pseudonyms and will be kept confidential in a locked file drawer at the researcher's residence. This information or material will be available only to the research team. Your name will never be used in any publication or presentation about this study. No photographs or video footage in which you are recognisable will be used in any publication or presentation about this study without the prior consent of your parent or legal guardian, and your assent.

In addition to the research team, the data may be reviewed by the ethics committee.

Digital Recording

You will be asked to allow the project team to digitally record the workshops, so that the project team can make sure that these activities are being carried out correctly and that the project team understands what is being said by participants. The digital recording may take the form of voice recording or video recording. Each digital recording will be transcribed, and all recordings will be erased within two years of publication of study findings, or if there is no publication, no later than six years after the study has ended. Information from the recordings may be presented at professional meetings or in written articles, in which case no names or other personal identifiers will be used. Digital recording is a requirement for study participation. All project activities will be confidential; you will be identified only by a unique number or pseudonym assigned to you, and no individual names will appear on the audio file or the transcript of the interview. No one, except the research team, will have access to any of the audio files or the transcripts of study activities. You can decide to withdraw from the study at any time. If you do not want the project activities to be digitally recorded, you are not eligible to participate in the research project, since it is important that the research team is able to listen to the digital recordings so as to understand exactly what is being said.

Alternative to study participation

 If you choose not to participate in the project or choose to withdraw, this will not affect you in any way

Contact details

Please feel free to contact the research coordinator about the study in the future, or to ask for any updates. We appreciate the time that you may take to participate in this study.

If you have any questions about this study or study procedures now or in the future, please contact:

Relebohile Moletsane (Supervisor)   **Ndumiso Daluxolo Ngidi**
JL Dube Chair in Rural Education   PhD Candidate   Administrative Officer
School of Education   School of Education   HSS Research Ethics Office
University of KwaZulu-Natal   University of KwaZulu-Natal
moletsaner@ukzn.ac.za   ngidindu@gmail.com   Tel: 031 260 3587
Tel: +27 (0)31 260 3023   Tel: +27 (0)78 774 1407

Fax: +27 (0)31 260 1598   Fax: +27 (0)31 260 1598
Questions to Answer by Learner:

Name of Learner: _____(Age)_____Parental Permission on File:_____ **Yes __ No__**

(If "No," do not proceed with assent or research procedures.)

Would you like to be in the study to talk and answer some questions, make art, take pictures, and videos?"

*The child should answer "Yes" or "No." Only a definite "Yes" may be taken as assent to participate.
Child's Voluntary Response to Participation: **Yes __ No__**

Workshops
I would like to participate in the first 2 art-making workshops each lasting 2 hours   **Yes__No__**
I would like to participate in the long-term project which could run for up to 24 months   **Yes/No __**

Photographs:
I allow photographs I create to be viewed in public during exhibitions.   **Yes__No__**
I allow photographs of I create to be used for research purposes.   **Yes __ No__**

Videos:
I allow videos I create to be viewed in public during exhibitions.   **Yes __ No__**
I allow videos of me to be used for research purposes.   **Yes __ No__**

Visual Art:
I allow my visual art to be viewed in public during exhibitions.   **Yes __ No__**
I allow my visual art to be used for research purposes.   **Yes __ No__**

Audio-Recordings:
I allow my voice to be audio-recorded during focus groups and workshops.   **Yes __ No__**
If you do not wish to have your audio recorded, I will have one of my research assistants talk with you separately and your words will be written down on paper.
I allow to be interviewed one-on-one with a researcher or research assistant. **Yes___ No___**

Signature:
YOUR NAME:_____
YOUR SIGNATURE:_____
TODAY'S DATE:_____

Signature of Researcher: _____   Date: _____
(Optional) Signature of Child: _____

APPENDIX H

EXAMPLE OF TRANSLATED PARTICIPANTS ASSENT FORM

Ukubhekisisa ngeso elibanzi ukungavikeleki kwezintandane.

