

**FEMALES' ENVIRONMENTAL PERCEPTIONS OF VIOLENCE
AND DANGER IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS: CASE STUDIES
FROM THE DURBAN METROPOLITAN AREA**

Dissertation

**Submitted to the Department of Geography and Environmental Studies at the
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BY

EDWIN C. PERRY Jr.

SUPERVISOR

MR VADI MOODLEY

**Environment and Development Program
Department of Geography and Environmental Studies
University of Durban-Westville
2002**

DECLARATION

The Registrar Academic
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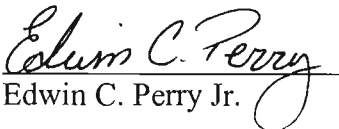
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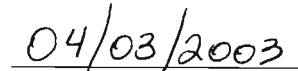
Dear Madam

I, Edwin C. Perry Jr., Registration Number 200001429, hereby declare that the dissertation entitled:

FEMALES' ENVIRONMENTAL PERCEPTIONS OF VIOLENCE AND DANGER
IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS: CASE STUDIES FROM THE DURBAN
METROPOLITAN AREA

is the result of my own research and has not been submitted in part or full for any other degree or to any other university.


Edwin C. Perry Jr.


Date

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Giving honour and praise to the Almighty Creator.

It is through the continuous Blessings that I have received daily that I am grateful to God for the successful completion of this dissertation.

The compilation of this dissertation could not have been completed if it were not for the understanding, guidance and support I received through this most enlightening process. My heart-felt thanks and acknowledgments go to:

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ABSTRACT

Females' Environmental Perceptions of Violence and Danger in Secondary Schools: Case Studies from the Durban Metropolitan Area

There has been a significant level of outcry opposing violence against females and the development of policies and legislation aimed at reducing this increasing problem that confronts South African society. Yet, violence and the fear of violence, especially gender-based violence, are widespread in South Africa. Despite the considerable research that has been undertaken on violence in South Africa, there remains a weak empirical and conceptual basis to understand females' environmental perceptions of violence and danger in secondary schools. This dissertation contributes to a greater understanding of the relationships between gender, violence and environmental perceptions. Gender specific spatialities, experiences and perceptions are critically examined. Critical concerns in the study include females' environmental perceptions of violence and images of danger in secondary schools, sources of information regarding violence and danger, types of violence that females are aware of, specific experiences of violence among the respondents and the coping strategies adopted by females.

To enable a critical examination of the above issues, a comprehensive literature review was undertaken as well as fieldwork was conducted in two secondary schools (Dr A D Lazarus and Ridge Park College). Both female learners and teachers participated in the study. A variety of quantitative and qualitative methods were used including questionnaire surveys as well as mental mapping and ranking exercises to achieve the aims and objectives of this study.

The key findings of the research show that violence and the danger of violence constrain the movements and the options of females. Furthermore, the results clearly illustrate discernible patterns of fear of violence, experiences of violence, perceptions of violence and responses to the perceived threat of violence among the respondents. Additionally, a disconcerting finding was that a significant proportion of the respondents at both schools viewed the school itself to be unsafe or located in close proximity to areas that they perceived to be dangerous.

Undoubtedly, addressing issues pertaining to gender and violence in secondary schools (and in society more generally) will enhance females' abilities to effectively participate in and benefit from educational and development processes. This study shows that acts of violence generally and gender-based violence particularly need to be understood in their environmental contexts inclusive of the location/ spatial, social, economic and political dimensions. Moreover, perceptions and the fear of violence, although they may not match actual risk, need to be responded to constructively.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

| | |
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| CIET: | Community Information Empowerment and Transparency Foundation |
| DAWN: | Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era |
| HIV/ AIDS: | Human Immunodeficiency Virus/ Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome |
| NGO: | Non-governmental organization |
| NOW: | National Organization of Women |
| UN: | United Nations |
| UNFPA: | United Nations Population Fund |
| USAID: | United States Aid Agency |

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1. INTRODUCTION: MOTIVATION FOR THE STUDY

For the purposes of this study, the United Nations definition of violence against women will be used. The United Nations defines violence against women (females) as: “Any act of gender-based violence that is likely to result in physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women (females), including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life.” This definition allows for the critical examination of what violence is (or is perceived to be), the nature and forms of violations against women, what impacts these violations have on women, the context in which these violations take place (spatial dimensions) as well as the power dynamics associated with violence against women. These aspects are deemed as being important given the gender dynamics prevalent in society. The main forms of violence against women that will be examined relate (but are not limited) to rape, domestic abuse and harassment.

The examination of a society steeped in patriarchy and the resultant implications that this has on women’s physical, mental, psychological, social, economic and political well-being both in the home and public arenas are the basis of many studies (Crevelde, 2000; Dangor, 1996; Dobash and Dobash, 1992; Francis, 1997; Goodey, 1994; Gutex et al, 1991; Jacobs, 1995; Louw, 1998; Louw et al, 1998; Motshekga and Delpont, 1993; Pain, 1991; 1997; 2000; Ross, 1993; Schmitt and Martin, 1999; Schwartz, 1997; Seager and Olson, 1997; Segal, 1990; Sexwale, 1995; Stanko, 1990; Valentine, 1992; White, 1999). In South Africa considerable research has been undertaken on violence. There has been a significant level of outcry opposing violence against women that has tended to respond largely to specific incidences. Concomitantly, a range of policies and legislation have been and continue to be put into place aimed at reducing this increasing problem that confronts our society. However, in the South African context there has been a dearth in studies that focus specifically on women’s perceptions about the environments in which they live, especially in relation to violence. Thus, while violence against women in South Africa has been acknowledged, especially by the Crime Information Analysis Centre

(1998), there remains a weak empirical and conceptual basis to understand the nature and extent of violence against women as well as the context and locality specific experiences pertaining to women and violence.

According to the USAID Office on Women in Development (1997), violence against women (and females generally) is the most pervasive form of human rights abuse in the world. The interest in violence against women in South Africa has become marked in the past several years. Women's movements, service providers, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), researchers and development practitioners have begun to underscore the need to examine issues pertaining to gender and violence. Of particular interest is the way in which violence and/ or the fear of violence constrain females' abilities to participate meaningfully in and benefit from development and transformation processes. Vogelmann and Eagle (1991) and Artz (1998) have argued that issues concerning women and violence have been overlooked when broad-based social, economic and political planning has taken place in the new South Africa. The main sources of information about violence against women in South Africa is based primarily on police statistics, victim surveys and a series of estimates by organizations working with survivors of violence. In the former instance, there is consensus that in most cases violence against females is not reported to the police. For example, the Crime Information and Analysis Center (1998) reported that only one out of 35 rapes is reported to the police. In the latter cases, the information is largely based in urban areas. There have been numerous calls to provide more substantive information and rigorous research about the nature, scope and dimensions of the problem.

This study contributes to understanding the relationships between gender, violence and environmental perceptions. Gendered perceptions and fears of violence and danger are not aspatial. Research has demonstrated that females feel more at risk in certain places and at certain times (Artz et al, 1998; Crevelde, 2000; Pain, 1991; 1997; Schneider, 2000; Valentine, 1992). In this regard, the private space of home and public spaces that individual's frequent form important interrelated units of analyses. Valentine (1992) states that there is sufficient evidence that indicates that violence against females takes

place more frequently at home and by men they know. Yet, on the other hand, females tend to perceive violence as taking place in public spaces and by strangers. The actual and perceived spatial distribution and understanding of violence needs therefore to be critically examined.

No programme that focuses on development and social upliftment can ignore the contributions and needs of females in general and the issues pertaining to violence against females. Women's participation in production and the multiple roles they play in ensuring household and community survival are well documented (Ahonsi, 1995; Francis, 1997; Kabadaki, 1994; Momsen and Kinnaid, 1993; Murphy, 1991; Ostergaard, 1992; Seager and Olson, 1997; Sen, 1990; Stichter and Parpart, 1988; Tinker 1990; Wieringa, 1994). It is also widely accepted that in South Africa many households are headed by women and together with children, women make up the poorest of the poor. The pervasiveness of patriarchal values rooted in traditional and cultural practices results in an undervaluing of females' work and experiences as well as a neglect of females' needs. They have limited access and control of vital resources such as land, water, education and health care. Additionally, women are generally marginalized in decision-making processes at various levels. Thus, there is a great deal of literature that demonstrates females' vulnerability to resource scarcity and poverty. However, despite the acknowledgment that violence against females in South Africa is prevalent, there remains a dearth of studies that focus on gender and violence related to development considerations. In particular, the spatiality of violence has yet to be sufficiently examined and subjected to rigorous research.

Addressing issues pertaining to gender and violence in secondary schools will enhance females' ability to effectively participate in and benefit from educational and development processes, especially in terms of access to and the quality of education for females. Efforts at promoting female education need to incorporate gender-based violence which can have negative social, economic and political consequences. An important aspect that intends to be highlighted in this study is that perceptions and fear of violence, although they may not match actual risk, need to be responded to

constructively. The focus on the spatial dimensions of violence against females becomes central to planning and service delivery initiatives.

This study is also concerned with the coping strategies that females engage in when responding to real and perceived threats of violence. The sources and meanings of these perceptions are also regarded as being critical to understand gender and violence. Furthermore, the relation between the environment and specific types of violence is important.

Violence and the danger of violence in society have severely constrained the movements and options of females. From a gender perspective, given women's central roles as producers, reproducers and community managers, violence or the threat of violence can have long-term implications for females in terms of life chances, livelihood options as well as on their physical and psychological well-being. An examination and greater understanding of the spatial manifestations of female's perceptions of violence is critical to ensure that effective planning and intervention to address violence against females takes place. In the education arena, it is paramount to develop a safe environment where learning and teaching can take place effectively.

1.2. AIM AND RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

This dissertation study is aimed at examining females' (both learners and staff) environmental perceptions of violence and danger in educational institutions, homes and communities. The case studies of Ridge Park College and Dr A D Lazarus secondary schools in the Durban Metropolitan area form the focus of this research effort.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

1. To determine the environmental perceptions of females in secondary schools in relation to violence and images of danger.
2. To critically appraise, from a gender perspective, the various sources from which females gain access to information regarding their environments and perceived violence.
3. To examine the specific types of violence that females are aware of and the extent of their knowledge regarding specific types of violence such as rape, domestic abuse and sexual harassment.
4. To investigate the specific experiences of violence that females have encountered and relate these to spatial attributes.
5. To assess the extent to which female perceptions of violence in relation to the environment are linked to social (race, culture, ethnicity, etc.), political and economic considerations.
6. To identify and discuss the various coping strategies that females engage in to deal with real and perceived threats of violence.
7. To forward recommendations based on the literature and research findings.

By using case studies of two secondary schools in the Durban area (Dr A D Lazarus and Ridge Park College), this research is used to make comparative analyses as well as understand better the issues pertaining to women and violence in the education environment at secondary school level. Both quantitative (questionnaire surveys) and qualitative (mental mapping and ranking exercises) methods were employed to collect primary data pertaining to the objectives raised above.

1.3. CHAPTER OUTLINE

After presenting definitional clarifications of the key concepts used in the study, chapter two attempts a comprehensive review of gender-based violence generally and in South Africa more specifically. In particular environmental considerations as well as the impacts of gender-based violence are stressed in the literature review. Included in the literature review chapter are conceptual frameworks that provide clarity and signposts for the study. Chapter three presents the research methodologies and the case studies. Chapter four provides the detailed analysis of the primary data collected. Finally, chapter five summarizes the key findings of the research and proposes recommendations.

1.4. CONCLUSION

This study is intended to contribute to a greater understanding of the linkages between gender, actual and perceived violence, female experiences and concerns as well as the environmental and spatial dimensions of gender-based violence. The specific context is secondary schools. In this regard, articulating gender perspectives and gender specific constraints relating to females and violence are centralized. A critical concern raised in this study is whether females' perceptions of and personal experiences in relation to violence are adequately incorporated into debates and initiatives, especially in environments where the decision-makers tend to be male.

This study also intends to inform interventions required by service providers and government departments for dealing with violence against females in schools as well as in society more generally. Understanding locally-based strategies that females employ to deal with violence provide a firm basis upon which to develop appropriate interventions and support structures to address issues pertaining to females and violence in ways that consider local strategies, priorities and needs. Responding effectively to females' experiences and fear of violence and insecurity is an important aspect of improving the quality of life of females, households and communities in South Africa.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. INTRODUCTION

Wilson-Doenges (2000) states that society is increasingly characterized by a decline in a sense of community and an increase in fear of crime. Violence against females is undoubtedly one of the most disconcerting aspects of a society that promotes hierarchical power relationships on the basis of class, race, ethnicity and gender as well as other divisions. This chapter will show that females are more likely to be assaulted, injured, raped or murdered by a male. It is even more frightening to note that in many instances her attacker is her partner or someone she knows. These actions are often linked to patriarchal norms and values in society that are embedded in cultural, social, economic and political processes and practices which socialize males to be aggressive, powerful, unemotional and controlling, and that contribute to a social acceptance of men as dominant (Schechter, 1982). Similarly, Linn et al (1996) reveal that expectations of females as passive, nurturing, submissive and emotional also reinforce women's roles as weak, powerless and dependent upon men. These norms serve to create stereotyped gender-role definitions in which males are encouraged to exercise control and authority aggressively. As a result, violence against women and girls has become part of the social fabric, and violence against females and the fear of violence becomes a gender equity issue.

Our education system is one of the primary purveyors of societal norms and values. Many studies have revealed the gendered hierarchy of power within school systems in terms of learner achievement, teacher-learner interaction, learners interactions with each other, curriculum materials, learning styles, classroom behaviors, and so on (Dreyer et al, 2002; Goodey, 1994; Harber, 2001; Leach et al, 2001; Sadker and Sadker, 1982; Stein, 1991; Stitt, 1998; Wellesley College Center for Research on Women, 1992). Such biases reinforce sex-role stereotyping and tends to define what is appropriate and acceptable male and female behavior.

2.2. DEFINITIONAL CLARIFICATIONS

2.2.1. Gender and sex

Gender refers to the social construction of identities while sex refers to the biological differences between males and females (Ostergaard, 1992). Gender constructs include an analysis of societal norms, values and expectations pertaining to the roles and responsibilities of males and females as well as the relationships between men and women, especially in the contexts of power and perceptions.

Spears and Seydegart (1993: 2) argue that it is more useful to utilize the concept of "gender portrayal" rather than "sex-role stereotyping." They assert that the term "stereotyping" is a value-laden expression that focuses on crystallized images such as the dumb blonde or the macho jock. It therefore becomes inadequate and simplistic when an examination of the systemic factors associated with gender constructs and relationships are undertaken. The term "portrayal" therefore goes beyond stereotypes to encompass the entire range of gendered behaviours and attributes. Sex-role, strictly speaking, refers to functions that are determined by biology. Since the behaviors examined in an analysis of gender and violence are wholly or partly learned, gender is a more appropriate term.

2.2.2. Violence and violation

It is important to note that violation can occur when no violence in the ordinary sense takes place. Furthermore, violence can occur without involving violation. For example, much professional sport involves considerable violence but, at least when the rules are obeyed, little violation occurs. The Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women develops this issue in a 1989 report, *Preventing wife battering: Toward a new understanding*:

Violation embraces feelings and experiences which acknowledge that the diminishment of a person also diminishes our shared moral base, our community, and our respect for life. (Canadian Advisory Council, 1989: 26)

It is best to view violence in the context of a continuum where physical violence in the overt sense of physical assaults, shootings, mutilation and so on, is at one end. Closely related to this is threatened violence – the intention is verbally expressed (I will kill you), the gun is pointed or the fist is raised, but no physical harm results. Closely related to this, in turn, are situations that imply violence is possible. Such a state, Rude (1999) argues, is created and sustained by a multitude of characteristics of gender portrayal - the fact that more men carry weapons, that men are given the technical capability to carry out acts of violence while women are not, that men have the power (money, position) to orchestrate violence while women generally do not, and so on. In other words, this differential in power, competence, and opportunity is characteristic of gender positions in society, whether violence is an issue or not. This analysis underscores the contention that although much of the debate on violence against women and children focuses on physical violence and sexual violence, it is imperative that there is an understanding that the dynamics of male dominance are the same from one end of the continuum to the other.

Reed (1998) argues that even researchers who wish to name and define violence in a way that conveys that women are the targets and men the perpetrators have difficulty in formulating terms. Broadly and theoretically, violence can take multiple forms, exist at many levels and occur in a variety of social contexts. It is also important to note that there are numerous different types and forms of violence and violation that erupts in different places. It can take place at home, at work and in the community. Combining physical dimensions of violence with emotional and psychological dimensions under one definitional umbrella encompasses physical, visual, verbal and sexual acts experienced as a threat, invasion or assault (Aitken and Noble, 2001). According to Denious (1998), although men tend to narrowly define violence as isolated physical incidents, women view violence in terms of underlying control issues, as taking emotional, sexual and physical forms, and as both explicit and implicit.

It is also worth recounting Volkov's (2000: 717) analysis of the relationship between violence and coercion which are viewed as two different modes of the use of force:

Violence is the exertion of force that results in damage or destruction. Coercion is the use of force as a threat in order to make someone behave in a certain manner; it has degrees of subtlety. The difference and the connection between the two modes are equally important. Violence is an expenditure of force to an immediate, visible and destructive effect. Coercion, in contrast, relies on potential rather than actual violence, on threat of promise thereof, and is intended to affect someone's future behavior rather than physical integrity.

2.2.3. Gender-based violence

Gender-based violence is an umbrella term for any harm that is perpetrated on a person against her/ his will, and that has a negative impact on the physical and/ or psychological health, development, and identity of the person (UNFPA, 2001). The violence is the result of gendered power relationships which are determined by the social roles ascribed to males and females. Given the pervasiveness of patriarchy across all cultures disparately, gender-based violence disproportionately impacts women and children. Violence may be physical, sexual, psychological, economic and/ or socio-cultural. Hester (1996) asserts that categories of perpetrators may include family members, community members, and/ or those acting on behalf of cultural, religious or State institutions. Some of the major forms of violence recognized in the U.N.'s 1993 Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women include battering; sexual abuse; marital rape; female genital mutilation and other traditional practices harmful to women; non-spousal violence; violence related to exploitation, sexual harassment and intimidation at work, in educational institutions and elsewhere; trafficking in women; forced prostitution; and violence perpetrated or condoned by the State.

2.3. VIOLENCE IN SOCIETY

Researchers have illustrated how socio-cultural, economic and political factors influence violence in society (Crevelde, 2000; Fyfe, 1991; 1995; Ferraro, 1996; Hester, 1996; Locke, 1999; Loveday, 1997; Wilson-Doenges, 2000). Geographers, such as Boys (1990), Davidson (2000), Dobash and Dobash (1992), Kuo and Sullivan (2001), Pain (1991; 1997; 2000), Seager and Olson (1997), Smith (1987) and Valentine (1990; 1992) have also demonstrated how environmental and locational factors influence, inform and impact on violence in different contexts in society. Additionally, Zondi (2000: 22) also sees a link between poverty and crime asserting that “to fight poverty is to fight crime” because poverty is the root cause of crime. He further argues that many people in South Africa lack economic opportunities as well as dignity and self respect which gives rise to the lack of rights and lives of others. The nature and extent of the influence of these factors on violence is embedded in various power relations. The factors identified above are elaborated on below.

2.3.1. Socio-cultural factors

Culture, Burns (2000) asserts, includes the concepts, habits, skills, instruments, arts, words, laws, customs, institutions and any other capabilities acquired by human beings as members of society. Burns (2000) further state that gender has been a central organizing feature of human cultures. Culture plays a crucial role in ascribing roles, responsibilities and decision-making powers in society. The concepts of masculinity and femininity are particularly useful in illustrating how culturally and socially ascribed values and norms become accepted as normal behaviour (Dobash and Dobash, 1992). Social structures and institutions (including family, peer groups, education, sport, military and religious institutions) significantly influence power relations on the basis of gender, sexuality, race, class, lineage, etc. Mullender (1996) argues that since the family plays a central role in education and socialization, the family can be regarded as contributing significantly in terms of transmitting and perpetuating the behaviours and cognitive processes that promote violence in society, especially against women.

2.3.2. Economic aspects of violence

Dangor (1996) indicates that although poverty is not a direct cause of violence and violence cannot be cured exclusively by economic remedies, violence is often exacerbated by poverty. In addition to the strain that poverty places on households, it also impairs women's ability to leave a violent household as a result of economic dependence, often for herself as well as her children. Artz (1999) argues that violence tends to keep women in conditions of poverty and that this has a direct, negative political and economic impact on their development opportunities.

2.3.3. Politics and violence

Scarpaci and Frazier (1993) show that politics in general influences power relations and contestations at different levels in society. Simpson (1993) specifically illustrates how in South Africa violence permeates the very fabric of society and is closely linked to colonial and apartheid legacies. He further argues that women and children, as victims of violence, are a barometer of the pervasive culture of violence in society. The structural legacy of apartheid rooted in political repression, high levels of unemployment and widespread poverty, inadequate educational opportunities as well as racial and ethnic divisions have laid the foundation for a culture of violence. Additionally, South African structures perpetuate and reinforce gender, racial and ethnic stereotypes through systematic repression at different levels in society: the home, communities, workplaces and government. As Kynoch (1999) and Simpson (1993) assert, the South African political culture was inextricably interwoven with the themes of violence and political intolerance. For most South Africans violence was endemic to the societies in which they lived. While the apartheid State legitimized and used violence as a means for attaining political power, the anti-apartheid movements reinforced the legitimization of violence to effect change. As Kynoch (1999) states, the political environment steeped in violence inadvertently impacted on the economic, social and domestic arenas which were also plagued with violent tendencies. Institutions, the workplace, communities and the home

became sites of struggle and the culture of violence became firmly rooted. Excessive violence throughout society was prevalent in South African society.

2.3.4. Locational/ environmental considerations

Place, as Massey (1994) illustrates, should be understood as a geographical setting with its geophysical resources as well as constructed by social relations which are embedded in a range of power relations. Place is given meaning by people's interactions, perceptions and assumptions about it. Massey (1994: 18) asserts:

From the symbolic meaning of spaces/ places and the clearly gendered messages which they transmit...they both reflect and affect the ways in which gender is constructed and understood. The limitations of women's mobility, in terms of both identity and space, has been in some cultural contexts a crucial means of subordination.

Livelihood options, mobility and strategies are restricted or enabled by environmental conditions in specific contexts. Furthermore, as Scholten (2001) suggests, they evolve differently in different places.

2.4. GENDER AND VIOLENCE

Around the world, at least one in every three women has been beaten, coerced into sex, or abused in some other way - most often by someone she knows, including her husband or another male family member; one woman in four has been abused during pregnancy (UNFPA, 2001). UNFPA further asserts that violence against women is undoubtedly the most pervasive yet least recognized human rights abuse in the world. The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1996), paragraph 112 states:

In all societies, to a greater or lesser degree, women and girls are subjected to physical, sexual and psychological abuse that cuts across lines of income, class and culture...Violence against women both violates and impairs or nullifies the enjoyment by women of their human rights and fundamental freedoms.

The 1993 UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women was the first international document to include physical, sexual and psychological abuse in its definition of violence against women (United Nations, 1995). Furthermore, Kotze and van der Waal (1995) state that any definition of violence needs to include both the use of force and its threat to both compel or constrain women to behave or not to behave in given ways.

Violence against women takes many forms including forced prostitution, rape, genital mutilation, verbal and emotional abuse and beatings. Schechter (1982) states that to understand violence against women one must understand why men believe that they may use intimidation, coercion, threats and force. While unequal gender relations are the root cause of violence against females, certain socio-cultural, economic and political factors tend to reinforce gender relations and may exacerbate the threat and reality of violence against women.

Many researchers illustrate that men who become abusers are the ones who witnessed abuse at an early stage in their families (Artz, 1999; Bart, 1994; Ferguson and Ferguson, 1994; Locke, 1999; Mullender, 1996; Segal, 1990; Stanko, 1990). However, Hester (1996) warns that not all men who are abused or exposed to violence as children later perpetuate violence and not all men who physically, emotionally or sexually abuse their partners come from homes in which they had experiences with interpersonal victimization. Thus, the exact mechanism/s leading to later involvement with violence among men remain unclear.

Reed (1998) indicated that many researchers show that generally women are more frequently victimized and violated than men. Reed (1998) further asserts that domestic violence is the most frequent type of violence against women. In this regard, most of the violence against women takes place within the families and the perpetrators are almost exclusively men, usually partners, ex-partners or other men known to the women.

Women from all ethnic groups, nationalities, classes and localities are potentially victims of violence. Valentine (1992) states that violence is not confined to any one particular socio-economic class but is closely associated with male control of female sexuality and cultural definitions of women's place and roles within a particular cultural context. Women all over the world are therefore subject to an implicit contract in which societies offer them economic and social security on the condition that they not breach certain socially constructed boundaries (United Nations, 1995). Violence, Gordon and Crehan (2000) assert, is as significant a cause of death and incapacity among women of reproductive age as cancer and a greater cause of death than traffic accidents and malaria combined.

The Pan American Health Organization (2002) provides some data that reflect the enormity of gender-based violence as a global phenomena. Some of the statistics are:

- 33% of women world-wide (ages 16 to 49) have been victims of sexual abuse
- at least 45% of women have been threatened, insulted or had their personal possessions destroyed
- in established market economies, gender-based violence is responsible for one out of every five healthy days of life lost to women of reproductive age
- in a study of battered women in Costa Rica, 49% reported being beaten while pregnant, and 7.5% of these women suffered miscarriages as a result
- a 1995 survey stated that violence against women in Canada cost the country \$1.5 billion (Canadian dollars) in lost labor productivity and increased use of medical and community support services
- 10-50% of women in every country have experienced physical abuse by an intimate partner
- in 1998, interpersonal violence was the tenth leading cause of death for women (ages 15-44)
- 95% of Mexican female workers report being sexually harassed

2.4.1. Theoretical Perspectives on Gender and Violence

Prior to understanding some of the theoretical perspectives on gender and violence, it is important to provide a brief overview of the key psychological approaches that have influenced our thinking of gender and feminism. These include:

- **Psychoanalytic theory** (Creveld, 2000): psychoanalytic theory, after Sigmund Freud, sees young children of both sexes first identifying with the mother. Girls and boys then go through different phases (the Oedipal complex is resolved into an identification with the father for boys, penis envy resolves into a mature identification with mother for girls). This theory has had little impact on the mainstream of social science research, partly because its ideas are very difficult to test empirically. Psychoanalysis holds that there are inherent differences between women and men. Some feminist writers find the psychoanalytic tradition attractive in that it is consistent with the idea of an essentially feminine personality that is different from the male personality. It therefore adds strength to the feminist position. This strong, "essentialist" view of feminism is not widely held today, where the "post-structuralist" view is gaining prominence.
- **Social learning theory** (Burns, 2000): sees sex-role development as rising from the behaviors that the society defines as appropriate to each sex, and rewards or punishes on that basis. Unlike psychoanalytic theory, behaviors are not inherently masculine or feminine. Their assignment as such is an arbitrary cultural event, based on historical accident or other causes. Content analytic studies are often linked to social learning theory, either implicitly or explicitly. The idea is that people will model the behaviours that they see defined as masculine or feminine in society. In this model, the person is a somewhat passive recipient of social stimuli, simply copying behaviors that are expected to lead to reward and avoiding those that might lead to punishment. The cultivation hypothesis of Gerbner, Signorielli and associates is in the tradition of social learning theory.
- **Cognitive developmental theory** (Heidensohn, 1989): holds that the learner is an active agent and strives to impose order on the constant flow of information from the outside world. The person filters information from outside and assimilates it into

cognitive structures or "schemas". We perceive the world through the medium of our cognitive structures. Some early cognitive theorists held that the male-female dimension was an inherent, wired-in element, leading to the idea that gender differences were a necessary aspect of cognitive development. Later cognitive theories, such as the gender schema theory developed by Bern (1981 cited in Heidensohn, 1989: 15), postulate that the gender dimension is learned, rather than innate. Bern's gender schema theory has inspired much of the work on psychological androgyny and raising children free of gender biases.

Inherent in the above discussion is the focus on the nature-nurture question as one important dividing point among these theories. Psychoanalysis and some cognitive theories see gender development as rooted in biology; social learning and most cognitive theories regard it as learned.

According to Schuller (1992), gender-based violence operates at three levels. The first level constitutes the family, which is the site of domestic violence. It socializes its members to accept hierarchical family relations and unequal access to resources. The community reinforces hierarchical family relations and at the third level, the State reflects patriarchal and unequal tendencies that exist in society. While the form of gender contract is place and time specific, unequal power relations persists at all levels. The theory of gender contract is thus useful since it cuts across cultures and traditions and is fairly useful in understanding gender-based violence.

Sandell (1994) in an attempt to explain the gendered nature of violence, draws from the radical and socialist feminist theories. She suggests that radical feminists argue that violence against females is an expression of patriarchy that is reinforced by economic, social, cultural and familial arrangements. This view contends that violence is in part related to male biology and that it has a range of manifestations including murder, battery, rape, reproductive technologies, psychiatry, pornography as well as make-up and fashion. For radical feminists, even when men personally do not participate in any violent acts against women, as a group they still benefit from violence against females since acts of violence, as well as the threat and concomitant fear of violence, serve to keep women

oppressed. Radical feminists conclude, as underscored by Sandell (1994), that the solution to violence against women would be to simply avoid or get rid of men because when women are left alone they would live in harmony with each other and nature.

Sandell (1994) then explores the socialist feminist perspective pertaining to violence against females. She asserts that socialist feminists reject the historical notion of biology and argues that it is social constructions of masculinity and femininity, not male and female biology, that govern human behavior. Socialist feminists also further argue that it is the gendered division of labor, not innate biology, that leads to oppression and domination. In essence, the main contention of socialist feminists is that violence and coercion may be ways of enforcing this domination, but the propensity for such behavior is learned and is not innate.

From the above discussion, it is clear that attempts to explain sexual violence in terms of nature, biology or evolution, not only simplify a complex phenomenon, but in effect (if not intention) perpetuate the problem by implying that it lies beyond human control (Gordon and Crehan, 2000). Undoubtedly, violence is highly gendered and its nature and its effect reflect and reinforce existing social, economic, political and cultural differences and power relations between men and women. The relationship between victim and perpetrator is embedded in power differentials, often mirroring gender inequalities and other forms of discriminatory practices and social inequalities. Thus, as Reed (1998) states, violence is most often associated with situations in which relations are hierarchically structured in terms of dominance and submission.

There is a need to develop gender-sensitive conceptual frameworks and methodologies that specifically focus on gender and violence. This study uses a multi-conceptual framework to understand the spatial, economic, social and political dimensions of gender-based violence. The geographical perspective highlights the spatial dimensions related to women and violence (Pain, 1991; 1997). Within this framework, positions related to gender, class, age, ethnicity, race, location, etc. influence significantly females' experiences of and reaction to violence and/ or the perceived threat of violence. The

geographical perspective also reveals that fear closely follows lines of disadvantage in society (Dobash and Dobash, 1992). It is clear that those who are marginalized, powerless, have little control over resources, and are unable to participate in decision-making processes are most likely to fear crime. Smith (1987: 177) states:

The unintended consequences of informal reactions to crime include the reproduction of patterns of dominance, subordination and resistance that are expressed in the national political economy.

The empowerment approach as articulated by DAWN (1995) and Moser (1993) focuses simultaneously at both practical and strategic needs. Practical needs focus on the livelihood survival strategies that females engage in and the ways in which violence against females can limit options. Strategic aspects interrogate how females' vulnerability to violence is linked to females' subordinate status in society. Violence and/ or the threat of violence contribute significantly to maintaining gendered relations of subordination. The bargaining approach highlights the strategies females use to deal with violence. Finally, Elson (1997), Folbre (1995) and Turshen (2000) have illustrated the importance of a feminist political economy perspective. This approach is extremely useful in highlighting the historical international and national dimensions of gendered power relations linked to gender-based violence. Braam and Webster (2000) state that the political economy perspective argues for a redefinition of the lens through which we understand violence against females to broaden it to be seen as a structural part of the South African social formation, which is inter-linked to other forms of structural violence such as racism and poverty, in order to argue for an integrated approach to working towards eradicating violence against women. The multi-theoretical approach provides a richer understanding of females and violence. Furthermore, an integration of the different perspectives ensures that different scales of analyses as well as development and empowerment imperatives are incorporated.

2.4.2. Main forms of gender-based violence

The United Nations (1995: 121) defines violence against women as:

Any act of gender-based violence that results in or is likely to result in physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life.

This definition is all encompassing and includes physical, sexual and psychological/emotional violence such as beatings, sexual abuse including rape and incest by family members, female genital mutilation and emotional abuse which include verbal assaults. The United Nations (1995) perceive the abduction of women and girls for prostitution and forced marriages to also be part of gender-based violence. Although this section examines the different types of violence against females, it is important to note that these typologies are not distinct and often overlap with each other. The continuum of violence affecting females extends from abuse within the family to institutionalized repression and racism to major international conflicts.

2.4.2.1. Sexual violence/ assault

Gordon and Crehan (2000) assert that sexual violence is used to describe rape by acquaintances or strangers, by authority figures (including husbands and other family members), child sex abuse, pornography, stalking, sexual harassment and homicide. At its most fundamental level, sexual violence describes the deliberate use of sex as a weapon to exercise power over as well as to inflict pain and humiliation upon another human being. This implies that sexual violence does not have to include direct physical contact between the perpetrator and the victim. As Stanko (1990) shows, threats, humiliation and intimidation may all be considered as sexually violent when they are used for the above purposes.

In terms of sexual violence, Reed (1998) states that women who are most commonly victimized are young, poor and an acquaintance of the perpetrator who is generally a

much older male of the same race. Furthermore, Reed (1998) argues that the majority of sexual assault victims are young and that females in positions of abject dependence on male authorities are also particularly subject to unwanted sexual coercion. Thus, females at home, in the workplace and in schools are particularly vulnerable to sexual violence and sexual harassment which is discussed in greater detail next.

Sexual violence, especially rape in times of war and civil conflicts, has been used systematically as an instrument of torture or ethnic domination. In situations of conflict, the National Organization of Women (NOW) (1999) states that the risk of sexual violence against women increases dramatically with the breakdown in law and order. This is most acute when the resultant effects of the conflicts are the movement of large numbers of vulnerable and unaccompanied women and children and/ or them being forced to live in refugee camps. Women and children, especially girl children, are at their most vulnerable during times of war when socialization into military culture, especially where men and boys are at risk of being forced to join militia groups, often demonstrates male power at its most brutal and often involves sexual violence (Gordon and Crehan, 2000). According to NOW (1999), rape as a tool of war is used as a means of controlling the minds and bodies of those who are perceived as the enemy. Often, rape is used by the victors to demoralise and further assert their power over their enemy. NOW (1999) further asserts that in many cases rape is used as a symbol of victory.

Gordon and Crehan (2000) state that forced marriages (which are more akin to sexual slavery than to any form of consensual union), coerced sex and voluntary re-marriage are common in conflict situations where men and women have lost partners. During conflicts, the loss of homes, income, families and social support systems as well as networks deprive women and girls of the capacity to generate income and they may be forced into transactional sex in order to secure their lives (or those of their husbands, children or other family members), escape to safety or to gain access to shelter or services (including the distribution of food) (Scarpaci and Frazier, 1993). NOW (1999) asserts that the invasion of women's bodies is another consequence of the masculine privilege that extends from this warfare and instead of death, this leaves behind a permanent legacy

of suffering and sense of failure long after the conflicts have ceased. In these contexts, women and children will be exposed to the ever present threat of HIV/ AIDS. The consequences are indeed devastating.

Sexual violence is unique in its nature as a crime. Pain (1991) states that rape in particular is one of the most traumatic of crimes and can have long lasting effects and this adds to women's fears. The imposition of fear on the majority of women through the threat of sexual violence is considered as one of the foundations of patriarchal control (Pain, 1991).

It is important to underscore Gordon and Crehan's (2000) contention that some data exists in relation to sexual violence against men and boys. This data suggests the vulnerability of specific groups of men and boys, that is, those who occupy subordinate positions in relation to other men (such as in the military or prison), those who are vulnerable in conflict situations (such as during war) or those whose sexuality differs from the dominant culturally acceptable norm (such as in the case of gays).

2.4.2.2. Sexual harassment

Sexual harassment, as Loveday (1997) states, is another form of gender-based violence which is about power and is one important method by which women are kept in subordinate positions to men as well as other women in positions of power. Most sexual harassment is by men against women. Woodzicka and LaFrance (2001) state that the term sexual harassment is a subject of debate since it conveys different meanings to different people. Sexual harassment includes remarks or gestures, pinching, touching, kissing, sexual advances, grabbing at women's bodies, rape, staring (particularly at one's body), sexual comments or jokes, sexually explicit materials, promising advantages in return for sexual favors, abusive sexual language, exposing genitals and sexual assault (Martin, 1996). In educational institutions propositions to females promising better marks in exchange for sexual favors, "an A for a lay", is a serious form of sexual harassment (Martin, 1991: 21). Martin (1991) further argues that sexual relationships between

teachers and students represent a serious conflict of interest. Notwithstanding the psychological and emotion damage on the victim, there is a possibility of favoritism in assessment as well as the possibility of harsh marking for those who have broken off relationships.

Woodzicka and LaFrance (2001) assert that the discrepancy between imagined and actual reactions to harassment speaks volumes about why targets of harassment are frequently blamed for their inaction. They argue that the imagined responses place women at a predicament since it creates expectations to victims, such as those who do not respond in a particular way are viewed as welcoming and accepting the situation. The authors state that a continued understanding of women's emotional reactions to harassment and public acknowledgement of how most women actually respond to harassment would help alleviate some of the stigma associated with being a target of harassment.

