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GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE AMONG HIGH SCHOOL YOUTH IN THE UMLAZI DISTRICT, DURBAN

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APPROVED FOR EXAMINATION

Supervisor: _ _ **DATE:** 09 AUGUST 2023

Dr Vijay Hamlall

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I declare that this thesis herewith for the PhD in Public Administration – Peace Studies at the Durban University of Technology (DUT) is my own original work and that it has not been previously submitted for a degree or examination at any other university. This thesis does not contain other persons' data, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other researchers. Where their exact words have been used, their writing has been placed inside quotation marks and referenced.

Angel Duduzile Dlungwane

Dedication

I dedicate this thesis especially to:

My parents, Mrs Ntombifuthi Norah Dlungwane and the late Mr Muziwabantu Before Dlungwane, who struggled to build my future and who taught me the value of education and from whom I shall continue to draw inspiration.

My son, Mzuvele Malaza, for his support, patience and understanding when I was not around him during my studies.

And

To all my siblings and my nieces for their encouragement and great support. May this study inspire you that hard work and sacrifice will be followed by success or good outcomes.

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Abstract

Violence in schools is on the rise in South Africa, and its impact on students is becoming increasingly clear. Of particular, gender-based violence is a challenge in many South African schools. Whilst most studies frequently focus only on the victims' experiences, this study explored the effects of gender-based violence on victims as well as the perpetrators. The aim of this study was to explore gender-based violence amongst high school youth at Vuma High School and Phakama High School situated in the township of Umlazi, Durban, KwaZulu-Natal. This study investigated the nature, causes and effects of gender- based violence at these chosen schools. The theoretical foundation of this study is based on a socio-constructivist approach, which underpins the study's methodological design and is informed by the perspectives of many researchers on gender violence among school-going learners. Twenty-four learners and twenty educators were purposively selected from two Durban-based high schools in the Umlazi district. The twenty-four learners interviewed were identified from educator's observation of conflict situations at the school, in the classroom and the playground, particularly between male and female learners. The educators identified those learners who diffused the conflict peacefully and those that fostered violent reactions. The learners chosen were from the FET phase (15-18 years of age). The twenty most senior educators formed the sample of educators for this study. Seniority was determined according to the number of years teaching experience.

Face-to-face interviews were conducted with both the learners and educators. Three focus groups interviews for learners as well as for educators were also conducted in each of the chosen schools. Participation in this study was voluntary with confidentiality maintained. The data was recorded and transcribed to ensure credibility. The results were interpreted and analysed against existing literature using thematic content analysis. The findings of this study revealed that gender-based violence was implicitly and explicitly enacted. The implicit violence took the form of having fun and joking at the expense of the girl learners. On the other hand, explicit violence took the form of interpersonal violence and sexual abuse. Significantly, it emerged that the main causes of gendered violent behaviour were associated with the boy learners' construction of masculinity as well as the gendered practices within the school environment.

This study recommends an integrated comprehensive approach of all stakeholders in the form of educational intervention programmes towards resolving school gender-based violence.

Keywords: gender, school-related gender-based violence, implicit gender-based violence, explicit gender-based violence, school-based violence

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Abbreviations

AAUW:	American Association of University Women
CSVR:	Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation
CPF:	Crime Policing Forum
DoE:	Department of Education
DUT:	Durban University of Technology
FET:	Further Education and Training
HIV:	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IASC:	Inter-Agency Standing Committee
KZN DBE:	KwaZulu Natal Department of Basic Education
MGLSD:	Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development
MoESTS:	Ministry of Education Science, Technology and Sports
NGO:	Non- governmental organisation
NSSF:	National safety and Security Framework
QMS:	Quality Management Systems
SAFP:	Substance Abuse Framework Policy
SAPS:	South African Police Service
SGB:	School Governing Body
SMT:	School Management Team
SRGBV:	School Related Gender-Based Violence
TV:	Television
UNESCO:	United Nations Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNHCR:	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
VAC:	Violence Against Children
WHO:	World Health Organisation
ZPD:	Zones of Proximal Development

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the study

This study examines gender-based violence at two high schools located in the Umlazi township, Durban, KwaZulu-Natal and the contributing factors that lead to gender-based violence among learners. Much of the existing research on gender-based violence was conducted with adult participants and these studies highlighted the hegemonic, patriarchal masculinity that was dominant at the time. The current study was conducted at a public school with learners who are often described as the *'Born Free Generation*', as they were born into a fully democratic South Africa, twenty-four years after apartheid ended.

Girls experience gender and sexual violence in schools around the world, and South Africa is no exception (Mayeza and Bhana 2021). Furthermore, despite the country's political response to violence against women and girls, school-going girls struggle with male violence in and out of the school environment. A study by Parkes, Ross, Heslop, Westerveld and Unterhalter (2017) found that both male and female school-going learners encounter school-related gender-based violence (SRGBV) on a daily basis, based on expanding worldwide data. The aforementioned study described SRGBV as: *"multi-dimensional, and includes physical, sexual and psychological acts of violence in and around schools that have their roots in inequalities, norms, exclusions and stigma with everyday interactions, and in institutions and structures of society*" (Parkers *et al.* 2017:4).

Several studies (Ryle 2011; Kagesten, Gibbs and Blum, 2016; Miana *et al.* 2020) found that one of the contributing factors towards gender inequalities was stereotypical gender norms which promoted inequalities between men and women. Such gender norms negatively influence sexual coercion and abuse, and unplanned pregnancies according to Nyamhanga and Flumence (2014) and may vary across social and cultural contexts according to Shefer, Kruger and Schepers (2015). Hence, norms within contexts in which young adolescents live are likely to influence how they behave as sexual beings (Shefer *et al.* 2015; Miana *et al.* 2020).

This study focused on gender-based violence among learners attending high school. The research study explored the different types of gender violence that learners at these chosen schools encountered, the causes of gender-based violence and the effects that the violence had on the victims as well as on the perpetrators.