Sawubona, igama lami uNdumiso Daluxolo Ngidi. Ngenza izifundo ze PhD esikhungweni semfundo ephakeme eNyuvezi yakwaKwaZulu-Natal. Ngithanda ukukumema ukuthi ubambe iqhaza ocwaningweni engilwenzayo njengengxenye yezifundo engizenzayo ze Doctoral. Lolucwaningo lugxile kakhulukazi ekungavikeleleki kwezingane eziyizintandane ekuhlukumezekeni ngokwocansi, ezifunda ezikoleni zamabanga aphezulu emalokishini.

Ukwethula kocwaningo

Lencwadi ebizwa nge Informed Assent Letter (incwadi yemvume emva kokuchazelwa) izokuchazela ukuthi lolucwaningo lumayelana nani. Lena ehambisana nalencwadi isitifiketi semvume ngokubamba iqhaza kulona ucwaningo kanjalo nemvume yokhulisa ingane noma ifomu laloyo onakekela ingane ukuze ikwazi ukubamba iqhaza ocwaningweni. Siyacela ukuba ufunde lelifomu okambe ufundelwe lona. Ngaphambi kokuba wenze isinqumo ngokubamba iqhaza ocwaningweni noma cha, ngingathanda ukuchaza ngocwaningo, izinto eziyingcuphe ngalo, inzuzo ngalo, kanye nokuthi yini edingakala kuwe. Unalo ilungelo lokubuza imibuzo ngenkathi ngisachaza ngalo ucwaningo, khona uzoqonda ukuthi lolucwaningo lumayelana nani. Kubalulekile ukwazi ukuthi:

- Ukubamba kwakho iqhaza kulolucwaningo kungukuzikhethela.
- Ungabuza noma ingasiphi isikhathi uma unomubuzo ucwaningo lusaqhubeka.
- Ungahoxa ngokuhamba kwesikhathi ocwaningweni ngisho noma kade usuqalile ukuhlanganyela, noma ngabe isiphi isikhathi.

Ngaphambi kokuthatha isinqumo ngokubamba iqhaza kulolucwaningo, ngizokuchazela ukuthi lumayelana nani lolucwaningo nanokuthi yini elindelekile kwena ezintweni ezizobe zenzeka. Uma usuqonda ngocwaningo okambe uthatha isinqumo ngokuhlanganyela ocwaningweni, uzocelwa ukuba usayine elinye ifomu okuyisitifiketi sokuvuma ukubamba iqhaza, bese futhi unikezwa ikhophi yayo esayindiwe ongazigcinela yona. Loku kubizwa ngemvume yakho emva kokuthola incazelo. Futhi sizokuthumelela ifomu lemvume emva kokuchazelwa ozohamba nalo uyekhaya ulinike abakugadile ukuze bali sayine.

Inhloso yocwaningo

Abazobamba iqhaza ocwaningweni kuzoba abafundi besifazane nabe silisa besikole ofunda kuso. Inhloso yalolucwaningo kuzobe kungukubhekisisa ukuthi abafundi abayizintandane abafunda ezikolweni ezise malokishini bayibuka kanjani lendaba, okambe bayiqonda kanjani indaba yokungavikeleleki ekuhlukumezekeni ngokocansi. Okunye futhi ukuhlolisisa izindlela zokusebenzisa I visual participatory (imibukiso) ekuxoxeni ngezinkinga zokuhlukumezeka kubafundi abayizintandane ezikoleni zamabanga aphezulu emalokishini.

Izindlela zokuqhuba ucwaningo

Isibalo esigcwele esisifunayo abafundi abangamashumi amabili kusukela kumabanga ka grade 9 kuya ku grade 10 asebashonelwa abazali babo (ubaba nomama). Uma ubamba iqhaza kumele ube nomdlandla ekubambeni iqhaza ngokusebenzisa izindlela ezahlukene ukuxoxa kanye nokubhekisisa kabanzi ukuthi uyibona kanjani okambe uyiqonda kanjani noma niyixoxa kanjani lento yokungavikeleleki odlameni

locansi. Okusemqoka kakhulu udinga ukuthi ube nemvume yomuntu okunakekelayo okambe okugadile ukuze ukwazi ukubamba iqhaza kulolucwaningo, nokuvuma ukubamba ucwaningo.