2.4.2.3. Domestic violence

The home, once considered a safe haven, is undoubtedly conflict ridden and in many homes violence is fairly widespread. Most domestic violence involves male anger directed against their women partners and female children. This gender difference appears to be rooted in the way boys and men are socialized - biological factors do not seem to account for the dramatic differences in behavior in this regard between men and women (UNFPA, 2001). Bart (1994) indicates that pregnant women are particularly vulnerable to gender-based violence. Some husbands become more violent during the wife's pregnancy, even kicking or hitting their wives in the belly. These women run twice the risk of miscarriage and four times the risk of having a low birth-weight baby. Smyke (1991) states that where the status of women is low and a woman is considered the property of a man, a husband's right to "discipline" his wife is accepted.

Rude (1999: 11) states:

In Bangladesh, the assassination of women by their husbands accounts for 50% of all murders, while in Canada, 62% of women killed in 1987 died at the hands of an intimate partner. In America, an average of four women are killed a day by male partners. In Zimbabwe, domestic homicide accounts for more than 60% of murder cases tried by the High Court in Harare.

The above statistics intimate that simplistic explanations that link violence against women exclusively to culture and tradition is inadequate. The pervasiveness of domestic violence against women appears to transcend specific cultures and contexts.

The number of women and children who are domestically abused (and this extends to the various forms of sexual and psychological abuse as well) is relatively unknown because of society's perception of domestic violence as a private matter and as such should not be interfered with in the public sector. This, as Locke (1999) and Simpson (1993) indicate, results in the failure of many victims to report abuse and the reality that many police officers and judges dismiss abuse as being inconsequential. Domestic violence does not discriminate between ethnicities, class or geographic locations. Kwong et al (1999) illustrate that domestic violence can occur in families from all education and socio-economic levels. Furthermore, they assert that there are numerous factors that can contribute to domestic violence and these include alcohol and drug abuse, gambling, mental illness as well as stress and frustration. Moreno (1998) states that domestic violence is often a long-term, chronic condition that has a substantial cumulative effect on a women's (or any victim's) overall well-being. If carried out by a loved one, it also poses substantial obstacles to seeking help (Njovana and Watts, 1996).

Ferraro (1996) and Gordon and Crehan (2000) indicate that women are most likely to be assaulted within the confines of their own family and household, and are more likely to be injured or killed by a current or former intimate partner than by anyone else. While domestic violence is the second most frequent form in violent crime against women (sexual violence is the most common), as a risk factor Reed (1998) found it to be below

violence by acquaintance (40%), with 29% of all violence to women committed by intimates and 23% by strangers.

The prevalence of domestic violence in a given society, is the result of tacit acceptance by that society of patriarchy and male supremacy. The way men view themselves as men, and the way they view women, will determine whether they use violence or coercion against women (UNFPA, 2001). According to Moreno (1998), domestic violence against women and children is one of the most devastating social tragedies that beset societies since it occurs within the home, that private space where most people should feel protected.

It is important to underscore Artz's (1999) assertion that economic abuse is a notable feature of domestic violence. Economic abuse tends to take many forms and includes withholding money, stealing money and other items as well as threatening to force the woman and children out of the home.

2.4.2.4. Reproductive violence

Gender-based violence has long-lasting adverse consequences for women's reproductive health. Violence may have profound effects, direct and indirect, on a woman's reproductive health, including (UNFPA, 2001):

- Unwanted pregnancies and restricted access to family planning information and contraceptives
- Unsafe abortion or injuries sustained during a legal abortion after an unwanted pregnancy
- Complications from frequent, high-risk pregnancies and lack of follow-up care (including miscarriages)
- Maternal death
- Sexually transmitted diseases, including HIV/AIDS
- Persistent gynecological problems
- Psychological problems, including fear of sex and loss of pleasure

2.4.2.5. Public harassment

Public harassment is a behaviour in public places that is unsolicited, unwelcome and unreciprocated (Martin, 1997). It differs from sexual harassment in that it takes place in public places. Most public harassment is by men against women, although women can be harassers too. Other prime targets are gays and lesbians, specific ethnic and racial groups as well as people with disabilities (Gordon and Crehan, 2000; Martin, 1997).

Martin (1997) distinguishes between three main types of public harassment: comments, touching and trailing. These may seem to be less harmful and unimportant. However, they can be extremely upsetting and disconcerting for many who are forced to endure these forms of harassment. Martin (1997) further illustrates that sometimes pleasant comments are followed by hostile ones, as a result women may fear that minor harassment is the first step towards a more serious attack. The fear of public harassment tends to constrain women's movement. Pain (1997) shows that many women avoid public spaces because of harassment.

2.4.3. Spatial Patterns of Gender-Based Violence

Place, as Massey (1994) states, is understood as a geographical setting with its geophysical resources, as well as constructed by social relations which are embedded in power relations. Scholten (2001) further asserts that place is constructed through everyday actions of people living there, through industries and services, traditions, institutions and organizations. Hirdman (1990: 79) illustrates that:

Women's position within society compared to men's is characterized by a lack of space, restricted moves and controlled actions. The oppression of women is characterized by control of women's mobility, in physical as well as psychological space.

Kuo and Sullivan (2001) state that the power of the physical environment to influence human aggression is well established. They further illustrate that crowding, high temperatures and noise levels have all been linked to aggression and violence.

Although both men and women experience violence, it is women who are more fearful of interpersonal crime because they perceive a unique and severe threat of violence not often felt by men, that of sexual violence. Martin (1997: 35) states:

Streets, parks, alleys, railway stations and other public places should be for everyone to enjoy. Yet for many women they are the scenes of unpleasant harassment.

Females feel more at a risk in certain places and at certain times, usually places that are public and unknown. Research has demonstrated that women perceive themselves to be in danger from strange men and in public spaces (Artz, 1999; Kuo and Sullivan, 2001; Pain, 1997; 2000; Valentine, 1992). For example, Artz's (1999) study illustrates that women feared for their personal safety after dark and viewed their homes as a place of relative safety primarily because the fear of stranger attacks are decreased. However, Valentine (1992) illustrates that the geography of violence against women suggests that they should be more fearful at home and of men they know. The frequency of domestic abuse and violence indicates that for many women and children the home is far from being a sanctuary from violence.

According to Valentine (1992), to understand women's use of space it is necessary to understand the processes by which females develop images of certain environmental contexts as dangerous. Women tend to develop images about places and times in relation to their fear of male violence. This differs from general patterns of violence in crime statistics through a complex interaction and multiplying effects of first and second hand sources. These sources of information include stereotypes of the gender division of space, personal experiences, friends and family, the media, educational institutions and entertainment (Bart, 1994; Pain, 1991; 2000; Valentine, 1992). Valentine (1992) further asserts that the ideology of the family and the gender division of space create an implicit awareness that women are not safe in public places. This is reflected, perpetuated and

reinforced through various information sources. Most children's experiences and perceptions of public spaces are influenced by their parents. There is a gender division of space which is experienced from childhood through adulthood. There is generally a greater emphasis of vulnerability placed on girls because parents believe that girls are more likely to be attacked than boys.

Parents therefore instill a sense of vulnerability in public space onto their daughters which consequently affects their behavior and use of space, so instead of making girls aware of the greater risks of date rape and domestic violence, parents actively encourage them to seek protection of one man from all men (perpetuating the ideology of the family), and so encourage women to perceive a geography of fear which does not correspond to the geography of violence.

(Valentine, 1992: 28)

Valentine (1992) concludes that the ideology of the family and the gender division of space lie at the root of the mismatch between the actual and perceived spatial distribution of violence against women.

Pain (1997) developed a social geography of women's fear. The main components of Pain's (1997) analysis are:

- The imposition of constraints on the use of space
- The distinction between private and public space in perceptions of danger
- The social construction of space into safe and dangerous places
- The social control of women's spaces
- Social experiences on the basis of class, age, disability, motherhood, etc. influence experiences of, and reactions to fear of, violent crime

Valentine (1992) argues that the attachment of fear to public spaces, and the precautions which women take as a result, constitute a spatial expression of patriarchy. This tends to reproduce traditional notions about women's roles and the places that are considered appropriate for them to use.

The social construction of space into perceived safe and unsafe places is important to understand. Pain (1997) asserts that public and private spaces are gendered at an ideological level. Female perceptions of safe and unsafe spaces are shaped by

information (often inaccurate) they receive from the media, their family, their peers and other social contacts. Furthermore, women's spatial perceptions and fear of crime, Pain (1991) argues, should be studied separately from men's, as it differs in its extent, its nature, its relations to actual risks, its effects and its potential for structural analysis.

It has emerged repeatedly in the literature that women's fear of crime is more widespread than men's (Bonnin, 2000; Pain, 1991; 1997; 2000; Valentine, 1992). Pain's (1997) study specifically shows that whilst men and women were equally worried about property crime, women were far more worried than men about personal crime, especially sexual offences. Furthermore, women's fear of crime reflects actual risks more realistically than men's fear of crime. Insecurity and fear are heightened amongst women because of the common belief that sexual offences can occur in a wide range of situations and places, many of them everyday and unavoidable.

2.4.4. Gender and violence in the mass media

The media are one among many influences that contribute to gender role acquisition. Valentine (1992) points out that the difficulty in demonstrating the media's influence on attitudes about gender is that the media is only one of many sources that people are exposed to. Family, school, the workplace, and so on also exert their influences. However, as Spears and Seydegart (1993) state, it is important to note that when the media echoes and reflects stereotypes that occur throughout society, it is difficult to separate out the specific effects of media messages.

It is worth highlighting the findings of Singer's (1986 cited in Spears and Seydegart, 1993) study on the effects of advertising on women that finds evidence for a straightforward social modeling effect. In the study, female undergraduates saw either traditional television ads, in which women appeared in domestic roles or as sex objects, or liberated ads in which men were in the typically female domestic role. Students who saw the liberated ads scored markedly higher than those who saw the traditional ads on

tests of independent judgment and self-confidence. In a world where many people watch television every day, effects of advertising are constantly reinforced.

Evidence regarding the portrayal of violence for women and men can be found in Spears and Seydegart's (1993) study. The study shows that women are disproportionately portrayed as victims, that violence against women is often sexual in nature, and that retribution for the aggressor is often absent.

Valentine (1992) asserts that women's perceptions of space are influenced by how the media interprets where violent assaults are committed. Furthermore, there is still a widely held belief that women provoke violence or are somehow deserving of abuse. Popular culture-including television, movies, and music-often reinforces the notion that women enjoy being abused, that it is a positive masculine trait to control women, and that these stereotyped notions of what it means to be male and female are natural (Wilson-Brewer et al, 1991). One has only to watch a few minutes of a popular music video, a movie aimed at teenagers or a standard Soap Opera such as "The Bold and the Beautiful" to see many instances of women falling in love with and obsessing over males who control them.

2.4.5. Impacts of Gender-Based Violence on Women's Lives

There has been a growing awareness by academics, architects, geographers and planners of the impact of the designed environment on the lives of women (Boys, 1990; Klodawsky and Lundy, 1994). Furthermore, the design of public and private spaces contributes to females' perceptions and fear of violence and they are reflective of social relations in society. As Valentine (1990: 301) argues, "the social relations within a space and the group(s) who control that space socially are more important influences on how safe women feel than the design."

Klodawsky and Lundy (1994) assert that the fear of violence itself maybe construed as a survival mechanism and that women learn to negotiate their safety with men whether the men are colleagues at work, acquaintances in social situations, strangers on the street or

intimate companions. The defensive positions in which women are placed, according to Stanko (1990: 85), means that:

Wherever women are, their peripheral vision monitors the landscape and those around them for potential danger. On the street, we listen for footsteps approaching and avoid looking men in the eyes.

Thus, women's perceptions and fears about their safety have a profound effect on their use of space – where they go, what they do, when they do it and with whom they go with. Pain (1991) illustrates this contention by indicating, for example, that the threat of rape deters some women from being out on the streets at night and the threat of sexual harassment at work dissuades some women from participating in the public domain. As a result, women fear violence in public spaces and so they participate less in public activities and spend more time in the home and seek more protection from men.

Women's safety and their very survival depend on them scanning their environment for indications of potential danger. These signs warn them of the do's and don'ts. They also have spatial and temporal elements. Klodawsky and Lundy (1994) site abandoned buildings, construction sites, certain streets and alleys as areas most often recognized by women as being dangerous. Additionally, isolation, poor lighting, the lack of possible hiding places and the absence of an escape route are also cues that women often use to determine potentially unsafe areas.

No female is excluded from the threat of gender-based violence. Boys (1990) argues that gender violence is not random violence in which victims happen to be women and girls, rather the risk factor is being female. Acts or threats of violence against women instill fear and insecurity into the lives of females as well as hinders their development and their achievement of equality. Threats and acts of violence reinforce the positions and status of women in society. The fear of violence among women is often used as a tool to ensure that females are subjugated and relegated to inferior positions in relation to their male counterparts. Ferraro (1996) also shows how the fear of violence is a permanent constraint on the mobility of women and limits their access to resources and basic activities. The United Nations (1995) further indicates the high social, health and

economic costs to the individual and society which are associated with violence against women.

Motshekga and Delport (1993) state that victims of violence are also more likely to suffer long-lasting psychological and health problems, including persistent fear, low self-esteem, sexual dysfunction, chronic pain, disability, substance abuse, depression and suicide. Furthermore, they assert that the children of abused women are more likely to experience low birth weight, malnutrition, behavioral problems and higher mortality. The World Bank has estimated that the health burden of gender-based violence on women aged 15-44 is as heavy as that of HIV, tuberculosis, cancer and heart disease combined (UNFPA, 2001). Gender-based violence also has significant economic consequences, reducing family income and increasing health care costs, job absenteeism, and costs related to law enforcement. Gender-based violence also compounds other effects of economic exploitation.

In addition to the psychological and emotional consequences of violence, those violated may experience physical injuries, unwanted pregnancies and sexually transmitted infections. The possibility of HIV transmission is also greatly increased in cases of rape. Gordon and Crehan (2000) report that in a study in Mumbai, 20% of all pregnancies among adolescents seeking abortion had occurred as a result of forced sex and in a study in Thailand, one in ten rape victims had been infected with a sexually transmitted disease. Other health consequences of gender-based violence includes short-term health effects that have non-fatal outcomes such as minor cuts, headaches, pains and bruises (Moreno, 1998).

In terms of the psychological, emotional and spiritual damage which may result from violence and the fear of violence, Moreno (1998) asserts that most survivors suffer from post-traumatic stress disorders. Furthermore, Linn et al (1996) state that the consequences of disclosure of being violated, especially in relation to sexual victimization, may be disastrous and can include rejection, blame, “social death” and even further violence. For the majority of women the persistent insults, abuse, confinement, harassment and

deprivation of financial and physical resources may prove more harmful than physical attacks and result in women living in a permanent state of fear and sub-standard mental and physical health (Moreno, 1998).

This chapter shows, as underscored by Stitt (1998), that sex-role stereotyping contributes to narrowly defined expectations about human potential, limited career options for males and females, and mixed messages about the world which contradict daily life experience. It is clear that the social, economic and political costs of such stereotyping have not been fully explored in the educational arena. When we begin to examine issues of violence within educational institutions, especially in schools, sex-role stereotyping reveals itself as one of the instruments that perpetuates dominant and subordinate relationships in our culture (Miedzian, 1991).

The Table below shows that women may face different forms of violence at different stages of their lives (Heise, 1994).

| Gender Violence throughout a Woman's Life | |
|--|---|
| Phase | Types of violence |
| Prenatal | Sex-selective abortions, battering during pregnancy, coerced pregnancy (rape during war) |
| Infancy | Female infanticide, emotional and physical abuse, differential access to food and medical care |
| Childhood | Genital cutting; incest and sexual abuse; differential access to food, medical care, and education; child prostitution |
| Adolescent | Dating and courtship violence, economically coerced sex, sexual abuse in the workplace, rape, sexual harassment, forced prostitution |
| Reproductive | Abuse of women by intimate partners, marital rape, dowry abuse and murders, partner homicide, psychological abuse, sexual abuse in the workplace, sexual harassment, rape, abuse of women with disabilities |
| Old age | Abuse of widows, elder abuse (which affects mostly women) |

2.4.6. Strategies to address violence against females: Opportunities and Challenges

Ferguson and Ferguson (1994) state that women develop coping strategies based on their perceived danger areas and the types of violence they feel they are most likely to encounter. The most common of these strategies is avoidance of places and individuals they perceive as threatening. Women tend to avoid places at particular times in the hope of avoiding potential attackers. Vetten and Dladla (2000) assert that avoidance was perhaps the most common strategy women adopted, even when it resulted in inconvenience to themselves. Another strategy that Vetten and Dladla (2000) cite is negotiation.

Women and many groups have organized against gender-based violence. Morris (1994) states that these initiatives include immediate and long-term action to challenge and prevent violence against women and gender-based exploitation more generally. Women's groups and NGOs have set up refuges for women and children who need a place to escape from violence. Most shelters not only offer a place to stay and daily sustenance, but also counseling, material support and, if possible, legal assistance. Albertyn (1994) asserts that survivors in these shelters feel the solidarity of other women who have similar experiences and fears. Some of the organizations also organize self-defense classes and classes in procedures for reporting violence. In addition to the focus on the survivors of violence, many organizations arrange briefings and workshops for police and court officials to help them understand the significance of violence against females and enable them to deal more sensitively and justly with the cases that come before them.

The Human Rights Watch (1995) identifies numerous long-term strategies to eliminate violence against females and these include:

- Measures to raise the status of women and gain recognition of their full human rights.
- Research to be able to present a fuller picture of the much under-reported violence that plagues our homes, communities, nation and world.

- Education of girls and boys from the earliest age in the idea of equality between sexes, respect for everyone's human rights and non-violent ways to resolve conflict.
- Reform laws that allow violence towards women to go unpunished and ensuring that they are enforced.
- Sensitizing police, lawyers, social workers, teachers as well as political and religious leaders to these issues.
- Challenging local customs and traditional practices that incorporate or encourage violence against women, for example, female circumcision/ genital mutilation and dowry.
- Changing public attitudes and myths that tolerate and perpetuate violence against women (for example, she must like it or she would not stay with him).

In many societies, women tend not to know about their legal rights which may protect them from traditions and customs that perpetuate violence against them. The Human Rights Watch (1995) states that NGOs have been pioneers in informing women about their human rights (which included the right to be protected from violence) and in supporting them in their claims before the courts. They show how the Women's Federation in Beijing became concerned about the frequent domestic violence in the three-generation families that make up two-thirds of Chinese households. The Federation organized over 600 legal-knowledge training classes, reaching 90 000 women.

In South Africa, Artz et al (1998) assert that women face multiple obstacles in accessing justice both within the communities and the legal system. There is a general lack of services and very little dissemination of information and assistance that will help women to seek support and advice.

Ferguson and Ferguson (1994) and Rafkin (1995) identify numerous strategies that women employ (and can use) to be safe and deal with the threat of violence. Some of these include:

- Cultivating a sense of community and watching out for one another in the neighborhood

- Making sure that there is good lighting in areas frequented at night such as the home, entertainment areas and workplaces
- The use of security devices such as alarms
- Acquiring weapons such as guns and pepper sprays
- Taking self-defense classes
- Physically fighting back
- Having dogs
- Having a “don’t mess with me” posture and attitude
- Drawing attention to seek assistance and discourage would be attackers
- Parking in safe, well-lit areas
- Carrying a cellular phone
- Creating and maintaining boundaries in the workplace
- Being deceptive
- Using distracting strategies such as acting crazy, urinating or throwing up

It is important to note that many of the strategies that women use to cope with violence and the fear of violence constrain women’s movements and limit their social, political and economic participation and opportunities. Pain (1991) shows that when women make adaptations to lifestyle and behavior to deal with the threat of gender-based violence (for example, staying indoors at night, not walking alone and avoiding certain areas), these have implications for personal freedom and general quality of life.

2.5. GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE IN SCHOOLS

Education is one of the central vehicles via which society reproduces prevailing ideologies, values and norms. Braam and Webster (2000) indicate that the education system is a critical means by which violence against females is institutionalized, albeit most often through the hidden curriculum. They show that education:

- Plays a fundamental role in reproducing values and norms in society, which includes sexist values that females are inferior relative to men.

- Represents the funnel through which people's choices are enlarged/ narrowed in relation to future careers/ jobs – class and gender are critical variables within this process.
- Serves potentially as one of the most critical points of intervention in relation to reshaping social values that abhor violence against females.
- Despite positive shifts, the curriculum continues to largely ignore the critical role that it can play in shifting discourse and contributing towards transforming the gendered power relations in society. Areas such as teaching relationship building skills, women's empowerment and parenting skills which are fundamental to addressing violence against females are largely ignored.

Stitt (1998) asserts that adolescence is a time of potential crisis, for both females and males. The need to fit in and respond to peer pressure and social expectations can be particularly difficult for teenagers. As adolescents internalize the cultural norms that reinforce sex-role stereotyping, Stadler and Stadler (1982) state that they also increase their vulnerability to experiencing violence and abuse, as victims and/ or perpetrators.

In a study of convicted rapists, Scully (1990) interviewed men who had committed gang rape, most of whom had been convicted when they were of high school age. Some of the findings, discussed below, are indicative of prevailing misconceptions and notions of what is violence and what is not among the youth. A number among them did not consider raping female hitchhikers as rape because the men believed these women were signaling their sexual availability. Also, females walking alone at night were considered as being available because women who walk alone at night are prostitutes, and, of course, prostitutes have no rights. Scully (1990) also found that most gang rape is seen as a form of recreation. To most of the young men she interviewed:

Gang rape was just another form of delinquent activity, a rite of passage, and a male bonding activity. Part of the appeal was the sense of male camaraderie engendered by participating collectively in a dangerous activity.

(Scully, 1990: 43)

This study shows that stereotypes and misinformation about women provoking violence are already pervasive among young people. This remains true today. It is important to heed Stein's (1991) call that while we need to show young women how to protect themselves, these findings also demonstrate strongly that we need to help young men reject a culture that tells them relationships are based on showing power over others and that, as males, they need to prove their masculinity by exercising this type of power.

It is possible to think of schools as a microcosm of society at large. The school and surrounding environments may encourage and reinforce perceptions, norms and values that contribute to gender-based violence. These include modes of teaching that demonstrate that males are more important than females, avoidance of issues such as date rape and sexual harassment in schools (by fellow scholars as well as teachers), the lack of clear policies and procedures to deal with violence and/ or the threat of violence, curriculum/ material taught in class that reinforce sexist messages, and the existence of unsafe places within and outside the school premises. There is already sufficient evidence to suggest that violence is a serious problem in schools and for female students in schools, the problem is compounded (Wellesley College Centre for Research on Women, 1992).

In terms of curriculum and gender discrimination, Bob (1999) shows that often females are excluded from texts, curricula and history. In addition, Bob (1999) illustrates that in the classroom generally males receive more teacher attention than females, boys receive more specific comments about their academic performance, that there are differences favoring males in task assignment, classroom activities and educational tracking (particularly in math, science, vocational courses, and extracurricular activities). Stein (1991) asserts that these practices send different messages to males and females about their worth, their abilities and their potential. Also, the prevailing notions of what is feminine and masculine attributes and behaviours and concomitant internalization of these notions by boys and girls leads to the vilification of so called feminine qualities while masculine tendencies are revered. Such socialization, Stein (1991) indicates, only serves to lay the foundations for gender expectations based on male domination and

female subordination. It is important to note that expectations related to behaviour tend to be context and culture-specific. What is acceptable behaviour in one society may not be acceptable in another. However, patriarchal tendencies are evident in almost all societies and cultures.

Linn et al (1996) show that sexual harassment in the United States is pervasive in many schools and that it often takes on racial overtones. Stein (1991) has also documented that students are harassed more often by their peers than their teachers. While the main form of peer harassment is verbal abuse in the form of demeaning remarks and verbal interrogation it also takes on forms of physical and sexual abuse as well. When schools fail to address issues pertaining to violence against female students in schools, during school activities and en route to and from schools; they inadvertently send a message of tolerance of it.

2.6. GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE IN SOUTH AFRICA

2.6.1. Conditions Females generally face in South Africa

Females are relegated to secondary status within South African society generally. They suffer discrimination and disadvantage in almost every sphere of society. Artz (1998) argues that cultural stereotypes and practices reinforce women's subordinate positions in society as do desperate economic conditions which put pressure on family life and create limited opportunities for women to leave oppressive situations and conditions. As discussed earlier, under these conditions, females and society more generally often fail to understand that gender-based violence has a political and economic dimension. Because the public and private spheres remain separated and the stigma of violence is often to blame victims, in South Africa the culture of silence associated with violence (especially sexual and domestic forms of violence) remains widespread. Abraham (1998) states that in many cultures women are perceived as property to be transferred from fathers to husbands and finally sons. This negates any independent positions for females. Guided by the doctrine of obedience most women experience internal and external pressures to stay

within the parameters that define them as obedient and self-sacrificing (Abraham, 1998; De la Rey, 1999).

Many communities in South Africa, especially those in previously disadvantaged areas, are crippled by poverty; unemployment; lack of access to education, health and welfare services as well as inadequate access to resources to improve their conditions. Many studies reveal that women and children are disproportionately impacted by poverty and marginalization and tend to be among the poorest and most disadvantaged in South Africa.

The Human Rights Watch (1995) identified numerous constraints that prevent women from reporting violent incidences or threats of violence. These, discussed below, are also reflective of the economic, social and political conditions that women in South Africa face.

- The status of women in society: women are relegated to a secondary status.
- Devaluing experience: a tendency for women not to consider what they experience as being important.
- Social stigma: violence often stigmatizes the survivor (especially women who are deemed to have either asked to be violated or deserved it) and often leads to further victimization.
- Privacy: public exposure of private violation and violence often undermines the stature of women who come forward, given the already tenuous nature of women's status in society.
- Self-blame: women feel they ought to have prevented their violation by resisting it, unable to accept their own defenselessness and vulnerability.
- Re-living trauma: speaking about violence requires enormous courage as it comes with the fear involved in re-living the trauma which is compounded by the fear of loss of respect.
- Economic reasons: many women are unemployed and have children to care for, they are economically dependent on men.

- Political loyalty: restrictions placed on members' testimony by the liberation movements.
- Fear of reprisals: as a result of male dominance and the inability of social, political and legal systems to protect women and children, many women fear continued violence.

Albertyn (1994) shows that the tolerance of a husband's physical violence towards his wife and children has a long history in the law, in religion, in culture and this has been well documented. In many homes women and children are still treated as the property of men, the head of the household. Despite changing South African laws, traditional practices and attitudes reinforce this notion. According to De la Rey (1999), abuse against females is not a mere act of deviance or breakdown in the social order but arises out of the normative structure that defines women as inferior, it also reaffirms dominance and aggression as social, economic and political life.

2.6.2. Gender-based Violence in South Africa

Violence in South Africa is to a large extent embedded in its colonial and apartheid history. Hansson (1991) asserts that violence committed in the past has direct and indirect links to current levels of violence in South African society. Wardrop (1996) states that large numbers of youth have grown up within a violent context where police brutality and abuse of women seem to merge into one. As stated earlier, political violence in South Africa during the apartheid period has laid the foundation for the prevailing culture of violence that impacts on all aspects of South African society. Furthermore, Simpson (1993) asserts that the process of transition in South Africa has generated deep-rooted insecurity embedded in social fear and a sense of loss of control.

The social-psychological trauma which accompanies the uncertainty of transition is often most dramatically experienced by those confronted with a loss of control in society. The frequent consequence is displaced aggression –expressed outside of the formal political or economic realm. The victims of this displaced aggression are often those who are most vulnerable in society and over whom control is most easily, symbolically reasserted. They are often women, children or elderly people who are subject to violent abuse, both within and outside of the private domain or the domestic arena.

(Simpson, 1993: 3)

Zondi (2000) asserts that South Africa has the unenviable reputation of being amongst the countries where crime statistics are soaring, this is without taking into consideration the crimes that go unreported on a daily basis. Zondi (2000) further states that many people that are emigrating from South Africa cite crime as the main reason for doing so.

In South Africa there is no quantitative evidence to map the relationship between levels of political violence and violence against women, largely due to inadequate rigorous research as well as low levels of reporting and poor recording systems in the country. The South African Police Service estimates that a women is raped every 35 seconds (Dreyer et al, 2002). Dreyer et al (2002) further assert that given the pervasiveness of violence and violations in South African society, educators have no choice but to provide learners with the basic skills to cope with the dual threat of gender-based violence in schools and in society more generally. They go further to show how and when this type of education can be presented to learners within an education system.

Government has passed legislation to give meaning to the Bill of Rights, such as the Domestic Violence Act, Maintenance Act, Prevention of Family Violence Act and the Choice on Termination of Pregnancy Act. Legislative and policy changes in South Africa are welcomed and provide an important component of effectively addressing and preventing gender-based violence in South Africa. Artz (1998) and Braam and Webster (2000) assert that despite the progress that has been made at the levels of policy and legislation, it is clear that government's ability to give practical expression to these laws through effective implementation is severely constrained by economic factors. However, Morris (1994) states that while the Prevention of Family Violence Act, for example, is a

relatively inexpensive and speedy legal remedy for battered women, its effectiveness in providing long-term solutions is questionable. Gelsthorpe and Morris (1990) argue that law reform leaves untouched the institutions and practices that are at the root of insubordination and violence against females. However, Albertyn (1994) and Morris (1994) assert that there is no hope of redefining the truth of events or to change social life without engagement with the law. In fact, in the context of South Africa undergoing social, economic and political transformation and transition, getting the legal frameworks and institutions right to tackle gender-based violence is critically important. Albertyn (1994) warns that this strategy may be of limited value where the position of women in society remains subordinate and where issues affecting them are still marginalised. As Braam and Webster (2000) argue, government's political commitment to address gender-based violence is severely watered down by its lack of integrated planning, lack of resources available to ensure effective implementation and adopting a macro-economic framework that serves to entrench patriarchal socio-economic relations. It is therefore apparent that the patriarchal nature of the legal system does not preclude reform and that it is important to challenge the dominant discourses and values inherent in the system (Gelsthorpe and Morris, 1990).

In terms of thinking strategically about addressing gender-based violence in South Africa, it is imperative that the following issues be highlighted (Braam and Webster, 2000: 6-7):

- South Africa is characterized by high levels of inequality, poverty and high levels of violence against females, relative to other lower middle-income countries.
- An intervention within the legal system, in isolation from broader societal intervention would not make a significant impact on the above status quo. There is considerable research that shows that the legal system is not only gendered but is also male-dominated, reflecting wider unequal power relations in society.
- The historic response by the violence against women sector, whilst being critical, needs to shift to ensure a deeper, national impact. Given factors such as the high levels of gender-based violence and the apartheid legacy, most organizations dealing with women and violence tend to focus on crisis intervention.

- Violence against females in South Africa is generally not seen as a key developmental/ political challenge in the country despite the progress that has been made at policy and legislative levels.
- Gender-based violence in South Africa continues to be largely seen by mainstream politics as a “women’s issue”.

2.6.3. Gender-Based Violence in South African Schools

The legacy of the brutality of apartheid in South Africa is a violent social context characterized by high levels of unemployment, extremes of wealth and poverty, continuing racism, the easy availability of guns and patriarchal values and behaviors (Harber, 2001). Harber (2001) also asserts that children are regularly mugged and sexually assaulted and teachers are intimidated. Violent crime is widespread in South African schools, particularly in disadvantaged areas, suffer from serious problems of continued crime and the fear of violence. The educational landscape in South Africa, from pre-school to tertiary levels, are embedded in a range of power relations which are shaped by race, gender and class. The hidden curriculum, referred to earlier, is discernible in South Africa and reinforces gender roles, relations and positions in society.

Dreyer et al (2002) cite a study conducted by the Johannesburg Metropolitan Local Council and a local NGO, the Community Information Empowerment and Transparency Foundation (CIET) to illustrate the vulnerability of young girls to sexual violence. This specific study entailed interviews with 30 000 young people. The findings, discussed here, clearly show the importance of addressing gender-based violence among young females. One in four of the men interviewed claimed to have had sex without a girl’s consent before the age of 18. At least half of those interviewed – male and female – believe that forcing sex on someone you know is not sexual violence, but that it is just ‘rough sex’. Over half the girls said they believe that they were responsible for sexual abuse.

The School of Public Health at the University of the Western Cape developed two training models to incorporate the issue of gender-based violence into the primary school curriculum (Dreyer et al, 2002): the 'whole school' approach and 'train the trainer' approach. The models focused on identifying and challenging teachers' own knowledge and attitudes towards gender and gender-based violence, on encouraging teachers to reflect on the messages they send to students and on identifying strategies to address gender-based violence.

Violence in schools include the following:

- Bullying
- Gangs
- Rape
- Sexual harassment and abuse
- Racial harassment
- Harassment of people with disabilities
- Corporal punishment
- Harassment of homosexuals
- Child pornography
- Verbal and psychological abuse
- Violence against teachers

Dreyer et al (2002) state that it is imperative that these types of violence be addressed by government departments, the education systems and communities at all levels to permit learners the right to an education free from the fear of violence.

Braam and Webster (2000) argue that although in recent years there has been much public criticism of corporal punishment by students, parents and the public at large; it continues to varying degrees in many school settings. Corporal punishment tends to reinforce the problematic notion that physical violence can be effectively used to instill discipline and punish those who are difficult or misbehave.

Furthermore, Braam and Webster (2000) assert that in South Africa sexual harassment is widespread within school settings and often take the following forms:

- Boys touching girls on their private parts
- Boys looking at girls' panties by using a mirror on the floor, which she is often unaware of
- Forced kissing/ petting, usually as a result of boys proving to other boys that they can "get" a particular girl
- Boys whistling and making remarks about girls' bodies to humiliate her
- Boys ridiculing other boys who they perceive to be feminine by making remarks about their bodies/ provoking them to fight
- Educators abusing their positions of power by touching girls or communicating with them in sexual ways
- Educators abusing their positions of power by soliciting sexual favours, most often from girl learners but in some instances, from boys as well.

2.7. CONCLUSION

The literature review indicates that within a general context there is limited research on spatial perceptions and experiences of violence against women and this is also the case in secondary schools in South Africa. This results in inadequate understanding and conceptualization among government structures, educational departments, aid agencies, research and development institutions of the gendered dimensions of violence against women in different contexts. This study will help in addressing these limitations.

Undoubtedly, violence and the threat of violence against females contributes significantly, both covertly and overtly, to reinforcing male power and control in different spheres of our society including homes, educational institutions, workplaces as well as social places. This situation is worsened by a culture of silence and a tendency to ignore the gravity of the consequences of gender-based violence in society, especially concomitant impacts on the lives of women and children. UNFPA (2001) suggests that in addition to the harm they exact on the individual level, these consequences also exact a

social toll and place a heavy and unnecessary burden on health services. It is increasingly evident that educators must begin to address violence both in its direct impact on learners' lives and as a component of achieving gender equity more generally.

CHAPTER THREE: CASE STUDIES AND METHODOLOGY

3.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on providing backgrounds of the case studies and methodology used for the study. A brief description of the two secondary schools, Dr A D Lazarus and Ridge Park College, is provided. In the methodology section attention is given to the research questions that inform the methodological framework, the specific methods used, the sampling framework employed as well as the data collection process. In terms of the research methods adopted, both quantitative (questionnaire survey) and qualitative (mapping and ranking exercises) used in the study are critically examined.

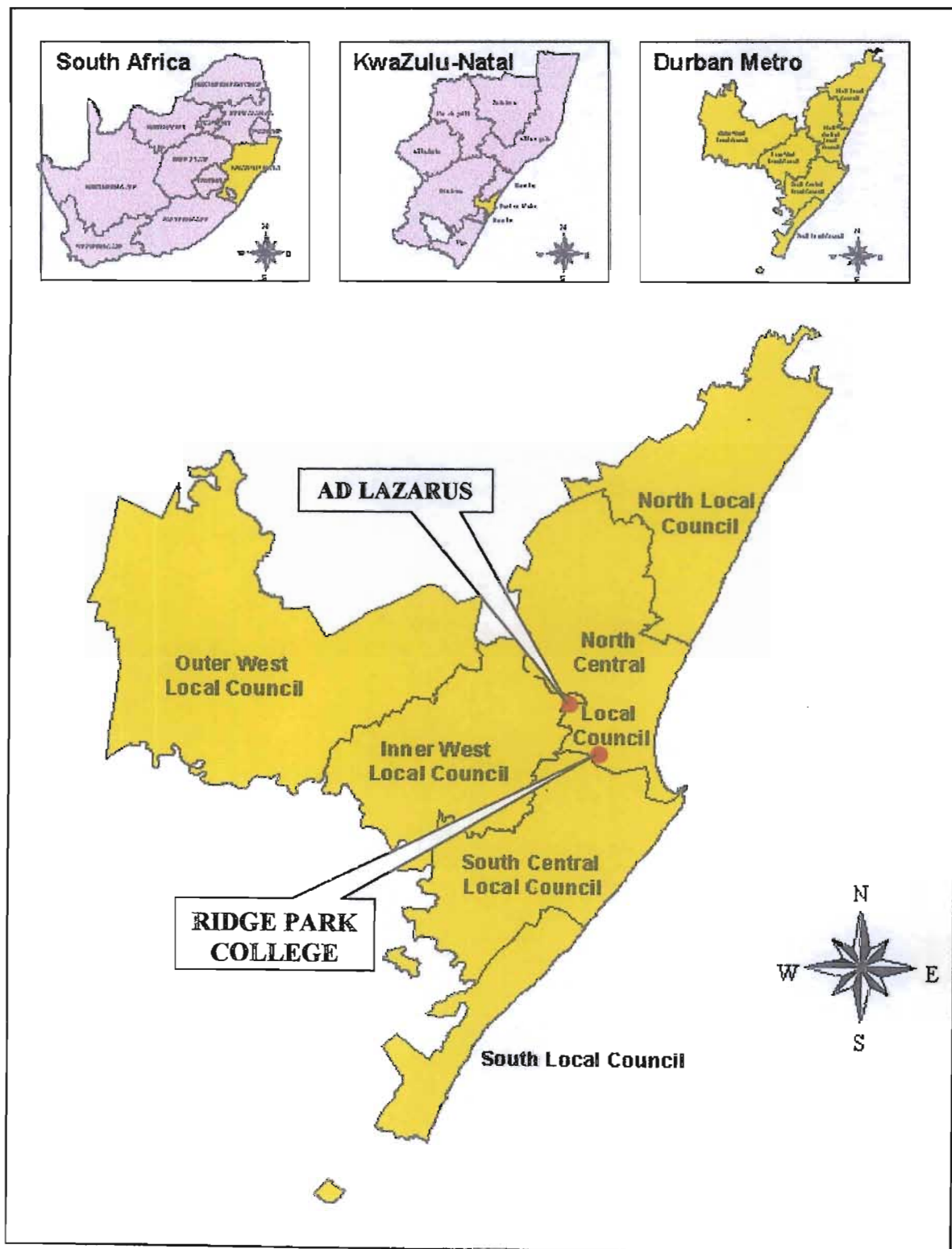
3.2. BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE CASE STUDIES

Two secondary schools (Ridge Park College and Dr A D Lazarus Secondary) form the case studies for the following reasons:

- Given the sensitive nature of the issues under investigation, issues around access to females to conduct fieldwork is important. I conduct Rape Awareness and Prevention classes in one of the schools and am known to principals at both the schools. Therefore, in these schools, access to respondents was greatly enhanced.
- The schools also represent in the specific locality, historically differentiated secondary schools. Ridge Park is a historically White secondary school and is an all-girl school. Dr A D Lazarus is a former Indian, co-ed secondary school. The choice of these schools will allow for an examination of social, class and gender dynamics in relation to violence against females and environmental perceptions regarding violence.