This chapter presents the background, rationale and motivation for the study. The problem statement is outlines as well as the study's aim and objectives. A brief outline of the research design, data analysis, and the organisation of the chapters is provided.

1.2 Rationale for the study

SRGBV is multi-dimensional and includes physical, sexual, and psychological acts of violence in and around schools that have their roots in inequalities, norms, exclusions and stigma within everyday interactions, and in institutions and structures of society (Parkes *et al.* 2017). In South Africa, boys and their schooling have been subjected to scrutiny since the mid 1990's. However, studies of learners that include the views, perspectives and experiences of girls is limited. Significantly, studies of gender-based violence undertaken in South Africa have proved the influence of the construction of masculinities on behaviour (Bhana 2008; Anderson 2010; Hamlall 2013), however, to date, no study has been conducted in a township school setting that explores the nature, causes and consequences of gender-based violence on both boys and girls. Furthermore, social constructionists posit that individual of a particular culture construct knowledge and understanding of gender through the daily interaction with each other (Stride 2008). However, there is little understanding of the ways in which the boys and girls respond to the institutional and community practices and how they negotiate their subject positions in this environment. Accordingly, the rationale for this study was to explore the influence of the gender regime of the schooling environment on gender-based violence. Furthermore, this study is novel as it investigates the practices of the *Born Free Generation* of boys and girls in the post-apartheid era. Therefore, this study contributes to current research on the causes and effects of gender-based violence on young people.

In addition, this study serves as a departure point for the researcher's MTech dissertation (Dlungwane 2017) which focused on the class and ethnic nature of

perpetrators and victims of school violence. The study examined the intra-group interactions among peers and their positioning of each other in terms of violent behaviour. The research found that violence, aggression and competitiveness in the school setting often involved constant confrontations and challenges between genders. The style of the confrontations often resulted in actions or behaviour where boys felt they had to 'prove' themselves using violence as an indicator of masculinity. The victims of the violent actions in most cases were girls.

Following the completion of my master's degree, as a researcher, I still had a number of unanswered questions about learner behaviour. These included: what were the origins of unruly male behaviour, what form did violence take in the school and what was the place of gender dynamics in the prevalence of school violence? My interest in these questions prompted me to explore gender-based violence amongst school going high school youth in greater detail specially to understand and to consider the importance of gender when dealing with learner conflict and violence. While I use the school as a basis for this study, I am mindful of the location and surrounding context of this site. Therefore, it is imperative to understand and address what factors mediate the relationship between gender and violence (Loomis, Sonsteng-Person, aggers and Osteen 2020). Hence, the main focus of this research was to investigate the nature, causes and effects of violent behaviour among learners within two high schools in the Umlazi district and the extent to which these schools created conditions for, or reduces the possibilities of gender violence between and amongst the learners. The focus was to investigate the gender issues that influence aggressive, anger and violent acts among learners.

1.3 The research problem

The report of addressing gender-based violence in South African schools (Department of Education 2015) argues that gender-based violence is a major challenge in schools and it is under-reported. As such, the range of offences in schools, and how they interact, needs to be better understood. Some the school-based offences often taken for granted as 'normal' or harmless practice include certain graffiti in school toilets which may be considered abusive because they express and promote sexually abusive attitudes and contribute to creating a climate for more extreme offences.

SRGBV affects millions of children and adolescents worldwide (Chitsamatanga and Rembe, 2020). Moreover, the widespread of SRGBV in and around schools undermines the achievement of quality, inclusive and equitable education for all children and hampers the empowerment and transformation of the life of young people, especially girls. Parkers *et.al* (2017) stated that SRGBV signifies uneven access to economic, social, cultural, and political resources and authority to utilize them. The inequities are magnified by inequitable gender norms and stereotypes based on hierarchy and forms of subornation.

Moreover, Hyde (2014) believed that stereotypes about psychological gender differences are considered usual and influence people's behaviour. Kivela (2019:8) states that, "*among gender, other observable attributes such as ethnic background and age, have been found to cause responses which are based on biases, prejudices and stereotypes*".

Schools situated in the Umlazi township, Durban, KwaZulu-Natal were selected for this study, as earlier research conducted in the area revealed that traditional practices and socio-economic factors have resulted in discrimination and violence towards women (Duma 2013; Ngqela and Lewis 2019; Dlungwane 2017). However, little is known about the extent that traditional practices and socio-economic factors has on gender-based violence among young school-going learners in Umlazi.

Although the sample of this study is not representative of all schools in Umlazi, this study is an in-depth examination of gender-based violence in high schools in a particular district in Umlazi and will serve to enrich the understanding of gender-based violence in this particular context. The problem of gender-based violence in Umlazi is growing to alarming proportions and is often attributed to the high unemployment rates in the area (Ngqela and Lewis 2021). Moreso, it is considered a very 'normal' experience for township learners to witness assaults, stabbings and shootings (De Wet 2007). Even the KwaZulu- Natal Premier, Sihle Zikalala announced new plans to tackle gender-based violence and femicide in hotspots which included the school going youth in the area. Premier Zikalala further stated that, "*gender-based violence is the highest in Umlazi and Plessislaer and a redress was urgently needed*" Nyathikazi (2021:1). At the commemoration of International Men's Day, Premier Zikalala again highlighted the scourge of gender-based violence in Umlazi when he called on all men

in the province to take a firm stand in the fight against gender-based violence and child abuse (Nxumalo 2021).

Many commentators and scholars of gender-based violence have highlighted the need for a greater understanding of the perceptions of the youth in combatting gender-based violence. It is against this backdrop that this study undertakes an exploration of gender-based violence in two high schools in the Umlazi district. As such, the main focus of this study was to explore the perceptions, attitudes, beliefs and behaviour of a sample of high school township youth regarding gender-based violence. This focus was addressed by investigating the various conditions and situations within the school and beyond that influenced gender-based violence.