Okungenzeka okuyingcuphe

Izinga lobungozi ekubambeni ucwaningo luncane kakhulu. Kungenzeka kube nezinto ongakhululekile ukuxoxa ngazo. Ngeke uphoqwe ukuthi ukhulume ngezinto ongathandi ukuthi ukhulume ngazo. Ngeke igama lakho lisetshenziswe, igama lakho liyakuvikelwa ngokuthi kusetshenziswe amagama okungewona awakho, lawomagama ayokwaziwa kuphela ithimba elihola ucwaningo leli futhi osulazi.

Ukukhokhelwa.

Akekho oyokhokhelwa noma ngayiphi indlela ngokubamba iqhaza kulolucwaningo.

Ukuvikeleleka kwegama kobamba iqhaza

Wonke umubiko oqoqiwe uyovikelwa ngeso elibukhali. Lonke ulwazi oluqoqwe kulolucwaningo kanye nezinto ezisetshenzisiwe ukufeza ucwaningo kuzokwaziwa ngezinombolo okambe amagama okungesiwo angempela eshalofini elikhiywayo endaweni yomcwaningi. Lolulwazi oluqoqiwe luzotholakala kuphela kwi thimba labacwaningi. Igama lakho angeke laziwe emphakathini ukuthi ububambe iqhaza noma libhengezwe ekuthulweni kombiko wocwaningo. Azikho izithombe noma amavidyo okungenzeka ukuthi waqoshwa kuwona ayokhonjiswa emphakathini noma ekuthulweni kombiko ngocwaningo ngaphandle kokucelwa kwemvume yakho neyabazali noma abakugadile abasemthethweni kuqala.

Okunye okuqondene ne thimba labacwaningi, umbiko uyodlula ezandleni zekomiti elibhekene nesimilo.

Ukuqopha ngokwe Digital (izinombolo)

Uzocelwa ukuba uvumele ithimba elihola ucwaningo ukuqopha konke okwenzekalayo uma kuhlangenwe okambe sekuqale ucwaningo, ukuze ithimba lizokhona ukuqinisekisa ukuthi konke okwenzakalayo kwenzeka ngendlela okuyiyo. Nokuqonda okushiwo ababambe iqhaza. Ukuqopha nge digital kungathatha izwi kanye nevidyo yaloyo okubhekiswe kuye. Ukuqoshwa ngakunye kuzobe sekushicelelwa phansi, konke okuyobe kuqoshiwe kuyosuswa noma kubulawe ingakapheli iminyaka emibili yokusatshalasiswa kweziphumo zocwaningo, kodwa hhayi emva kweminyaka eyisithupha emva kocwaningo selwaphela. Umbiko oqoshiwe uzokwethulwa emibuthwaneni ehlelekile noma ushicilelwe phansi, ngalendlela yokuthi akukho gama lamuntu noma okunye okusho yena ngqo okobhengezwa lapho. Ukuqopha nge digital kubalulekile ekubambeni iqhaza ocwaningwneni. Konke okuzobe kwenziwa kuyovikelwa; uzokwaziwa kuphela ngenombolo ozobe ugixabezwe yona. Akukho gama lomuntu eliyo bonakala ekushicelweni kwemibhalo okambe eliyozwakala ekuqoshweni kwesiqopha magama ngenkathi bephendula imibuzo. Akekho omunye ngaphandle kwethimba lwabacwaningi okuyilona elinemvume yokulalela noma ukubuka amafayela ezinto eziqoshiwe. Ungayeka noma nini ukubamba iqhaza ocwaningwneni uma uthanda. Uma ungathandi okambe ungahambisani nokuqoshwa kokuqhubekayo ngohlobo lwe digital, lapho ungakwazi ukubamba iqhaza ocwaningwneni. Ngoba kusemqoka ukuthi ithimba likwazi ukulalela okuqoshiwe nge digital khona bezokwazi ukuqonda ukuthi yini okuxoxwa ngakho.

Okunye ongakwenza ngokubamba ucwaningo

Uma unquma ukungalibambi iqhaza okambe ukhethe ukuyeka, lokhu ngeke kukuphazamise noma ngabe inoma iyiphi indlela.