Both the schools are located in the Durban Metropolitan Area (Map 4.1).

Map 3.1: Location of Dr AD Lazarus and Ridge Park College in the Durban Metropolitan Area

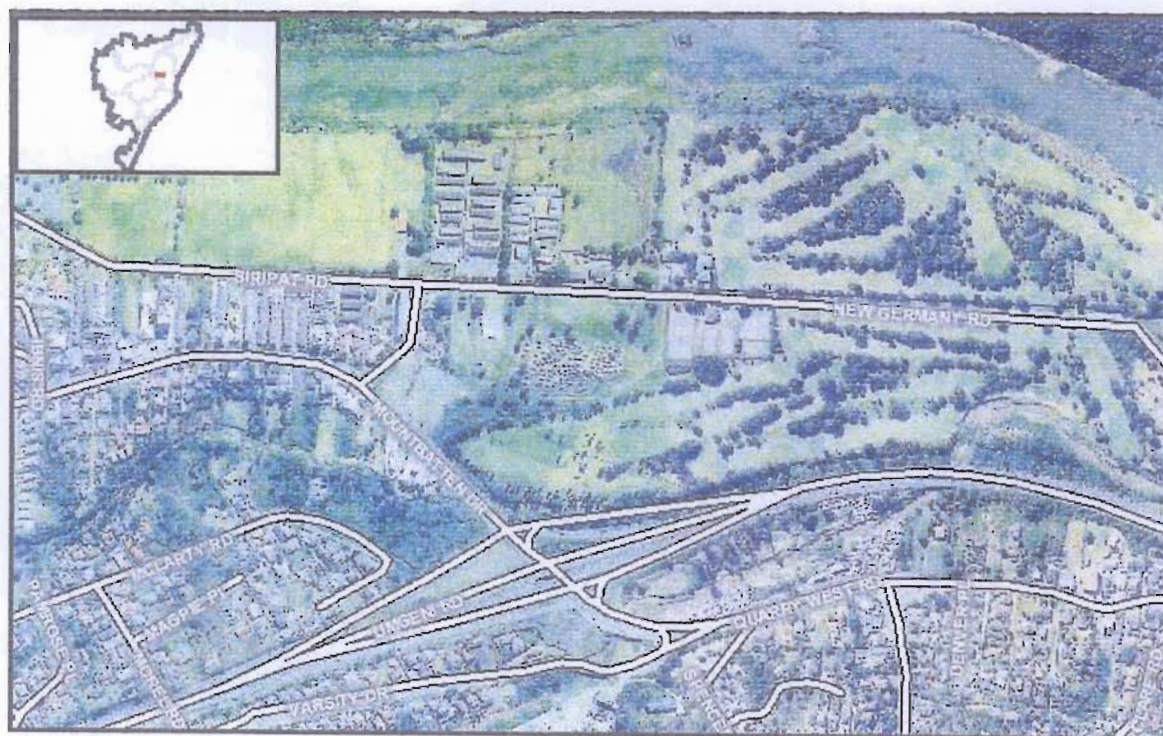
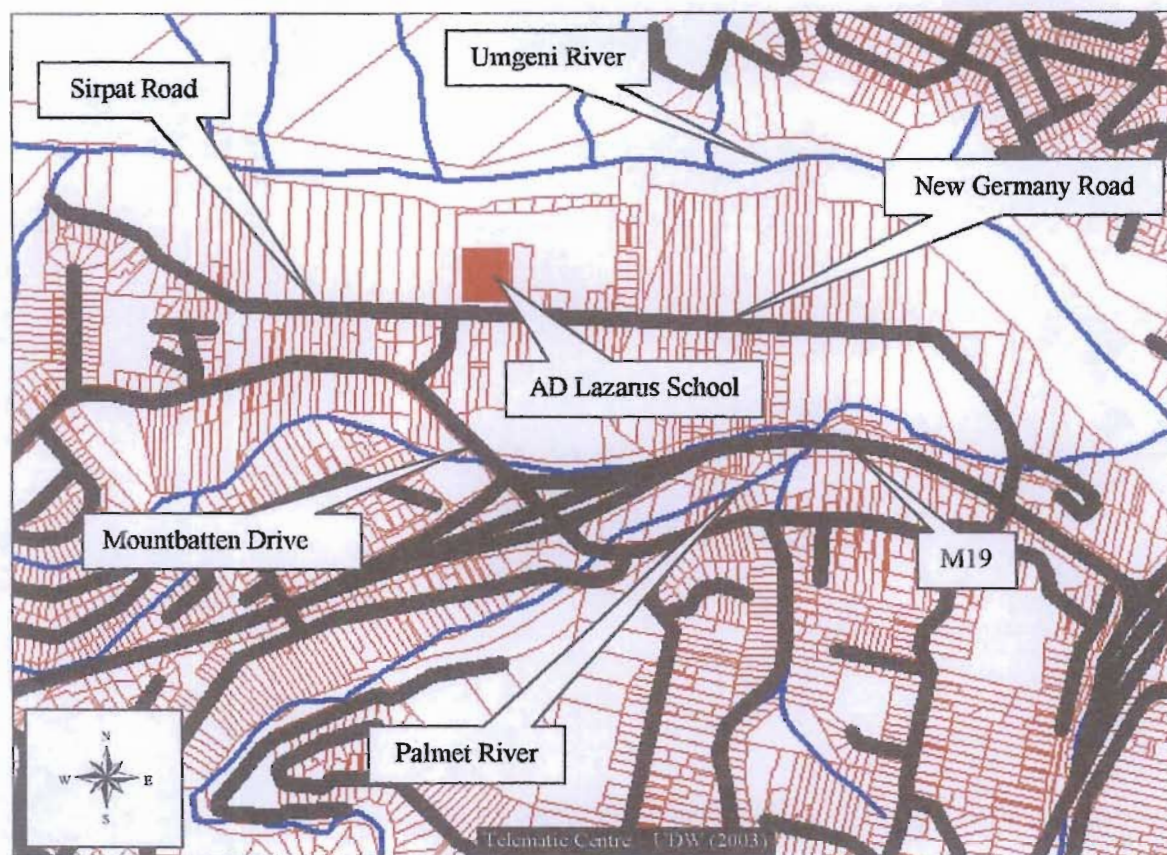


3.2.1. Dr A D Lazarus Secondary

Dr A D Lazarus Secondary is located on the banks of the Umgeni River in New Germany Road in Reservoir Hills (Map 4.2). In the West of the School is the Siripat Road grounds, a recreational area with soccer fields, etc. To the East is part of a golf course, a school for the disabled, a bushy area with the furthest part being the Clare Estate cemetery. Opposite the school, northwards, is a Community Hall and further, an informal settlement and golf course. There is a relative lack of lighting from any surrounding land use and with very little traffic frequenting the area, the school can be quite isolated, especially after school hours.

In terms of the learner and staff composition, the school has 1 072 learners and 45 teachers. Five hundred and thirty eight of the total number of learners (50.2%) are females and 28 of the teachers (62.2%) are females. With the exception of two teachers (one male and one female) who are African, the rest are of Indian descent. In terms of the racial profile of the learners, 823 (76.8%) are Indians, 221 are Africans (20.6%) and 28 (2.6%) are Coloureds.

Map 3.2: Location and Aerial Photograph of Study Area: Dr AD Lazarus



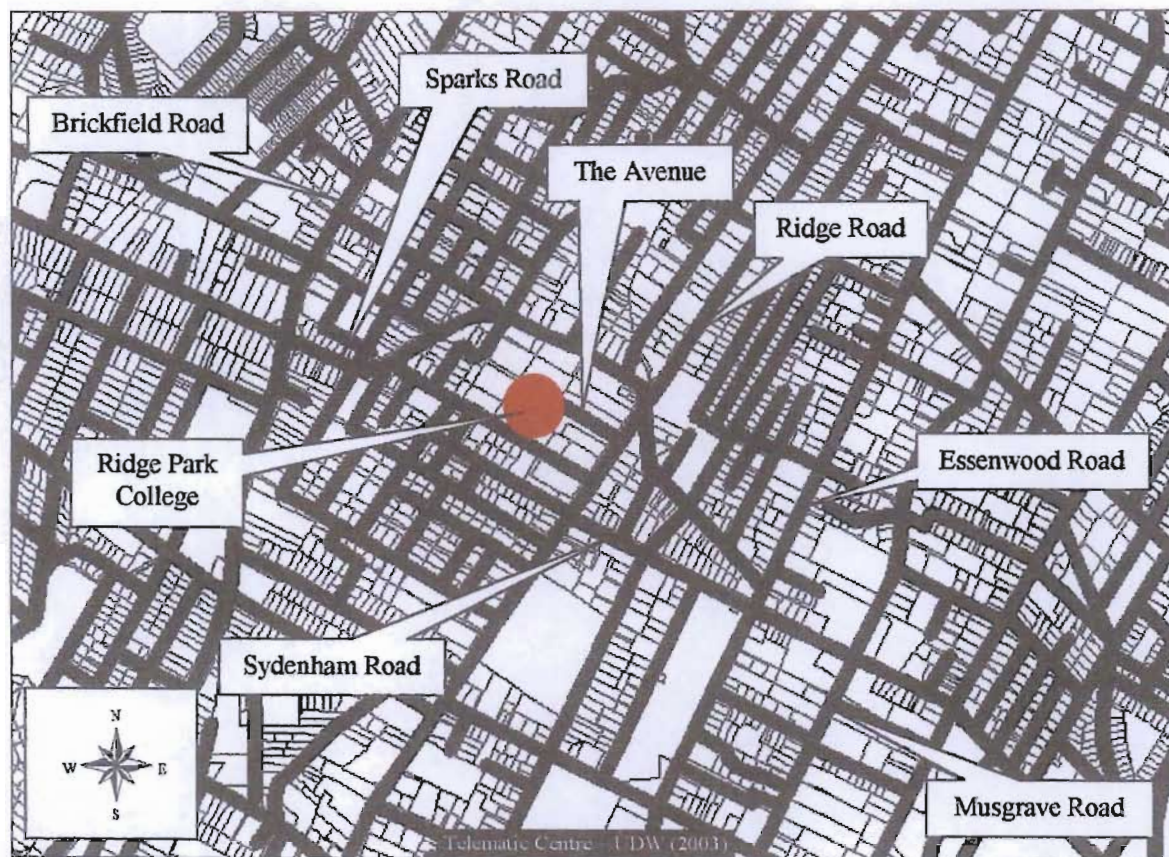
3.2.2. Ridge Park College

Ridge Park College is located in the midst of an Outlying Business District in the Essenwood/ Overport area (Map 4.3) on The Avenue, off Ridge Road. The Overport City Shopping Center is across the street from the school. The school is surrounded by a range of restaurants, businesses and offices as well as some residential homes. A taxi rank is in close proximity (about 50 metres) to the school's main entrance. The school is well fenced and has electronic gating systems. Unlike the Dr A D Lazarus school, Ridge Park college has a pool, hockey field and tennis courts on its premises.

In terms of the learner and staff composition, the school has 883 learners and 41 teachers. All the learners are females and 34 of the teachers (82.9%) are females. In terms of racial profiles of the teachers, 26 are Indian (63.4%), 11 are White (26.8%), 2 are African (4.9%) and 2 are Coloured (4.9%). In terms of the racial profile of the learners, 621 (70.3%) are Indian, 189 are African (21.4%), 51 (5.8%) are Coloured and 22 (2.5%) are White. It is interesting to note that unlike Dr A D Lazarus which has remained a predominately Indian school, Ridge Park College which was historically a White school only has 2.5% of the learners who are White.

The two schools chosen reflect a cross-section of experiences, contrasting socio-economic and spatial contexts. It was also anticipated that in the different contexts different sets of relationships between gender and violence exist. These schools together have close to 2 000 learners and 80 staff. This, therefore, provides an ideal opportunity to intensively investigate the issues raised in this study.

Map 3.3: Location and Aerial Photograph of Study Area: Ridge Park College



3.3. METHODOLOGY

This study explores females' environmental perceptions of violence and danger in secondary schools by adopting a locality level analysis based on two case studies discussed above. Schwartz (1997) asserts that locality studies allow for an in-depth analysis that is place and context specific. The following broad research questions guide the study generally and the methodological framework particularly:

1. How do females (both staff and students) in secondary schools perceive their environments in relation to violence and images of danger?
2. From which sources are meanings regarding the spatial nature of violence constructed?
3. What types of violence are females aware of and what are their understanding of these manifestations of violence against females?
4. What are the specific experiences of violence that females have encountered and what are their spatial attributes?
5. What impacts do social, political and economic factors have on shaping environmental perceptions of violence among females?
6. Do women engage in risk minimising behaviour in relation to perceived threats of violence? If so, what types of coping strategies do they use?

The research methodologies are guided by participatory and gender geography approaches which promote the use of a variety of methods that encourage politically relevant research. Standard quantitative and qualitative methods were employed to generate data relating to the research objectives identified. These include survey questionnaires (with some open-ended questions) as well as mapping and problem ranking exercises. The need to include qualitative techniques is based on the assertion that conventional methods used in data collection are often inadequate to unpack underlying meanings and processes (Chambers, 1994; 1997; England, 1994; Fortmann, 1995; Guijt and Shah, 1998; Mukherjee, 1993; Rochealeau et al, 1996; Schwartz, 1997; Slocum et al, 1995). Qualitative research is consistent with many of the approaches adopted in gender research that focus on subjectivity and knowledge stemming from everyday experiences.

The arguments for the use of gender-sensitive qualitative methodologies have been made elsewhere (Feldstein and Jiggins, 1994; Jones et al, 1997; Moser, 1993). Conventional methods used in data collection are often inadequate to unpack the underlying meanings and processes of female's experiences and concerns. Conventional research methods, for example, questionnaire surveys, often tend to overlook important aspects of gender experiences such as power dynamics associated with gender and violence. The focus tends to be on the collection of quantifiable data. The reasons behind why different patterns emerge when analyzing quantitative data tend also to be missed and is left in the hands of the interpretative skills of the researcher. There is compelling evidence that qualitative methods are particularly useful in unpacking gender dynamics and incorporating female's voices in research endeavours. A wide array of qualitative techniques are available: mapping exercises, calendars, ranking exercises, semi-structured interviews, group discussions, village transects, activities' profiles, venn diagrams, etc. This study uses mapping and ranking exercises. Qualitative and quantitative methods are not replacements for each other but are alternatives that can be used to complement and clarify information (Mattingly and Falconer-Al-Hindi, 1995; McLafferty, 1995; Rose, 1993).

The next section of this chapter involves a discussion of the relevant strengths of the specific methods used in this study. Also, potential weaknesses are addressed and assessed.

3.3.1. Research methods and data sources

The methods employed in this study are guided by the research questions and methodologies presented earlier that aim to focus on the everyday experiences of females in relation to violence and the fear of danger, as well as relate these experiences to larger social, political and economic processes. Given this focus on spatial and broader environmental perceptions and experiences there seems to be good reason to believe that incorporating both qualitative and quantitative methodologies will provide the basis for accessing the type of information needed to clarify the objectives outlined in this study.

The information analyzed in this dissertation is based on multiple sources which can be listed as follows:

- secondary data and information sources (these sources have been intensively used in the literature review chapters)
 - * Various national and international reports
 - * Government policy documents pertaining to violence generally and gender-based violence more specifically
 - * research conducted by NGOs and private researchers
- primary data methods
 - * questionnaire survey
 - * qualitative methods: mapping and ranking exercises

The secondary data and information sources were broad and comprehensive. There is a number of secondary sources of information in the form of research on gender and violence as well as on the impacts of violence more generally in South Africa as indicated in the literature reviewed in chapter two. The collection and analysis of secondary data was primarily a desk-top study aimed at visiting national and international level data as well as other studies on gender and violence conducted by academics and Non-Governmental Organizations. The latter often took the form of specific case studies. Primarily, the data used was gathered from several libraries and the internet. Some research studies conducted in South Africa were also examined, particularly information on gender-based violence. To a limited extent, this information was used to make some comparative comments as well as possibly discern general trends.

In terms of the primary data sources, as alluded to earlier, fieldwork was conducted in two secondary schools in the Durban Unicity. A variety of qualitative (mapping and ranking exercises) and quantitative (questionnaire survey) methods that are discussed in this section were used. Prior to discussing in detail the specific methods used, the sampling method adopted will be briefly reviewed.

3.3.1.1. Sampling

Although both participatory and gender geography methodologies advocate the use of questionnaires as one of the many methods available, the literature reviewed has given little thought to the issue of sampling or choosing respondents generally. The focus has primarily been on what information to collect, how to collect it (that is, what methods to use), how to analyze the data and how to present it. The link between what information and whom to get the information from has been relatively neglected except in the most general terms such as women and men focus groups, and gender specific questionnaires. During the discussion of each method, the rationale used behind the identification of groups and individuals is explained. However, since the initial 60 learner and 20 teacher respondents formed the basic group for all the research methods (the focus groups were drawn in each school from the 60 learner respondents), the sampling technique used will be briefly discussed.

Sampling refers to the set of procedures by which individuals, households or communities are selected from a total population group (Schwartz, 1997). The basic rationale behind sampling is that it is often not possible given various constraints to cover all units in a population. Some of the factors include the size of the population, time and financial costs, inadequate person power and the fact that potential respondents may choose not to participate in the research process. There are also statistical reasons for sampling which are not pertinent to this study. It was considered sufficient for purposes of this study, given that the principals in both the schools only permitted the research to be conducted in Grades 11 and 12. Additionally, in both Grades specific classes where the form teachers had indicated a willingness to support the research were chosen by the principals. At Dr A D Lazarus four classes (two Grade 11s and Grade 12s each) were chosen and in Ridge Park College two classes in each Grade were chosen. In the case of the female teacher respondents, 10 teachers from each school were chosen.

In the case of the teachers, sampling was relatively easier with lists of all teachers in each school being compiled. Some of the teachers stated that they did not want to participate in

the study (5 teachers at Dr A D Lazarus and 7 teachers at Ridge Park College). These teachers were removed from the initial list. Then, random sampling using a random table was used to choose the teacher respondents from each of the finalized lists. In terms of the learner respondents, the first step was to compile lists of the female students (using the form class register) in each of the classes where the researcher was allowed to conduct the research. Given that 30 female learners from each school were intended in the initial proposal submitted, the researcher felt that 15 learners from each Grade should be sampled. To broaden representivity and ensure that as many learners as possible had an equal chance of participating, combined name lists for each Grade was compiled in each school. Again, all learners were given an opportunity to decline participating in the study. Very few declined (6 out of 75 learners at Dr A D Lazarus and 13 out of 131 learners at Ridge Park College) learners declined to participate. Then, random sampling using a random table was used to choose the learner respondents from each finalized list. Thus, in the case of Dr A D Lazarus 43.4% of the potential respondents were interviewed while at Ridge Park College 25.4% were interviewed. The larger number of learners available at Ridge Park College is attributed to the fact that it is an all-girl school.

3.3.1.2. Quantitative method

In both the schools questionnaire surveys were conducted (see Appendixes 1 and 2) with the sampled learners and teachers. One questionnaire was designed for the learners, while another questionnaire (with changes in some sections) was designed for the teachers.

The questionnaire surveys were conducted at school during school hours and after school. Arrangements were made with the school principal as well as the relevant pupils and teachers prior to each research session. This was done to get a greater feel for the females' lives at school and also, as highlighted by Dyck (1997), to create a less hierarchical relationship between the females and the researcher. This was an environment that they were familiar and comfortable with.

The closed questions in the questionnaire were mostly related to gathering economic and social data that could be quantified. The open-ended questions were structured to

determine females' experiences, perceptions and attitudes. The socio-economic aspects of the questionnaire was addressed in the first part of the interview in order to enable the interviewer to establish a sense of rapport with the respondent and allow for ease of entry to the more personal and sensitive areas of the interview.

The questionnaire surveys were comprehensive and incorporated both closed and open-ended questions. They have also been structured in such a way as to facilitate comparative analyses. Broadly, the following sections comprised the questionnaires: background of respondents, understanding of violence/ danger, perceptions regarding the general characteristics of those who were violated, environmental perceptions of violence and danger, sources of information relating to violence, experiences of violence and coping strategies that the respondents use to minimise the risk of violence.

Questionnaire-based surveys are the most common methodology used to gather information. The questionnaire is often directed at specific individuals. These types of surveys have been useful in gathering a wide range of information that can often be easily quantified, as is the case in this study. However, the questionnaire method has many limitations. Of particular importance is the general inability of questionnaires to gather information that contributes to a greater understanding of gender relations and dynamics. To some extent, including open-ended questions was an attempt to address this concern. However, Currie and MacLean (1997) state that the general structured nature of questionnaires tends to provide limited flexibility. Also, questionnaires depend to a large extent on the respondent's ability to grasp the question and articulate his/ her response. Thus, questions rely heavily on verbal and written forms that often fail to capture important processes, experiences and concerns. The mental mapping and ranking exercises proved to be particularly useful to allow the learners to visually communicate issues and talk more openly about issues and concerns. To clarify issues raised during the questionnaire interviews and complement the data gathered, mapping and ranking methods were also employed.

The questionnaire surveys were analyzed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). Tables were generated and these are presented in chapter four.

3.3.1.3. Qualitative methods

One of the approaches of investigation chosen was the qualitative method as the study concentrated on unquantifiable concepts like life experiences and perceptions. The strength of adopting a qualitative approach lies in the ability of the researcher to capture people's experiences in their own terms and to begin to tease out underlying meanings and processes. Slocum et al (1995) argue that the selection of the appropriate qualitative tools depend on the activity and the type of issue being investigated. The selection of specific participatory methods used was informed by the research questions as well as the results from the questionnaire survey.

The mapping and ranking exercises were conducted with eight learners in each school. The learners were chosen from the sixty learners who responded to the questionnaires. The learners were chosen from both Grades 11 and 12. Additionally, attempts were made to ensure that the groups had a range of diversity in terms of race and age. The following are the specific qualitative methods used in this study:

- Mental mapping

Maps are crucial to geography and qualitative methodology and can be on different aspects of life such as social issues, resources, health, wealth, social stratification, economic activities and perceptions. Maps provide a basis for knowing different aspects of a location/ context. A map can show different natural resources, spatial attributes and micro-environments. Social maps depict relational locations within a location including infrastructure and perceptions relating to the environment. Mapping helps outsiders and the community to understand how people see their own environment and how perceptions differ. The tool is useful at different scales: household, community, regional and national. It is an especially useful tool to convey issues of gender differences.

Huffman (1997) argues that recent scholarship has clearly shown that there are other maps in the world, other ways of looking and knowing the world. Mental mapping illustrates that peoples' perceptions of the environment is different and is reflective of their experiences. This "map" or way of seeing the world is tied to cultural issues, past experiences as well as future expectations. The intention is to ascertain female learners' perceptions about danger and violence in their schools and in the surrounding areas of the school. Mapping females' spatial experiences and perceptions of violence is essential to understand how places and spaces are used and gendered. Different meanings and experiences associated with the landscape leads to different cognitive maps. Visual representations are useful in obtaining varied and complex information.

An important approach in attempting to understand the spatial patterns of violence and the fear of violence is to map and highlight areas where violence is perceived to exist, areas where people are fearful of violence and areas where they feel safe. This spatial illustration of fear and violence allows conclusions to be drawn about the relationships between perceptions, risk, fear and concomitant behavior.

Focus group mapping exercises were used in this study. The materials used were large poster papers and coloured felt pens. The maps were "drawn" on the posters in the classes. Desks were placed together and all those participating as well as the researcher stood around the desks. Prior to the actual mapping, the respondents and the researcher walked around the school and some of the areas located in close proximity to the school. The process was interactive with the researcher asking leading questions as well as the respondents wanting to add aspects.

An important advantage of qualitative mapping exercises (which is also applicable to other visual participatory methods) is that the respondents are able to clearly see the researcher's interpretation of the discussions. As Rocheleau et al (1996: 184) state: "By placing them in plain view, the maps allowed for a more transparent and reflective dialogue between the narrators' responses and our interpretation." Mental mapping was an invaluable component of the research endeavor, linking gendered social and

environmental landscapes. It also facilitates discussion on the basis of information presented. Maps can also be made with great ease anywhere. Some problems are that maps can become too complicated if too much information is incorporated.

Despite the importance of mental mapping as a technique in understanding gender and violence, Pain (1997) highlights several problems with this approach when it is applied to violent crime, especially where women's experiences and perceptions are concerned. Firstly, to correlate perceptions with actual incidents of violence it is important that data used for mapping is reliable. However, data on violence (especially forms of gender-based violence such as rape and domestic abuse) tends to be scanty and limited. Many types of crime against women tend to be under-reported. A second problem is associated with the interpretation of geographical crime and fear data. When dealing with perceptions and fear, the focus is on subjective variables and experiences.

- **Ranking exercises**

At each school, again with eight learners comprising a focus group in each school, ranking exercises using pair wise ranking and scoring were conducted. Pair wise ranking and scoring are tools for identifying issues of concern, their causes and prioritizing these problems. Facilitators can use these tools to ensure that the problems of less powerful groups are at least discussed and perhaps also acted upon. They may not be a concern common to the entire group, rather they may be priorities and solutions that differ according to gender, class, ethnicity, age and race within different contexts.

The ranking exercises for this study focused on identifying safe and unsafe areas. Prior to the actual ranking, the chosen concept of violence and the fear of violence were discussed fully. We talked about the fact that different learners experience violence differently. Each focus group was asked to identify areas that they considered to be unsafe. Using a matrix, each unsafe area identified was weighted against another. Finally, the unsafe areas were scored and ranked. The ranking exercises serve as useful sources to tease out the dynamics of differentiation regarding spatial perceptions of safety and insecurity. It is

also believed that this technique exposes how spatial perceptions of fear and safety might affect or has affected females.

3.4. DATA COLLECTION PROCESS

As illustrated, in terms of primary fieldwork conducted in this study, both quantitative and qualitative methods were used. The usefulness of this was that each method reflected different ways of getting information and getting different kinds of information. The entire process of primary research was conducted in three phases. Fieldwork was conducted at each school. Thus, each phase was repeated three times. The literature clearly illustrates that when multiple methods are used concurrently, the sequencing in which methods are implemented is crucial (Rochealeau et al, 1996). Rochealeau et al (1996) further argue that this is particularly important to compensate for weaknesses in individual data gathering techniques and to build on knowledge systematically. Taking these concerns into consideration the following sequencing for this study was adopted:

- Introductory workshop (June/ July, 2001):

An entry meeting was held at each school with the principal and key teachers who indicated that they would support the researcher. This provided an opportunity to inform the schools about the purpose of the study, to allay any concerns and to develop a timetable for the rest of the visits to collect the data. During this period, the questionnaire was piloted with one teacher and two learners at each school.

- Questionnaire surveys (August/ September, 2001):

The questionnaires were conducted with each of the sixty learners and twenty teachers at the schools.

- Focus group exercises (November/ December, 2001):

The mapping and ranking exercises were conducted after the questionnaires were implemented. These exercises were conducted with focus groups. The exercises took slightly longer than anticipated since they coincided with the final year examinations and in some cases had to be postponed until after the examinations.

3.5. CONCLUSION

Although the sample size is relatively small (60 among the learners and 20 among the teachers in total), it is believed for the purposes of this study that the data gathered provides an in-depth, qualitative and quantitative understanding of central issues as stated in the objectives and research questions. In this chapter, the background to the case studies as well as the methods employed in the study were presented. The methods chosen provide the opportunity to probe and explore the themes under investigation in a flexible manner. The variety of approaches adopted in this study as well as the multiple opportunities that many females interviewed had to raise concerns created the opportunity for integrating quantifiable data with social perceptions and experiences. Furthermore, triangulation was possible whereby the information gathered from different sources were critically examined to assess whether valid representations were being discerned (Murkhurjee, 1993). This study offers a useful example of integrating qualitative and quantitative methods to provide an analysis of a topic which has so far received little attention from a gender perspective in South Africa.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

4.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a critical analysis of the primary data collected. This is done in relation to the socio-economic profiles of the respondents as well as the research questions identified in the previous chapter. The main intention of the chapter is to draw out pertinent findings and make relevant links to the literature review outlined in chapter two. The data is represented in terms of the methodologies used as well as thematically. Thus, the first section analyses the findings from the questionnaire survey of both the learners and the teachers concurrently. The main concerns raised and discussed are presented below. The next section analyses the findings from the qualitative exercises. Finally, some concluding remarks are provided.

During the interviews and participatory exercises conducted with the respondents in the two case studies, a number of important concerns pertinent to the study were raised. These include:

- respondent profiles;
- perceptions regarding the general characteristics of the perpetrators of violence;
- perceptions regarding the general characteristics of those who are violated (targets of violent crimes);
- types of violence victims are aware of;
- general environmental perceptions of violence;
- perceptions of violence in relation to the school;
- sources of information regarding violence;
- experiences of violence;
- coping strategies used to deal with violence and/ or the threat of violence; and
- recommendations to deal with violence in society generally and in schools specifically.

4.2. ANALYSIS OF QUANTITATIVE DATA: QUESTIONNAIRE FINDINGS

This section of the chapter presents the data derived from the questionnaire survey undertaken. Both the learner and teacher responses are presented. Additionally, a critical analysis of the data is undertaken. In this regard, wherever necessary a comparative analysis of the findings (among respondent groups and between schools) is provided.

4.2.1. Respondent profiles/ background of respondents

This sub-section briefly summarizes the socio-demographic profile of the respondents. For both the learner and teacher groups age and racial characteristics are analyzed. In the case of the learner respondents, grades and household earnings are also included. For the teacher respondents, subjects taught and household income are discussed.

Table 4.1: Grade of learners interviewed (in %)

| Grade | A D Lazarus (n=30) | Ridge Park (n=30) | Total (n=60) |
|-------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| 11 | 50 | 50 | 50 |
| 12 | 50 | 50 | 50 |

The Table above illustrates that half of the respondents were in Grade 11 and the other half in Grade 12. Thus, the learner respondents were targeted at senior secondary level.

Table 4.2: Subjects taught by teachers interviewed (in %)

| Grade | A D Lazarus (n=10) | Ridge Park (n=10) | Total (n=20) |
|-------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| English | 20 | 20 | 20 |
| Afrikaans | 30 | 20 | 25 |
| Zulu | 10 | - | 5 |
| Computer Science | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| Biology | - | 10 | 5 |
| Mathematics | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| History | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| General Science | 10 | - | 5 |
| Geography | - | 10 | 5 |
| Guidance and counseling | - | 10 | 5 |

Table above shows that the twenty teachers interviewed taught a range of subjects. These included English, Afrikaans, Zulu, Computer Science, Biology, Mathematics, History, General Science, Geography as well as Guidance and Counseling.

Table 4.3: Age of learners interviewed (in %)

| Age (in years) | A D Lazarus (n=30) | Ridge Park (n=30) | Total (n=60) |
|----------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| 15 | - | 3.4 | 1.7 |
| 16 | 16.7 | 33.3 | 25 |
| 17 | 30 | 30 | 30 |
| 18 | 53.3 | 33.3 | 43.3 |

The majority of learner respondents were over 16 years old (73.3%) (Table 4.3). The average age of the learner respondents interviewed was 17.1 years (17.4 years at A D Lazarus and 16.9 years at Ridge Park).

Table 4.4: Age of teachers interviewed (in %)

| Age (in years) | A D Lazarus (n=10) | Ridge Park (n=10) | Total (n=20) |
|----------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| 23-25 | 20 | 40 | 30 |
| 26-35 | 50 | 40 | 45 |
| 36-45 | 20 | 20 | 20 |
| 46-55 | 10 | - | 5 |

The majority of the teachers interviewed were under 35 years (75%) (Table 4.4). The average age of the teacher respondents interviewed was 31.2 years (32.8 years at A D Lazarus and 29.6 years at Ridge Park).

Table 4.5: Employment of household income earners of learners interviewed (in %)

| Type of employment | A D Lazarus (n=30) | Ridge Park (n=30) | Total (n=60) |
|------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| Labourer/ unskilled | 6.7 | - | 3.3 |
| Artisan/ technician | 10 | 13.3 | 11.7 |
| Sales/ marketing | 6.7 | 16.7 | 11.7 |
| Administrator/ manager | 26.7 | 23.3 | 25 |
| Businessperson | 13.2 | 16.7 | 15 |
| Professional | 26.7 | 23.3 | 25 |
| Self-employed | 10 | 6.7 | 8.3 |

The majority of the learners came from middle to upper class households which are reflected in the type of employment that household income earners are involved in (Table 4.5). The main types of employment of household income earners of learners interviewed were administrator/ manager (25%), professionals (25%) and businesspersons (15%). These categories fall under middle to upper income groups generally. Both the schools have learners in similar categories indicating the schools attracted learners from similar backgrounds. This is expected given that most learners at A D Lazarus come from Reservoir Hills, a middle-upper class, previously Indian residential area. Ridge Park on the other hand is also located in an affluent, historically White residential area (Essenwood) and being a Model C type school attracts female learners from middle-upper income groups from surrounding areas as well.

Table 4.6: Household earnings of teachers interviewed (in %)

| Income (per month) | A D Lazarus (n=10) | Ridge Park (n=10) | Total (n=20) |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| 5000- 5999 | - | 10 | 5 |
| 6000-6999 | 20 | 10 | 15 |
| >7000 | 80 | 80 | 80 |

All the respondents interviewed indicated that their household earnings were in excess of R5 000 per month (Table 4.6). The majority (80%) indicated that their household earnings were more than R7 000 per month. This is probably indicative of dual income families.

Table 4.7: Race of learners interviewed (in %)

| Race | A D Lazarus (n=30) | Ridge Park (n=30) | Total (n=60) |
|-------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| Indian | 93.3 | 83.3 | 88.4 |
| African | 6.7 | 10 | 8.3 |
| White | - | 6.7 | 3.3 |

The Table above indicates that the vast majority of the learners in both the schools (88.4%) were of Indian descent. Some respondents were of African (8.3%) and White (3.3%) descent. The White learner respondents were from Ridge Park. During discussions with teachers at Ridge Park it was discerned that Ridge Park was previously a White female secondary school. However, after the 1994 elections when schools became

multi-racial many White learners tended to go to private schools and most of the learners at Ridge Park are from Indian and African backgrounds.

Table 4.8: Race of teachers interviewed (in %)

| Race | A D Lazarus (n=10) | Ridge Park (n=10) | Total (n=20) |
|-------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| Indian | 100 | 90 | 95 |
| White | - | 10 | 5 |

With the exception of one respondent (at Ridge Park) who was White the rest of the respondents were of Indian descent (Table 4.8). This is reflective of the staff profile at A D Lazarus school. As stated in the methodology chapter, at least 30% of the female staff at Ridge Park are Whites. However, the Indian teachers were more willing to participate in the study than the White teachers.

4.2.2. Understanding of violence by respondents

Table 4.9: Definition of violence by learners interviewed (in %)

| Definitions | A D Lazarus (n=30) | Ridge Park (n=30) | Total (n=60) |
|---|---------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| Abusing of an individual physically or emotionally | 30 | 23.3 | 26.7 |
| Hurting another person physically, mentally or sexually | 6.7 | 13.3 | 10 |
| When a person physically attacks another | 13.3 | 20 | 16.7 |
| Hurting a person | 23.3 | 20 | 21.6 |
| Physical (hitting) or verbal (swearing) abuse | 6.7 | - | 3.3 |
| When someone abuses people when they are not in their right state of mind | 3.3 | - | 1.7 |
| Conflictual circumstances that bring about aggression (mostly physical) | - | 3.3 | 1.7 |
| An act which endangers others | 10 | 3.3 | 6.7 |
| Unlawful acts displayed by individuals that cause harm to others | - | 6.8 | 3.3 |
| Intentionally harming someone | 6.7 | 10 | 8.3 |

Table 4.10: Definition of violence by teachers interviewed (in %)

| Definitions | A D Lazarus (n=10) | Ridge Park (n=10) | Total (n=20) |
|---|-----------------------|----------------------|-----------------|
| Mental, verbal and/ or physical abuse | 30 | 20 | 25 |
| Violation of a person's rights | 20 | 30 | 25 |
| Physical abuse | 10 | - | 5 |
| Invasion of privacy or a person in a harmful way | - | 10 | 5 |
| Intention to inflict harm/ injury | - | 10 | 5 |
| Harming another person physically, mentally or sexually | 40 | 20 | 30 |
| Intentionally harming someone | - | 10 | 5 |

The learner and the teacher respondents' definitions of violence incorporate physical, sexual, verbal as well as emotional, mental and psychological abuse (Tables 4.9 and 4.10). It is important to note that many of the respondents stressed that violence has an "intentional" component linked to pre-meditated attempts to harm someone.