1.4 Research aims and objectives

The overall aim of the study was to investigate the gender-based violence among high school students in the Umlazi district and to explore how to resolve the conflicts constructively. Specific objectives were:

1. To explore the nature, causes, and consequences of gender-based violence among high school students in Umlazi.
2. To examine and evaluate efforts made so far to bring about peace and justice with respect to gender-based violence among high schools in general, but particularly with regards to Vuma High School and Phakama High School in the Umlazi district.

The study asked the following questions:

1. What is the nature, causes, and consequences of gender-based violence among high school students in Umlazi?
2. What efforts have been made so far to bring about peace and justice with respect to gender-based violence among high schools in general, but

particularly with regards to Vuma High School and Phakama High School in the Umlazi district?

1.5 Definitions of key concepts

The descriptions of key concepts frequently utilised in this research study are presented below:

1.5.1 Gender

The Global Guidance on Addressing School-related Gender-based Violence (2016:10) defined gender as, "*the social attributes and opportunities associated with being male and female and the relationships between women and men and girls and boys, as well as the relations between women and those between men. These attributes, opportunities and relationships are socially constructed and are learned through socialization processes*."

1.5.2 School-related gender-based violence (SRGBV)

According to Ross and Parkes (2020:559), SRGBV refers to:

(a) an expression of gender stereotyping and gender inequality at work in all of our societies, the reproduction of which is sustained through that violence:

(b) includes all forms of violence and threats of violence directed specifically against a pupil because of gender and/ or that affects girls and boys disproportionately, as the case may be.

(c) can be of a physical, sexual or psychological nature and take the form of intimidation, punishment, ostracism, corporal punishment, bullying, humiliation and degrading treatments, harassment, sexual abuses and exploitation.

(d) can be inflicted by pupils, teachers or members of the educational community.

(e) can occur within the school; in its outbuildings on the way to or from school; during extracurricular activities or through the increasingly widespread use of information and communication technology (ICT) (cyberbullying, sexual harassment through mobile phones).

(f) can have serious and long-term consequences such as loss of confidence and self-esteem, impaired physical and psychological health, early and unintended pregnancies, depressions, reduced learning achievement, absenteeism and dropout, aggressive behaviours."

1.5.3 Implicit gender-based violence

Implicit gender-based violence refers to the everyday institutional structures and practices (Dunne, Humphreys and Leach 2006). Examples include the appropriation of space and resources, shouting down females and public ridicule. The definition of violence is expanded to include the use of psychological (cognitive or emotional) force, that is, to include coercion (the non-physical equivalent of violence), both the verbal and the implicit may be forms of violence (Rutherford, Zwi and Grove, 2007). In South Africa, the dominant male culture is 'machismo', which is significant in the construction and performance of a form of hyper-masculinity which is often underwritten by implicit nature of violence (Bhana, Janak, Pillay and Ramrathan 2021).

1.5.4 Explicit gender-based violence

Explicit gender-based violence refers to more overtly sexualised encounters (Dunne, Humphreys and Leach 2006). Furthermore, this type of violence includes gender violence perpetrated by students on other students; by teachers on students; and by students on teachers.

According to Randeniya and Gamage (2016), explicit attitudes are consciously held attitudes formed through conscious processing. Ferrer-Perez *et al*. (2020) argued that attitudes play a central role in violence against women and is related to its origin, to the responses of women who suffer violence, and to the settings where it occurs. Moreover, these attitudes are recognised as one of the risk factors linked to violent perpetration and to public, professional, and victim responses to gender violence.

1.5.5 School-based bullying

According to Hemphill, Heerda and Gomo (2014), school-based bullying is a systematic abuse of power in a relationship formed at school characterised by:

- aggressive acts directed (by one or more individuals) towards victims that a reasonable person would avoid;
- acts which usually occur repeatedly over a period of time; and
- acts in which there is an actual or perceived power imbalance between perpetrators and victims, with victims often being unable to defend themselves effectively from perpetrators.

1.6 Overview of the research methodology and research design

This study has been stimulated by inductive reasoning. Using scientific reports, research and development publications, scholarly articles, standard requirements and legislative guidelines, the study explored the gender issues that influence aggressive, anger and violent acts among learners. The study recommends the development of training programmes on the management of gender-based violence at schools. The strategy that is adopted is both theoretical and empirical. A qualitative design research approach is used for the study.

Data collection involved purposeful sampling of literature, one-on-one interviews with learners and educators and focus group discussions on the chosen schools. The information gathered is analysed and utilised fully, to achieve the research aim and objectives. The validity of the study is based on credibility, dependability, trustworthiness, and transferability (Lincoln and Guba 1985).

1.7 Ethics

Ethics clearance for this study was granted by the Durban University of Technology (Annexure 1). Participation in the study is voluntary and all information about the respondents is confidential. Raw and personal data will be stored securely for five years and thereafter will be destroyed. A gatekeeper's letter to conduct the study at

the two chosen school was granted by the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Education (Annexure 2).

1.8 Structure of the study

The study is organised in the following eight chapters:

Chapter 1: Introduction

This chapter presented an overview of the study covering aspects such as background, problem statement, causes of gender based violence, aim and objectives, justification, research methodology and research design, ethics and the structure of the study.

Chapter 2: Gender-based violence among the South African youth

This chapter reviews national and international literature on school related youth gender-based violence. In this chapter, various types and causes of violence occurring at schools in South Africa are investigated.

Chapter 3: Literature review – Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework underpinning this study is presented and how identity impacts on gender relations. In this chapter, various types of school related gender based violence occurring at schools in the Global North, in Africa and in South Africa are reviewed.

Chapter 4: Intervention programmes and strategies to combat youth gender-based violence

This chapter presents a review of intervention programmes and strategies.

Chapter 5: Research design and methodology

This chapter explains the design of the research and the rationale adopted for this study. The research methodology is presented, and the research paradigm is justified.

Chapter 6: Results and discussion: Perceptions, attitudes, beliefs and behaviour

This chapter presents, discusses and analyses the data into various themes and sub-themes from the interviews and focus group discussion to explore the constructs of perceptions, attitudes, beliefs and behaviour towards gender-based violence at the chosen schools.