Imininingwane yalabo ongaxhumana nabo

Sicela ukuthi uma ufuna ukuthinta umqondisi wocwaningo nokuphathelene nocwaningo esikhathini esizayo ukhululeke. Sibonga isikhathi sakho ongasithatha uma ugcine ngokubamba iqhaza kucwaningo. Uma unebuzo mayelana naloluaningo okambe inqubo yaloluaningo esikhathini esizayo. Sicela uthinte:

Relebohile Moletsane (Supervisor), JL Dube Chair in Rural Education, School of education, University of KwaZulu-Natal, moletsane@ukzn.ac.za, Tel+27(0)31 260 3023,Fax: +27(0)31 260 1598.

Ndumiso Daluxolo Ngidi PhD Candidate, School of education, University of KwaZulu-Natal, ngidindu@gmail.com, Tel: +27(0)78 774 1407, Fax:+27(0)31 260 1598

Administrative officer, HSS Research Ethics Office, 031 260 3587

Imibuzo ekumele iphendulwe umfundi

Igama   lom'fundi………………………………….(Iminyaka)………………..Imvume   yomzali   ku   File………….**Yebo_ Cha_**
(Uma ukhetha u'cha' ungaqhubekinezinqubo zocwaningo)

Ungathanda ukubamba iqhaza kulolucwaningo la uzobe uxoxa uphinde uphendula eminye imibuzo, ukuzimbandakanya ekwakheni kwezinto zobuciko, ukushutha izithombe kanye nama vidyo?
Ingane ingaphendula ngokuthi 'yebo' noma 'cha'. Ocacisile ngokuthi 'yebo' uyena oyothathwa ngokuthi uyavuma ukubamba iqhaza.
Impendulo yengane ukuvolontiya ekubambeni iqhaza: **Yebo_   Cha_**

Ama-workshop.
Ngingathanda ukubamba iqhaza kuma emaklasini amabili okuqala ukwenza izinto zobuciko angathatha amahora amabili **Yebo_ Cha_**
Ngingathanda ukubamba iqhaza isikhathi eside esingangezinyanga eziwu 24 **Yebo_Cha_**

Ukuthwetshulwa kwezithombe
Ngingathanda ukuthi izithombe engizenzile zifakwe embukisweni womphakathi: **Yebo_Cha_**
Ngingathanda ukuthi izithombe zami zikhonjiswe embukisweni womphakathi: **Yebo_ Cha_**

Ama-video (ukuqoshwa kokuhambayo)
Ngingathanda ukuthi ama video engiwaqophile akhonjiswe emibukisweni womphakathi: **Yebo_ Cha_**
Ngingathanda ukuthi ama video anami akhonjiswe emibukisweni womphakathi: **Yebo_ Cha_**

Visual Art (Ubuciko ngezithombe)
Ngingathanda ukuthi I visual art yami engiyenzile ibukiswe emphakathini.   **Yebo_Cha_**
Audio-Recordings (ukuqoshwa kokulalelwayo)
Ngingathanda ukuthi izwi lami liqoshwe uma kuhlangenwe ema-workshop nanoma sihlangene sonke sixoxa ngokuthize. **Yebo_____Cha**
Uma ungenaso isifiso sokuqoshwa kwezwi lakho, sizocela elinye ilunga lethu lixoxe nawe ngasese khona lizobhala phansi konke ongatha ukusho.
Ngingathanda ukubuzwa imibuzo umuntu oyedwa futhi nami ngingedwa.   **Yebo____Cha_____**