Table 4.11: Types of violence learners interviewed are aware of (in %): multiple responses

| Type of violence | A D Lazarus (n=30) | Ridge Park (n=30) | Total (n=60) |
|-----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| Physical | 70 | 63.3 | 66.7 |
| Emotional | 10 | 20 | 15 |
| Sexual | 20 | - | 10 |
| Mental/ psychological | 16.7 | 13.3 | 15 |
| Verbal | - | 3.3 | 1.7 |
| Child abuse | - | 10 | 5 |
| Rape | 3.3 | 30 | 16.7 |
| Hijacking | - | 10 | 5 |
| Kidnapping | 3.3 | - | 1.7 |
| Domestic | 3.3 | 6.7 | 5 |
| Murder | 6.7 | 13.3 | 10 |
| Robbery/ theft | - | 16.7 | 8.3 |
| Assault | 10 | 23.3 | 16.7 |

Table 4.12: Types of violence teachers interviewed are aware of (in %): multiple responses

| Type of violence | A D Lazarus (n=10) | Ridge Park (n=10) | Total (n=20) |
|-----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| Physical | 60 | 70 | 65 |
| Emotional | 30 | 20 | 25 |
| Sexual | 60 | 80 | 70 |
| Mental/ psychological | 20 | 10 | 15 |
| Abusive language | 10 | - | 5 |
| Wife battering | - | 10 | 5 |
| Burglary | - | 10 | 5 |
| Murder | 20 | 30 | 25 |
| Robbery/ theft | 20 | - | 10 |
| Assault | 10 | 20 | 15 |

Interviewees were aware of a range of different types of violence which are indicated in Tables 4.11 and 4.12 above. It is interesting to note that learners could identify more types of violence than the teacher respondents. This is in part due to learner respondents providing more multiple responses than teacher respondents who tended to identify the main types of violence (physical, sexual, emotional and other criminal acts). The main types of violence identified by the learner respondents were (Table 4.11):

- Physical (66.7%)
- Rape (16.7%)
- Assault (16.7%)
- Emotional (15%)
- Mental/ psychological (15%)

The main types of violence identified by the teacher respondents were (Table 4.12):

- Sexual (70%)
- Physical (65%)
- Emotional (25%)
- Murder (25%)
- Assault (15%)
- Mental/ psychological (15%)

Table 4.13: Identification of the worst types of violence by learners interviewed (in %): multiple responses

| Type of violence | A D Lazarus (n=30) | Ridge Park (n=30) | Total (n=60) |
|------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| Sexual/ rape | 40 | 50 | 45 |
| Child abuse | 10 | 20 | 15 |
| Physical | 53.3 | 40 | 46.7 |
| Emotional | 16.7 | 13.3 | 15 |

Table 4.14: Identification of the worst types of violence by teachers interviewed (in %): multiple responses

| Type of violence | A D Lazarus (n=10) | Ridge Park (n=10) | Total (n=20) |
|----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| Sexual/ rape | 80 | 90 | 85 |
| Physical | 20 | 30 | 25 |
| Any form of violence | - | 20 | 10 |

Tables 4.13 and 4.14 show that the worst types of violence identified by the learner and teacher respondents were sexual/ rape (45% among learner respondents and 85% among teacher respondents) and physical (46.7% among learner respondents and 25% among teacher respondents) forms of violence. Among the learner respondents, child (15%) and emotional (15%) abuse were also identified as worst forms of violence. Two of the teacher respondents (both at Ridge Park) felt strongly that all types of violence should not be tolerated and that one type of violence was not worse than the other.

Sexual and physical violence were regarded by the respondents as the worst types of violence. Some of the reasons forwarded were that it destroys the person and that it is very difficult to recover from these types of abuses. A significant proportion of the respondents (38.3%) stated that these types of abuses were also associated with the most physical pain and trauma. As one respondent stated, “physical violence scars one for life.” The teacher respondents who identified murder felt that the destruction of life was the worst type of violence. Those respondents who highlighted sexual violence specifically cited rape. One respondent said:

Being a female, your body is sacred and should not be violated without consent. The prevalence of the AIDS epidemic and the fact that it is fatal and contractable sexually is also a scary factor.

Another respondent highlighted that as a result of rape a victim could fall pregnant. She is then faced with the traumatic decision of either aborting the child or having a child who will be a constant reminder of her rape. Furthermore, one respondent stated:

In most cases rape leaves the victim emotionally scarred for life. Rape is something that can never be forgotten and it carries a life sentence. It instantly gives the rape victim a negative view of men generally and makes them possibly afraid of men too.

The above response is indicative of the perception that sexual violence dramatically impacts on females' abilities to have healthy relationships, especially with the opposite sex.

Many of the respondents also felt that the types of violence identified in Tables 4.13 and 4.14 impacted negatively on one's mental, psychological and social well-being. One respondent stated, "People can become insane from continuously being abused." All the respondents who highlighted child abuse as the worst type of violence indicated that children are innocent and extremely vulnerable. One respondent stated:

Taking advantage of innocent children is the worst thing someone can do, especially if it is a family member that children tend to trust and rely on for protection. Men who abuse children are the scum of the Earth.

It is important to note that the respondent assumed that men generally abuse children. In essence, the types of violence regarded as being the worst forms by the respondents were viewed as the most damaging to a person's social, physical, psychological and emotional well-being. Most of the respondents indicated that the abuse of women and children are the worst forms of violence since these groups are generally vulnerable in society.

The two teacher respondents who stated that any form of violence must be regarded as brutal indicated that violence impacts the individual violated as well as relatives and friends forever. It can be a very destructive force and as one respondent said, "violence tends to perpetuate more violence" and "it is a never-ending cycle".

4.2.3. Perceptions regarding the general characteristics of the perpetrators of violence

Table 4.15: Perceptions regarding the gender of perpetrators of violence by learners interviewed (in %)

| Gender | A D Lazarus (n=30) | Ridge Park (n=30) | Total (n=60) |
|------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| Male | 100 | 96.7 | 98.3 |
| Both males and females | - | 3.3 | 1.7 |

Table 4.16: Perceptions regarding the gender of perpetrators of violence by teachers interviewed (in %)

| Gender | A D Lazarus (n=10) | Ridge Park (n=10) | Total (n=20) |
|------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| Male | 70 | 60 | 65 |
| Both males and females | 30 | 40 | 35 |

The vast majority of respondents (98.3% among learner respondents and 65% among teacher respondents) perceived that the gender of the perpetrators of violence are males (Tables 4.15 and 4.16 above). This is in keeping with the findings in the literature review which strongly suggests that males tend to be more prone towards violence than females. This is linked to the male, patriarchal socialization process. The prevalence of gender-based violence in society which generally takes the form of males abusing females is also rooted in patriarchal values and tendencies. The gender dimensions of violence as perceived by the respondents are clearly evident. Some of the respondents (3.3% among learner respondents and 35% among teacher respondents) stated that perpetrators of violence tend to be both males and females.

Table 4.17: Perceptions regarding the age of perpetrators of violence by learners interviewed (in %)

| Age (in years) | A D Lazarus (n=30) | Ridge Park (n=30) | Total (n=60) |
|----------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| 16-25 | 20 | 30 | 25 |
| 26-35 | 43.4 | 50 | 46.6 |
| 36-45 | 23.3 | 20 | 21.7 |
| 46-55 | 13.3 | - | 6.7 |

Table 4.18: Perceptions regarding the age of perpetrators of violence by teachers interviewed (in %)

| Age (in years) | A D Lazarus (n=10) | Ridge Park (n=10) | Total (n=20) |
|----------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| 16-25 | 30 | 40 | 35 |
| 26-35 | 30 | 40 | 35 |
| 36-45 | 30 | - | 15 |
| Any age | 10 | 20 | 15 |

The majority of the respondents (71.6% among learner respondents and 70% among teacher respondents) stated that the perpetrators of violence tend to be between the ages of 16 and 35 years (Tables 4.17 and 4.18). The perception of the age of the perpetrators tended to decrease with age. None of the respondents stated that the perpetrators were over 55 years. Fifteen percent of the teacher respondents (10% at A D Lazarus and 20% at Ridge Park) stated that perpetrators of violence generally tend to be any age. The average perceived ages of the perpetrators of violence was calculated to be 31 years in relation to the learner respondents (33 years at A D Lazarus and 29 years at Ridge Park) and 27.6 years in relation to the teacher respondents (30 years at A D Lazarus and 25 years at Ridge Park). It is interesting to note that the younger respondents (learners) on average perceived the age of the perpetrators to be older than the teacher respondents who perceived the age of the respondents to be younger. This may be attributed to learners feeling that older people, especially men, are more likely to exert power over them. In the case of the teachers, the fear of younger men generally committing crime and being relatively immature may be the reason for the younger average age.

Figure 4.1: Perceptions regarding the marital status of perpetrators of violence by learners interviewed (in %)

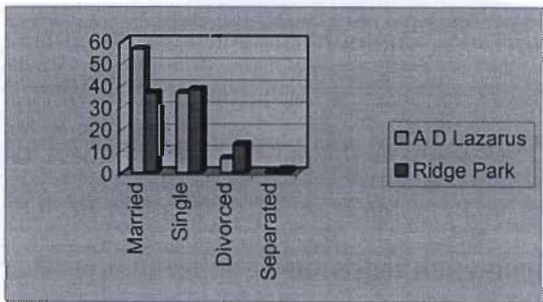
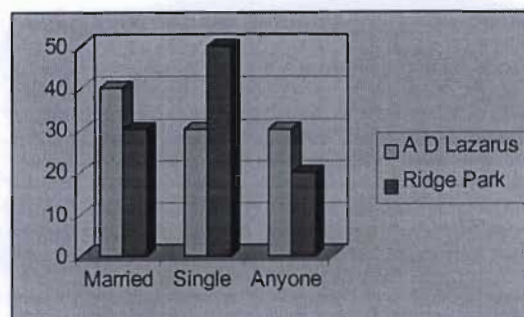


Figure 4.2: Perceptions regarding the marital status of perpetrators of violence by teachers interviewed (in %)



In terms of the perceived marital status of the perpetrators of violence, most respondents indicated that they were either married (46.7% among learner respondents and 35% among teacher respondents) or single (38.3% among learner respondents and 40% among teacher respondents). Some of the learner respondents stated that perpetrators were either divorced (13.3%) or separated (1.7%). On the other hand, 25% of the teacher respondents felt that anyone in terms of marital status was likely to be violent. The results from Figures 4.1 and 4.2 above show that in terms of marital status no clear category is discernible as respondents differed on the most likely group to be perpetrators of violence in terms of marital status. This finding is reinforced by the literature review which indicates that no particular group in terms of marital status appears to be more likely to commit violence than another. In specific types of violence trends may be discernible which was not the focus of this study per se. For example, Louw et al (1998), shows that the perpetrators of theft tend to be young, single males who tend to engage in riskier patterns of behavior than married men. Another telling example is the prevalence of date rape as the most likely type of rape to be encountered by a female. These are obviously committed by single men, usually younger, involved in a relationship.

Table 4.19: Perceptions regarding the parental status of perpetrators of violence by learners interviewed (in %)

| Parental status | A D Lazarus (n=30) | Ridge Park (n=30) | Total (n=60) |
|-----------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| No children | 36.7 | 50 | 43.3 |
| Parent | 63.3 | 46.7 | 55 |
| Adoptive parent | - | 3.3 | 1.7 |

Table 4.20: Perceptions regarding the parental status of perpetrators of violence by teachers interviewed (in %)

| Parental status | A D Lazarus (n=10) | Ridge Park (n=10) | Total (n=20) |
|-----------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| No children | 20 | 30 | 25 |
| Parent | 20 | - | 10 |
| Any person | 60 | 70 | 65 |

The perceived parental status of the perpetrators of violence, similar to marital status, shows no clear pattern (Tables 4.19 and 4.20). Among the learner respondents, close to half (43.3%) stated that perpetrators tend to have no children while 55% stated that they were parents. One respondent (from Ridge Park) indicated that the perpetrator tends to be adoptive parents. Among the teacher respondents the majority (65%) felt that people with or without children are likely to commit violence. Some teacher respondents stated that the most likely perpetrators of violence are those without children (25%) or those who are parents (10%).

Table 4.21: Perceptions regarding the occupation of perpetrators of violence by learners interviewed (in %)

| Occupation | A D Lazarus (n=30) | Ridge Park (n=30) | Total (n=60) |
|--------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| Unemployed | 53.4 | 56.7 | 55 |
| Student | - | 6.7 | 3.3 |
| Professional | 3.3 | 6.7 | 5 |
| Sales/ marketing | 6.7 | 3.3 | 5 |
| Technician | 3.3 | 3.3 | 3.3 |
| Laborer/ unskilled | 33.3 | 23.3 | 28.4 |

Table 4.22: Perceptions regarding the occupation of perpetrators of violence by teachers interviewed (in %)

| Occupation | A D Lazarus (n=10) | Ridge Park (n=10) | Total (n=20) |
|------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| Unemployed | 70 | 80 | 75 |
| Anyone | 30 | 20 | 25 |

In terms of the perceived occupation of perpetrators of violence illustrated in Tables 4.21 and 4.22 above, the majority of respondents (55% among learner respondents and 75% among teacher respondents) stated that people who are unemployed are most likely to commit acts of violence. This was linked to economic desperation and social fragmentation that tend to be associated with poverty. Thus, most of the respondents

believed that violence was linked to unemployment and poverty. Again, a more differentiated analysis in terms of the specific types of violence is most likely to reveal that there is a strong relationship between the type of violence and the occupation of the person committing the violence. Some of the teacher respondents (25%) stated that a person from any occupational category is likely to commit violence. Learner respondents cited several other occupational categories including labourer/ unskilled (28.4%), professional (5%), sales/ marketing (5%), students (3.3%) and technicians (3.3%). The relatively higher percentage of laborer/ unskilled may also be linked to the perceived relationship between violence and poverty.

Table 4.23: Perceptions regarding the race of perpetrators of violence by learners interviewed (in %)

| Race | A D Lazarus (n=30) | Ridge Park (n=30) | Total (n=60) |
|---------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| African | 76.7 | 73.4 | 75 |
| Indian | 10 | 13.3 | 11.7 |
| Colored | 13.3 | 10 | 11.7 |
| White | - | 3.3 | 1.6 |

Table 4.24: Perceptions regarding the race of perpetrators of violence by teachers interviewed (in %)

| Race | A D Lazarus (n=10) | Ridge Park (n=10) | Total (n=20) |
|---------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| African | 80 | 90 | 85 |
| Indian | 10 | - | 5 |
| Anyone | 10 | 10 | 10 |

With regard to racial classification, the vast majority of respondents identified Africans (75% among learner respondents and 85% among teacher respondents) as the group most likely to commit violence (Tables 4.23 and 4.24). Some of the respondents also identified Indians (11.7% among learner respondents and 5% among teacher respondents), Coloureds (11.7% among learner respondents and Whites (1.6% among learner respondents). Ten percent of the teacher respondents felt that a person from any race category was likely to commit violence. The general perception that Africans are most likely to commit violence is strongly linked to racialised worldviews that persist in South Africa due to the colonial and apartheid legacies. It can also be linked to the association of violence with poverty since given the past history of dispossession and discrimination

that were disproportionately experienced by Africans, many Africans still remain in abject poverty, have fewer economic opportunities and are more uneducated than other race groups. This position is further supported by the fact that only one respondent perceived that a White is most likely to commit violence. This view, that racism largely informs peoples' perceptions, is also supported by findings later in this chapter. Most respondents who experienced violence state that the violence was perpetrated by an Indian (someone from their own racial group). Yet the results here show that many of the respondents have internalized the widely prevalent societal perception that Africans (especially those who are young, unemployed and male) tend to be the most likely perpetrators of violence.

Table 4.25: Perceptions regarding the highest educational level of perpetrators of violence by learners interviewed (in %)

| Highest educational level | A D Lazarus (n=30) | Ridge Park (n=30) | Total (n=60) |
|---------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| No formal education | 53.3 | 46.7 | 50 |
| Primary | 20 | 30 | 25 |
| Secondary | 16.7 | 13.3 | 15 |
| Tertiary | 10 | 6.7 | 8.3 |
| Post-graduate | - | 3.3 | 1.7 |

Table 4.26: Perceptions regarding the highest educational level of perpetrators of violence by teachers interviewed (in %)

| Highest educational level | A D Lazarus (n=10) | Ridge Park (n=10) | Total (n=20) |
|---------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| No formal education | 90 | 80 | 85 |
| Primary | - | 10 | 5 |
| Anyone | 10 | 10 | 10 |

The majority of the respondents (50% among learner respondents and 85% among teacher respondents) believed that perpetrators did not have any formal education (Tables 4.25 and 4.26 above). Among the learner respondents, 25% indicated that perpetrators completed primary education, 15% completed secondary education, 8.3% completed tertiary education and 1.7% completed post-graduate studies. The rest of the teacher respondents stated that 5% completed primary education and that a person at any educational level can commit violence (10%). The general perception is that persons with no or very little formal education are most likely to commit violence.

Table 4.27: Perceptions regarding where perpetrators of violence live by learners interviewed (in %)

| Residential location | A D Lazarus (n=30) | Ridge Park (n=30) | Total (n=60) |
|----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| Homeless | - | 13.3 | 6.7 |
| Informal settlement | 43.3 | 33.3 | 38.3 |
| Low income areas | 26.7 | 43.4 | 35 |
| Middle income areas | 26.7 | 10 | 18.3 |
| Upper income areas | 3.3 | - | 1.7 |

Table 4.28: Perceptions regarding where perpetrators of violence live by teachers interviewed (in %)

| Residential location | A D Lazarus (n=10) | Ridge Park (n=10) | Total (n=20) |
|----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| Homeless | 20 | 30 | 25 |
| Informal settlement | 40 | 40 | 40 |
| Low income areas | 30 | 20 | 25 |
| Anywhere | 10 | 10 | 10 |

Tables 4.27 and 4.28 show that the vast majority of the respondents indicated that perpetrators of violence tend to live in low income areas including informal settlements (73.3% among learner respondents and 65% among teacher respondents). Some of the respondents stated that perpetrators tend to be homeless (6.7% among learner respondents and 25% among teacher respondents). The strong relationship between the perceptions of violence and poverty is again reinforced by these findings. Ten percent of the teacher respondents stated that perpetrators of violence tend to live anywhere. Some of the learner respondents felt that perpetrators live in middle income (18.3%) or upper income areas (1.7%).

Table 4.29: Perceptions regarding who is most likely to be perpetrators of violence by learners interviewed (in %)

| Most likely perpetrator | A D Lazarus (n=30) | Ridge Park (n=30) | Total (n=60) |
|-------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| Stranger | 70 | 63.4 | 66.7 |
| Family member | 6.7 | 10 | 8.3 |
| Close friend | - | 3.3 | 1.7 |
| Authority figures | 6.7 | 13.3 | 10 |
| Acquaintance | 16.6 | 10 | 13.3 |

Table 4.30: Perceptions regarding who is most likely to be perpetrators of violence by teachers interviewed (in %)

| Most likely perpetrator | A D Lazarus (n=10) | Ridge Park (n=10) | Total (n=20) |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| Stranger | 50 | 40 | 45 |
| Family member | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| Authority figures | 10 | 20 | 15 |
| Acquaintance | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| Anyone | 20 | 20 | 20 |

Similar to studies cited in the literature review, the majority of the respondents (66.7% among learner respondents and 45% among teacher respondents) indicated that strangers are most likely to commit violence. Other groups identified were family members (8.3% among learner respondents and 10% among teacher respondents), authority figures (10% among learner respondents and 15% among teacher respondents) and acquaintances (13.3% among learner respondents and 10% among teacher respondents). One learner respondent from Ridge Park also stated a close friend and 20% of the teacher respondents stated that anyone commits violence.

4.2.4. Perceptions regarding the general characteristics of those who tend to be violated

Unlike the previous sub-section that focused on the perpetrators of violence, this part of the discussion focuses on perceptions regarding those who are most likely to be violated. The general characteristics are analyzed.

Table 4.31: Perceptions regarding the gender of those who are violated by learners interviewed (in %)

| Gender | A D Lazarus (n=30) | Ridge Park (n=30) | Total (n=60) |
|------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| Female | 100 | 96.7 | 98.3 |
| Both males and females | - | 3.3 | 1.7 |

The vast majority of respondents (98.3% among learner respondents and all the teacher respondents) believe that females are targets of violence. Only one learner respondent from Ridge Park indicated that both males and females tend to be violated (Table 4.31). Since the majority of the respondents indicated earlier that males are the main

perpetrators of violence then it may be concluded that most of the respondents believe that males tend to violate females.

Table 4.32: Perceptions regarding the age of those who are violated by learners interviewed (in %)

| Age (in years) | A D Lazarus (n=30) | Ridge Park (n=30) | Total (n=60) |
|----------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| >15 | 16.7 | 20 | 18.3 |
| 16-25 | 30 | 46.7 | 38.3 |
| 26-35 | 26.6 | 20 | 23.3 |
| 36-45 | 6.7 | 6.7 | 6.7 |
| 46-55 | 10 | 3.3 | 6.7 |
| >55 | 10 | 3.3 | 6.7 |

Table 4.33: Perceptions regarding the age of those who are violated by teachers interviewed (in %)

| Age (in years) | A D Lazarus (n=10) | Ridge Park (n=10) | Total (n=20) |
|----------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| >15 | 40 | 50 | 45 |
| 16-25 | 30 | 30 | 30 |
| >55 | 20 | 10 | 15 |
| Any age | 10 | 10 | 10 |

The majority of the learner respondents (79.9%) stated that those violated tend to be less than 15 years to 35 years old (Table 4.32). The rest of the learner respondents perceived that age of those who are violated to be 36-45 years (6.7%), 46-55 years (6.7%) and more than 55 years (6.7%). The majority of teacher respondents (75%) indicated that those violated tend to be less than 15 years to 25 years old (Table 4.33). The rest of the teacher respondents felt that those who were violated tend to be more than 55 years (15%) or of any age (10%). Clearly, in most cases young people and in some cases the elder are perceived to be the targets of violence. The average perceived ages of those who are violated was calculated to be 26.5 years in relation to the learner respondents (29.3 years at A D Lazarus and 23.6 years at Ridge Park) and 21.7 years in relation to the teacher respondents (24.4 years at A D Lazarus and 18.9 years at Ridge Park). Clearly, in most cases young people and in some cases the elder are perceived to be the targets of violence. Thus, the youth are particularly viewed as being vulnerable to violence. It is also important to point out that while none of the respondents felt that those under 15 years are likely to commit violence, a significant proportion (18.3% of the learner

respondents and 45% of the teacher respondents) indicated that people within this age group is most likely to be violated.

Figure 4.3: Perceptions regarding the marital status of those who are violated by learners interviewed (in %)

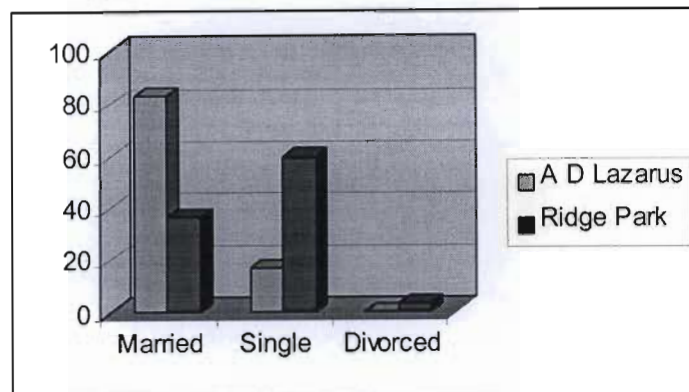
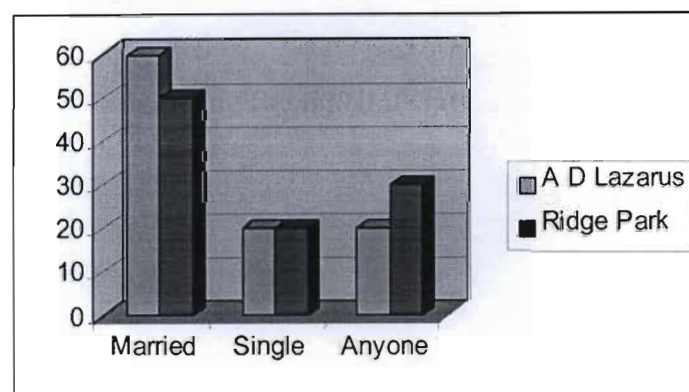


Figure 4.4: Perceptions regarding the marital status of those who are violated by teachers interviewed (in %)



Unlike perceptions regarding the perpetrators of violence, slightly over half of the respondents (60% among learner respondents and 55% among teacher respondents) indicated that those who tend to be violated are married (Figures 4.3 and 4.4). This is not necessarily congruent with the perception that the youth tend to be targets of violence. It may, however, mean that young, married females tend to be vulnerable. Some of the respondents stated that single people (38.3% among learner respondents and 20% among teacher respondents) tend to be violated. One learner respondent from Ridge Park stated that a divorced person was most likely to be violated. Twenty five percent of the teacher respondents indicated that anyone in terms of marital status may be violated. The

literature review did not detect any patterns in terms of marital status and those violated that could either reinforce or contradict these results.

Table 4.34: Perceptions regarding the parental status of those who are violated by learners interviewed (in %)

| Parental status | A D Lazarus (n=30) | Ridge Park (n=30) | Total (n=60) |
|-----------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| No children | 46.7 | 50 | 48.3 |
| Parent | 53.3 | 46.7 | 50 |
| Adoptive parent | - | 3.3 | 1.7 |

Table 4.35: Perceptions regarding the parental status of those who are violated by teachers interviewed (in %)

| Parental status | A D Lazarus (n=10) | Ridge Park (n=10) | Total (n=20) |
|-----------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| No children | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| Parent | 40 | 50 | 45 |
| Anyone | 50 | 40 | 45 |

The perceived parental status of those violated, similar to the perpetrators of violence, shows no clear pattern (Tables 4.34 and 4.35). Among the learner respondents, close to half (48.3%) stated that those violated tend to have no children while half of the respondents stated that they were parents. One respondent (from Ridge Park) indicated that those violated tend to be adoptive parents. This is the same respondent who felt that the perpetrator tends to be adoptive parents. Among the teacher respondents, 45% felt that people with or without children are likely to be violated.

Table 4.36: Perceptions regarding the occupation of those who are violated among learners interviewed (in %)

| Occupation | A D Lazarus (n=30) | Ridge Park (n=30) | Total (n=60) |
|--------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| Unemployed | 13.3 | 16.7 | 15 |
| Student | 30 | 43.3 | 36.7 |
| Professional | 6.7 | 10 | 8.3 |
| Sales/ marketing | 3.3 | 6.7 | 5 |
| Technician | 3.3 | 3.3 | 3.3 |
| Laborer/ unskilled | 43.4 | 20 | 31.7 |

In terms of the perceived occupation of those who are violators, learner and teacher respondents differed considerably and unlike perceptions regarding the perpetrators of

violence, no clear pattern can be detected. Whilst learner respondents perceived that people from all walks of life are targeted, Table 4.36 shows that students (36.7%), laborers (31.7%) and the unemployed (15%) are particularly vulnerable. These groups make up 83.4% of the respondents. The rest of the respondents indicated that those who are most likely to be violated are professionals (8.3%), sales/ marketing (5%) and technicians (3.3%). It is interesting to note that many of the learner respondents link poverty to vulnerability.

Table 4.37: Perceptions regarding the occupation of those who are violated among teachers interviewed (in %)

| Occupation | A D Lazarus (n=10) | Ridge Park (n=10) | Total (n=10) |
|-------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| Unemployed | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| Student | 20 | 10 | 15 |
| Professionals | 40 | 60 | 50 |
| Anyone | 30 | 20 | 25 |

Half of the teacher respondents felt that professionals were most likely to be violated followed by students (15%) and the unemployed (10%). Twenty five percent of the teacher respondents indicated that a person from any occupation group is likely to be violated. This pattern was also found in Artz et al's (1998) study that showed that people generally perceived those who are better-off to be the targets of violence. However, the learner respondents' views show that they tend to make a stronger link between poverty and violation.

Table 4.38: Perceptions regarding the race of those who are violated by learners interviewed (in %)

| Race | A D Lazarus (n=30) | Ridge Park (n=30) | Total (n=60) |
|-------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| African | 46.6 | 46.7 | 46.7 |
| Indian | 36.7 | 30 | 33.3 |
| Colored | 16.7 | 10 | 13.3 |
| White | - | 13.3 | 6.7 |

Table 4.39: Perceptions regarding the race of those who are violated by teachers interviewed (in %)

| Race | A D Lazarus (n=10) | Ridge Park (n=10) | Total (n=20) |
|-------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| Indian | 40 | 40 | 40 |
| White | 30 | 20 | 25 |
| Anyone | 30 | 40 | 35 |

With regard to racial classification, the respondents' views regarding those who are most likely to be violated differed significantly, especially when compared to perceptions regarding the racial group most likely to commit violence. In terms of the perpetrator of violence the vast majority felt that Africans committed violence generally. The learner respondents felt that Africans (56.7%), Indians (33.3%), Coloureds (13.3%) and Whites (6.7%) were likely to be violated (Table 4.38). The teacher respondents felt that Indians (40%) and Whites (25%) are likely to be violated with 35% indicating that a person from any race group is likely to be violated (Table 4.39). The teacher respondents perceptions closely reflects existing stereotypes of race and violence in South African society (as explored by Simpson, 1993). Generally, Africans (regarded as the lowest group in terms of racial hierarchy) are the perpetrators of violence while those who are regarded as being racially superior (Indians and Whites) are the targets of violence. This is, off course, also related to perceptions regarding where economic wealth is concentrated. Poor people (in South Africa perceived to be Africans) tend to target rich people (in South Africa, especially in Durban, perceived to be Indians and Whites).

Table 4.40: Perceptions regarding the highest educational level of those who are violated by learners interviewed (in %)

| Highest educational level | A D Lazarus (n=30) | Ridge Park (n=30) | Total (n=60) |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| No formal education | 20 | 13.3 | 16.7 |
| Primary | 3.3 | - | 1.7 |
| Secondary | 23.3 | 33.4 | 28.3 |
| Tertiary | 26.7 | 23.3 | 25 |
| Post-graduate | 26.7 | 30 | 28.3 |

Table 4.41: Perceptions regarding the highest educational level of those who are violated by teachers interviewed (in %)

| Highest educational level | A D Lazarus (n=10) | Ridge Park (n=10) | Total (n=20) |
|---------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| Secondary | 20 | 20 | 20 |
| Tertiary | 20 | 10 | 15 |
| Anyone | 60 | 70 | 65 |

The learner respondents felt that those who are violated tend to have completed secondary level education (28.3%), tertiary education (25%) or post-graduate studies (28.3%) (Table 4.40). These categories made up 81.6% of the responses. One learner respondent stated that those violated tend to have completed primary education and 16.7% believed that those violated did not have any formal education. Among the teacher respondents, the majority (65%) felt that a person from any educational background is likely to be violated (Table 4.41). The rest felt that those violated have completed secondary (20%) or tertiary (15%) level education. While the general perception is that persons with no or very little formal education are most likely to commit violence, the respondents felt (especially among the learner respondents) that those with some level of education tend to be violated.

Table 4.42: Perceptions regarding where those who are violated live by learners interviewed (in %)

| Residential location | A D Lazarus (n=30) | Ridge Park (n=30) | Total (n=60) |
|----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| Homeless | - | 3.3 | 1.7 |
| Informal settlement | 40 | 16.7 | 28.3 |
| Low income areas | 16.7 | 23.3 | 20 |
| Middle income areas | 43.3 | 46.7 | 45 |
| Upper income areas | - | 10 | 5 |

Table 4.43: Perceptions regarding where those who are violated live by teachers interviewed (in %)

| Residential location | A D Lazarus (n=10) | Ridge Park (n=10) | Total (n=20) |
|----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| Informal settlement | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| Low income areas | 10 | 20 | 15 |
| Middle income areas | 40 | 50 | 45 |
| Upper income areas | 10 | - | 5 |
| Anywhere | 30 | 20 | 25 |

The respondents differed on where those who are violated reside. This is linked to earlier responses regarding the occupation of those who are violated which is indicative of social and income status. A significant proportion of respondents (45% among learner and teacher respondents respectively) indicated that those who are violated tend to live in middle class areas. Among the respondents, the other areas cited were informal settlements (28.3% among learner respondents and 10% among teacher respondents), low income areas (20% among learner respondents and 15% among teacher respondents) and upper income areas (5% among learner respondents and teacher respondents respectively). One learner respondent from Ridge Park felt that those who are violated are most likely to be homeless. Twenty five percent of the teacher respondents indicated that those who are most like to be violated can live anywhere. In the case of the learner respondents the link between violation and poverty is again discernible.

4.2.5. Environmental perceptions of violence and danger

Table 4.44: Learner respondents' perceptions pertaining to where violent acts are most likely to occur (in %): multiple responses

| Location/ place | A D Lazarus (n=30) | Ridge Park (n=30) | Total (n=60) |
|--------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| In the home | 33.3 | 26.7 | 30 |
| Close to the home | 16.7 | 10 | 13.3 |
| Public spaces | 50 | 53.3 | 51.7 |
| School | 6.7 | 3.3 | 5 |
| Relative or friends home | - | 3.3 | 1.7 |
| Unknown environment (new area) | 20 | 33.3 | 26.7 |
| Unfamiliar environment | 36.7 | 30 | 33.3 |
| Nightclubs | 10 | 6.7 | 8.3 |
| Poorly lit areas | 6.7 | 10 | 8.3 |
| Shopping centers | - | 3.3 | 1.7 |

Table 4.45: Teacher respondents' perceptions pertaining to where violent acts are most likely to occur (in %): multiple responses

| Location/ place | A D Lazarus (n=10) | Ridge Park (n=10) | Total (n=20) |
|------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| In the home | 20 | 30 | 25 |
| Close to the home | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| Public spaces | 60 | 70 | 65 |
| Unknown environment | 20 | 30 | 25 |
| Unfamiliar environment | 30 | 30 | 30 |

Interviewees identified a range of areas/ places where they felt that violent acts are most likely to occur (Tables 4.44 and 4.45). It is interesting to note that learners could identify more places than the teacher respondents and tended to be more specific in terms of the locations identified such as citing nightclubs, the school and shopping centers. The main locations identified were:

- public spaces (51.7% among learner respondents and 65% among teacher respondents)
- in the home (30% among learner respondents and 25% among teacher respondents)
- unfamiliar environment (33.3% among learner respondents and 30% among teacher respondents)
- unknown environment/ new area (26.7% among learner respondents and 25% among teacher respondents)

The responses correspond with the literature review in that the majority of respondents perceive that violence is most likely to occur in public spaces as well as unknown and unfamiliar environments. It is important to note that the home was also perceived by some of the respondents as a place where violence was most likely to occur. The literature review reveals that most violence occurs at home and is committed by someone who is known to the victim. However, during the discussions with the respondents it was clear that the violence in the home that they were referring to were burglaries and hijackings, deliberate criminal acts mostly committed by strangers. Thus, the responses clearly show that perception and reality regarding the location of violence are different. Yet, these perceptions persist and are quite widespread.

Table 4.46: Learner respondents' perceptions pertaining to when violent acts are most likely to be committed (in %)

| Time | A D Lazarus (n=30) | Ridge Park (n=30) | Total (n=60) |
|------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| Anytime | 13.3 | 6.7 | 10 |
| Afternoon | 3.4 | - | 1.7 |
| Evening | 13.3 | 16.7 | 15 |
| Late night | 70 | 76.6 | 73.3 |

Table 4.47: Teacher respondents' perceptions pertaining to when violent acts are most likely to be committed (in %)

| Time | A D Lazarus (n=10) | Ridge Park (n=10) | Total (n=20) |
|------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| Anytime | 30 | 30 | 30 |
| Morning | 10 | 20 | 15 |
| Late night | 60 | 50 | 55 |

The majority of the respondents (73.3% among learner respondents and 55% among teacher respondents) stated that they believed that most violent acts took place late at night (Tables 4.46 and 4.47). The reasons forwarded included that this was the most dangerous time of the day since usually very few people are around, it is quieter and many people are not aware of what is happening around then during the night, especially in public places such as nightclubs. The darkness was identified as a contributing factor as well since it was perceived as a medium that makes it is easier for violent acts to be committed since the perpetrators cannot be easily detected.

Some of the learner respondents felt that violent acts took place during the evening (15%), anytime (10%) and during the afternoon (1.7%). The teacher respondents (15%) who identified the morning as the time of the day when violent acts are most likely to occur stated that this was the time when hijackings occurred when people leave for work. Thirty percent of the teacher respondents stated that violent acts can take place anytime.