Chapter 7: Results and discussion: The causes and effects of gender-based violence

This chapter presents and discusses key emerging themes from the findings related to the causes and effect of gender-based violence at the chosen schools.

Chapter 8: Conclusion and recommendation

This chapter presents the conclusion and recommendations which are made based on the study.

1.9 Conclusion

This chapter contextualised the research and served to identify the gap in the research on gender-based violence among learners attending township schools in South Africa in the post-apartheid era. This chapter presented an overall view of the context of the study, the background to the study and the schools selected as research sites. The purpose and the rationale for the study were specified and the main research questions were formed. The research design and methodology were described.

The next chapter presents and discusses the causes and contributing factors that lead to youth gender-based violence among high school learners in South African schools.

CHAPTER 2: GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE AMONG THE SOUTH AFRICAN YOUTH

2.1 Introduction

This chapter highlights a range of discussion on related literature of external and internal gender-based violence in South African schools. The researcher differentiated between external gender-based violence that is generated externally to schools but has an impact on internal gender-based violence. Internal gender-based violence is generated within the school premises but may have origins outside the school.

Young people are most likely to be both the victims and perpetrators of violence, worldwide (Krug, Dahlberg, Mercy, Zwi and Lozano 2002) and in South Africa (Seedat, Van Niekerk, Jewkes, Suffla and Ratele 2009). Concerns about crime and violence has remained at a high level for generations. Violence among youth is a common problem, but incidences can vary among different individuals and populations (Hall, Kulig and Kalischuk 2011). More so, many people have preconceived ideas about violence which is shaped by a mix of personal experience as well as media and other influences.

Catherine, van der Merwe and Dawes (2012) highlighted that in South Africa from the years 1976 and into the 1980s, a large proportion of black township youth were involved in violent political resistance to apartheid. Many thousands of adolescents were subject to state violence, including violent suppression of protest activity, killings, torture and imprisonment without trial. While the apartheid system has been abolished, its traces remain firmly entrenched in these neighbourhoods, which are still largely segregated along lines of class and race. As will become evident in the analysis of this study the socio-economic drivers of youth violence have not changed significantly.

2.2 Causes of gender-based violence

The study of gender-based violence has many complications. It is clear in the report of gender-based violence in South Africa (2016) that the cause of it cannot be attributed to a single factor, but an interplay of individual, community, economic, cultural and religious factors interacting at different levels of society. All these factors

ranging from gender inequalities between men and women, social constructions of hegemonic masculinities, social perceptions of what it means to be a man, normalisation of violence, and cultural practices influence how the youth of South Africa relate to gender-based violence. Crime statistics released annually by the South African Police Service (SAPS) do not provide much information about gender-based violence. They provide some information about sexual offences, but questions have been raised about their reliability and whether they are overestimating or underestimating the problem. Furthermore, many victims of gender-based violence are unlikely to go to police stations to report their cases due to the patriarchal attitudes of some police officials (Vetten 2005). Among the youth the reporting of v is even more limited. There is therefore a reporting bias in terms of the statistics released by the SAPS.

Gender-based violence among youth is a widespread problem in South Africa. Past structural inequalities have created a climate conducive to violence against women. In South Africa, gender-based violence is a widespread problem of substantial concern. Social and economic conditions in the South African townships, exacerbated by a history of apartheid, have created a climate for violence against young females. For a country not at war, South Africa has some of the worst statistics regarding gender-based violence (Moffett, 2006). Findings in a study by Moffet, McAdam and Humphreys (2011) suggested that the context in which gender-based violence occurs is a midst cultural constructions entitlement to which girls are expected to submit and highlight the need to critically engage young people about patriarchal gendered relations.

Gender-based violence among the youth is enacted to a large extent within the schooling arena. Gender discrimination is one critical challenge in curbing school gender-based violence and is a barrier to achieving gender equality (Beninger 2013; Masinga 2017). Robinson (2008) reported that gender-based violence in developing countries hinder learners' enrolments, retention and academic achievement. Violence and particularly gender-based violence, runs counter to the country's commitment to work towards non-violence and gender equality (Masinga 2017).

2.3 Gender-based violence in South African schools

Shabalala (2012) stated that the educational systems and religious institutions play a key role in gender socialization and can act as agents of transformation. In schools, effort to empower girls include amongst other things encouraging them to enter areas of study and intellectual pursuits that can cause a space for them in society. Boys are taught to be tough, masculine and to tolerate pain as a man, moreover, crying among boys is strictly discouraged (Mthiyane 2013).

2.3.1 School gender regimes and school gender-based violence

Mirembe and Davies (2001) cited in Ngakane (2010) stated that in many schools in Uganda, the formal curriculum is used to promote gender roles, that is girls and boys are channelled into the appropriate future careers. For example, girls do home management which is composed of serving, cookery, washing and keeping the home, while boys study food and nutrition because it is seen as technical. This approach to the curriculum serves to promote notions of male supremacy. Ngakane (2010) reported that in Jewish and Arab public schools in Israel more boys than girls are victims of sexual harassment.

It was found in a study conducted in the United States by Stein (2000), that students, teachers and school officials from schools that actively strive to enhance gender equality and have less tolerance for .SRGBV will be more inclined to report violence than students, teachers and school officials who are from schools that are more lenient and perpetuate the gender norms. Carrera-Fernandez *et al.* (2013:2915) stated that, "*large-scale studies across many countries in Northern America, South America, Europe and the Middle East have shown that boys and girls tend to be victims of violence at similar rates*".

Drury *et al.* (2013) argued that gender role and gender-typical behaviours appear to influence who gets bullied. For instance, girls who show less feminine behaviour experience more victimization. Navarro, Larranaga and Yubero (2011) stated that boys who display more feminine behaviour are more likely to be victimised. Davis (2013) argued that the age and power differentials within classrooms, may render girls vulnerable to sexual coercion by older young men in school due to limited infrastructure, displacement, and many older youths' returning to school after the

fighting. Atwood *et al.* (2011) stated that girls in Monrovia said that they exchanged sex for financial rewards, to earn respect, and for grades. Therefore, the power differential makes it extremely difficult to refuse sex.