Sayina la:
IGAMA LAKHO:_____

SAYINA: _____

USUKU LWANAMUHlA: _____

Kusayina umcwaningi_____Usuku_____

(Ukuzikhethela) Kusayina ingane_____

APPENDIX I

EXAMPLE OF A PHOTOVOICE POSTER NARRATIVE CREATED BY

PARTICIPANTS
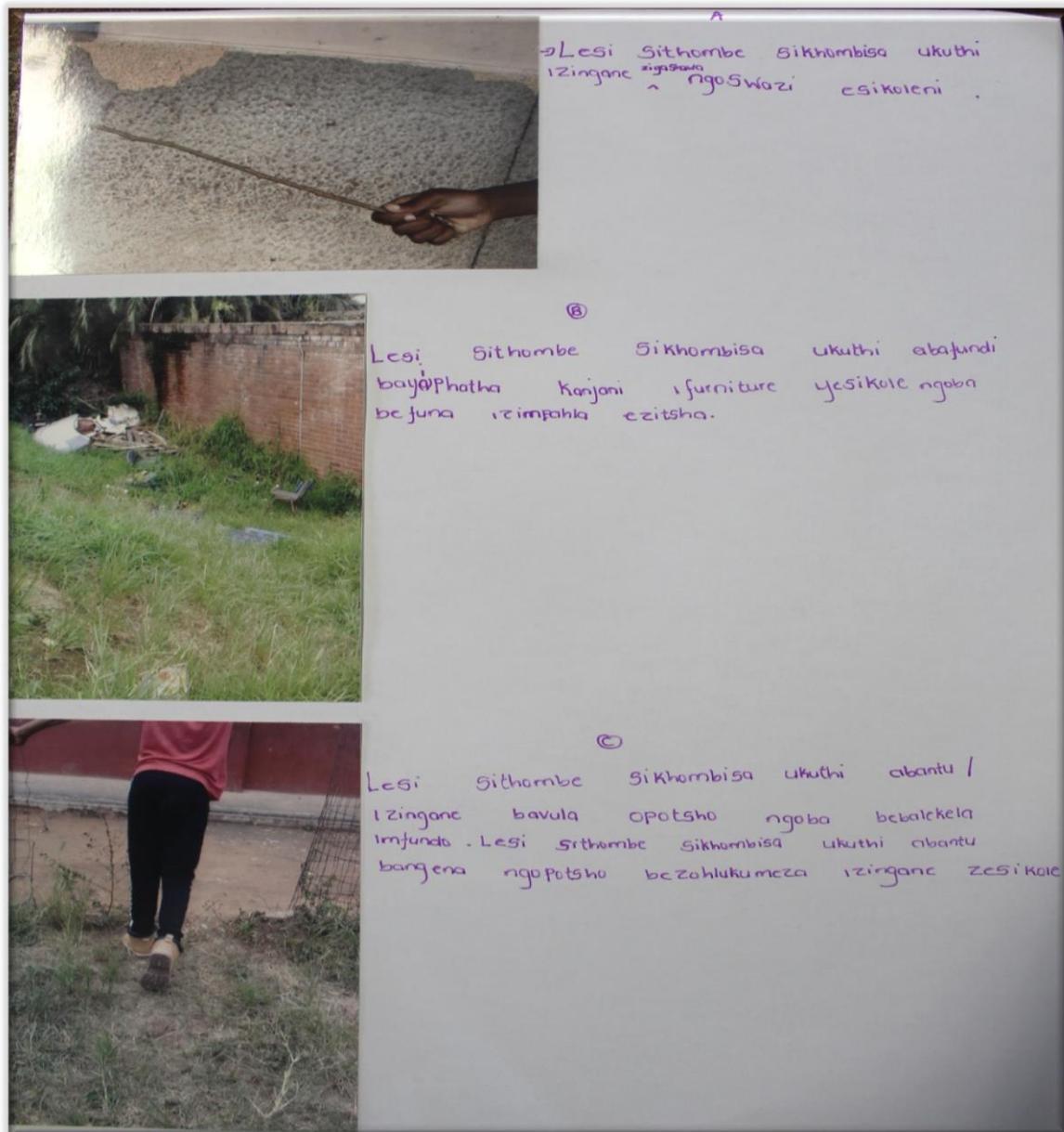
APPENDIX K

EXAMPLE OF PARTICIPANTS ENGAGING IN AN INTEPRETIVE

GROUP DISCUSSION

APPENDIX L

EXAMPLE OF RESEARCHER (VISUAL) FIELDNOTES OF

PARTICIPANTS ENGAGING IN VARIOUS DATA GENERATING

ACTIVITIES

APPENDIX M

TURNITIN REPORT

PhD thesis

by Ndu Ngidi

Submission date: 04-May-2020 05:46PM (UTC+0200)
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