Figure 4.5: Learner respondents' perceptions pertaining to which day of the week violent acts are most likely to be committed (in %)

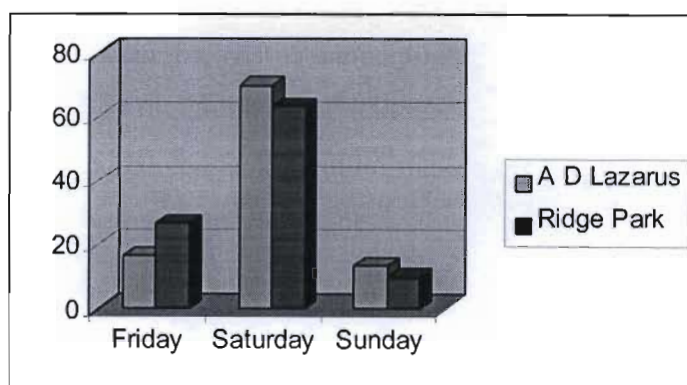
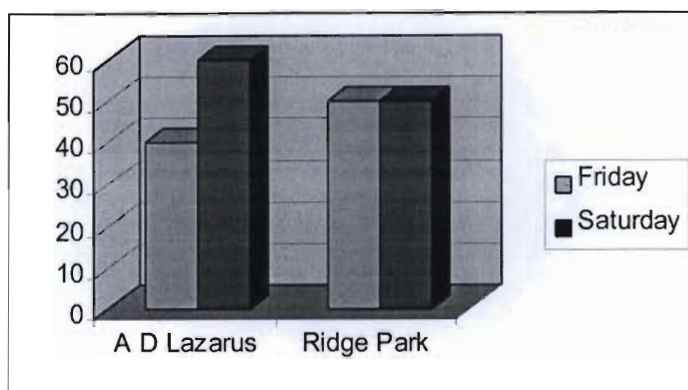


Figure 4.6: Teacher respondents' perceptions pertaining to which day of the week violent acts are most likely to be committed (in %)



Figures 4.5 and 4.6 show that all the respondents stated that violent acts tend to take place on Friday (21.7% among learner respondents and 55% among teacher respondents), Saturdays (66.7% among learner respondents and 55% among teacher respondents) or Sundays (11.7% among learner respondents). The weekends were thus viewed as the time of the week when violent acts are most likely to occur with Saturday being regarded as prime time. During the weekends people are generally having fun and frequenting public places such as nightclubs which can be very dangerous. Perpetrators take advantage of this situation. Also, during weekends people like to party and this often entails taking drugs or imbibing alcohol. Some of the respondents felt this makes individuals lose control and they can easily become targets of violent crimes. During the weekends people also stay out till late at night.

Table 4.48: Learner respondents' perceptions pertaining to which month of the year violent acts are most likely to be committed (in %)

| Month | A D Lazarus (n=30) | Ridge Park (n=30) | Total (n=60) |
|----------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| January | 3.3 | 13.3 | 8.3 |
| June | 13.3 | 13.3 | 13.3 |
| July | 10 | 13.3 | 11.7 |
| November | 20 | 10 | 15 |
| December | 53.4 | 50.1 | 51.7 |

Table 4.49: Teacher respondents' perceptions pertaining to which month of the year violent acts are most likely to be committed (in %)

| Month | A D Lazarus (n=10) | Ridge Park (n=10) | Total (n=20) |
|----------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| January | 20 | - | 10 |
| July | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| December | 70 | 90 | 80 |

December (51.7% among learner respondents and 80% among teacher respondents) was regarded as the main month during the year when violent acts are most likely to be committed (Tables 4.48 and 4.49). Other months cited by some of the learner respondents were November (15%), June (13.3%), July (11.7%) and January (8.3%). The rest of the teacher respondents felt that January and July (10% respectively) were months when violent acts were most likely to be committed.

Respondents perceived the vacation periods, especially the festive season during December, to be periods in the year when violent acts are most likely to be committed. Some of the reasons forwarded were:

- During the holidays many tourists and holiday-makers are around. They are soft targets for violent crimes since they are extremely vulnerable being in unknown surroundings.
- People have money during these periods.
- The taking of drugs and alcohol increases which contributes to unruly, and sometimes violent, tendencies.
- People tend to leave their houses unattended which contributes to an increase in property crime.

In addition to being vacation periods, June and July were also viewed as periods in the year when violent acts are most likely to be committed because days are shorter and nights are longer (being winter).

Table 4.50: Learner respondents' perceptions pertaining to places frequented that are unsafe (in %): multiple responses

| Places | A D Lazarus (n=30) | Ridge Park (n=30) | Total (n=60) |
|-----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| Central town | 30 | 46.7 | 38.3 |
| Nightclubs | 43.3 | 36.7 | 40 |
| Beachfront | 10 | 26.7 | 18.3 |
| Informal settlements | 36.7 | 10 | 23.3 |
| Home | 3.3 | - | 1.7 |
| Shopping areas | 26.7 | 23.3 | 25 |
| Rural areas | 3.3 | - | 1.7 |
| Quiet roads | 23.3 | 3.3 | 13.3 |
| Dark roads and alleys | 20 | 23.3 | 21.7 |
| The grounds | 16.7 | - | 8.3 |
| Parking lots | - | 16.7 | 8.3 |
| Outside school | 10 | 16.7 | 13.3 |
| Public toilets | - | 10 | 5 |

Table 4.51: Teacher respondents' perceptions pertaining to places frequented that are unsafe (in %): multiple responses

| Location/ place | A D Lazarus (n=10) | Ridge Park (n=10) | Total (n=20) |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| Near African townships | 20 | 30 | 25 |
| Informal settlements | 40 | 30 | 35 |
| Public spaces | 40 | 50 | 45 |
| Central Durban/ city | 30 | 20 | 25 |
| Home | - | 20 | 10 |
| Motor vehicles | 30 | 20 | 25 |
| Unfamiliar environment | 30 | 30 | 30 |
| Beachfront | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| Parks | 10 | - | 5 |
| Deserted areas | 30 | 30 | 30 |
| Shopping centers in residential areas | 30 | 20 | 25 |

In general, Tables 4.50 and 4.51 show that areas considered unsafe by the respondents are public spaces. Many of the respondents stated that they knew these areas were unsafe because they had a reputation for being so. This confirms the findings in the literature review that peoples' perceptions of safe and unsafe areas are informed by information that they gather from various sources (which will be discussed later in the chapter) rather than real personal experiences of violence.

The reasons forwarded for particular areas being unsafe include:

- Central town (38.3% among learner respondents and 25% among teacher respondents): Because of the volume of people, this area was viewed as a high crime zone. Perpetrators of violence prey on victims in these areas.
- Nightclubs (40% among the learner respondents): The respondents generally associated nightclubs with drinking, smoking, taking drugs and fighting. They felt that nightclubs were dangerous and many females are taken advantage of in these areas. Some respondents stated that in nightclubs often males put drugs into females' drinks so that they can take advantage of them sexually. The high levels of noise in nightclubs make it difficult for someone to hear you scream. Respondents also stated that there were too many strangers in nightclubs.
- The beachfront (18.3% among the learner respondents and 10% among the teacher respondents): The beachfront was identified as areas that are frequented, especially during vacation periods, by many people who behave in an unruly manner. Drinking alcohol was cited as a problem in the beachfront area. Additionally, some respondents stated that these areas were frequented by homeless people who they considered to be dangerous. One respondent also stated that the beachfront areas are generally not well lit at night and water itself can be very dangerous.
- Informal settlements (23.3% among the learner respondents and 35% among the teacher respondents): Some of the respondents stated that crime was high in these areas. Some of the reasons forwarded included desperation as a result of dire poverty and people being generally uneducated. Too many people living in a congested area was also viewed as a problem. Additionally, the housing structures were so flimsy that they did not provide adequate protection from strangers. It should be noted that a significant proportion of the respondents felt that perpetrators of violence resided in informal areas.
- African Townships: The 25% of the teacher respondents who identified these areas associated them with high levels of crime, especially crimes such as hijackings and rape.
- Home: The one learner respondent who identified her home as being unsafe stated that it was unsafe because it was located close to an informal settlement. Both the

teachers from Ridge Park who stated that their homes were unsafe indicated that they were recently burgled.

- Shopping areas (25% among both the learner and the teacher respondents respectively): The respondents felt that shopping areas, especially in residential locations, are frequented by boys who like hanging around the shops and look for trouble. Some of the learner respondents stated that the boys who hang around by the stores are always whistling at them or saying nasty things. Also, they sometimes try to touch the girls walking past the shops. One respondent (from A D Lazarus school) stated that she was aware of a learner being raped by a gang of boys who hang around the shops.
- Rural areas: The one respondent who identified rural areas as being unsafe stated that these areas were generally dangerous. This area is unfamiliar and therefore seems to be associated with danger.
- Quiet roads as well as dark roads and alleys/ deserted areas: These areas, which are often unfamiliar and unknown, are seen as being “scary and creepy”. Respondents felt that if you were alone no one could hear you call for assistance if you were in trouble. These areas were viewed as being isolated and therefore it was difficult to get help if it was needed. One respondent stated that it was easier for people to get attacked and violators not to get caught in these areas.
- The grounds/ parks: This was identified by two of the learner respondents at A D Lazarus. They referred to the Siripat Road grounds that were in close proximity to the school. They stated that because it was an open place it was frequented by young males who were either unemployed or did not go to school.
- Parking lots (8.3% among the learner respondents): Parking lots were viewed to be particularly dangerous at night or when located in underground areas. Respondents felt that the parking lots were isolated and perpetrators can easily pounce on victims.
- Outside school (13.3% among the learner respondents): The lack of security outside the school premises and being in close proximity to areas that they considered dangerous (grounds, shops, informal settlements and the graveyard) were the main reasons why these respondents felt unsafe outside the schools.

- Public toilets (5% among the learner respondents): These were also regarded as isolated, dangerous areas since perpetrators can hide in a cubicle or lock you in.
- Motor vehicles: Car hijacking was viewed as one of the biggest problems South Africa faces. Given the high rates of hijackings, 25% of the teacher respondents felt unsafe in their vehicles since they viewed them as targets.

In general, public spaces were viewed as being unsafe. Forty five percent of the teacher respondents indicated that they regarded public spaces as being unsafe. For some of the learner respondents, they felt that places near the school were unsafe. This was particularly discernible in A D Lazarus in terms of respondents identifying informal settlements, unsafe roads and grounds. It is important to note that very few respondents identified the home as an unsafe place despite statistics that indicate otherwise. The few who did identify the home forwarded reasons linked to external forces rather than internal household dynamics.

Table 4.52: Learner respondents' perceptions pertaining to places frequented that are regarded as being safe (in %): multiple responses

| Places | A D Lazarus (n=30) | Ridge Park (n=30) | Total (n=60) |
|------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| Shopping mall | 26.7 | 30 | 28.3 |
| School | 70 | 56.7 | 63.3 |
| Religious places | 10 | - | 5 |
| Friend's home | 40 | 30 | 35 |
| Home | 80 | 90 | 85 |
| Gymnasium | 3.3 | - | 1.7 |
| Restaurants | - | 6.7 | 3.3 |

Table 4.53: Teacher respondents' perceptions pertaining to places frequented that are regarded as being safe (in %): multiple responses

| Places | A D Lazarus (n=10) | Ridge Park (n=10) | Total (n=20) |
|------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| Shopping mall | 30 | 40 | 35 |
| School | 40 | 60 | 50 |
| Religious places | - | 10 | 5 |
| Friend's home | 10 | - | 5 |
| Home | 80 | 80 | 80 |
| Restaurants | 30 | 20 | 25 |

The vast majority of respondents (85% among learner respondents and 80% among teacher respondents) felt that they regarded their homes as being safe. Other areas cited by the learner respondents were the school (63.3%), friend's home (35%), shopping mall, (28.3%), religious places (5%), restaurants (3.3%) and the gymnasium (identified by one A D Lazarus respondent). Other areas viewed as being safe by the teacher respondents included shopping malls (35%), the school (50%), restaurants (25%), religious places (5%) and friend's home (5%). It is important to note that a significant percentage of the respondents (63.3% among the learner respondents and 50% among the teacher respondents) viewed the school as being a safe environment.

The areas that respondents regard as being safe were generally private, enclosed areas. The vast majority of respondents felt safe at home. A sense of being in a secure environment was a primary factor in determining whether a place was safe or unsafe. In this regard, the presence of visible security such as alarms, vicious dogs, fencing, police and security guards made the respondents feel particularly safe. The main reasons forwarded for the home being regarded as a safe haven were that family members could be trusted and will offer protection, if necessary, as well as the presence of security measures such as alarms, fencing and dogs. One respondent stated that she considered the school safe because it was an area where entrance into the premises was deemed to be controlled. Many respondents also felt that having immediate access to a telephone made them feel safe. Additionally, people who frequented or lived in a particular location was considered. The respondents stated that they felt safe in these areas because people they knew and trusted were always around. These were areas where they felt they could relax and enjoy themselves. The main groups whose presence seems to instill a sense of security among respondents were family members (especially fathers), friends and teachers. Most of the learner respondents also expressed that they felt particularly safe when they were with friends. This was reinforced by many respondents who stated that they felt safe in places where they were never alone.

4.2.6. Perceptions of violence in relation to the school

Figure 4.7: Learner respondents' perceptions regarding feeling safe in school (in %)

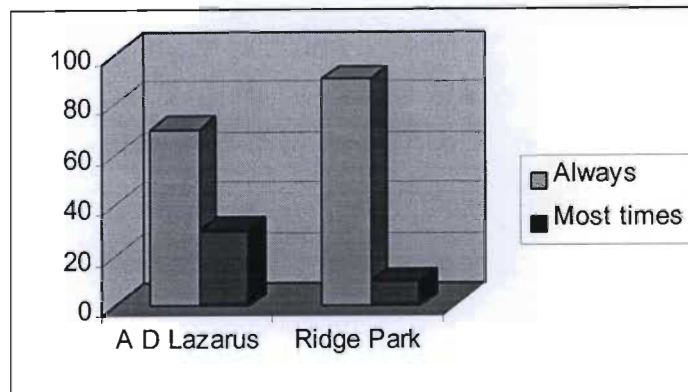
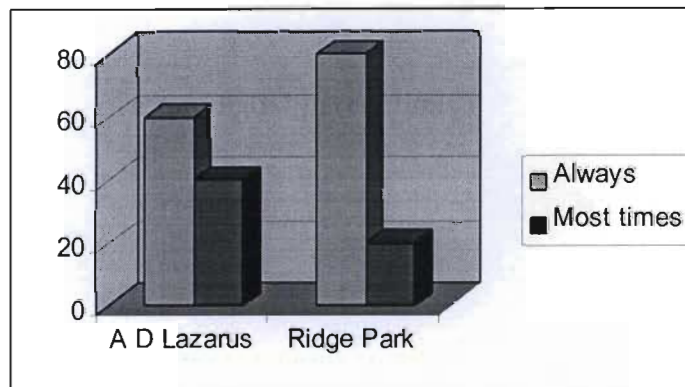


Figure 4.8: Teacher respondents' perceptions regarding feeling safe in school (in %)



The majority of the respondents (80% among the learner respondents and 70% among the teacher respondents) stated that they always felt safe in school (Figures 4.7 and 4.8). The rest (20% among the learner respondents and 30% among the teacher respondents) stated that they felt safe in school most of the time which implies that they felt unsafe sometimes.

The few learner respondents who stated that they felt unsafe in school sometimes (20%) stated that they particularly felt unsafe in the classroom when a teacher was not present, in certain parts of the school grounds and when using the toilets. Some of the respondents

at A D Lazarus school (20%) indicated that they felt unsafe when they waited outside school to be picked up by their parents.

Some of the teacher respondents (30%) who indicated that they felt unsafe in school sometimes stated that they usually felt unsafe after hours since the school is relatively quiet and isolated. Also, they stated that they felt unsafe in specific locations such as in classes far away from the main offices of the school (front area) and when walking in corridors that were dark. Two respondents also stated that they felt unsafe in the car parks, especially when leaving school. Again, the fear of a hijacking was apparent.

Table 4.54: Learner respondents' responses regarding who makes them feel unsafe in school (in %)

| Person/s | A D Lazarus (n=30) | Ridge Park (n=30) | Total (n=60) |
|---------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| Fellow students at school | 30 | - | 15 |
| Teachers | 10 | 3.3 | 6.7 |
| Trespassers at school | 60 | 93.4 | 76.6 |
| Visitors | - | 3.3 | 1.7 |

Table 4.55: Teachers respondents' responses regarding who makes them feel unsafe in school (in %)

| Person/s | A D Lazarus (n=10) | Ridge Park (n=10) | Total (n=20) |
|-----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| Learners at school | 40 | - | 20 |
| Fellow teachers | 10 | - | 5 |
| Trespassers at school | 30 | 60 | 45 |
| Visitors | 20 | 40 | 30 |

The majority of the respondents (76.6% among the learner respondents and 45% among the teacher respondents) stated that trespassers made them feel unsafe in school. A significant proportion of teacher respondents (30%) and one learner respondent indicated that visitors made them feel unsafe in school. Thus, in general, outsiders tended to make both learners and teachers feel unsafe in the schools.

At A D Lazarus 15% of the learner respondents felt that fellow learners made them feel unsafe at school and 40% of the teacher respondents stated that learners at school made them feel unsafe. None of the respondents at Ridge Park indicated that learners made

them feel unsafe. During discussions with the A D Lazarus teachers and learners who participated in the study it was discerned that there were unruly learners, generally males, at school who behaved badly and often harassed other learners and teachers. These learners also tended to belong in gangs. Some learner respondents (6.7%) indicated that some teachers made them feel unsafe in schools. These teachers often hit learners and one respondent stated that she knew of a male teacher that constantly makes sexual passes at the female learners. This made the pupils feel very uncomfortable. One teacher at A D Lazarus also stated that a fellow teacher made her feel unsafe in school. The teacher indicated that the other male teacher continuously harassed and tried to humiliate her.

The respondents outlined a number of aspects that they felt will make them feel safer in the schools. Tables 4.56 and 4.57 illustrate the aspects raised.

Table 4.56: Learner respondents' perceptions regarding what would make them feel safe at school (in %): multiple responses

| | A D Lazarus (n=30) | Ridge Park (n=30) | Total (n=60) |
|---|-------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Police/ security presence | 36.7 | 30 | 33.3 |
| Only learners and staff being allowed in school | 60 | 66.7 | 63.3 |
| More safety information | 3.3 | 3.3 | 3.3 |
| Knowing more people | 6.7 | 10 | 8.3 |
| Larger rooms | 3.3 | - | 1.7 |
| Better infrastructure/ buildings | 16.7 | - | 8.3 |
| Proper fencing of school premises | 20 | 16.7 | 18.3 |
| Proper lighting | 10 | 16.7 | 13.3 |
| Addressing differences among students | 6.7 | 10 | 8.3 |

The main aspects raised by the learner respondents were (Table 4.56):

- Only learners and staff being allowed in school (63.3%)
- Police/ security presence (33.3%)
- Proper fencing of school premises (18.3%)
- Proper lighting (13.3%)



Other aspects raised by learners from both A D Lazarus and Ridge Park were knowing more people (8.3%), addressing differences among students (8.3%) and having more safety information (3.3%). Additionally, some of the learner respondents at A D Lazarus stated that the school infrastructure/ buildings need to be improved. One respondent at A D Lazarus also felt that larger rooms were needed.

Table 4.57: Teacher respondents' perceptions regarding what would make them feel safe at school (in %): multiple responses

| | A D Lazarus (n=10) | Ridge Park (n=10) | Total (n=20) |
|---|-------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Police/ security presence | 80 | 70 | 75 |
| Only learners and staff being allowed in school | 40 | 20 | 30 |
| Knowing more people | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| Proper lighting | 10 | 20 | 15 |

The majority of the teacher respondents (75%) felt that police/ security presence at school will make them feel safe (Table 4.57). Some respondents also stated that only learners and staff should be allowed in school (30%), proper lighting was necessary (15%) and that knowing more people in school made them feel safer (10%).

It is important to note that the above responses suggest that in terms of ensuring a safe environment in school that promotes feelings of security the most important aspects identified by the respondents related to controlling who had access to the schools and having visible police/ security presence. Also, ensuring that the school infrastructure (in terms of lighting, buildings, fencing and classrooms) was up to standard was deemed important by the respondents. Thus, most respondents supported a proactive stance when dealing with safety at schools.

Table 4.58: Learner respondents' views on factors that contribute to violence in schools (in %): multiple responses

| | A D Lazarus (n=30) | Ridge Park (n=30) | Total (n=60) |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Criminal activities | 36.7 | 60 | 48.3 |
| Schools are a soft target | 16.7 | - | 8.3 |
| Teachers not understanding learners | 3.3 | 10 | 6.7 |
| Racial tensions | 46.7 | 53.3 | 50 |
| Cultural misunderstanding | 56.7 | 36.7 | 46.7 |
| Patriarchy/ sexism | 6.7 | 6.7 | 6.7 |
| Lack of proper education | - | 6.7 | 3.3 |
| Crisis in the education system | 6.7 | 3.3 | 5 |
| Poor infrastructure | 20 | 6.7 | 13.3 |
| Drugs/ alcohol | 26.7 | 43.3 | 35 |

Table 4.59: Teacher respondents' views on factors that contribute to violence in schools (in %): multiple responses

| | A D Lazarus (n=10) | Ridge Park (n=10) | Total (n=20) |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Criminal activities | 20 | 30 | 25 |
| Schools are a soft target | 40 | 30 | 35 |
| Teachers not understanding learners | 10 | - | 5 |
| Racial tensions | 60 | 10 | 35 |
| Cultural misunderstanding | 30 | 20 | 25 |
| Patriarchy/ sexism | 10 | 20 | 15 |
| Lack of proper education | 10 | - | 5 |
| Crisis in the education system | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| Drugs/ alcohol | 40 | 30 | 35 |
| Influence of media | 20 | 10 | 15 |

A number of responses were obtained from the respondents regarding the factors they felt contributed to violence in schools. Some of the most important responses (derived from Tables 4.58 and 4.59 above) were:

- Criminal activities (48.3% among the learner respondents and 25% among the teacher respondents)
- Racial tensions (50% among the learner respondents and 35% among the teacher respondents)
- Cultural misunderstanding (46.7% among the learner respondents and 25% among the teacher respondents)

- Drugs/ alcohol (35% among the learner and teacher respondents respectively)

The learner respondents seem to feel more strongly that racial tensions (50%) and cultural misunderstanding (46.7%) contribute towards violence in schools. This reveals that lack of effective communication and differences among groups can be perceived to play a major role towards contributing towards violence in schools. A significant proportion of both the teacher and learner respondents (35% respectively) felt that drugs and alcohol contribute towards violence in society. Thirty five percent of the teachers also stated that schools were soft targets. In general, the responses reinforce findings in the literature review. Other factors which resonate with findings in the literature review cited by the respondents include the influence of the media (15% of the teacher respondents).

Table 4.60: Learner respondents' views on factors that contribute to violence in society generally (in %): multiple responses

| | A D Lazarus (n=30) | Ridge Park (n=30) | Total (n=60) |
|--|-------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Criminal activities | 66.7 | 63.3 | 65 |
| Racial tensions | 63.3 | 56.7 | 60 |
| Cultural misunderstanding | 46.7 | 23.3 | 35 |
| Patriarchy/ sexism | 33.3 | 26.7 | 30 |
| Lack of proper education/ information | 36.7 | 43.3 | 40 |
| Xenophobia | - | 3.3 | 1.7 |
| Homophobia | 3.3 | - | 1.7 |
| Drugs | 43.3 | 60 | 51.7 |
| Influence of the media | 23.3 | 33.3 | 28.3 |
| Alcohol | 60 | 60 | 60 |
| Unemployment | 6.7 | 10 | 8.3 |
| Poverty | 10 | 16.7 | 13.3 |
| Jealousy | 3.3 | - | 1.7 |
| Uncivilized upbringing | - | 3.3 | 1.7 |
| Lack of visible and effective security | - | 6.7 | 3.3 |

Table 4.61: Teacher respondents' views on factors that contribute to violence in society generally (in %): multiple responses

| | A D Lazarus (n=10) | Ridge Park (n=10) | Total (n=20) |
|--|-------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Criminal activities | 60 | 50 | 55 |
| Racial tensions | 60 | 20 | 45 |
| Cultural misunderstanding | 20 | 20 | 20 |
| Patriarchy/ sexism | 10 | 20 | 15 |
| Lack of proper education/ information | 40 | 50 | 45 |
| Xenophobia | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| Homophobia | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| Drugs | 30 | 40 | 35 |
| Influence of the media | 30 | 40 | 35 |
| Alcohol | 40 | 40 | 40 |
| Poverty | 20 | 30 | 25 |
| Lack of visible and effective security | 30 | 30 | 30 |
| Broken homes/ poor parenting | 10 | - | 5 |

Factors identified by the respondents as contributing to violence in society more generally are similar to those that the respondents felt contributed to violence in schools. Clearly, this shows that schools are part of society and the problems experienced in schools are reflective of those facing society at large. Again, the main factors that respondents felt contributed towards violence in society generally were:

- Criminal activities (65% among learner respondents and 55% among teacher respondents)
- Racial tensions (60% among the learner respondents and 45% among the teacher respondents)
- Alcohol (60% among the learner respondents and 40% among the teacher respondents)
- Drugs (51.7% among the learner respondents and 35% among the teacher respondents)
- Lack of proper education/ information (40% among the learner respondents and 45% among the teacher respondents)

Some other factors cited included cultural misunderstanding, patriarchy/ sexism, xenophobia, homophobia, influence of the media, unemployment, poverty, jealousy,

uncivilized upbringing, broken homes/ poor parenting and lack of visible and effective policing.

4.2.7. Sources of information regarding violence

Table 4.62: Learner interviewees responses relating to source/s of information pertaining to violence (in %): multiple responses

| | A D Lazarus (n=30) | Ridge Park (n=30) | Total (n=60) |
|---------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| Television | 66.7 | 50 | 58.3 |
| Radio | 40 | 53.3 | 46.7 |
| Movies | 16.7 | 30 | 23.3 |
| Peers | 13.3 | 23.3 | 18.3 |
| Newspapers | 43.3 | 60 | 51.7 |
| Official statistics | - | 3.3 | 1.7 |
| Family members | 23.3 | 43.3 | 33.3 |

Table 4.63: Teacher interviewees responses relating to source/s of information pertaining to violence (in %): multiple responses

| | A D Lazarus (n=10) | Ridge Park (n=10) | Total (n=20) |
|---------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| Television | 40 | 50 | 45 |
| Radio | 20 | 10 | 15 |
| Peers | 10 | 20 | 15 |
| Family members | - | 10 | 5 |
| Newspapers | 60 | 50 | 55 |
| Official statistics | 10 | 20 | 15 |

The main sources of information pertaining to violence identified by the respondents were the media (Tables 4.62 and 4.63):

- Television (58.3% among the learner respondents and 45% among the teacher respondents)
- Newspapers (51.7% among the learner respondents and 55% among the teacher respondents)
- Radio (46.7% among the learner respondents and 15% among the teacher respondents)
- Movies (23.3% among the learner respondents)

Clearly, learner respondents were more influenced by the media than teacher respondents. This is in keeping with Spear and Seydegart's (1993) assertion that the media tends to have a tremendous influence over the youth.

Some of the respondents also indicated that they acquired information regarding violence from family members (33.3% among the learner respondents and 5% among the teacher respondents) and peers (18.3% among the learner respondents and 15% among the teacher respondents). One learner respondent from Ridge Park and 15% of the teacher respondents indicated that they received information about violence from official statistics. The reliance on popular media as well as peers and family members may be one of the reasons for the often distorted perceptions regarding violence in society.

Table 4.64: Learner interviewees awareness of laws and legislation relating to violence in South Africa (in %)

| | A D Lazarus (n=30) | Ridge Park (n=30) | Total (n=60) |
|-----|---------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| Yes | 6.7 | 53.3 | 30 |
| No | 93.3 | 46.7 | 70 |

Table 4.65: Teacher interviewees awareness of laws and legislation relating to violence in South Africa (in %)

| | A D Lazarus (n=10) | Ridge Park (n=10) | Total (n=20) |
|-----|---------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| Yes | 50 | 60 | 55 |
| No | 50 | 40 | 45 |

It should be noted that the vast majority of the learner respondents (70%) stated that they were unaware of the laws and legislation relating to violence in South Africa (Table 4.64). In fact only two respondents (6.7%) were aware at A D Lazarus. The higher level at Ridge Park (53.3%-slightly more than half of the respondents) may be attributed to the high levels of incorporation of issues pertaining to violence in the school curriculum and the introduction of self-defense classes (taken by learners on a voluntary basis) by a private company in the school. Among the teacher respondents, 55% indicated that they were aware of some of the laws and legislation (Table 4.65).

The respondents who stated that they were aware of the laws and legislations relating to violence in South Africa (30% of the learner respondents and 55% of the teacher respondents) indicated that they specifically heard of the following:

- A person may be prosecuted for committing violent acts
- Rape and murder are serious criminal offenses
- Jail sentences for abuse (physical and rape) of women and children as well as life sentences for murder
- One can only be sentenced if proven guilty in a court of law
- Restraining orders/ interdicts can be used to protect someone
- People have the right not to be harmed and to live in a safe environment
- The length of a sentence when convicted should be determined by the seriousness of the crime
- Types of punishment for specific crimes
- All crimes should be reported to the nearest police station
- A criminal also has rights and is guilty until proven innocent

The above responses indicate that most respondents only have a superficial, general knowledge of the laws and legislation, especially as they relate to punishment and sentencing. One respondent did highlight the inherent rights enshrined in laws and legislation which may be regarded as the foundation for ensuring protection.

Table 4.66: Where did learner interviewees hear about the laws and legislation (in %): Multiple responses

| | A D Lazarus (n=2) | Ridge Park (n=16) | Total (n=18) |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| Friends and family | - | 12.5 | 11.1 |
| Media | - | 12.5 | 11.1 |
| Government documents | 50 | 18.8 | 22.2 |
| Talks/ workshops | 50 | 12.5 | 16.7 |
| Self defense classes at school | - | 25 | 22.2 |
| Specific teachers at school | - | 25 | 22.2 |
| The police | - | 6.2 | 5.6 |

One learner respondents at A D Lazarus identified government documents and the other talks/ workshops as the way in which they heard about the laws and legislation. At Ridge

Park the 53.3% of the learner respondents who knew about the laws and legislation identified a range of sources including self-defense classes at school (25%), specific teachers in school (12.5%), government documents (18.8%), friends and family (12.5%), media (12.5%), talks/ workshops (12.5%) and the police (6.2%) (Table 4.66). The learner respondents felt that the following were the best sources of information:

- Talks/ workshops: issues are clearly explained and the learners are given an opportunity to participate and ask questions.
- Government documents: information is based on facts and are rarely distorted.
- Media: provides information based on facts and is visually as well as realistically presented. In-depth and updated information is provided. The television in particular was regarded as being the most popular medium and it can reach many people. The radio and newspapers were also regarded as important mediums that can be used effectively to disseminate information regarding violence.
- Police: they are well informed and are responsible for ensuring that everyone in society is properly protected.

Table 4.67: Where did teacher interviewees hear about the laws and legislation (in %)

| | A D Lazarus (n=5) | Ridge Park (n=6) | Total (n=11) |
|--------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|
| Friends and family | 20 | 33.3 | 27.3 |
| Media | 60 | 50 | 54.5 |
| Talks/ workshops | 20 | 16.7 | 18.2 |

The 55% of the teacher respondents who were aware of the laws and legislation pertaining to violence heard about it from the media (54.5%), friends and family (27.3%) and talks/ workshops (18.2%) (Table 4.67). The teacher respondents identified the following as the best sources of information:

- Friends and family: they can be trusted.
- Talks/ workshops: similar to the learner respondents who stated that talks/ workshops were the best sources of information, teacher respondents indicated that these forums provide excellent information that can be discussed. Issues can be explained and questions can be raised.

- Media: the media was thought to be the best source of information as it was uniform and it could reach many people quickly since it was relatively more accessible than other sources. The newspapers were specified and it was believed that they provide an independent view and present information that has been verified. Again, the media's ability to provide updated information was highlighted.

4.2.8. Experiences of violence

This sub-section focuses on respondents' personal experience of violence in relation to three aspects: their experience of any form of violence, whether they violated anyone and if they knew of someone who was violated. It is important to note that these responses must be interpreted in the context of how the respondents define violence. In terms of the definitions forwarded by the respondents (discussed earlier in the chapter) most of the respondents defined violence as physical, emotional or sexual abuse. The understanding of violence tended to be on clearly discernible acts that often can be either seen or noticeably experienced like being physically assaulted, raped or being told that you are stupid.

4.2.8.1. Whether respondents have personally experienced any form of violence

Table 4.68: Whether learner respondents have personally experienced any form of violence (in %)

| | A D Lazarus (n=30) | Ridge Park (n=30) | Total (n=60) |
|-----|---------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| Yes | 36.7 | 60 | 48.3 |
| No | 63.3 | 40 | 51.7 |

Table 4.69: Whether teacher respondents have personally experienced any form of violence (in %)

| | A D Lazarus (n=10) | Ridge Park (n=10) | Total (n=20) |
|-----|---------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| Yes | 40 | 20 | 30 |
| No | 60 | 80 | 70 |

Slightly less than half of the learner respondents (48.3%) and 30% of the teacher respondents indicated that they had personally experienced some form of violence (Tables 4.68 and 4.69). The majority (51.7% among the learner respondents and 70%

among the teacher respondents) stated that they have not personally experienced any form of violence.

Table 4.70: Nature/ type of violence learner respondents have personally experienced (in %)

| | A D Lazarus (n=11) | Ridge Park (n=18) | Total (n=29) |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| Physical abuse/ assault | 45.5 | 27.8 | 34.5 |
| Theft | 45.5 | 22.3 | 31 |
| Emotional/ psychological | 9 | 38.9 | 27.7 |
| Sexual | - | 5.5 | 3.4 |
| Harassment | - | 5.5 | 3.4 |

Table 4.71: Nature/ type of violence teacher respondents have personally experienced (in %)

| | A D Lazarus (n=4) | Ridge Park (n=2) | Total (n=6) |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|
| Theft/ hijacking | 50 | 50 | 50 |
| Emotional/ psychological | 25 | 50 | 33.3 |
| Harassment | 25 | - | 16.7 |

The main types of violence that respondents personally experienced were (Tables 4.70 and 4.71):

- Theft and hijacking (in the case of the teachers) (31% among the learner respondents and 50% among the teacher respondents)
- Emotional/ psychological (27.7% among the learner respondents and 33.3% among the teacher respondents)
- Harassment (3.4% among the learner respondents and 16.7% among the teacher respondents)

Some of the learner respondents also cited physical abuse/ assault (34.5%) and sexual abuse (3.4%) as types of violence they experienced.

The general categories of violence personally experienced by the respondents are encapsulated in the tables above. Some specific examples are:

- Theft of personal items
- Being beaten by parents (it is worth highlighting that two of the respondents referred to this as being “disciplined” by parents)

- Being hit by a friend
- People discriminating against you because of your race (cited by an African learner)
- Neighbour wanted to hold and kiss respondent
- People scream at respondents because they are quiet
- Hijacking situation

Table 4.72: Perpetrator of the violence that learner respondents have personally experienced (in %)

| | A D Lazarus (n=11) | Ridge Park (n=18) | Total (n=29) |
|------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| Stranger | 63.6 | 38.9 | 48.3 |
| Family member | 9.1 | 11.2 | 10.3 |
| Close friend | - | 5.5 | 3.4 |
| Acquaintance | 27.3 | 27.8 | 27.7 |
| Authority figure | - | 11.1 | 6.9 |
| Neighbour | - | 5.5 | 3.4 |

Table 4.73: Perpetrator of the violence that teacher respondents have personally experienced (in %)

| | A D Lazarus (n=4) | Ridge Park (n=2) | Total (n=6) |
|------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|
| Stranger | 50 | 50 | 50 |
| Family member | 25 | 50 | 33.3 |
| Authority figure | 25 | - | 16.7 |

A significant proportion of the respondents (48.3% among the learner respondents and 50% among the teacher respondents) stated that they were violated by strangers (Tables 4.72 and 4.73). These personal experiences reinforce respondents' perceptions that the persons most likely to violate them are strangers. However, the rest stated that they were violated by someone they knew. In the case of the learner respondents these were acquaintances (27.7%) and family members (10.3%). The family members were specified as being the parents. Some respondents from Ridge Park stated that they were violated by authority figures (11.1%-specifically teachers), a neighbour (5.5%) and a close friend (5.5%).

One third of the teacher respondents stated that a family member had violated them. The respondents specified that these family members were a husband, a brother and an uncle.

In all cases male family members were the violators. One teacher respondent at A D Lazarus stated that the authority figure was one of the Head of Departments in the school.

Table 4.74: Gender of the perpetrator of the violence that learner respondents have personally experienced (in %)

| Gender | A D Lazarus (n=11) | Ridge Park (n=18) | Total (n=29) |
|--------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| Male | 72.7 | 72.2 | 72.4 |
| Female | 27.3 | 27.8 | 27.6 |

Table 4.75: Gender of the perpetrator of the violence that teacher respondents have personally experienced (in %)

| Gender | A D Lazarus (n=4) | Ridge Park (n=2) | Total (n=6) |
|--------|-------------------|------------------|-------------|
| Male | 75 | 100 | 83.3 |
| Female | 25 | - | 16.7 |

In the majority of instances the perpetrators of the violence experienced by the respondents were males (72.4% among the learner respondents and 83.3% among the teacher respondents) (Tables 4.74 and 4.75). This again reinforces the respondents' perceptions that males tend to commit violence.

Table 4.76: Age of the perpetrator of the violence that learner respondents have personally experienced (in %)

| Age | A D Lazarus (n=11) | Ridge Park (n=18) | Total (n=29) |
|-------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| 16-25 | 45.4 | 33.3 | 37.9 |
| 26-35 | 36.4 | 38.9 | 37.9 |
| 36-45 | 18.2 | 27.8 | 24.2 |

Table 4.77: Age of the perpetrator of the violence that teacher respondents have personally experienced (in %)

| Age | A D Lazarus (n=4) | Ridge Park (n=2) | Total (n=6) |
|-------|-------------------|------------------|-------------|
| 16-25 | 50 | 50 | 50 |
| 26-35 | 25 | 50 | 33.3 |
| 36-45 | 25 | - | 16.7 |

The respondents stated that they were violated by persons who were between 16 and 45 years old (Tables 4.76 and 4.77). The average age of the perpetrators of the violence experienced by the respondents was 28.6 years for the learners (27.3 years at A D

Lazarus and 29.4 years at Ridge Park) and 26.7 years for the teachers (27.5 years at A D Lazarus and 25 years at Ridge Park). In general, respondents were violated by adults.