Gender regimes are often shaped by masculinity constructs within a school setting. Therefore, it is important to understand the constructs of masculinity in studies of gender violence. However few studies have looked at masculinity construction and its implications for gender-based violence. Hamlall (2010), for example, found that avoiding humiliation is reactive and defensive and bolstering fragile masculinities is aggressive and assertive. Furthermore, boys try to bolster their own fragile masculinity by humiliating girls and using romance to prove heterosexuality. In some cases, violence or the threat of violence is used to ensure that girls conform to the hegemonic norm of boys being in charge. Ramchunder (2012) stated that some school spaces, peer pressure, media and dominant discourses of masculinity are some factors that contribute to gender-based violence at schools. Furthermore, boys drew on dominant discourses of gender in the context, which generally accord power to masculinities, at the expense of femininities. As such, this study looked at the ways in which 'being a man' are understood and legitimated and the implications of these constructions for violence against women.

According to the study by Martin (2011), children learn to behave, present and position themselves in gendered ways through a myriad of socialisation processes, including play, which begins very early in life. Moreover, Martin (2011) elaborated on the understanding of gender as learnt by documenting how learners new to the school learn and adopt gendered play behaviours by observing the play activities and group organisations of older and more established learners and reproduce these gender norms in their own play patterns. Learners learn gender from other learners and adults through various social processes and practices of inclusion, exclusion and policing on the playground during break at school (Mayeza 2017). Thorne (1993) highlighted children's gendering of play and demonstrate that when boys and girls in the elementary years of schooling come together on the playground they often do so as gendered beings strong investments in maintaining and policing the boundaries between masculinity and femininity. Hunki and Renold (2015) suggested that boys are particularly more actively engaged in the (re) production of gendered play and associated inequalities than girls.

Bhana (2015) found that girls challenged boys' domination on the school playground by enacting sexualised games in which they lifted their dresses to show off their panties. The boys abandoned the playground space as they regarded this practice as stigma towards their construction of masculinity - one which involved a distinct separation from girls. Gendered playground rituals and practices such as this emerge as girls demonstrate powerful forms of resistance to boys' claims of power and domination over them during play (Mayeza 2017).

According to the study by Mayeza (2017), organised sporting activities for learners are limited to soccer and netball. These sporting codes are strictly gendered, with soccer mainly played by boys and netball only played by girls. The school does not have its own formal sports grounds for organised sporting activities. Space for break time play activities is also very limited especially in light of the challenge of overcrowded classrooms. During break, children use the schoolyard to play different games. The playground is predominantly used for soccer games which excludes all girls and some boys-particularly those who are viewed as not 'properly' masculine and labelled 'gay.' Mayeza (2017) further stated that the school playground is not simply a site of enjoyment and where learners can spend their free time. Mayeza (2017) findings showed that it is a space where some boys and girls are subjected to humiliation, anxiety and demoralisation while for others, it is a place where they are able to exercise domination and cement hegemonic positions. Moreover, Mayeza, believed that the Life Orientation module in the high school curricula can play a vital role in terms of challenging the "normative" gender expectations that constrain and limit boys' and girls' interests and possibilities on the playground. Life Orientation is concerned with exploring ways of promoting positive human and social development by challenging prejudices, inequalities and discriminatory attitudes and practices (Mayeza 2017).

Girls oriented into traditionally feminine subjects and careers due to an oppressive patriarchal ideology reinforces gender role stereotypes which are communicated through the hidden curriculum and also conveyed in teachers' attitudes (Mutekwe and Modiba 2012; Mutekwe and Mutekwe 2012; Masinire 2015). Hunnicutt (2009) cited in Masinire (2015) defined patriarchy as a theoretical concept that seeks to explain the social arrangements that privileges males, where males as a group dominate women

as a group, both structurally and ideologically at macro levels of government and also at the micro level of family structures. At the micro level of the school structure in Zimbabwe, patriarchal ideology manifest itself, for example, through boys receiving more teacher attention than girls, perceptions among teachers that boys outperform girls in academic subjects, and curricula text representations which portray boys as superior to girls (Mutekwe and Modiba 2012).

Masinire (2015) stated that the colonial vocational technical curriculum offered to the Black students in Zimbabwe was very explicit in terms of the gender division of labour. Boys studied the manually demanding technical subjects such as Building, Agriculture, Metal Work and Carpentry which prepared them for the public domain of work. On the other hand, girls studied Knitting and Cookery so that they could fit squarely into the appropriate domestic sphere of the state (Mungazi 1991; Masinire 2015).

A particularly important symbolic structure in education is the gendering of knowledge – the defining of certain areas of the curriculum as masculine and others as feminine. Schools do not merely reflect the dominant sexual and gender ideology of the wider society, but actively produce gender and heterosexual divisions. Achyut, Bhatla and Khandekar (2011) found that both genders actively reinforced gender boundaries through their perceptions of certain subjects as being male or female; boys tended to emphasise the importance for girls of the stereotypically feminine subjects, while defending their dominance of science and technology on the grounds of mental ability and physical strength. This leads to the perpetuation of hegemonic, dominant masculinity. Dragowski and Scharro´n-del Rı´o (2014) asserted that the production and perpetuation of hegemonic/dominant masculinity plays a pivotal role in various forms of aggression and violence in schools and that there are connections between expressions of dominant masculinity and violence occurring in schools.