Table 4.78: Age of the learner respondents when the violation they personally experienced occurred (in %)

| Age (in years) | A D Lazarus (n=11) | Ridge Park (n=18) | Total (n=29) |
|----------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| 8 | - | 5.5 | 3.4 |
| 12 | 9.1 | 5.5 | 6.9 |
| 13 | 9.1 | - | 3.4 |
| 14 | - | 11.1 | 6.9 |
| 15 | 18.2 | 16.7 | 17.3 |
| 16 | 18.2 | 11.1 | 13.8 |
| 17 | 27.2 | 27.8 | 27.6 |
| 18 | 18.2 | 22.3 | 20.7 |

Table 4.79: Age of the teacher respondents when the violation they personally experienced occurred (in %)

| Age (in years) | A D Lazarus (n=4) | Ridge Park (n=2) | Total (n=6) |
|----------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------|
| 15 | 25 | - | 16.7 |
| 19 | - | 50 | 16.7 |
| 21 | 25 | - | 16.7 |
| 25 | 25 | - | 16.7 |
| 30 | 25 | 50 | 33.2 |

The learner respondents stated that they were violated when they were between 8 and 18 years old while the age of the teacher respondents when they were violated were between 15 and 30 years old. The average age when the respondents were violated were 15.8 years for the learner respondents (15.9 years for A D Lazarus and 15.7 years for Ridge Park) and 23.3 years for the teacher respondents (22.8 years for A D Lazarus and 24.5 years for Ridge Park). On average, the perpetrators of the violence were older than the respondents. Again, the power dynamics in terms of age differences (especially prevalent in the case of the learner respondents whose average age when violated was 15.8 years while the average age of the perpetrators of the violence was 28.6 years) is noticeable.

Table 4.80: Race of the perpetrator of the violence that learner respondents have personally experienced (in %)

| Race | A D Lazarus (n=11) | Ridge Park (n=18) | Total (n=29) |
|---------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| African | 27.3 | 38.9 | 34.5 |
| Indian | 72.7 | 61.1 | 65.5 |

Table 4.81: Race of the perpetrator of the violence that teacher respondents have personally experienced (in %)

| Race | A D Lazarus (n=4) | Ridge Park (n=2) | Total (n=6) |
|---------|-------------------|------------------|-------------|
| African | 50 | 50 | 50 |
| Indian | 50 | 50 | 50 |

All respondents were either violated by Indians (65.5% among the learner respondents and 50% among the teacher respondents) or Africans (34.5% among the learner respondents and 50% among the teacher respondents) (Tables 4.80 and 4.81). It is interesting to note that despite personal experiences (especially in the case of the learner respondents where the majority of the violators are Indians), the vast majority of respondents stated earlier that Africans are most likely to be the perpetrators of violence. This supports assertions in the literature review that perceptions of violence are informed by societal values and mind-sets and not necessarily by personal experiences.

Table 4.82: Place where the violence that learner respondents have personally experienced took place (in %)

| Place | A D Lazarus (n=11) | Ridge Park (n=18) | Total (n=29) |
|--------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| In the home | 9.1 | 16.7 | 13.8 |
| Close to the home | 18.2 | 22.2 | 20.7 |
| Public spaces | 45.4 | 38.9 | 41.4 |
| Relative or friends home | - | 5.5 | 3.4 |
| School | 27.3 | 16.7 | 20.7 |

Table 4.83: Place where the violence that teacher respondents have personally experienced took place (in %)

| Place | A D Lazarus (n=4) | Ridge Park (n=2) | Total (n=6) |
|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------|
| In the home | 25 | 50 | 33.3 |
| Close to the home | 25 | 50 | 33.3 |
| Public spaces | 25 | - | 16.7 |
| School | 25 | - | 16.7 |

Unlike earlier perceptions mentioned by the respondents that violence is most likely to occur in public spaces as well as unfamiliar and unknown places, the responses here reveal that most respondents' experiences of violence took place in areas they were familiar with (Tables 4.82 and 4.83). Thus, the fear of the unfamiliar and the unknown as well as places where one is most likely to be surrounded by strangers (public spaces) persists despite very different personal experiences. A significant proportion of the learner respondents (41.4%) but only 16.7% of the teacher respondents stated that they were violated in public spaces. The main areas where the respondents experienced violence were in the home (14.8% among the learner respondents and 33.3% among the teacher respondents), close to the home (20.7% among the learner respondents and 33.3% among the teacher respondents) and at school (20.7% among the learner respondents and 16.7% among the teacher respondents). One learner respondent at Ridge Park stated that she experienced violence close to her friend's home. The responses here clearly support the findings in the literature review that in reality most violations occur at home, close to the home or in familiar places.

Table 4.84: When did the violence that learner respondents have personally experienced occur (in %)

| | A D Lazarus (n=11) | Ridge Park (n=18) | Total (n=29) |
|-------|---------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| Night | 45.5 | 44.4 | 44.8 |
| Day | 54.5 | 55.6 | 55.2 |

Table 4.85: When did the violence that teacher respondents have personally experienced occur (in %)

| | A D Lazarus (n=4) | Ridge Park (n=2) | Total (n=6) |
|-------|--------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|
| Night | 50 | 50 | 50 |
| Day | 50 | 50 | 50 |

Almost similar proportions of respondents experienced violence at night (44.8% among the learner respondents and 50% among the teacher respondents) or during the day (55.2% among the learner respondents and 50% among the teacher respondents) (Tables 4.84 and 4.85). This was different from earlier perceptions regarding when respondents felt that violence was most likely to occur. The majority of respondents felt strongly that violence was most likely to occur during the night.

Table 4.86: Reason why the learner respondent who personally experienced violence felt it happened (in %)

| Reason | A D Lazarus (n=11) | Ridge Park (n=18) | Total (n=29) |
|-----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| Jealousy | 9.1 | - | 3.4 |
| Anger | 18.2 | 22.3 | 20.7 |
| Lack of jobs | 9.1 | 5.5 | 6.9 |
| Poverty | 9.1 | 11.1 | 10.4 |
| Misunderstanding | - | 16.7 | 10.4 |
| Planned criminal act | 18.2 | 16.7 | 17.2 |
| Lack of communication | 9.1 | 11.1 | 10.4 |
| Taken advantage of | - | 5.5 | 3.4 |
| Don't know | 27.2 | 11.1 | 17.2 |

The learner respondents cited a number of reasons why they felt that the violation that they had experienced occurred (Table 4.86). The main reasons were anger (20.7%), planned criminal act (17.2%), poverty (10.4%), misunderstanding (10.4%), lack of communication (10.4%) and lack of jobs (6.9%). The link between crime, poverty and violence is again discernible. One respondent from A D Lazarus also stated that the reason was jealousy while another respondent from Ridge Park indicated that they were taken advantage of. Some of the respondents (17.2%) did not know why the violence occurred.

Table 4.87: Reason why the teacher respondent who personally experienced violence felt it happened (in %)

| Reason | A D Lazarus (n=4) | Ridge Park (n=2) | Total (n=6) |
|---------------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------|
| Conflicting personalities | 25 | - | 16.7 |
| Anger | - | 50 | 16.7 |
| Misunderstanding | 25 | - | 16.7 |
| Planned criminal act | 50 | 50 | 49.9 |

Half of the teacher respondents stated that the violence were deliberately planned criminal acts (Table 4.87). One respondent at A D Lazarus stated that conflicting personalities was the cause of the violence while another stated that anger was the cause. At Ridge Park, one respondent indicated that anger was the reason why the violence occurred.

Table 4.88: Whose fault was it that the violence personally experienced by the learner respondents occurred (in %)

| Gender | A D Lazarus (n=11) | Ridge Park (n=18) | Total (n=29) |
|------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| Violator | 72.7 | 83.3 | 79.4 |
| Respondent | 18.2 | 5.6 | 10.3 |
| Friends | 9.1 | 11.1 | 10.3 |

Table 4.89: Whose fault was it that the violence personally experienced by the teacher respondents occurred (in %)

| Gender | A D Lazarus (n=4) | Ridge Park (n=2) | Total (n=6) |
|----------|-------------------|------------------|-------------|
| Violator | 75 | 100 | 83.3 |
| Friends | 25 | - | 16.7 |

The majority of the respondents (79.4% among the learner respondents and 83.3% among the teacher respondents) stated that the persons responsible for the violence experienced by the respondents were the violators (Tables 4.88 and 4.89). Some respondents (10.3% among the learner respondents and 16.7% among the teacher respondents) indicated that they felt that a friend was responsible. Only a few learner respondents (10.3%) admitted that they were responsible for the violence that they had experienced.

Table 4.90: If learner respondents who have personally experienced violence defended themselves (in %)

| Gender | A D Lazarus (n=11) | Ridge Park (n=18) | Total (n=29) |
|--------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| Yes | - | 33.3 | 20.7 |
| No | 100 | 66.7 | 79.3 |

Table 4.91: If teacher respondents who have personally experienced violence defended themselves (in %)

| Gender | A D Lazarus (n=4) | Ridge Park (n=2) | Total (n=6) |
|--------|-------------------|------------------|-------------|
| Yes | 50 | 50 | 50 |
| No | 50 | 50 | 50 |

While half of the teacher respondents stated that they had defended themselves when they were violated, only 20.7% of the learner respondents did so. The 20.7% of the learner respondents who defended themselves (all from Ridge Park) indicated that they took self-defense classes. The strategies used to defend themselves included:

- Talking to the perpetrators

- Trying to calm down the person who was angry
- Let them take what they wanted (in the case of property crime)
- Ran away from the perpetrator
- Physical defense by fighting back
- Deception by lying to the perpetrator

Half of the respondents who indicated that they defended themselves also stated that defending themselves was successful. In the case of attempts to defend themselves being unsuccessful the respondents stated that in two cases attempting to defend themselves infuriated the perpetrators even more.

Two of the three teacher respondents who stated that they defended themselves had also taken self-defense classes. They defended themselves by:

- Trying to talk to the person violating them and demanding respect
- Calling the police
- Physically defending themselves by hitting back

4.2.8.2. Whether respondents have personally violated anyone

Table 4.92: Whether learner respondents have personally violated anyone (in %)

| | A D Lazarus (n=30) | Ridge Park (n=30) | Total (n=60) |
|-----|---------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| Yes | 3.3 | 16.7 | 10 |
| No | 96.7 | 83.3 | 90 |

Table 4.93: Whether teacher respondents have personally violated anyone (in %)

| | A D Lazarus (n=10) | Ridge Park (n=10) | Total (n=20) |
|-----|---------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| Yes | 20 | 10 | 15 |
| No | 80 | 90 | 85 |

Very few respondents (10% among the learner respondents and 15% among the teacher respondents) indicated that they had personally violated someone (Tables 4.92 and 4.93). The majority (90% among the learner respondents and 85% among the teacher respondents) stated that they have not personally experienced any form of violence.

Table 4.94: Nature/ type of violation learner respondents have perpetrated (in %)

| | A D Lazarus (n=1) | Ridge Park (n=5) | Total (n=6) |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|
| Physical abuse/ assault | - | 20 | 16.7 |
| Theft | - | 20 | 16.7 |
| Emotional/ psychological | 100 | 60 | 66.6 |

Table 4.95: Nature/ type of violation teacher respondents have perpetrated (in %)

| | A D Lazarus (n=2) | Ridge Park (n=1) | Total (n=3) |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|
| Physical abuse/ assault | 50 | 100 | 66.7 |
| Emotional/ psychological | 50 | - | 33.3 |

One learner respondent stated that she stole from a family member when she was younger. The one respondent who cited physical abuse/ assault stated that she hit her sister once with a rolling pin. The two teachers who used physical force stated that they hit learners at school who tend to behave badly. One respondent stated, “It is for their own good.” The emotional/ psychological abuse inflicted by the respondents (66.7% among the learner respondents and 33.3% among the teacher respondents) were generally in the form of verbal abuse towards family members (usually younger siblings or in the case of the one teacher, her children) and peers at school. The teacher explained her behavior by stating, “My husband’s family was really horrible towards me. I had no one to talk to and just seemed to get angry with my children.” The emotional/ psychological abuse is clearly linked to the power dynamics associated with violence and abuse. All of the respondents who stated that they violated someone indicated that it was someone they knew and someone who they could exert power over. Table 4.96 below shows that these were usually family members (83.3%) and in one case a close friend. The teacher respondents on the other hand indicated that they violated learners at school (66.7%) and in one case a respondent violated a family member. From the respondent perspective, again there is evidence that supports the contention that it is usually people who are known that are violated.

Table 4.96: Who did learner respondents violate (in %)

| | A D Lazarus (n=1) | Ridge Park (n=5) | Total (n=6) |
|---------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|
| Family member | 100 | 80 | 83.3 |
| Close friend | - | 20 | 16.7 |

Table 4.97: Who did teacher respondents violate (in %)

| | A D Lazarus (n=2) | Ridge Park (n=1) | Total (n=3) |
|--------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|
| Family member | - | 100 | 33.3 |
| Learners at school | 100 | - | 66.7 |

The family members that were violated were the respondent's children (in the case of the one teacher respondent), a younger cousin and siblings (especially a younger brother or sister). It is interesting to note that none of the teacher respondents at Ridge Park indicated that they violated the learners they teach. During discussions it was clear that corporal punishment of any kind was not tolerated in school and there was a concerted effort by the school management and the teachers to instill discipline using other means. Also, as one teacher respondent stated, "Female learners are generally well-behaved and one does not have to use physical force to discipline them. This is one of the joys of teaching in an all girl school."

Table 4.98: Gender of the person violated by the learner respondents (in %)

| Gender | A D Lazarus (n=1) | Ridge Park (n=5) | Total (n=6) |
|---------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|
| Male | - | 40 | 33.3 |
| Female | 100 | 60 | 66.7 |

The Table above shows that in the majority of cases (66.7%) females were violated by the learner respondents. Again, this suggests the specific targeting of those who are perceived to be more vulnerable and easier to control. Where males were targeted by the learner respondents in all cases these males were younger than the respondents. All the teacher respondents stated that they violated both males and females, usually learners in the schools where they taught.

Table 4.99: Age of the person violated by the learner respondents (in %)

| Age | A D Lazarus (n=1) | Ridge Park (n=5) | Total (n=6) |
|-------|-------------------|------------------|-------------|
| 10-15 | 100 | 80 | 83.3 |
| 16-25 | - | 20 | 16.7 |

Table 4.100: Age of the person violated by the teacher respondents (in %): Multiple responses

| Age | A D Lazarus (n=2) | Ridge Park (n=1) | Total (n=3) |
|-------|-------------------|------------------|-------------|
| 10-15 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| 16-25 | 100 | - | 66.7 |

The respondents stated that the persons they violated were between 10 and 25 years old. The average age of the perpetrators of the violence experienced by the respondents was 14.2 years for the learners (13 years at A D Lazarus and 14.4 years at Ridge Park) and 15.3 years for the teachers (16.5 years at A D Lazarus and 13 years at Ridge Park).

Table 4.101: Age of learner respondents when they violated another person (in %)

| Age (in years) | A D Lazarus (n=1) | Ridge Park (n=5) | Total (n=6) |
|----------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------|
| 15 | - | 20 | 16.7 |
| 16 | - | 20 | 16.7 |
| 17 | 100 | 20 | 33.3 |
| 18 | - | 40 | 33.3 |

Table 4.102: Age of teacher respondents when they violated another person (in %)

| Age (in years) | A D Lazarus (n=2) | Ridge Park (n=1) | Total (n=3) |
|----------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------|
| 25 | 50 | - | 33.3 |
| 30 | 50 | 100 | 66.7 |

The learner respondents stated that they committed the violation when they were between 15 and 18 years old while the age of the teacher respondents were between 25 and 30 years old. The average age when the respondents committed the violations were 16.7 years for the learner respondents (17 years for A D Lazarus and 16.8 years for Ridge Park) and 28.3 years for the teacher respondents (27.5 years for A D Lazarus and 30 years for Ridge Park). On average, the perpetrators of the violence were older than those who were violated. The average age of those violated by the learner respondents was 14.2 years and the in the case of the teacher respondents the average age was 15.3 years.

Table 4.103: Race of the person violated by the teacher respondents (in %)

| Race | A D Lazarus (n=2) | Ridge Park (n=1) | Total (n=3) |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|
| Indian | - | 100 | 33.3 |
| Both Indians and Africans | 100 | - | 66.7 |

All the learner respondents violated Indians while, as illustrated in the Table above, two-thirds of the teacher respondents stated that they violated both Indians and Africans, all of whom were learners in the schools in which they taught. One teacher respondent from Ridge Park stated that the person she violated was an Indian.

Table 4.104: Place where the violation perpetrated by the learner respondents took place (in %)

| Place | A D Lazarus (n=1) | Ridge Park (n=5) | Total (n=6) |
|--------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|
| In the home | 100 | 80 | 83.3 |
| School | - | 20 | 16.7 |

Table 4.105: Place where the violation perpetrated by the teacher respondents took place (in %)

| Place | A D Lazarus (n=2) | Ridge Park (n=1) | Total (n=3) |
|--------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|
| In the home | - | 100 | 33.3 |
| School | 100 | - | 66.7 |

All the respondents stated that the place where the violation occurred was either in the home (83.3% among the learner respondents and 33.3% among the teacher respondents) or at school (16.7% among the learner respondents and 66.7% among the teacher respondents) (Tables 4.104 and 4.105). Again, familiar places as sites of violations are apparent.

Table 4.106: When did the violation perpetrated by the learner respondents take place (in %)

| | A D Lazarus (n=1) | Ridge Park (n=5) | Total (n=6) |
|-------|--------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|
| Night | 100 | 60 | 66.7 |
| Day | - | 40 | 33.3 |

Table 4.107: When did the violation perpetrated by the teacher respondents take place (in %)

| | A D Lazarus (n=2) | Ridge Park (n=1) | Total (n=3) |
|---------|-------------------|------------------|-------------|
| Anytime | - | 100 | 33.3 |
| Day | 100 | - | 66.7 |

Two-thirds of the learner respondents stated that the violation took place during the night while one-third indicated that it took place during the day (Tables 4.106 and 4.107). In the case of the teacher respondents, the respondent who indicated that she violated her children stated that it took place anytime while the teacher respondents who violated learners indicated that the incidents took place during the day.

Table 4.108: Reason why the learner respondent violated someone (in %)

| Reason | A D Lazarus (n=1) | Ridge Park (n=5) | Total (n=6) |
|---------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------|
| Anger/ lost control | - | 2 | 33.3 |
| Was irritable | 1 | 3 | 66.7 |

Table 4.109: Reason why the teacher respondent violated someone (in %)

| Reason | A D Lazarus (n=2) | Ridge Park (n=1) | Total (n=3) |
|-----------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------|
| Anger/ lost control | - | 100 | 33.3 |
| To instill discipline | 100 | - | 66.7 |

A common reason forwarded for the violation taking place by both the teacher and learner respondents was anger/ losing control (16.7% among the learner respondents and 33.3% among the teacher respondents) (Tables 4.108 and 4.109). Two-thirds of the learner and teacher respondents respectively stated that the main reason that the violation took place was that they were irritable and they wanted to instill discipline. Using corporal punishment was seen as a form of violation by the two teacher respondents but they strongly felt that it was a disciplinary measure as well.

Table 4.110: Whose fault was it that the learner respondents violated the person (in %)

| | A D Lazarus (n=1) | Ridge Park (n=5) | Total (n=6) |
|-------------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------|
| Person who was violated | 100 | 80 | 83.3 |
| Respondent | - | 20 | 16.7 |

Table 4.111: Whose fault was it that the teacher respondents violated the person (in %)

| | A D Lazarus (n=2) | Ridge Park (n=1) | Total (n=3) |
|------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|
| Learner | 100 | - | 66.7 |
| Respondent | - | 100 | 33.3 |

The majority of the respondents (83.3% among the learner respondents and 66.7% among the teacher respondents) felt that those who were violated (in the case of the teacher respondents, the learners) were responsible for the incidents of violation (Tables 4.110 and 4.111). Only one learner and one teacher respondent admitted being responsible for the violence.

Table 4.112: If person learner respondents violated tried to defend themselves (in %)

| Gender | A D Lazarus (n=1) | Ridge Park (n=5) | Total (n=6) |
|---------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|
| Yes | - | 40 | 33.3 |
| No | 100 | 60 | 66.7 |

The teacher respondents stated that none of the persons that they violated tried to defend themselves. Only two learner respondents (Table 4.112) stated that the persons that they violated tried to defend themselves. One stated that the person started screaming. This attracted attention from parents who immediately stopped them from verbally attacking each other. The other stated that the person physically fought back.

4.2.8.3. Whether respondents know of anyone who has experienced any form of violence

Table 4.113: Whether learner respondents know of anyone who experienced any form of violence (in %)

| | A D Lazarus (n=30) | Ridge Park (n=30) | Total (n=60) |
|-----|---------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| Yes | 90 | 86.7 | 88.3 |
| No | 10 | 13.3 | 11.7 |

Table 4.114: Whether teacher respondents know of anyone who experienced any form of violence (in %)

| | A D Lazarus (n=10) | Ridge Park (n=10) | Total (n=20) |
|-----|---------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| Yes | 90 | 70 | 80 |
| No | 10 | 30 | 20 |

The vast majority of the respondents (88.3% of the learner respondents and 80% the teacher respondents) knew of someone who had experienced some form of violence (Tables 4.113 and 4.114 above). On average, the learner and teacher respondents knew of one person who had experienced some form of violence.

Table 4.115: Nature/ type of violation experienced by person/s learner respondents knew who were violated (in %): multiple responses

| | A D Lazarus (n=27) | Ridge Park (n=26) | Total (n=53) |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| Physical abuse/ assault | 40.7 | 50 | 45.3 |
| Theft | 25.9 | - | 13.2 |
| Emotional/ psychological | 40.7 | 57.7 | 49.1 |
| Sexual | 11.1 | 23.1 | 16.9 |

Table 4.116: Nature/ type of violation experienced by person/s learner respondents knew who were violated (in %): multiple responses

| | A D Lazarus (n=9) | Ridge Park (n=7) | Total (n=16) |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|
| Physical abuse/ assault | 22.2 | 14.3 | 18.7 |
| Theft | 55.5 | 57.1 | 56.2 |
| Emotional/ psychological | 44.4 | 42.8 | 43.7 |
| Sexual | 22.2 | 28.6 | 25 |

As illustrates in Tables 4.115 and 4.116 above the nature of the violations were:

- physical abuse/ assault (45.3% among learner respondents and 18.7% among teacher respondents)
- emotional/ psychological abuse (49.1% among learner respondents and 43.7% among teacher respondents)
- theft (13.2% among learner respondents and 56.2% among teacher respondents)
- sexual abuse (16.9% among learner respondents and 25% among teacher respondents)

The types of physical abuse/ assault cited by the respondents included being hit by a sjambok, wife battery and being beaten by a stranger when traveling from work. The sexual abuse were incidents of rape and sexual harassment. Emotional abuse took the form of verbal abuse and attempts to demean the person. The incidents of theft were generally robberies and hijackings.

Table 4.117: Who was the perpetrator of the violence against the person known by the learner respondents (in %): multiple responses

| | A D Lazarus (n=27) | Ridge Park (n=26) | Total (n=53) |
|------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| Stranger | 7.5 | 23.1 | 13.3 |
| Family member | 59.3 | 57.7 | 58.5 |
| Acquaintance | 29.6 | 19.2 | 24.5 |
| Authority figure | 11.1 | - | 5 |
| Friend | 11.1 | 7.7 | 8.3 |
| Don't know | - | 23.1 | 11.3 |

The majority of the learner respondents indicated that the perpetrator of the violence committed was a family member (Table 4.117). Other persons/ groups identified were acquaintances (24.5%), a friend (8.3%) and an authority figure (5%). Only 13.3% of the learner respondents stated that the perpetrators were strangers. Some of the learner respondents (11.3%) stated that they did not know.

Table 4.118: Who was the perpetrator of the violence against the person known by the teacher respondents (in %): multiple responses

| | A D Lazarus (n=9) | Ridge Park (n=7) | Total (n=16) |
|------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|
| Stranger | 55.5 | 57.1 | 56.2 |
| Family member | 33.3 | 42.8 | 37.5 |
| Acquaintance | 11.1 | 14.3 | 12.5 |
| Authority figure | 22.2 | 14.3 | 18.7 |
| Don't know | 22.2 | 28.6 | 25 |

Unlike the learner respondents, the majority of the teacher respondents (56.2%) indicated that strangers were the perpetrators of the violence (Table 4.118). Other persons/ groups identified were family members (37.5%), authority figures (18.7%) and acquaintances (12.5%). Twenty five percent of the teacher respondents could not identify the perpetrators of the violence.

The family members who were the perpetrators were parents (both mothers and fathers), an uncle and husbands. Three of the learner respondents and four of the teacher respondents stated that the persons who were violated were their maids. All three further indicated that the incidents occurred when the maids were returning home and the perpetrators were drunken men waiting on the streets. The authority figures identified by the learner respondents were the police in two instances and a teacher. One teacher respondent stated that the person's (who was violated) boss perpetrated sexual harassment.

Table 4.119: Gender of the person who the learner respondents know was violated (in %): multiple responses

| Gender | A D Lazarus (n=27) | Ridge Park (n=26) | Total (n=53) |
|---------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| Male | 51.8 | 46.2 | 49.1 |
| Female | 66.7 | 84.6 | 75.5 |

Table 4.120: Gender of the person who the teacher respondents know was violated (in %): multiple responses

| Gender | A D Lazarus (n=9) | Ridge Park (n=7) | Total (n=16) |
|---------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|
| Male | 55.5 | 57.1 | 56.2 |
| Female | 88.8 | 100 | 93.7 |

The majority of the respondents (75.5% among learner respondents and 93.7% among teacher respondents) indicated that the persons who they knew of who were violated were females (Tables 4.119 and 4.120). A significant proportion of respondents (49.1% among learner respondents and 56.2% among teacher respondents) also knew of males who were violated. In the instances of emotional/ psychological as well as sexual abuse all the persons that the respondents knew were females. The responses tend to support the contention that females are targets of violence, especially certain types of violence.

Table 4.121: Age of the person who the learner respondents know was violated (in %): multiple responses

| Age | A D Lazarus (n=27) | Ridge Park (n=26) | Total (n=53) |
|-------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| 10-15 | 11.1 | 19.2 | 15.1 |
| 16-25 | 81.5 | 73.1 | 77.4 |
| 26-35 | 22.2 | 15.4 | 18.9 |
| 36-45 | 3.7 | 23.1 | 13.2 |

Table 4.122: Age of the person who the teacher respondents know was violated (in %): multiple responses

| Age | A D Lazarus (n=9) | Ridge Park (n=7) | Total (n=16) |
|-------|-------------------|------------------|--------------|
| 10-15 | 33.3 | 28.6 | 31.2 |
| 16-25 | 66.6 | 28.6 | 50 |
| 26-35 | 22.2 | 28.6 | 25 |
| 36-45 | 22.2 | 71.4 | 43.7 |

The respondents stated that the persons who they knew who were violated were between 10 and 45 years old (Tables 4.121 and 4.122). Most of the persons who were violated known by the learner respondents were between 16-25 years old (77.4%). The main age groups identified by the teacher respondents were 16-25 years (50%), 36-45 years (43.7%) and 10-15 years (31.2%). The average age of the persons who the respondents knew were violated were 24.3 years for the learner respondents (21.8 years for A D Lazarus and 26.8 years for Ridge Park) and 26.1 years for the teacher respondents (23 years for A D Lazarus and 29.6 years for Ridge Park).

Table 4.123: Race of the person who the learner respondents know was violated (in %): multiple responses

| Race | A D Lazarus (n=27) | Ridge Park (n=26) | Total (n=53) |
|---------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| Indian | 48.1 | 57.7 | 56.6 |
| African | 70.4 | 57.7 | 67.9 |

Table 4.124: Race of the person who the teacher respondents know was violated (in %): multiple responses

| Race | A D Lazarus (n=9) | Ridge Park (n=7) | Total (n=16) |
|---------|-------------------|------------------|--------------|
| Indian | 100 | 85.7 | 93.7 |
| African | 44.4 | 42.8 | 43.7 |
| White | - | 28.6 | 12.5 |

All the learner respondents stated that the persons who they knew who were violated were either Indians (56.6%) or Africans (67.9%) (Table 1.123). The majority of the teacher respondents knew of Indians (93.7%) and Africans (43.7%) who were violated (Table 4.124). Some of the teacher respondents at Ridge Park (28.6%) knew of White persons who were violated. Again, discrepancies between initial perceptions of who are most likely to be violated and who respondents know of that are violated are apparent. The significant proportion of respondents who identified Africans here do not correspond with earlier perceptions pertaining to those who are most likely to be violated.

Table 4.125: Place where the violation experienced by the person known by the learner respondents took place (in %): multiple responses

| Place | A D Lazarus (n=27) | Ridge Park (n=26) | Total (n=53) |
|-------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| In the home | 59.3 | 53.8 | 56.6 |
| Close to the home | 3.7 | 11.5 | 7.5 |
| Public spaces | 40.7 | 50 | 45.3 |
| Relative/ friends' home | 3.7 | 11.5 | 7.5 |
| Unknown environment | 11.1 | 3.8 | 7.5 |

Table 4.126: Place where the violation experienced by the person known by the teacher respondents took place (in %): multiple responses

| Place | A D Lazarus (n=9) | Ridge Park (n=7) | Total (n=16) |
|---------------------|-------------------|------------------|--------------|
| In the home | 44.4 | 42.8 | 43.7 |
| Close to the home | 22.2 | 14.3 | 18.7 |
| Public spaces | 66.6 | 71.4 | 68.7 |
| School | 11.1 | - | 6.2 |
| Unknown environment | - | 28.6 | 12.5 |

The main places where violations experienced by persons known by the respondents took place were in the home (56.6% among the learner respondents and 43.7% among the teacher respondents) and public spaces (45.3% among the learner respondents and 68.7% among the teacher respondents) (Tables 4.125 and 4.126). Some of the learner respondents (7.5% respectively) also identified places close to the home, relative/ friend's home and unknown environments. The teacher respondents also identified places close to the home (18.7%), unknown environments (12.5%) and the school (6.5%-one respondent from A D Lazarus).

Table 4.127: When did the violation experienced by the person known by the learner respondents take place (in %): multiple responses

| | A D Lazarus (n=27) | Ridge Park (n=26) | Total (n=53) |
|-------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| Night | 70.4 | 76.9 | 73.6 |
| Day | 48.1 | 53.8 | 50.9 |

Table 4.128: When did the violation experienced by the person known by the teacher respondents take place (in %): multiple responses

| | A D Lazarus (n=9) | Ridge Park (n=7) | Total (n=16) |
|-------|-------------------|------------------|--------------|
| Night | 8 | 7 | 93.7 |
| Day | 5 | 4 | 56.2 |

Similar to earlier responses, the majority of respondents (73.6% among learner respondents and 93.7% among teacher respondents) stated that the incidents of violence experienced by persons they knew took place during the night (Tables 4.127 and 4.128). This response correlates with the perceptions the respondents expressed earlier that most violent acts are most likely to occur during the night. However, slightly more than half of the respondents (50.9% among the learner respondents and 56.2% among the teacher respondents) also cited that the incidents that they were aware of took place during the day.

Table 4.129: Reason why the learner respondents felt that the person known by the learner respondent was violated (in %): multiple responses

| Reason | A D Lazarus (n=27) | Ridge Park (n=26) | Total (n=53) |
|--|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| Anger | 22.2 | 30.8 | 26.4 |
| To instill discipline | - | 3.8 | 1.9 |
| Being intoxicated (under the influence of alcohol or drugs)/ Did not know what they were doing | 22.2 | 26.9 | 24.5 |
| Stupidity/ immaturity | - | 7.7 | 3.8 |
| Person was uncultured | 3.7 | - | 1.9 |
| Deliberate acts of crime | 18.5 | 11.5 | 15.1 |
| Satisfy sexual needs | - | 3.8 | 1.9 |
| Not sure | 51.9 | 50 | 50.9 |

The learner respondents cited a number of reasons why they felt that the violent acts committed against persons they knew occurred (Table 4.129). However, it is important to point out that 50.9% of the learner respondents stated that they did not know why the

violent incidences occurred. The main reasons cited were anger (26.4%), being intoxicated (24.5%) and the incidents being deliberate acts of crime (15.1%). Other reasons forwarded were stupidity/ immaturity (3.8%), to instill discipline (1.9%), person was uncultured (1.9%) and to satisfy sexual needs (1.9%). In the case of being intoxicated, this was associated with either taking alcohol or drugs as well as a person not knowing what they were doing.

Table 4.130: Reason why the teacher respondents felt that the person known by the teacher respondent was violated (in %): multiple responses

| Reason | A D Lazarus (n=9) | Ridge Park (n=7) | Total (n=16) |
|--|-------------------|------------------|--------------|
| Anger | 11.1 | - | 6.2 |
| Personality clashes | - | 14.3 | 6.2 |
| Being intoxicated (under the influence of alcohol or drugs)/ Did not know what they were doing | 44.4 | 57.1 | 50 |
| Deliberate acts of crime | 66.6 | 42.8 | 56.2 |
| Economic reasons/ greed | 11.1 | 28.6 | 18.7 |
| Not sure | 11.1 | 14.3 | 12.5 |

The majority of the teacher respondents stated that the violations took place because they were deliberate acts of crime (56.2%) or the perpetrators were intoxicated (50%) (Table 4.130). Other reasons forwarded included economic reasons/ greed (18.7%), anger (6.2%) and personality clashes (6.2%). Some of the respondents (12.5%) stated that they did not know why the incidents took place.

Table 4.131: If person learner respondents knew were violated tried to defend themselves (in %): multiple responses

| | A D Lazarus (n=27) | Ridge Park (n=26) | Total (n=53) |
|-----|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| Yes | 51.9 | 46.2 | 49.1 |
| No | 66.7 | 84.6 | 75.5 |

Table 4.132: If person teacher respondents knew were violated tried to defend themselves (in %): multiple responses

| | A D Lazarus (n=9) | Ridge Park (n=7) | Total (n=16) |
|-----|-------------------|------------------|--------------|
| Yes | 5 | 6 | 68.7 |
| No | 8 | 5 | 81.2 |

Most of the respondents (75.5% among the learner respondents and 81.2% among the teacher respondents) stated that the persons who they knew were violated did not defend themselves (Tables 4.131 and 4.132). However, a significant proportion (49.1% of the learner respondents and 68.7% of the teacher respondents) indicated that at least one of the persons who they knew were violated defended themselves. The strategies that these persons used to defend themselves included:

- Trying to calm down the person who was angry
- Let them take what they wanted (in the case of property crime)
- Screaming/ called for help
- Tried running away
- Seeking help from others/ phoned someone else
- Physical defense by fighting back
- Tried to talk himself out of the situation

Half the respondents who stated that the person who they knew were violated defended themselves also indicated that the tactics used to defend themselves were successful.

4.2.9. Coping strategies used by respondents to address violence and/ or the threat of violence

Table 4.133: Do learner interviewees consciously take action to minimize the risk of violence (in %)

| | A D Lazarus (n=30) | Ridge Park (n=30) | Total (n=60) |
|-----|---------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| Yes | 80 | 100 | 90 |
| No | 20 | - | 10 |

Ninety percent of the learner respondents (Table 4.133) and all the teacher respondents stated that they consciously took actions to minimize the risk of violence. The 10% of the learner respondents that did not take any action were from A D Lazarus. This may be attributed to the higher levels of awareness pertaining to violence at Ridge Park associated with issues being incorporated in the curriculum and the offering of self-defense classes at the school.

Table 4.134: Actions taken/ strategies adopted by learner interviewees to minimize the risk of violence (in %): multiple responses

| Action/ strategy | A D Lazarus (n=30) | Ridge Park (n=30) | Total (n=60) |
|--|-----------------------|----------------------|-----------------|
| Not applicable | 20 | - | 10 |
| Take responsibility to gain information | 40 | 46.7 | 43.3 |
| Attend self-defense/ awareness classes | 16.7 | 43.3 | 30 |
| Walk in groups | 60 | 76.7 | 68.3 |
| Choose responsible friends | 56.7 | 63.3 | 60 |
| Get to know places frequented | 46.7 | 50 | 48.3 |
| Always tell someone where you are | 70 | 80 | 75 |
| Carry a weapon | 3.3 | 3.3 | 3.3 |
| Carry a cell-phone | 56.7 | 60 | 58.3 |
| Refrain from taking alcohol | 53.3 | 60 | 56.7 |
| Refrain from taking drugs | 56.7 | 46.7 | 51.7 |
| Secure vehicles used to travel | 3.3 | - | 1.7 |
| Engage in responsible sexual relationships | 10 | 6.7 | 8.3 |
| Security system at home | 50 | 70 | 60 |

Table 4.135: Actions taken/ strategies adopted by teacher interviewees to minimize the risk of violence (in %): multiple responses

| Action/ strategy | A D Lazarus (n=10) | Ridge Park (n=10) | Total (n=20) |
|--|-----------------------|----------------------|-----------------|
| Attend self-defense/ awareness classes | - | 30 | 15 |
| Take responsibility to gain information | - | 20 | 10 |
| Get to know places frequented | 60 | 50 | 55 |
| Always tell someone where you are | 20 | 40 | 30 |
| Carry a weapon | 10 | 30 | 20 |
| Carry a cell-phone | 60 | 60 | 60 |
| Refrain from taking alcohol | 30 | 20 | 25 |
| Refrain from taking drugs | 50 | 60 | 55 |
| Secure vehicles used to travel | 20 | 30 | 25 |
| Engage in responsible sexual relationships | 40 | 30 | 35 |
| Security system at home | 70 | 80 | 75 |

The most important actions taken/ strategies adopted (indicated in Tables 4.134 and 4.135) include:

- Always telling someone where they are (75% of the learner respondents and 30% of the teacher respondents)
- Having a security system at home (60% of the learner respondents and 75% of the teacher respondents)

- Carrying a cell-phone (58.3% of the learner respondents and 60% of the teacher respondents)
- Refraining from taking alcohol (56.7% of the learner respondents and 25% of the teacher respondents)
- Refraining from taking drugs (51.7% of the learner respondents and 55% of the teacher respondents)
- Getting to know places frequented (48.3% of the learner respondents and 55% of the teacher respondents)
- Taking responsibility to gain information (43.3% of the learner respondents)
- Attending self-defense/ awareness classes (30% of the learner respondents and 15% of the teacher respondents)
- Choosing responsible friends (60% of the learner respondents)
- Walking in groups (68.3% of the learner respondents)
- Engaging in responsible sexual relationships (35% of the teacher respondents)
- Securing vehicles used to travel (25% of the teacher respondents)
- Carrying a weapon (20% of the teacher respondents)

Both the learners and the teachers use similar strategies with the learners relying more on other people, especially friends, to ensure safety (walking in groups and choosing responsible friends). Some teachers take additional precautions in terms of sexual relationships and security (securing vehicles and carrying weapons). It is also important to note that only some learner respondents at A D Lazarus (20%) indicated that they did not consciously take any actions to minimize violence. Additionally, both teacher and learner respondents from Ridge Park on average used more strategies to minimize violence. The impact of the awareness programs is clearly evident.

Table 4.136: Do learner interviewees expects others to help if they were in trouble (in %)

| | A D Lazarus (n=30) | Ridge Park (n=30) | Total (n=60) |
|-----|---------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| Yes | 93.3 | 96.7 | 95 |
| No | 6.7 | 3.3 | 5 |

Table 4.137: Do teacher interviewees expects others to help if they were in trouble (in %)

| | A D Lazarus (n=10) | Ridge Park (n=10) | Total (n=20) |
|-----|---------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| Yes | 90 | 90 | 90 |
| No | 10 | 10 | 10 |

The majority of the respondents (95% of the learner respondents and 90% of the teacher respondents) indicated they expected others to help them if they were in trouble (Tables 4.136 and 4.137). The other respondents (5% of the learner respondents and 10% of the teacher respondents) felt that they could only rely on themselves. One respondent stated, “these days no one will help you. Everybody is selfish and scared of getting involved.”

Table 4.138: Who do learner interviewees expect to help them if they were in trouble (in %): multiple responses

| | A D Lazarus (n=30) | Ridge Park (n=30) | Total (n=60) |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| Family members | 36.7 | 30 | 33.3 |
| Elders | 3.3 | - | 1.7 |
| Police | 16.7 | 10 | 13.3 |
| Friends | 30 | 40 | 35 |
| Peers | 6.7 | 3.3 | 5 |
| Trustworthy persons | 20 | 16.7 | 18.3 |
| Accompanying persons at the time | 3.3 | 13.3 | 8.3 |
| Any person around at the time | 20 | 30 | 25 |
| None/ not applicable | 6.7 | 3.3 | 5 |

Table 4.139: Who do teacher interviewees expect to help them if they were in trouble (in %): multiple responses

| | A D Lazarus (n=10) | Ridge Park (n=10) | Total (n=20) |
|---|---------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| Family members | 60 | 50 | 55 |
| Police | 10 | 20 | 15 |
| Friends | 30 | 40 | 35 |
| Trustworthy persons | - | 20 | 10 |
| Any person around at the time/ bystanders | 30 | 20 | 25 |
| Anyone | 30 | 40 | 35 |
| None/ not applicable | 10 | 10 | 10 |

The persons that they mostly expect to help then are friends (35% among the learner and teacher respondents respectively) and family members (33.3% among the learner

respondents and 55% among the teacher respondents) (Tables 4.138 and 4.139). Other persons identified were trustworthy persons (18.3% among the learner respondents and 10% among the teacher respondents), accompanying persons at the time (8.3% among the learner respondents), peers (5% among the learner respondents) and elders (1.7% among the learner respondents). Some of the respondents identified the police (13.3% among the learner respondents and 15% among the teacher respondents) and any person around at the time (25% among the learner and teacher respondents respectively). A significant proportion of the teacher respondents (35%) expected anyone to help them. These results clearly show that most respondents rely on persons they know and trust. Relatively few respondents expect strangers or even the police to assist them.

Table 4.140: Do learner interviewees know where the nearest police station is close to their homes, school and social places they frequent (in %)

| | A D Lazarus (n=30) | | Ridge Park (n=30) | | Total (n=60) | |
|--------------------------|--------------------|------|-------------------|------|--------------|------|
| | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No |
| Home | 90 | 10 | 93.3 | 6.7 | 91.7 | 8.3 |
| School | 70 | 30 | 80 | 20 | 75 | 25 |
| Social places frequented | 23.3 | 76.3 | 33.3 | 66.7 | 28.3 | 71.7 |

Table 4.141: Do teacher interviewees know where the nearest police station is close to their homes, school and social places they frequent (in %)

| | A D Lazarus (n=10) | | Ridge Park (n=10) | | Total (n=20) | |
|--------------------------|--------------------|----|-------------------|----|--------------|----|
| | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No |
| Home | 90 | 10 | 80 | 20 | 85 | 15 |
| School | 90 | 10 | 100 | - | 95 | 5 |
| Social places frequented | 60 | 40 | 50 | 50 | 55 | 45 |

Tables 4.140 and 4.141 show that the majority of the respondents knew where the nearest police station was close to their homes (85% among the learner respondents and 91.7% among the teacher respondents) and their schools (75% among the learner respondents and 95% among the teacher respondents). The majority of learner respondents (71.7%) and slightly less than half of the teacher respondents (45%) did not know where the police station was close to places they frequent. This implies that most of the respondents should find it relatively easy to seek help from the police if they were close to their home or their school but not near social places they frequent.

Table 4.142: Can learner respondents contact the following in an emergency (in %)

| | A D Lazarus (n=30) | | Ridge Park (n=30) | | Total (n=60) | |
|------------------|--------------------|------|-------------------|------|--------------|------|
| | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No |
| Police station | 90 | 10 | 93.3 | 6.7 | 91.7 | 8.3 |
| Abuse center | 16.7 | 83.3 | 50 | 50 | 33.3 | 66.7 |
| Doctor/ hospital | 70 | 30 | 66.7 | 33.3 | 68.3 | 31.7 |

Table 4.143: Can teacher respondents contact the following in an emergency (in %)

| | A D Lazarus (n=10) | | Ridge Park (n=10) | | Total (n=20) | |
|------------------|--------------------|----|-------------------|----|--------------|----|
| | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No |
| Police station | 100 | - | 100 | - | 100 | - |
| Abuse center | 40 | 60 | 70 | 30 | 55 | 45 |
| Doctor/ hospital | 100 | - | 100 | - | 100 | - |

While most of the respondents could contact the police station (91.7% among the learner respondents and all the teacher respondents) and a doctor/ hospital (68.3% among the learner respondents and all the teacher respondents) in an emergency, a significantly smaller proportion of respondents (33.3% among the learner respondents and 55% among the teacher respondents) stated that they could contact an abuse center (Tables 4.142 and 4.143). In fact some of the learner respondents stated during group discussions that they did not know what an abuse center was. Given the high rates of police insensitivity in South Africa identified by Fyfe (1995), abuse centers play a major role in assisting victims, especially females who are sexually abused, reporting crimes and supporting victim rehabilitation.

Table 4.144: Learner respondents' perceptions regarding what they think are the common reasons for someone remaining in a violent relationship (in %): multiple responses

| | A D Lazarus (n=30) | Ridge Park (n=30) | Total (n=60) |
|------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| Economic dependence | 50 | 60 | 55 |
| Fear of punishment | 60 | 73.3 | 66.7 |
| Does not know how to get out | 60 | 70 | 65 |
| Scared of social ridicule | 56.7 | 60 | 58.3 |

Table 4.145: Teacher respondents' perceptions regarding what they think are the common reasons for someone remaining in a violent relationship (in %): multiple responses

| | A D Lazarus (n=10) | Ridge Park (n=10) | Total (n=20) |
|------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| Economic dependence | 50 | 40 | 45 |
| Fear of punishment | 30 | 30 | 30 |
| Does not know how to get out | 50 | 50 | 50 |
| Scared of social ridicule | - | 30 | 15 |

Tables 4.144 and 4.145 illustrate that the respondents cited fear of punishment (66.7% among the learner respondents and 30% among the teacher respondents), does not know how to get out (65% among the learner respondents and 50% among the teacher respondents), economic dependence (55% among the learner respondents and 45% among the teacher respondents) and being scared of social ridicule (58.3% among the learner respondents and 15% among the teacher respondents) as the main reasons why people remain in violent relationships. Fear appears to be an important aspect that is regarded as being particularly important by learner respondents. Economic dependence can also be associated with the fear of having to take care of oneself (and often one's children) without the financial assistance of usually a male spouse. This can also be linked to the response of people remaining in violent relationships because they do not know how to get out. Fear of punishment is often linked to the perpetrator using physical force to control the person who is being violated. Fear of social ridicule is linked to societal dynamics that make victims feel as if they were at fault or that they asked to be violated. During the group discussion it was pleasing to note that many of the respondents were aware that many of these concerns are inter-linked and often reinforce each other to create a powerful force to trap people who are violated.

Table 4.146: Learner respondents' views about what should be done to address gender-based violence in society (in %): multiple responses

| | A D Lazarus (n=30) | Ridge Park (n=30) | Total (n=60) |
|---|-------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Educate females | 10 | 6.7 | 8.3 |
| Have awareness programmes to educate people | 20 | 13.3 | 16.7 |
| Organize more security in areas | 23.3 | 33.3 | 28.3 |
| More visible and effective policing/ police force needs to be improved | 43.3 | 36.7 | 40 |
| Punish perpetrators of violence severely | 63.3 | 70 | 66.7 |
| Neighborhood organizations should get involved | 3.3 | - | 1.7 |
| Educate people about the effects of violence | 6.7 | 3.3 | 5 |
| Educate males to respect females | - | 6.7 | 3.3 |
| Educate people to take precautions | 10 | 36.7 | 23.3 |
| Train females to defend themselves/ start self-defense classes | 6.7 | 50 | 28.3 |
| Provide and share relevant information about violence in society | 13.3 | 16.7 | 15 |
| Take personal responsibility to curb crime | 3.3 | - | 1.7 |
| Bring back the death penalty | 10 | 23.3 | 16.7 |
| Have more seminars and workshops | 20 | 30 | 25 |
| Get people to know that anyone can be victims at anytime and anywhere | - | 3.3 | 1.7 |
| Educate people about their constitutional rights/ laws and legislation that protects them | 6.7 | 16.7 | 11.7 |
| Watch over each other neighbors | - | 3.3 | 1.7 |
| Decrease the rate of unemployment and poverty | 6.7 | 6.7 | 6.7 |
| Show people how to deal with problems and conflict without resorting to violence | - | 6.7 | 3.3 |
| Government should take a strong stand against crime and violence in society | 3.3 | 6.7 | 5 |
| Make people aware of places and people who they can contact if they are violated | - | 3.3 | 1.7 |
| People should not be scared to report violations | 3.3 | 3.3 | 3.3 |

Table 4.147: Teacher respondents' views about what should be done to address gender-based violence in society (in %): multiple responses

| | A D Lazarus (n=10) | Ridge Park (n=10) | Total (n=20) |
|---|-------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Educate females | 10 | - | 5 |
| Have awareness programs to educate people | 50 | 40 | 45 |
| More visible and effective policing/ police force needs to be improved | 30 | 50 | 40 |
| Punish perpetrators of violence severely | 60 | 50 | 55 |
| Use the media more effectively to educate | 20 | - | 10 |
| Educate people to take precautions | - | 10 | 5 |
| Train females to defend themselves/ start self-defense classes | - | 30 | 15 |
| Educate people about their constitutional rights/ laws and legislation that protects them | 10 | - | 5 |
| Decrease the rate of unemployment and poverty | 20 | 30 | 25 |
| Show people how to deal with problems and conflict without resorting to violence | - | 20 | 10 |
| Government should take a strong stand against crime and violence in society | 10 | - | 5 |
| Make people aware of places and people who they can contact if they are violated | - | 20 | 10 |
| People should not be scared to report violations | - | 20 | 10 |
| Have more shelters for the victims of violence | 10 | - | 5 |

A range of strategies to address gender-based violence in society were identified by the respondents (Tables 4.146 and 4.147). For the learner respondents the key areas were punishing perpetrators of violence severely (66.7%), more effective and visible policing (40%), train females to defend themselves/ start self-defense classes (28.3%) and organize more security in areas (28.3%). Some of the main areas identified by the teacher respondents were punishing perpetrators of violence severely (55%), having awareness programs to educate people (45%), more visible and effective policing (40%) and decreasing the rate of employment and poverty (25%).

Education/ dissemination of information was broadly indicated as a key area of intervention. Respondents felt that education should be geared towards making people aware of different forms of violence as well as risky places and times. Education should also focus on disseminating information regarding contact details of those who are likely

to assist them such as the police, social workers and abuse centers. Vulnerable groups should be targeted in this regard.

Training/ imparting specific skills, especially in relation to self-defense classes was also identified by the respondents as being important. Another important aspect identified was changing behavior on personal and societal levels. Respondents felt that part of changing behavior patterns should include creating a conducive environment that encourages people to report crimes. It is important also to change mind-sets regarding the victims since many people tend to blame the victim and ridicule people, especially women, who walk out of violent relationships. The importance of effective and visible security was also stressed by many of the respondents.

In terms of legal aspects, respondents felt that laws must developed that protect the innocent and punish the perpetrators. These must be implemented. Part of the implementation should be informing people, especially women and children, about their rights as well as ensuring that there are resources available to assist vulnerable groups from taking legal action against perpetrators of violence. The criminal justice system also needs to be faster and more efficient.

It is interesting to note that some of the respondents' recommendations to deal with violence in society includes both treating the symptoms as well as the causes of the problems. Thus, the problem of violence is comprehensively dealt with.

4.3. QUALITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS: MAPPING AND RANKING EXERCISES

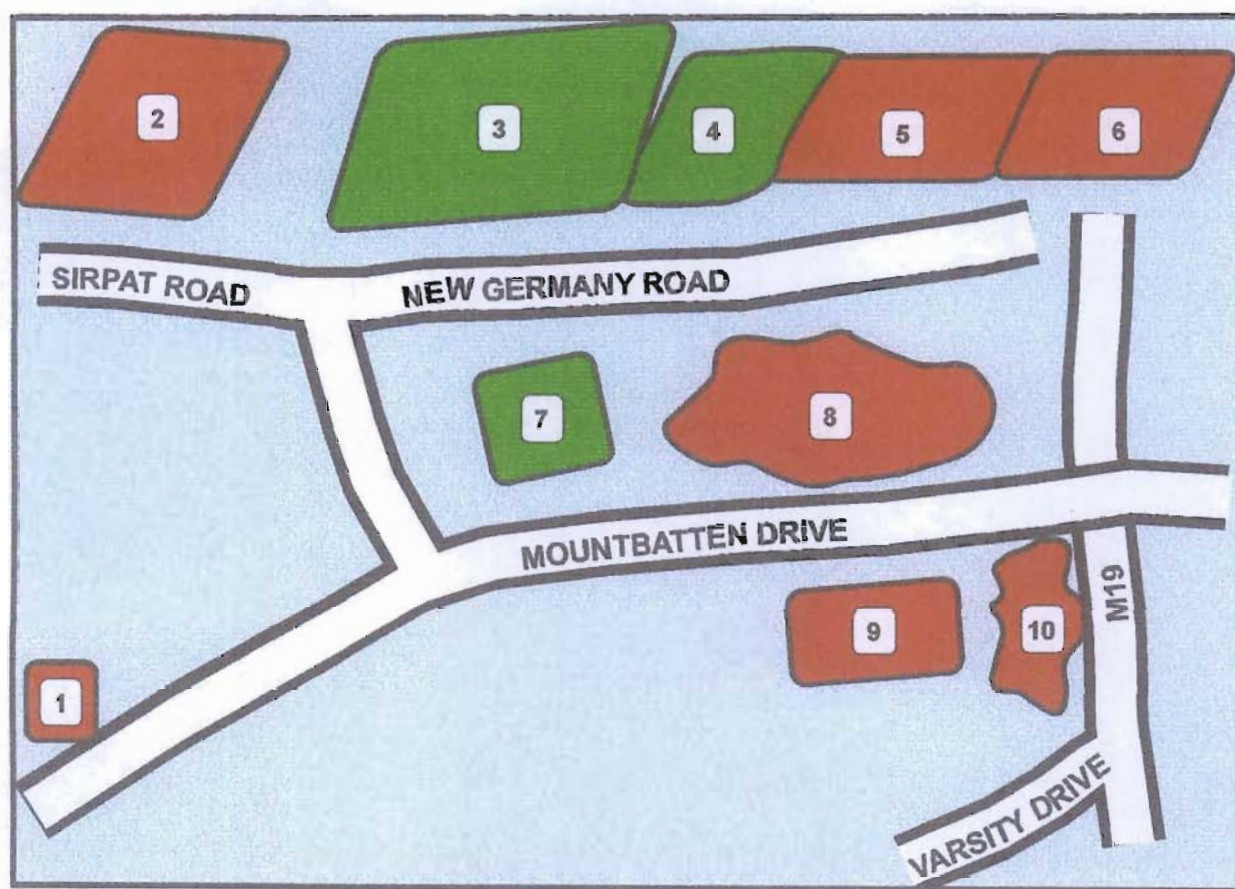
This section of the chapter summarizes key findings in relation to the qualitative exercises conducted. The mapping exercise results are presented followed by the ranking exercise findings.

4.3.1. Mapping exercises

The mapping exercises (Maps 4.1 and 4.2) compiled by the focus groups of learner respondents at each of the schools represent spatial perceptions regarding unsafe and safe areas. From the maps, the landscape can be seen as one influencing levels of fear and safety. It is also important to note the locality specific analysis which shows that in a relatively small area (the school and surrounding locations) both safe and unsafe areas are discernible. This perception, as indicated in earlier discussions, is strongly influenced by who frequents and what type of activities characterize a particular location.

At A D Lazarus (Map 4.1), the unsafe areas were the Aquarius bar, the grounds, the golf course, the Hindu cemetery, the informal settlement, Shell garage and the nearby bush area. Safe areas were the school, the special school for the mentally challenged and the Hindu Hall. At Ridge Park (Map 4.2), the areas generally described as being safe were the taxi rank, bus stop, Overport Shopping center, Shell garage, adult world and the parking area. The areas considered to be safe were Parkland Hospital, KFC, flats, the tennis courts, the school, the pool and the field. Again, the findings show that areas considered to be safe were areas where there was controlled access and it was fenced. Open areas or public spaces were generally deemed as being unsafe by the respondents. It is also important to highlight that comparatively, A D Lazarus respondents considered their environment to be relatively more unsafe than Ridge Park.

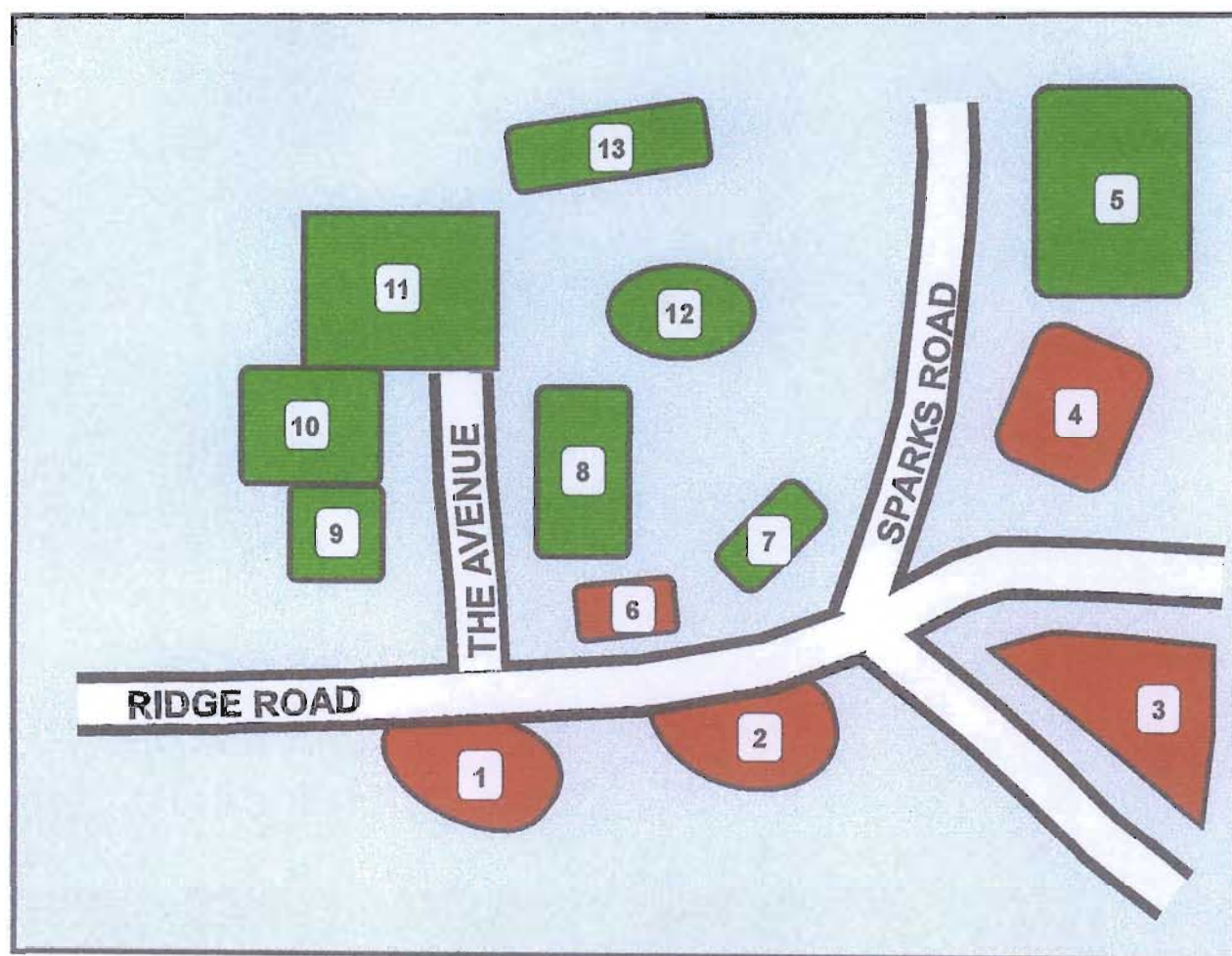
Map 4.1: Mental Map of AD Lazarus and Surrounding Areas



KEY

- | | | |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------|--|
| 1 Aquarius Bar | 6 Hindu Cemetery | Unsafe |
| 2 Grounds | 7 Hindu Hall | Safe |
| 3 Dr AD Lazarus School | 8 Informai Settlement | |
| 4 Special School | 9 Shell Garage | |
| 5 Golf Course | 10 Bush | |

Map 4.2: Mental Map of Ridge Park College and Surrounding Areas



KEY

| | | |
|----------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 Taxi Rank | 6 Adult World | 11 Ridge Park College |
| 2 Bus Stop | 7 KFC | 12 Pool |
| 3 Overport City | 8 Flats | 13 Field |
| 4 Shell Garage | 9 Tennis Court 1 | Unsafe |
| 5 Parklands Hospital | 10 Tennis Court 2 | Safe |

During the discussions it was clear that respondents tended to avoid areas they considered to be unsafe. The avoidance zones were constructed around particular types of activities and around particular groups of people. The respondents highlighted public spaces as being dangerous and areas frequented by Africans were usually described as being unsafe. Additionally, it is clear that the presence of males (especially in groups at the shopping centers, in recreational areas such as the grounds and on streets) was also associated with danger. One A D Lazarus respondent stated:

The boys standing outside the shops are always whistling or saying nasty things. Some of them also try and touch us if we walk near them. It is so sickening. To avoid them I walk a longer distance to and from school.

Learners who lived further away from school (traveled distances of more than 2 km to get to school) restricted their movements in and around the school premises more than learners who lived in close proximity to the school. This may be, in part, due to the fact that those learners living closer to the school were more familiar with the surroundings.

4.3.2. Ranking exercises

The ranking exercises (Tables 4.157 and 4.158) show that it was generally found that public spaces (the Central Business District, roads, parks, bus stops and shopping centers) were deemed by the learner respondents participating in the focus groups as unsafe areas. This reinforces the questionnaire survey findings regarding respondents' perceptions of safe and unsafe areas.

The common areas identified by both A D Lazarus and Ridge Park learners were the school (at A D Lazarus the school grounds was specifically identified), bus stops and the home. The rest of the unsafe areas identified were locations in close proximity to the school or, as in the case of A D Lazarus, the Central Business District and the beach.

Table 4.148: Ranking matrix illustrating unsafe places identified by the learners (A D Lazarus)

| | SG | PP | BS | MP | B | IS | CBD | H | C |
|-----|----|----|----|----|----|----|-----|-----|-----|
| SG | X | PP | BS | MP | B | IS | CBD | SG | C |
| PP | X | X | PP | MP | B | IS | CBD | PP | PP |
| BS | X | X | X | MP | B | IS | CBD | BS | BS |
| MP | X | X | X | X | MP | IS | CBD | MP | MP |
| B | X | X | X | X | X | IS | CBD | B | C |
| IS | X | X | X | X | X | X | IS | IS | IS |
| CBD | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | CBD | CBD |
| H | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | C |
| C | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |

| | Scoring | Ranking |
|---------------------------------|---------|---------|
| School Grounds (SG) | 1 | 8 |
| Pridley Park (PP) | 4 | 4 |
| Bus Stop (BS) | 3 | 6 |
| McLarty Park (MP) | 6 | 3 |
| Beach (B) | 4 | 4 |
| Informal Settlement (IS) | 8 | 1 |
| Central Business District (CBD) | 7 | 2 |
| Home (H) | 0 | 9 |
| Cemetery (C) | 3 | 6 |

The ranking of the unsafe areas identified by the respondents show that at A D Lazarus, the informal settlement was ranked number one. This is a repetitive location identified by the learners in the questionnaire survey and the mapping exercise as well. The area ranked second was the Central Business District. McLarty Park was ranked third. During the discussions it was revealed that the recent killing of a young teenage girl from A D Lazarus strongly influences the learners' perceptions regarding the area. Pridley Park and the beach was jointly ranked fifth. Ranked sixth was the bus stop and the cemetery. The school grounds was ranked eighth. At both A D Lazarus and Ridge Park the home was ranked ninth. This is similar to earlier findings that in relation to public spaces, the home is viewed by many respondents as a safe haven.

Table 4.149: Ranking matrix illustrating unsafe places identified by the learners (Ridge Park)

| | S | BS | SR | OC | MH | BR | SG | H | MR |
|----|---|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| S | X | BS | SR | OC | MH | BR | SG | S | MC |
| BS | X | X | SR | BS | BS | BS | BS | BS | BS |
| SR | X | X | X | SR | SR | BR | SR | SR | SR |
| OC | X | X | X | X | OC | BR | OC | OC | OC |
| MH | X | X | X | X | X | BR | MH | MH | MH |
| BR | X | X | X | X | X | X | BR | BR | BR |
| SG | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | SG | SG |
| H | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | MR |
| MR | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |

| | Scoring | Ranking |
|------------------------|---------|---------|
| School (S) | 1 | 7 |
| Bus Stop (BS) | 7 | 1 |
| Sparks Road (SR) | 7 | 1 |
| Overport City (OC) | 5 | 4 |
| McCord's Hospital (MH) | 4 | 5 |
| Brickfield Road (BR) | 7 | 1 |
| Shell Garage (SG) | 3 | 6 |
| Home (H) | 0 | 9 |
| Musgrave Road (MR) | 1 | 7 |

At Ridge Park, three areas were ranked number one: the bus stop, Sparks Road and Brickfield Road. The respondents stated that the roads identified were notorious in the area for gangsterism and drug dealing. It is interesting to note that while at A D Lazarus the bus stop was ranked sixth, at Ridge Park the bus stop was viewed by the respondents as one of the most unsafe areas. The Overport City shopping center was ranked fourth followed by the nearby McCord's hospital (ranked fifth). Shell garage was ranked sixth and the school as well as Musgrave Road was ranked seventh.

It is interesting to note that although at both the schools the school was the first area identified by the respondents, when weighted with other areas identified the school was regarded as being relatively safe (ranked eighth at Ad Lazarus and seventh at Ridge Park). It is also important to underscore that the findings reinforce earlier suggestions that there are areas in close proximity to both the schools that are deemed unsafe by the learner respondents.

4.4. CONCLUSION

The results clearly provide discernible patterns of fear of violence, experiences of violence, perceptions of violence and responses to the perceived threat of violence among female learners and teachers in two secondary schools in the Durban Metropolitan Area. The environmental and spatial dimensions are also clearly evident. The findings highlight the range and diversity of females' experiences of violence in schools and in society more generally.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. INTRODUCTION

To recount, the key questions raised in this study relate to environmental perceptions of violence and the fear of violence among females in secondary schools. To enable a critical examination of these questions two secondary schools (Dr A D Lazarus and Ridge Park College) in the Durban Metropolitan Area were used as case studies. One school represented a co-ed school while the other, Ridge Park, represented an all-girl school. This dissertation provided a critical and comparative analysis of the perceptions and experiences of females in relation to violence and danger in two secondary schools in the Durban Metropolitan Area. Both female learners and teachers were the focus of the study. Given the focus on two secondary schools only and a relatively small sample of learner and teacher respondents, it is important to note that the generalizations provided in this chapter should be considered as guidelines rather than definitive conclusions. Furthermore, the findings provide useful lessons that may be used to address violence in schools and in society more generally.

The main purpose of this concluding chapter is to summarize the key research findings as well as forward recommendations and further research questions. In the light of the literature review and research findings presented in chapters two and four respectively, general conclusions pertaining to environmental perceptions of violence among females in secondary schools are tentatively drawn.

5.2. SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS

Several types of violence could be detected in the microcontexts of the everyday lives of the respondents. These mainly included physical, psychological/ emotional and sexual forms of violence. The perpetrators of the violence were from a range of socio-economic backgrounds and a significant finding is that the perpetrators were generally known by those who were violated. Violent acts took place in a range of areas, mostly in locations

familiar or very well-known (like the home and school) by the respondents. This was in contradiction to respondent's perceptions that unsafe areas are public or unfamiliar spaces. In general, the perceptions of the respondents in terms of key issues pertaining to violence (such as who were the perpetrators, who were violated, types of violation and where violent acts are likely to take place) differed from their personal and known experiences. This supports the widespread contention in the literature review that a range of factors other than actual experiences inform peoples', especially females', perceptions of violence and danger.

It is important to recognize that schools can be key instruments for change as can be discerned from some of the differences detected with regard to Dr A D Lazarus and Ridge Park College. Ridge Park College makes a concerted effort to educate both their female learners as well as their staff about violence generally and gender-based violence specifically. Schools provide an environment to expose the youth to role models and explore as well as critically examine their own experiences as gendered beings.

To play an effective role in addressing gender-based violence in schools, teachers need to understand and confront their own attitudes and experiences regarding gender and gender-based violence. The role of teachers as perpetrators of abuse is highlighted in the Human Rights Watch Report on sexual violence in South African schools (1995). Although only a few teachers indicated that they violated learners (and subsequently defended the acts of violence as being part of the process of disciplining the learners), this may be in part due to the sampling bias of only including female teachers in this study. Strategies addressing violence in schools need to begin by acknowledging and addressing the attitudes and experiences of the teachers themselves.

In terms of the gender dimensions of violence, this study reveals that females (both learners and teachers) are acutely aware of the different aspects of violence. This is even more evident among women who have taken self-defense classes or who are exposed to critical issues relating to violence and the threat of violence in society. It was clear from the responses that young females are targets of violent acts. This was also linked to

poverty and race. Some groups are more vulnerable than others. Additionally, many of the perpetrators of the violence tended to be males, often known by those who were violated. This research therefore supports the findings of other studies such as Burns (2000), De la Rey (1999), Dreyer et al (2002), Harber (2001), Linn et al (1996), Loveday (1997) and Ross (1993).

It is clear that many of the learners and teachers interviewed indicated that the school was either itself unsafe or was in close proximity to areas that they perceived to be dangerous. Security measures were viewed to be inadequate. It is important to underscore that none of the respondents indicated that counseling for victims of violence existed in the school. Thus, although Ridge Park College may have a general program to deal with violence, the existence of individual support and assistance did not become evident in this study. This is indeed a serious problem since not only do counseling services provide assistance to those traumatized (whether by actually experiencing violence or being in fear) but they can also encourage learners to talk about their experiences as well as report incidences. This can play a major role in effective monitoring of violence in and around schools in South Africa.

This study also reveals that the violence and the fear of violence have dramatic impacts on the behavior and lifestyles of females. At home, at school and in public spaces generally violence, whether real or perceived, influences where females go, when they go, how they dress, what type of transport they use and who they go with. Certain areas are avoided totally. The study showed the many ways in which the respondents indicated that they responded to the fear of violence. The strategies and precautions used range from avoidance of certain places and types of transport to being prepared to physically defend themselves if necessary. Most of the strategies adopted are subtle and entails self-imposed restrictions and constraints. It is clear that the fear of violence influences the respondents' mobility, choices, dress and behavior. Similar to many studies cited in the literature review chapter the respondents indicated that they limited their activities and movements in response to the perceived threat of violence. Thus, psychological and physical guardedness, also identified in Pain's (1997) study, are discernible.

The mapping exercise reinforces the responses from the questionnaire survey and the literature review that the fear of violence and crime is largely located in public spaces. Even for those respondents who did not personally experience any form of gender-based violence, deep-rooted feelings of private space as safe and public space as dangerous were noticeable and widespread. This “spatial paradox” (Pain, 1997: 235), since most incidents of gender-based violence are domestic, needs to be addressed.

This study also reinforces Vetten and Dladla’s (2000) findings that men were also thought to offer a degree of protection. The respondents indicated that they felt safer when they were accompanied by males they know such as their teachers, classmates and family members.

Social class has a strong bearing on who is feared, places that are identified as safe and unsafe as well as specific situations that respondents fear. Also, social class tends to influence the strategies that are used to deal with the fear of violence. For example, most of the respondents who were from wealthier families stated that they were dropped off and picked up from school. They did not use public transport or walk to and from school. For poorer respondents this was not an option.

Fear of certain places were generally constructed via the media (especially local newspapers reporting crime), family members (especially parents) and peers. Thus, the construction of local knowledge was an important component in terms of informing perceptions of certain areas and people.

It is noteworthy that a greater proportion of the respondents at Dr A D Lazarus than at Ridge Park College expressed concerns about personal safety while they were on the school premises. This can largely be attributed to the fact that Dr A D Lazarus is a co-ed school while Ridge Park College is an all-girl school. However, similar proportions of respondents in both schools expressed concerns about walking in their neighborhoods at night or being at school at night.

It appears that age is an important variable in explaining perceptions or feelings of fear. Generally, the younger learners felt more unsafe in different places and at different times than the older teachers. However, it is important to note that during the group discussions it was discerned that the younger female learners were more prone to engage in unsafe patterns of behavior like frequenting nightclubs or experimenting with drinking alcohol and taking drugs.

Undoubtedly, race continues to play an important role in informing perceptions in South African society. Despite very different personal experiences, the majority of the respondents indicated that Africans (especially young males) are most likely to be the perpetrators of violence. This is bound to impact on race relations in the school and in society more generally.

To summarize, in the context of secondary schools, the literature review and primary data indicate that the following need to be stressed:

- Abuse (sexual and non-sexual) in and in close proximity to schools is relatively widespread. These include aggressive sexual behavior, intimidation and physical assault by older boys; sexual advances by male teachers; and corporal punishment and verbal abuse by both female and male teachers (on boys as well as girls).
- An unsettling and sometimes violent school environment is neither conducive to girls' learning nor to their forming mature relations with boys (with implications for the spread of HIV/AIDS among adolescents).
- Many females in schools are unaware of key issues relating to violence and danger. Girls respond on the whole with resignation and passivity. The strategy most likely to be used to deal with violence and the threat of violence is avoidance rather than any form of confrontation. This results in females restricting their mobility both spatially and temporally.
- Schools are complicit in the abuse in that they fail to discipline (or even acknowledge) the perpetrators (whether pupils or teachers) and deny that abuse exists. The inability to have structured programs as well as proper counseling in schools to deal with violence and danger is also reflective of this complacency.

- School-based abuse is a reflection of abuse found elsewhere – in the home and in the community. The study clearly shows that experiences of violence are similar in and outside school.

5.3. RECOMMENDATIONS

There are many issues to consider in developing appropriate responses to the problem of gender-based violence in schools. It is important to understand that such violence is complex and must be viewed in an interdisciplinary sense. Violence is seldom random. Preventing violence, both perceived and real, will necessitate a shift in terms of gender role expectations, acceptable mechanisms to deal with differences and conflicts, and the unacceptability of all forms of violence and threats in society. Issues of violence and the threat of violence in schools, especially from a gender perspective, must be addressed both as a problem affecting students as well as society more generally.