Brijraj (2016) believed that if there is to be a positive culture of teaching and learning in schools, the learning environment would have to be a violence free zone, safe and conducive to learning. Moreover, the democratic management style is most suited to positive management by the SMT. Brijraj, further stated that the learner-centred approach applies to the use of discipline proactively and constructively which enhances learners' self- control and emphasises the need to respect others and reiterates that for all action consequences exist. There is also evidence to suggest that

rigid forms of discipline are related to the development of particular 'tough' forms of behaviour among learners (Gregory and Cornell 2009; Konold *et al.* 2014). When teachers (male or female) adopt more authoritarian types of discipline with pupils they are helping to create a more violent culture within the school (Cornell, Shukla and Konold 2015).

As such, schools need to actively promote a gender equal, respectful, non-violent culture with gender aware pedagogy amongst learners, teachers and other staff (Fergus and van't Rood 2013). Furthermore, the potential for young people to act as agents of change provides one of the greatest hopes for achieving the social transformation necessary to end GBV and can be unlocked through high-quality, gender sensitive education. In addition, a report by Plan International (2012) highlighted that:

"…education increases women's employment opportunities and socio- economic status. The empowerment of women reduces the unequal power relationship between women and men which has been identified as the root cause of GBV. However, the level of education is a very blunt measurement, and if not properly addressed, schools can instead turn into reproducers of harmful societal norms and practices and became unsafe. It is therefore necessary for schools and other educational institutions to apply strategies to prevent and respond to violence. Teachers play a key role and the introduction of gender-responsive pedagogics in the education process, as does sexuality education in the school curricula. This can help unlock the potential of schools as sites for empowerment of girls and boys and for the Prevention of GBV."

As schools and other educational institutions are directly affected by the overall societal context, interventions can also focus on involving other key stakeholders in the transformation of gender discriminatory norms, attitudes and behaviours (Fulu, Kerr-Wilson and Lang 2014). The aforementioned study provided the following examples:

- Support and coordinate existing government and civil society initiates from different sectors working to enact laws and improve existing laws on GBV and education.

- Involve local communities and parents through parent-teacher associations to change attitudes and behaviours on a societal level, but also assure that educational institutions are held accountable in their preventive work.
- Support group education (outside school) combined with community mobilization.

The above interventions usually provide training on topics like masculinities, gender equality and GBV to adolescents who in turn mobilise others through different community events (Fulu, Kerr-Wilson and Lang 2014).

2.4 Causes of youth gender-based violence

Clark (2012) argued that to address or prevent gender-based violence, it was important to understand its causes as it is difficult to address a problem without understanding its causes. The recognition of violence against girls as a significant barrier to social and economic development in all parts of the world is linked with the understanding that societal mistreatment of schoolgirls is reflected in the culture of the nations that marginalize and lessen the value of women and their contribution to the society (Wilson 2014). Numerous contextual factors contribute to the development of violent behaviour among learners at school (Cowie and Jennifer 2012).

According to Dzinavane (2016) gender-based violence is deeply and systematically entrenched in patriarchal and cultural attitudes that perpetuate male supremacy, dominance and power, thereby further subordinating women, and girls. Reflective of the wider community context, schools, which bring into close proximity a collective of young people, tend to be a fertile environment for gendered violence by and against youth (Ngidi and Moletsane 2015). Thus, young women and adolescent girls in particular, are at heightened risk of sexual abuse at home, at school and within their respective communities.

Violent and aggression behaviour is a result of complex interaction between the individual and multiple systems or contexts, such as the family, school, the community, culture and environment (Cassella 2012; Masinga 2016). Ward (2007) argued that various factors in these environments where in children live influence their

development. Darj *et al.* (2017) stated that the distinct gender related social norms and behaviours influence inequalities between men and women build the foundation of gender-based violence. The following factors contribute to the development of youth gender-based violence at schools:

2.4.1 Political factors

Msezane (2015) argued that the law of apartheid created a generation which believed that the only way to achieve change was through violence. Most people believe that to prove the seriousness of their intentions, they must embark on violent actions. Msezane (2015) further stated that violence is related to the fundamental dislocation of society under apartheid, which resulted in a generation of parents who were products of abnormal and disintegrated family structures as a result they lack the vital parenting skills required to raise morally upstanding children. This is supported by the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR 2016) study which found tat institutionalised racism during apartheid helped internalise low self-worth among the oppressed, which led to resurgence in violence.

2.4.2 Individual-related factors

The individual factors that contribute to one's engagement in gender violence and aggression at school include the personality and biological characteristics of the individual such as impulsiveness, hyperactivity, restlessness and short attention span (Cowie and Jennifer 2012; Ward 2007; Masinga 2016). Van der Merwe, Dawes and Ward (2012) identified age and gender as factors that contribute to violence. All these biological and personality-related variables, in combination with other factors, contribute to gender school violence. Several authors identified personality traits such as low frustration tolerance levels, feelings of powerlessness, lack of commitment to school, low academic ambitions and poor academic performance (Khan 2008; Pedro 2012; Cowie and Jennifer 2012; Masinga 2016).

Rogers (2013) reported that boys with low impulse control, using substances and performing poorly, are some of the characteristics of individuals who are most likely to engage in gender-based violence. Some learners are resilient and have protective characteristics such as sense of self-efficacy, high intelligence and having outgoing personality (Cowie and Jennifer 2012; Masinga 2016). A boy can contribute to

intensification of the dispute and can respond angrily to a provocation, or he can turn away and choose a non- confrontation course in a situation of a conflict (Hamlall and Morrell 2009). They further stated that one of the reasons why he may choose the former course as if he is aware of peer observation and feels that his honour is at stake. However, an autonomous approach to masculinity construction would promote peaceful resolutions to conflict.

Boys who witness or experience violence as children are more likely to use violence against women as adults (Dzinavane 2016). The experiences of early engagement in anti-social behaviour such as substance abuse and crime places results, many young people at risk of perpetuating gender-based violence (Cowie and Jennifer 2012; Masinga 2016).

2.4.3 Peer-related factors

Learners who engaged in gang membership and associate with anti-social peers are at an increased risk of becoming involved in gender violence either as victims or perpetrators (Espelage, Basile, De La Rue and Harmburger 2015; Casella 2012; Masinga 2016). Espelage *et al.* (2015) stated that stress associated with being stigmatized can marginalize as well as isolate youth and therefore impact their pursuit of intimacy via romantic relationship. Osadebe (2013) stated that peers who hold pro-violence values and attitudes instigate each other and work together to cause gender violence in school. Cowie and Jennifer (2012) postulated that this often happens when there is poor communication between children and their parents. Therefore, the developing youngsters look up to their peers for support and acceptance. The school system is an environment for peers to provide such support and it is also the place where violent behaviour can be influenced by peers.

Boys who engage themselves into a hyper-heterosexual masculinity are bound by its values to fight over girls (Hamlall and Morrell 2009). Moreover, the developing fights based in this context indicates that boys (groups or friends) are not actually defending their girlfriends. They are defending themselves from the fact of keeping their human dignity and display power towards each other because real boys protect the honour of their girlfriends and failing to do so shows that he is not fully masculine, which may indicate that he is either homosexual, weak or effeminate. Therefore, in these

situations boys want to prove themselves to their peers and to avoid humiliation by reacting in an aggressive, overtly, violent, manly, way (Hamlall and Morrell 2009). In the same vein these boys feel a sense of entitlement and control over their girlfriends since risking their masculine reputations to defend their girlfriends. In many cases these boys and young men use violence to maintain this control.

Many studies of masculinity revealed that in order to achieve successful heterosexuality, men and boys seek to show their distance from homosexuality (Barker 2005; Jewkes and Morrell 2010; Morojele 2011). Other research, for example Langa (2010), in his study of young masculinities found that female affection affirmed the young men's sense of manhood among his peers and that having a girlfriend was an important indicator of being a "real man". It is these forms of masculinity that prescribe particular ways of being a man and legitimate gender inequitable practices (Morrell and Jewkes 2011). One example can be found in the concept of *isoka*, that is, the Zulu man with multiple sexual partners, popular with women, and the envy of other men. However, Zulu women who develop intimate relations with more than one man are chastised as being *izifebe*: loose women (Hunter 2010). Such affirmations stoke beliefs that fertile women with multiple partners spread fatal bodily pollution (*umnyama*). In order to re-gain peer affirmation men would often use violence against such women in order to 'correct' their behaviour.

2.4.4 Family-related factors

Some learners are shielded by the family environment which is depicted by a strong sense of attachment, stable, warm and caring interpersonal relationships, accompanied by clear and consistent rules and discipline (Cowie and Jennifer 2012). Therefore, the family has an influence on children's development and behaviour.- Children who are raised in families where physical violence is used, where there is lack of affection and care, where sibling rivalry is high and where the domestic violence experience is more likely to perpetuate gender-based violence at school (Pedro 2012; Dupper 2013). Le Roux and Mokhele (2011) pointed out that children who are exposed to domestic violence learn that gender violence is a normal and acceptable method for conflict resolution. Therefore, these children are more likely use violence against their peers or other learners at school.

Perry (2009) observed that families who display high levels of violence also place their children at a high risk of perpetrating violence against their peers and others. According to Shaiknang (2011) various home experiences have an influence on children's behaviour. For example, if children spend little time with their families at home, they may end up seeking unsuitable social experiences outside, experiences that sometimes have negative results. Factors such as divorce and poverty as well as physical and mental abuse, damage to self-control, attention deprivation, love deprivation and excessive control adversely affect children's ability to function properly (Eisenbraun 2007; Shaikanang 2012; Masinga 2016).

2.4.5 Community-related factors

Burton (2008) argued that the existence of gang activities, availability of weapons, alcohol and drugs within communities are identified as causes of gender-based violence in schools. The occurrences of gender-based violence in schools is often caused by community level risk factors such as access to alcohol, drugs and weapons and high crime rates. Easy access to drugs and alcohol influences a culture and levels of related gender-based violence in schools (Singh and Steyn 2013; Leoschut 2013). Ncontsa and Shumba (2013) provided an example of a girl who witnessed other boys selling drugs at school and was beaten on the school premises by people who came from outside the school.() It was reported that the people from the community gave learners weapons to make other children afraid. Furthermore, it was reported that learners who are mostly male often use their associations with notorious members of the community to intimidate girls and the threat of violence to subordinate and abuse girls. Sometimes this can lead to fatal accidents (Ncontsa and Shumba 2013).

Poor and marginalised neighbourhoods, characterised by high rates of gangsterism, easy access to weapons, alcohol and drugs experience more dysfunction which poses more risk factors for school related gender violence (Masinga 2016; Ncontsa and Shumba 2013). Bronfenbrenner (1979) cited in Masinga (2016) confirmed that school related gender-based violence is an outcome of individual, family, peers, community and societal level factors which interact with one another within the environmental context.

The common violence experienced in many communities and surroundings leads to repercussion within the school environment whereby learners come to school carrying weapons and indulge in drug abuse activities (Ncontsa and Shumba 2013). This often can lead to violence. This implies that learners who use drugs at school become violent and violate other learners' rights. School related gender-based violence stems from societal factors which the school has no control, such as inequality and specific cultural beliefs and attitudes about gender roles (MiET Africa 2009; Burton 2008). Gender-based violence stems from cultural stereotypes and practices that perpetuate gender inequality (Pinheiro 2006; Masinga 2016). Leach *et al.* (2003) states that schools are fertile breeding grounds for potentially damaging gendered practices which remain with learners into adult life.

Culture and religion also play a vital role in how the youth view the gendered position of women in school and community (Coetzee 2001; Ridgeway and Correll 2004; Nkani 2006; Moorosi 2008; Morrell 2009; Dzinavane 2016). African women have many boundaries within the cultural sphere such as, ilobola (bride wealth) not allowed to prepare food for the men including brewing of traditional beer if a woman is in her menstrual cycle. These boundaries also extend to the religious spectrum (Perry 2002; Dzinavane 2016). Patriarchy has become a norm to many youths which they also take to school with them (Joseph 2011). Moreover, being raised in a high patriarchal society is bound to influence boys' perceptions of gender, gender equity and sexism (Joseph 2011). According to Clark (2012), the structural violence is less visible and manifests in the form of poverty and unemployment and is accompanied by inequality and power imbalances.