Harber (2001) shows how intervention and training coupled with mutual support between cooperating schools, and between schools and the police, can reduce incidents of crime and violence. Additionally, a safer and more conducive environment to effective learning and teaching is established. It is important to note that small-scale, simple and inexpensive intervention could help to improve security in schools. Given the existing strategies used by learners and teachers it is clear that they are not helpless in the face of an onslaught of crime and violence. Below are some changes that need to be induced in secondary schools:

- more spot checks by police and changed perceptions of risk is needed to ensure that learners do not have dangerous weapons in their possession
- school security fences need to be repaired in some areas
- gates and entrances should be monitored, preferably with physical security being present
- properly resourced counseling rooms (with appropriately trained personnel and infrastructure) need to be set up to offer support to victims

- the apartheid-induced antagonism between the police and schools need to be addressed

Policy considerations from the study include:

- recognizing that violence is not gender neutral: gender-based violence is a discernible and prominent pattern of violence that persists in schools. Additionally, it is clear that females experience a more heightened and widespread fear of violence that constrains their mobility and opportunities.
- gender equality needs to be integrated into every facet of socio-economic, political and educational activities. This must challenge prevailing notions of masculinity and femininity which are not based on the use of force and violence or on submission and a sense of inferiority.
- promoting democratic values within schools will provide a foundation for participation in decision-making, addressing concerns, transparency and assertiveness of one's opinions and rights.

Harber (2001) asserts that sanctioned violence breeds violence generally and that corporal punishment in schools remain prevalent. It is important to ensure that there are effective mechanisms in place to eradicate corporal punishment. However, this needs to be balanced with appropriate and effective disciplinary measures. 

Within the schools, it is imperative that the following strategies are adopted to address gender-based violence and females' fear of violence more generally:

- educators need to incorporate the issue of violence against females into the school curriculum. This will require a review of existing curriculum as well as teacher training.
- identify the capacity and support required within the Provincial Education Department to ensure that strategies adopted by schools to address gender-based violence and females' fear of violence have a fair chance of being implemented within provincial schools.
- Individual initiatives by girls and by teachers with their learners should be supported by the various educational structures.

- parents must become more involved in the school and in the lives of their children. It needs to be underscored that many of the learners during the interviews and focus group exercises felt that they were not comfortable with talking to their parents about sex, HIV/ AIDS, fears, etc.

As suggested by Dreyer et al (2002) and Leach et al (2001), an integral holistic approach to stamping out violence and the threat of violence in schools is necessary.

Linn et al (1996) and Stein (1991) indicate that there are various ways to integrate issues of violence in the curriculum, including incorporating such specific components as violence prevention, conflict resolution, gender equity, health education and peer leadership programs. In addition, there already exist several curricula that specifically address sexual and/ or dating violence. Furthermore, many rape crisis and battered women's programs also have educational components focusing on youth. However, Stein (1991) warns that most of these approaches depend upon individual class presentations without ensuring other aspects of necessary institutionalized support, including thorough staff training, supportive services for male and female victims, and rehabilitative and disciplinary programs for abusers.

A central concern of this study is how can violence be ceased and the fear of violence reduced. Furthermore, how can different stakeholders (the schools, community, police, businesses, etc.) work together to improve school security? It is imperative that a forum be established to bring the different stakeholders together to address issues pertaining to violence more generally and gender-based violence more particularly.

An important finding of the study is that the perception of victims and perpetrators of violence is linked to race, gender, ethnicity, religion and geographical location. It is important to address these perceptions and challenge stereotypes.

In addition to the issues raised above, it is imperative that schools take a firm stand against violence and the threat of violence in its various forms. This includes ensuring that environmental safety aspects are given due consideration and that resources are

allocated toward creating a safe and secure teaching and learning environment. Proper policies that are widely circulated and rigorously implemented are deemed one of the main components of developing a culture of zero tolerance towards violence and the threat of violence in our schools. This study shows that the incidences of violence as well as the fear of violence has critical implications for education, especially those of females, and therefore requires a broad and comprehensive approach. Violence against females and the fear of violence affects the social, economic and political dynamics of development and has severe impacts on gender relations.

It is imperative, as Artz (1999) asserts, that we need to broaden the scope of our understanding of violence against women to include issues of access, development and women's socio-political status. At a governmental and broader societal level it is also important that better collaboration be established between the various departments and sectors (including the Department of Justice, Department of Health, Department of Social Welfare and the Department of Safety and Security) dealing with violence against women. To specifically and effectively target schools, which is an ideal location to focus on the youth, it may be necessary to develop multidisciplinary teams from the different departments who could develop specialized programs and services to address violence generally and gender-based violence particularly in schools. The government via its various departments must send a clear message to society that violence against females will not be tolerated and the females' rights to live without the constant fear and threat of violence will be protected.

This study has underscored environmental perceptions and fear of violence among females in schools. While some consideration has been given to differences among the respondents interviewed, it is imperative that future research needs to consider in a more concerted way the diversity and differences among groups based on class, ethnicity, race, residential location and sexual orientation. Furthermore, the analysis of gender relations will be strengthened by comparing male and female perceptions. UNFPA (2001) asserts that attention to many aspects of gender-based violence is needed, including research on the quantitative and qualitative aspects of the problem, the creation and maintenance of

services for gender-based violence survivors as well as appropriate education and prevention strategies.

5.4. CONCLUSION

Fundamental social change that eliminates women's subordinate status will bring an end to gender-based violence. The changes needed include eliminating laws that discriminate against women and children, promoting women in leadership and decision-making processes, improving access and sense of entitlement to education, and increasing women's access to economic resources and health information.

Clearly, this study shows that acts of violence generally and gender-based violence particularly need to be understood in their environmental contexts inclusive of the locational/ spatial, social, economic and political (as reflective of the power dynamics between individuals and groups) dimensions. This will in turn lead to a more comprehensive understanding of gender-based violence in society. Furthermore, attempts to eradicate gender-based violence will incorporate multiple strategies that deal with socialization processes, education, empowerment, development imperatives (dealing with poverty and improving quality of life), institutional and legal aspects, infrastructural concerns, sufficient and appropriate support and resources for victims as well as advancing fitting and effective forms of punishment and correctional services for the perpetrators.

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APPENDIX 1

UNIVERSITY OF DURBAN WESTVILLE ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

QUESTIONNAIRES: LEARNERS ENVIRONMENTAL PERCEPTIONS OF VIOLENCE AND DANGER

TICK WHERE APPLICABLE.

RESPONDENT DETAILS

1. Grade: _____

2. Age: _____

3. Number of members in your household

| Males | Females | Total |
|-------|---------|-------|
| | | |

4. Employment/s of main income earner/s in the household (state if unemployed)?

5. Historical race category

| | | | |
|---------|-------|--------|----------|
| African | White | Indian | Coloured |
|---------|-------|--------|----------|

UNDERSTANDING OF VIOLENCE/ DANGER

1. How would you define violence?

2. What are the general characteristics of a perpetrator of violence (who commits violent crimes)?

2.1. Gender of perpetrator

| | |
|------|--------|
| Male | Female |
|------|--------|

2.2. Age of perpetrator

| | | | | | |
|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------|
| < 15 | 16-25 | 26-35 | 36-45 | 45-55 | > 55 |
|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------|

2.3. Marital status of perpetrator

| | | | | |
|---------|--------|----------|-----------|-----------------|
| married | single | divorced | Separated | other (specify) |
|---------|--------|----------|-----------|-----------------|

2.4. Parental status of perpetrator

| | | | |
|-------------|--------|-----------------|-----------------|
| No children | Parent | Adoptive parent | other (specify) |
|-------------|--------|-----------------|-----------------|

2.5. Occupation of perpetrator

| | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| Unemployed | |
| Student | |
| Professional (teacher, lawyer, etc.) | |
| Sales | |
| Technical | |
| Laborer | |
| Other (specify) | |

2.6. Race of perpetrator

| | | | |
|---------|-------|--------|----------|
| African | White | Indian | Coloured |
|---------|-------|--------|----------|

2.7. Highest Education Level of perpetrator

| | | | | |
|---------------------|---------|-----------|----------|---------------|
| No formal education | Primary | Secondary | Tertiary | Post-graduate |
|---------------------|---------|-----------|----------|---------------|

2.8. Where do violent perpetrators live?

| | | | | |
|----------|----------------------|------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| Homeless | Informal settlements | Low income areas | Middle income areas | Upper income areas |
|----------|----------------------|------------------|---------------------|--------------------|

2.9. Who is likely to commit violence acts (relationship to victim)

| | |
|---|--|
| Stranger | |
| Family member (specify which member of the family) | |
| Close friend | |
| Authority figures (priests, teachers, police, etc.) | |
| Acquaintance | |
| Other (specify) | |

3. What are the general characteristics of those who are violated (targets of violent crimes)?

3.1. Gender of victims

| | |
|------|--------|
| male | female |
|------|--------|

3.2. Age of victims

| | | | | | |
|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------|
| < 15 | 16-25 | 26-35 | 36-45 | 45-55 | > 55 |
|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------|

3.3. Marital status of victims

| | | | | |
|---------|--------|----------|-----------|-----------------|
| Married | Single | divorced | separated | other (specify) |
|---------|--------|----------|-----------|-----------------|

3.4. Parental status of victims

| | | | |
|-------------|--------|-----------------|-----------------|
| no children | Parent | adoptive parent | other (specify) |
|-------------|--------|-----------------|-----------------|

3.5. Occupation of victims

| | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| Unemployed | |
| Student | |
| Professional (teacher, lawyer, etc.) | |
| Sales | |
| Technical | |
| Laborer | |
| Other (specify) | |

3.6. Race of victims

| | | | |
|---------|-------|--------|----------|
| African | White | Indian | Coloured |
|---------|-------|--------|----------|

3.7. Highest Education Level of victims

| | | | | |
|---------------------|---------|-----------|----------|---------------|
| No formal education | Primary | Secondary | Tertiary | Post-graduate |
|---------------------|---------|-----------|----------|---------------|

3.8. Where do the victims of violence usually live?

| | | | | |
|----------|----------------------|------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| Homeless | Informal settlements | Low income areas | Middle income areas | Upper income areas |
|----------|----------------------|------------------|---------------------|--------------------|

4. What types of violence are you aware of (list)?

5. Which, in your opinion is the worst type of violence? Why?

ENVIRONMENTAL PERCEPTIONS OF VIOLENCE AND DANGER

1. Where are violent acts most likely to occur?

| | |
|--|--|
| In the home | |
| Close to the home | |
| Public spaces (road, sports ground, store, etc.) | |
| School | |
| Relative or friends home | |
| Unknown environment (new area) | |
| Unfamiliar environment | |
| Other (specify) | |

2. When are violent acts most likely to be committed?

2.1. Specify time during a day and reason.

| | | | | |
|---------|---------|-----------|---------|------------|
| Morning | Mid-day | Afternoon | Evening | Late night |
|---------|---------|-----------|---------|------------|

2.2. Day of week and reason

| | | | | | | |
|--------|---------|-----------|----------|--------|----------|--------|
| Monday | Tuesday | Wednesday | Thursday | Friday | Saturday | Sunday |
|--------|---------|-----------|----------|--------|----------|--------|

2.3. Period of year and reason

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|-----|-----|-------|-----|------|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Jan | Feb | Mar | April | May | June | July | Aug | Sep | Oct | Nov | Dec |
|-----|-----|-----|-------|-----|------|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|

3. List three places that you frequent that is unsafe to you. Give reasons.

| | |
|----|--|
| 1. | |
| 2. | |
| 3. | |

4. List three places that you frequent where you feel safe. Give reasons.

| | |
|----|--|
| 1. | |
| 2. | |
| 3. | |

5. Perceptions of the school environment

5.1. Do you feel safe when you are at school?

| | | | |
|--------|------------|-----------|-------|
| Always | Most times | Sometimes | Never |
|--------|------------|-----------|-------|

5.1.1. If no, where do you feel uncomfortable?

5.1.2. When do you feel uncomfortable?

5.1.3. Who makes you feel unsafe?

| | |
|---|--|
| Fellow staff at school | |
| Teachers | |
| People who are not part of the school staff or students | |
| Other (specify) | |

5.1.4. What would make you feel safer?

| | |
|---|--|
| More police/ security presence | |
| Only students and staff being allowed on school premises | |
| More information | |
| Knowing more people | |
| Larger rooms-better infrastructure | |
| Proper fencing of school premises | |
| Proper lighting | |
| Addressing differences so that they can be more tolerance and understanding | |
| Other (specify) | |

5.2. In your opinion, what factor/s do you think contribute/s to violence in the school environment?

| | |
|---|--|
| Criminals feel that schools are a soft target | |
| Teachers not understanding learners | |
| Racial tensions | |
| Cultural misunderstanding | |
| Patriarchy/ sexism | |
| Lack of proper education/ information | |
| Crisis in education generally | |
| Poor infrastructure | |
| Drugs (including dagga) | |
| Influence of media-sensationalising violence | |
| Alcohol | |
| Other (specify) | |

5.3. In your opinion, what factor/s do you think contribute/s to violence generally in society?

| | |
|--|--|
| Criminal activities/ organised crime | |
| Racial tensions | |
| Cultural misunderstanding | |
| Patriarchy/ sexism | |
| Lack of proper education/ information | |
| Xenophobia (fear of foreigners) | |
| Homophobia | |
| Drugs (including dagga) | |
| Influence of media-sensationalising violence | |
| Alcohol | |
| Other (specify) | |

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

1. Where do you get your information relating to violence?

| | | | | | | | |
|----|-------|--------|-------|------------|----------------|--------|-----------------|
| TV | Radio | Movies | Peers | Newspapers | Official stats | Family | Other (specify) |
|----|-------|--------|-------|------------|----------------|--------|-----------------|

2. Are you aware of laws and legislation relating to violence in South Africa?

| | |
|-----|----|
| Yes | No |
|-----|----|

2.1. If yes, what have you heard?

2.2. Where did you hear it from?

| | |
|------------------------------|--|
| Friends/ family | |
| Media (radio, TV, newspaper) | |
| Specific teachers | |
| School (in the lessons) | |
| Government documents | |
| Talk/ workshop | |
| Police/ government officials | |
| Rape/ crisis/ abuse centre | |
| Other (specify) | |

2.3. Which do you think is the best source of information? Why?

EXPERIENCES OF VIOLENCE

1. Have you personally experienced any form of violence?

| | |
|-----|----|
| Yes | No |
|-----|----|

1.1. If yes, what was the nature of the violation?

| TYPE | Brief explanation (explain what type) |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Physical | |
| Emotional/ Psychological/Mental | |
| Sexual | |
| Other (specify) | |

1.2. Who was the perpetrator of the violent act (especially personal experiences of violence)?

| | |
|--|--|
| Stranger | |
| Family member (specify which member of the family) | |
| Close friend | |
| Acquaintance | |
| Authority figure (eg. teacher, doctor, priest) | |
| Other (specify) | |

1.3. Gender of perpetrator

| | |
|------|--------|
| Male | Female |
|------|--------|

1.4. Approximate age of perpetrator

| | | | | | |
|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------|
| < 15 | 16-25 | 26-35 | 36-45 | 45-55 | > 55 |
|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------|

1.5. Race of perpetrator

| | | | |
|---------|-------|--------|----------|
| African | White | Indian | Coloured |
|---------|-------|--------|----------|

1.6. Where did it take place? Explain exactly where.

| PLACE | EXPLANATION |
|--|-------------|
| In the home | |
| Close to the home | |
| Public spaces (road, sports ground, store, etc.) | |
| Relative or friends home | |
| Unknown environment (new area) | |
| Unfamiliar environment | |
| Other (specify) | |

1.7. When did it take place? Explain.

| | |
|-------|-----|
| Night | Day |
|-------|-----|

1.8. Why to you think this happened?

1.9. Whose fault was it?

| | | | | |
|----------|-------|---------|--------|-----------------|
| Violator | Yours | Friends | Family | Other (specify) |
|----------|-------|---------|--------|-----------------|

1.10. Did you try and defend yourself?

| | |
|-----|----|
| Yes | No |
|-----|----|

1.10.1. If yes, how did you defend yourself?

1.10.2. Was it successful?

| | |
|-----|----|
| Yes | No |
|-----|----|

1.11. How old where you when this incident/s occurred? _____

2. Have you personally violated someone else?

| | |
|-----|----|
| Yes | No |
|-----|----|

2.1. If yes, what was the nature of the violation?

| TYPE | Brief explanation |
|---------------------------------|-------------------|
| Physical | |
| Emotional/ Psychological/Mental | |
| Sexual | |
| Other (specify) | |

2.2. Who did you violate?

| | |
|--|--|
| Stranger | |
| Family member (specify which member of the family) | |
| Close friend | |
| Acquaintance (eg. teacher, doctor, priest) | |
| Authority figure (eg. teacher, doctor, priest) | |
| Other (specify) | |

2.3. Gender of the person you violated

| | |
|------|--------|
| Male | Female |
|------|--------|

2.4. Approximate age of person you violated

| | | | | | |
|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------|
| < 15 | 16-25 | 26-35 | 36-45 | 45-55 | > 55 |
|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------|

2.5. Race of person you violated

| | | | |
|---------|-------|--------|----------|
| African | White | Indian | Coloured |
|---------|-------|--------|----------|

2.6. Where did it take place? Explain exactly where.

| PLACE | EXPLANATION |
|--|-------------|
| In the home | |
| Close to the home | |
| Public spaces (road, sports ground, store, etc.) | |
| Relative or friends home | |
| Unknown environment (new area) | |
| Unfamiliar environment | |
| Other (specify) | |

2.7. When did it take place? Explain.

| | |
|-------|-----|
| Night | Day |
|-------|-----|

2.8. Why to you think this happened?

2.9. Whose fault was it?

| | | | | |
|---------------------|-------|---------|--------|-----------------|
| Person you violated | Yours | Friends | Family | Other (specify) |
|---------------------|-------|---------|--------|-----------------|

2.10. Did the person you violated try and defend himself/ herself?

| | |
|-----|----|
| Yes | No |
|-----|----|

2.10.1. If yes, how did he/ she defend himself/ herself?

2.10.2. Was it successful?

| | |
|-----|----|
| Yes | No |
|-----|----|

2.11. How old were you when these incidents occurred? _____

3. Do you personally know a person/ persons who has experienced any form of violence?

| | |
|-----|----|
| Yes | No |
|-----|----|

3.1. If yes, gender of person/s

| | |
|--------|-------------------|
| | Number of persons |
| Female | |
| Male | |

3.2. Approximate age of person/s

| | |
|-------|-------------------|
| | Number of persons |
| <15 | |
| 16-25 | |
| 26-35 | |
| 36-45 | |
| 46-55 | |
| >56 | |

3.3. Race of person/s

| | Number of persons |
|----------|-------------------|
| African | |
| Indian | |
| White | |
| Coloured | |

3.4. What was the nature of the violation?

| TYPE | Brief explanation |
|---------------------------------|-------------------|
| Physical | |
| Emotional/ Psychological/Mental | |
| Sexual | |
| Other (specify) | |

3.5. Who was the perpetrator/s of the violence?

| | Number |
|--|--------|
| Stranger | |
| Family member (specify which member of the family) | |
| Close friend | |
| Acquaintance | |
| Authority figure (eg. teacher, doctor, priest) | |
| Don't know | |
| Other (specify) | |

3.6. Gender of perpetrator/s

| | Male | Female | don't know |
|--------|------|--------|------------|
| Number | | | |

3.7. Approximate age of perpetrator/s

| | < 15 | 16-25 | 26-35 | 36-45 | 45-55 | > 55 |
|--------|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------|
| Number | | | | | | |

3.8. Race of perpetrator/s

| | African | White | Indian | Coloured |
|--------|---------|-------|--------|----------|
| Number | | | | |

3.9. Where did it/ they take place? Explain exactly where.

| PLACE | EXPLANATION |
|--|-------------|
| In the home | |
| Close to the home | |
| School | |
| Public spaces (road, sports ground, store, etc.) | |
| Relative or friend's home | |
| Unknown environment (new area) | |
| Unfamiliar environment | |
| Other (specify) | |

3.10. When did it/ they take place? Explain.

| | |
|-------|-----|
| Night | Day |
|-------|-----|

3.11. Why to you think this/ these acts of violence happened?

3.12. Did anyone try and defend themselves?

| | |
|-----|----|
| Yes | No |
|-----|----|

3.12.1. If yes, how did they defend themselves?

3.12.2. Was it successful?

| | |
|-----|----|
| Yes | No |
|-----|----|

COPING STRATEGIES

1. Do you consciously take action to minimise the risk of violence?

| | |
|-----|----|
| Yes | No |
|-----|----|

2. If yes, what do you do?

| | |
|--|--|
| Take responsibility to gain information | |
| Attend self-defence/ awareness classes | |
| Walk in groups (try not to be alone) | |
| Choose friends who are responsible to socialise with | |
| Get to know more about the environments you frequent | |
| Always tell someone where you are | |
| Carry a weapon | |
| Carry a cell phone | |
| Refrain from taking alcohol | |
| Refrain from taking drugs | |

| | |
|---|--|
| Secure your vehicle | |
| Responsible sexual relationships | |
| Secure your home (burglar guards, alarms) | |
| Other (specify) | |

3. Do you expect help from others if you were in trouble?

| | |
|-----|----|
| Yes | No |
|-----|----|

3.1. If yes, from whom?

4. Do you know where the nearest police station is near your?

| | Yes | No |
|---|-----|----|
| Home | | |
| School | | |
| Social places you frequent (night clubs, friend's home) | | |

5. Can you contact a police station in an emergency?

| | |
|-----|----|
| Yes | No |
|-----|----|

6. Can you contact an abuse centre/ advice desk if you need assistance?

| | |
|-----|----|
| Yes | No |
|-----|----|

7. Can you contact a hospital/ doctor if you need assistance?

| | |
|-----|----|
| Yes | No |
|-----|----|

8. What do you think are the most common reasons for someone remaining in a violent relationship?

| | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| Economic | |
| Fear of punishment | |
| Doesn't what to do to get out | |
| Scared of social ridicule | |
| Other (specify) | |

9. What do you think we need to do to address the problem of violence in society?

Thank you for participating

APPENDIX 2

UNIVERSITY OF DURBAN WESTVILLE ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

QUESTIONNAIRE: TEACHERS ENVIRONMENTAL PERCEPTIONS OF VIOLENCE AND DANGER

TICK WHERE APPLICABLE.

RESPONDENT DETAILS

1. Subjects taught: _____

2. Number of years teaching: _____

3. Age

| | | | | |
|------|-------|-------|-------|------|
| < 25 | 26-35 | 36-45 | 45-55 | > 55 |
|------|-------|-------|-------|------|

3. Marital status

| | | | | |
|---------|--------|----------|-----------|-----------------|
| Married | Single | Divorced | Separated | Other (specify) |
|---------|--------|----------|-----------|-----------------|

4. Household earnings per month (in rands)

| | | | | |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------|
| 3000-3999 | 4000-4999 | 5000-5999 | 6000-6999 | > 7000 |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------|

5. Number of members in your household

| Males | Females | Total |
|-------|---------|-------|
| | | |

7. Historical race category

| | | | |
|---------|-------|--------|----------|
| African | White | Indian | Coloured |
|---------|-------|--------|----------|

UNDERSTANDING OF VIOLENCE/ DANGER

1. How would you define violence?

2. What are the general characteristics of a perpetrator of violence (who commits violent crimes)?

2.1. Gender of perpetrator

| | |
|------|--------|
| Male | Female |
|------|--------|

2.2. Age of perpetrator

| | | | | | |
|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------|
| < 15 | 16-25 | 26-35 | 36-45 | 45-55 | > 55 |
|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------|

2.3. Marital status of perpetrator

| | | | | |
|---------|--------|----------|-----------|-----------------|
| married | single | divorced | Separated | other (specify) |
|---------|--------|----------|-----------|-----------------|

2.4. Parental status of perpetrator

| | | | |
|-------------|--------|-----------------|-----------------|
| No children | Parent | Adoptive parent | other (specify) |
|-------------|--------|-----------------|-----------------|

2.5. Occupation of perpetrator

| | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| Unemployed | |
| Student | |
| Professional (teacher, lawyer, etc.) | |
| Sales | |
| Technical | |
| Laborer | |
| Other (specify) | |

2.6. Race of perpetrator

| | | | |
|---------|-------|--------|----------|
| African | White | Indian | Coloured |
|---------|-------|--------|----------|

2.7. Highest Education Level of perpetrator

| | | | | |
|---------------------|---------|-----------|----------|---------------|
| No formal education | Primary | Secondary | Tertiary | Post-graduate |
|---------------------|---------|-----------|----------|---------------|

2.8. Where do violent perpetrators live?

| | | | | |
|----------|----------------------|------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| Homeless | Informal settlements | Low income areas | Middle income areas | Upper income areas |
|----------|----------------------|------------------|---------------------|--------------------|

2.9. Who is likely to commit violence acts (relationship to victim)

| | |
|---|--|
| Stranger | |
| Family member (specify which member of the family) | |
| Close friend | |
| Authority figures (priests, teachers, police, etc.) | |
| Acquaintance | |
| Other (specify) | |

3. What are the general characteristics of those who are violated (targets of violent crimes)?

3.1. Gender of victims

| | |
|------|--------|
| male | female |
|------|--------|

3.2. Age of victims

| | | | | | |
|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------|
| < 15 | 16-25 | 26-35 | 36-45 | 45-55 | > 55 |
|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------|

3.3. Marital status of victims

| | | | | |
|---------|--------|----------|-----------|-----------------|
| Married | Single | divorced | separated | other (specify) |
|---------|--------|----------|-----------|-----------------|

3.4. Parental status of victims

| | | | |
|-------------|--------|-----------------|-----------------|
| no children | Parent | adoptive parent | other (specify) |
|-------------|--------|-----------------|-----------------|

3.5. Occupation of victims

| | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| Unemployed | |
| Student | |
| Professional (teacher, lawyer, etc.) | |
| Sales | |
| Technical | |
| Laborer | |
| Other (specify) | |

3.6. Race of victims

| | | | |
|---------|-------|--------|----------|
| African | White | Indian | Coloured |
|---------|-------|--------|----------|

3.7. Highest Education Level of victims

| | | | | |
|---------------------|---------|-----------|----------|---------------|
| No formal education | Primary | Secondary | Tertiary | Post-graduate |
|---------------------|---------|-----------|----------|---------------|

3.8. Where do the victims of violence usually live?

| | | | | |
|----------|----------------------|------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| Homeless | Informal settlements | Low income areas | Middle income areas | Upper income areas |
|----------|----------------------|------------------|---------------------|--------------------|

4. What types of violence are you aware of (list)?

5. Which, in your opinion is the worst type of violence? Why?

ENVIRONMENTAL PERCEPTIONS OF VIOLENCE AND DANGER

1. Where are violent acts most likely to occur?

| | |
|--|--|
| In the home | |
| Close to the home | |
| Public spaces (road, sports ground, store, etc.) | |
| School | |
| Relative or friends home | |
| Unknown environment (new area) | |
| Unfamiliar environment | |
| Other (specify) | |

2. When are violent acts most likely to be committed?

2.1. Specify time during a day and reason.

| | | | | |
|---------|---------|-----------|---------|------------|
| Morning | Mid-day | Afternoon | Evening | Late night |
|---------|---------|-----------|---------|------------|

2.2. Day of week and reason

| | | | | | | |
|--------|---------|-----------|----------|--------|----------|--------|
| Monday | Tuesday | Wednesday | Thursday | Friday | Saturday | Sunday |
|--------|---------|-----------|----------|--------|----------|--------|

2.3. Period of year and reason

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|-----|-----|-------|-----|------|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Jan | Feb | Mar | April | May | June | July | Aug | Sep | Oct | Nov | Dec |
|-----|-----|-----|-------|-----|------|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|

3. List three places that you frequent that is unsafe to you. Give reasons.

| | |
|----|--|
| 1. | |
| 2. | |
| 3. | |

4. List three places that you frequent where you feel safe. Give reasons.

| | |
|----|--|
| 1. | |
| 2. | |
| 3. | |

5. Perceptions of the school environment

5.1. Do you feel safe when you are at school?

| | | | |
|--------|------------|-----------|-------|
| Always | Most times | Sometimes | Never |
|--------|------------|-----------|-------|

5.1.1. If no, where do you feel uncomfortable?

5.1.2. When do you feel uncomfortable?

5.1.3. Who makes you feel unsafe?

| | |
|---|--|
| Fellow staff at school | |
| Learners | |
| People who are not part of the school staff or students | |
| Other (specify) | |

5.1.4. What would make you feel safer?

| | |
|---|--|
| More police/ security presence | |
| Only students and staff being allowed on school premises | |
| More information | |
| Knowing more people | |
| Larger rooms-better infrastructure | |
| Proper fencing of school premises | |
| Proper lighting | |
| Addressing differences so that they can be more tolerance and understanding | |
| Other (specify) | |

5.2. In your opinion, what factor/s do you think contribute/s to violence in the school environment?

| | |
|---|--|
| Criminals feel that schools are a soft target | |
| Racial tensions | |
| Cultural misunderstanding | |
| Patriarchy/ sexism | |
| Lack of proper education/ information | |
| Crisis in education generally | |
| Poor infrastructure | |
| Drugs (including dagga) | |
| Influence of media-sensationalising violence | |
| Alcohol | |
| Other (specify) | |

5.3. In your opinion, what factor/s do you think contribute/s to violence generally in society?

| | |
|--|--|
| Criminal activities/ organised crime | |
| Racial tensions | |
| Cultural misunderstanding | |
| Patriarchy/ sexism | |
| Lack of proper education/ information | |
| Xenophobia (fear of foreigners) | |
| Homophobia | |
| Drugs (including dagga) | |
| Influence of media-sensationalising violence | |
| Alcohol | |
| Other (specify) | |

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

1. Where do you get your information relating to violence?

| | | | | | | | |
|----|-------|--------|-------|------------|----------------|--------|-----------------|
| TV | Radio | Movies | Peers | Newspapers | Official stats | Family | Other (specify) |
|----|-------|--------|-------|------------|----------------|--------|-----------------|

2. Are you aware of laws and legislation relating to violence in South Africa?

| | |
|-----|----|
| Yes | No |
|-----|----|

2.1. If yes, what have you heard?

2.2. Where did you hear it from?

| | |
|------------------------------|--|
| Friends/ family | |
| Media (radio, TV, newspaper) | |
| Employer/ teacher training | |
| University/ School | |
| Government documents | |
| Talk/ workshop | |
| Police/ government officials | |
| Rape/ crisis/ abuse centre | |
| Other (specify) | |

2.3. Which do you think is the best source of information? Why?

EXPERIENCES OF VIOLENCE

1. Have you personally experienced any form of violence?

| | |
|-----|----|
| Yes | No |
|-----|----|

1.1. If yes, what was the nature of the violation?

| TYPE | Brief explanation (explain what type) |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Physical | |
| Emotional/ Psychological/Mental | |
| Sexual | |
| Economic | |
| Social | |
| Other (specify) | |

1.2. Who was the perpetrator of the violent act (especially personal experiences of violence)?

| | |
|--|--|
| Stranger | |
| Family member (specify which member of the family) | |
| Close friend | |
| Acquaintance | |
| Authority figure | |

1.3. Gender of perpetrator

| | |
|------|--------|
| Male | Female |
|------|--------|

1.4. Approximate age of perpetrator

| | | | | | |
|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------|
| < 15 | 16-25 | 26-35 | 36-45 | 45-55 | > 55 |
|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------|

1.5. Race of perpetrator

| | | | |
|---------|-------|--------|----------|
| African | White | Indian | Coloured |
|---------|-------|--------|----------|

1.6. Where did it take place? Explain exactly where.

| PLACE | EXPLANATION |
|--|-------------|
| In the home | |
| Close to the home | |
| Public spaces (road, sports ground, store, etc.) | |
| Relative or friends home | |
| Unknown environment (new area) | |
| Unfamiliar environment | |
| Other (specify) | |

1.7. When did it take place? Explain.

| | |
|-------|-----|
| Night | Day |
|-------|-----|

1.8. Why to you think this happened?

1.9. Whose fault was it?

| | | | | |
|----------|-------|---------|--------|-----------------|
| Violator | Yours | Friends | Family | Other (specify) |
|----------|-------|---------|--------|-----------------|

1.10. Did you try and defend yourself?

| | |
|-----|----|
| Yes | No |
|-----|----|

1.10.1. If yes, how did you defend yourself?

1.10.2. Was it successful?

| | |
|-----|----|
| Yes | No |
|-----|----|

1.11. How old were you when this incident/s occurred? _____

2. Have you personally violated someone else?

| | |
|-----|----|
| Yes | No |
|-----|----|

2.1. If yes, what was the nature of the violation?

| TYPE | Brief explanation |
|---------------------------------|-------------------|
| Physical | |
| Emotional/ Psychological/Mental | |
| Sexual | |
| Economic | |
| Social | |
| Other (specify) | |

2.2. Who did you violate?

| | |
|--|--|
| Stranger | |
| Family member (specify which member of the family) | |
| Close friend | |
| Acquaintance | |
| Authority figure | |
| Other (specify) | |

2.3. Gender of the person you violated

| | |
|------|--------|
| Male | Female |
|------|--------|

2.4. Approximate age of person you violated

| | | | | | |
|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------|
| < 15 | 16-25 | 26-35 | 36-45 | 45-55 | > 55 |
|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------|

2.5. Race of person you violated

| | | | |
|---------|-------|--------|----------|
| African | White | Indian | Coloured |
|---------|-------|--------|----------|

2.6. Where did it take place? Explain exactly where.

| PLACE | EXPLANATION |
|--|-------------|
| In the home | |
| Close to the home | |
| Public spaces (road, sports ground, store, etc.) | |
| Relative or friends home | |
| Unknown environment (new area) | |
| Unfamiliar environment | |
| Other (specify) | |

2.7. When did it take place? Explain.

| | |
|-------|-----|
| Night | Day |
|-------|-----|

2.8. Why to you think this happened?

2.9. Whose fault was it?

| | | | | |
|---------------------|-------|---------|--------|-----------------|
| Person you violated | Yours | Friends | Family | Other (specify) |
|---------------------|-------|---------|--------|-----------------|

2.10. Did the person you violated try and defend himself/ herself?

| | |
|-----|----|
| Yes | No |
|-----|----|

2.10.1. If yes, how did he/ she defend himself/ herself?

2.10.2. Was it successful?

| | |
|-----|----|
| Yes | No |
|-----|----|

2.11. How old were you when these incidents occurred? _____

3. Do you personally know a person/ persons who has experienced any form of violence?

| | |
|-----|----|
| Yes | No |
|-----|----|

3.1. If yes, gender of person/s

| | Number of persons |
|--------|-------------------|
| Female | |
| Male | |

3.2. Approximate age of person/s

| | Number of persons |
|-------|-------------------|
| <15 | |
| 16-25 | |
| 26-35 | |
| 36-45 | |
| 46-55 | |
| >56 | |

3.3. Race of person/s

| | Number of persons |
|----------|-------------------|
| African | |
| Indian | |
| White | |
| Coloured | |

3.4. What was the nature of the violation?

| TYPE | Brief explanation |
|---------------------------------|-------------------|
| Physical | |
| Emotional/ Psychological/Mental | |
| Sexual | |
| Economic | |
| Social | |
| Other (specify) | |

3.5. Who was the perpetrator/s of the violence?

| | Number |
|--|--------|
| Stranger | |
| Family member (specify which member of the family) | |
| Close friend | |
| Acquaintance | |
| Authority figure | |
| Don't know | |
| Other (specify) | |

3.6. Gender of perpetrator/s

| | Male | Female | don't know |
|--------|------|--------|------------|
| Number | | | |

3.7. Approximate age of perpetrator/s

| | < 15 | 16-25 | 26-35 | 36-45 | 45-55 | > 55 |
|--------|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------|
| Number | | | | | | |

3.8. Race of perpetrator/s

| | African | White | Indian | Coloured |
|--------|---------|-------|--------|----------|
| Number | | | | |

3.9. Where did it/ they take place? Explain exactly where.

| PLACE | EXPLANATION |
|--|-------------|
| In the home | |
| Close to the home | |
| School | |
| Public spaces (road, sports ground, store, etc.) | |
| Relative or friends home | |
| Unknown environment (new area) | |
| Unfamiliar environment | |
| Other (specify) | |

3.10. When did it/ they take place? Explain.

| | |
|-------|-----|
| Night | Day |
|-------|-----|

3.11. Why to you think this/ these acts of violence happened?

3.12. Did anyone try and defend themselves?

| | |
|-----|----|
| Yes | No |
|-----|----|

3.12.1. If yes, how did they defend themselves?

3.12.2. Was it successful?

| | |
|-----|----|
| Yes | No |
|-----|----|

COPING STRATEGIES

1. Do you consciously take action to minimise the risk of violence?

| | |
|-----|----|
| Yes | No |
|-----|----|

2. If yes, what do you do?

| | |
|--|--|
| Take responsibility to gain information | |
| Attend self-defence/ awareness classes | |
| Walk in groups (try not to be alone) | |
| Choose friends who are responsible to socialise with | |
| Get to know more about the environments you frequent | |
| Always tell someone where you are | |
| Carry a weapon | |
| Carry a cell phone | |
| Refrain from taking alcohol | |
| Refrain from taking drugs | |
| Secure your vehicle | |
| Responsible sexual relationships | |
| Secure your home (burglar guards, alarms) | |
| Other (specify) | |

3. Do you expect help from others if you were in trouble?

| | |
|-----|----|
| Yes | No |
|-----|----|

3.1. If yes, from whom?

4. Do you know where the nearest police station is near your?

| | Yes | No |
|--|-----|----|
| Home | | |
| School | | |
| Social places you frequent (night clubs, friends home) | | |

5. Can you contact a police station in an emergency?

| | |
|-----|----|
| Yes | No |
|-----|----|

6. Can you contact an abuse centre/ advice desk if you need assistance?

| | |
|-----|----|
| Yes | No |
|-----|----|

7. Can you contact a hospital/ doctor if you need assistance?

| | |
|-----|----|
| Yes | No |
|-----|----|

8. What do you think are the most common reasons for someone remaining in a violent relationship? Rate if multiple responses.

| | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| Economic | |
| Fear of punishment | |
| Doesn't know what to do to get out | |
| Scared of social ridicule | |
| Other (specify) | |

9. What do you think we need to do to address the problem of violence in society?

Thank you for participating