2.5 Nature of youth-based violence

Espelage *et al.* (2015) stated that the presence of gang in schools appears to play in role in the type of violence or victimization that youth experience. Forber-Pratt *et al.* (2014) stated that results from a qualitative study on perceptions of school violence among middle school teachers and learners suggested that when gang activity was present in schools, victimization tended to be more sexualized, including sexual and gender-based harassment. Furthermore, some studies suggested that as perceptions of school gender-based violence and crime increase, there might be greater victimization generally and increased victimisation that specifically targets youth.

Therefore, school gender-based violence and crime might actually heighten the relation between victimization and mental health issues of youth.

An inherent problem with the current conceptualization of youth sexual violence is its exclusion of chronic "low severity" forms of gender-based violence known as micro - aggressions (Gartner and Sterzing 2016). Sue (2010:5) defined gender micro-aggressions as, "*intentional and unintentional insults, invalidations and assault based on gender and are most frequently perpetrated against women and girls*."

Gartner and Sterzing (2016:492) study states that:

"*The exclusion of gender micro-aggressions from the current conceptualization of youth sexual violence (a) creates a false impression that chronic, 'low severity' forms of violence are less harmful that infrequent, 'high severity' forms, (b) fosters environments that ignore or condone gender micro-aggressions inadvertently normalizing sexual violence against girls, (c) hinders the identification of upstream prevention strategies targeting gender micro-aggressions as acts of youth sexual violence before they escalate into legally actionable offence."*

Gender micro-aggressions are deeply impactful, not simply because of the direct harm that they cause but because of the cultural meaning they activate (Gartner and Sterzing 2016). Furthermore, in their study while sexually harassment and sexual assault are observable with a much clear connection between event and negative outcomes the harmful effect of gender micro-aggressions is often based on cognitive mediation such as activation of cultural stereotype. Aggression is defined as an international behaviour aimed at causing physical or emotional pain (De Wall, Anderson and Bushman 2011).

Other researchers viewed aggression as a multidimensional construct comprised of many forms, such as overt and relational, and functions such as instrumental and reactive (Berkowitz 1993; Little, Jones, Henrich and Hawley 2003). This differed from rational aggression, which involves behaviours intended to damage someone's friendships or failings or inclusion in a group such as gossiping, spreading rumours or preventing friendship (Berkowitz 1993; Crick 1996; Little *et al.* 2003).

Boys tend to engage in overt violent behaviours and instrumental aggression for personal gain or power (Zahn *et al.* 2008; Herman and Silverstein 2012). Girls tend to engage in relational aggression and may be violent when dealing with relationships, peers and romantic partners, instigation by outsiders, or family arguments (Zahn *et al.* 2008; Herman and Silverstein 2012). Moreover, they may also react violently in response to verbal exchanges, episodes of threatened self-esteem, in self-defence to prevent further attack or in anger, and when sexual mixed messages cultivate conflict.

2.6 Extent of youth gender-based violence

In South Africa, the entrenched views about male privilege and power produce an environment that makes young African women most vulnerable to violence and risk (Bhana 2009; Dzinavane 2016; Chappell 2016; Ali, Karmalian, Mcfarlane, Khuwaga and Somani 2017). Media reports often reveal horrific incidents of different forms of gender violence that occur within and outside school premises in KwaZulu-Natal. Bowman (2012) reported that a grade 12 girl, 19 years old, was stabbed in the shoulder and lower back in a classroom at Egagasini Secondary School in Umlazi by a 17-year-old male classmate. It was further reported that in secondary schools more than 80 percent of the assaults, sexual assaults, robberies or threats of violence were perpetrated by fellow male pupils. Such incidents continue even at tertiary institutions. For example, Chiniah (2018) reported that Zolile Khumalo, a Mangosuthu University situated at Umlazi Township, a student was shot and murdered by the ex-boyfriend, Thabani Mzolo who is also a former Mangosuthu University student.

Vagi *et al.* (2013) argued that primary prevention of dating violence during adolescence has emerged as a focus of public health injury control efforts due to its prevalence and negative consequences for adolescent or youth health development. The Centre for Disease Control and Prevention (2014) reported that, approximately 10% of high school learners nationwide are hit, slapped or physically hurt on purpose by a dating partner each year. Dating violence victimization can result in harmful and enduring consequences including depression, substance use, suicide ideation and injury. Moreover, patterns of relationship conflict that are established during adolescence may carry over into adulthood, thereby contributing to the intergenerational transmission of interpersonal violence (Bouchey and Furman 2003; Reyers, Foshee, Niolon, Reidy and Hall 2016).

According to Department of Education (South Africa 2015), gender-based violence is a major issue in schools. According to the Department of Education, tolerance of gender-based violence in schools is a serious form of discriminatory treatment that compromises the learning environment and educational opportunities for girls (Wilson 2011; Shabalala 2016; South Africa 2018). Girls are disproportionately the victims of physical and sexual abuse at school. Girls are raped, sexually assaulted, abused and sexually harassed by their male classmates and even by their teachers.

Pereznieto *et al*. (2010) identified sexual exploitation, where sexual violence is perpetrated on a child by a person in a position of authority or trust, with remuneration in cash or kind. Within the school context, this remuneration takes the form of money for school fees or supplies, or good marks in exchange for sexual favours (Masinga 2016). Furthermore, sexual and gender-based violence basically involves the abuse of power to capitalise on the vulnerability of the victims for the sexual gratification of the perpetrator.

Deane (2018) study stated that differences in gender roles and behaviours give rise to inequalities and disadvantages wherein these differences allow one gender to become more powerful than the other. This is prevalent among some cultures and is evident from societies that view women as subordinate to men; as having a lower social status with no decision-making, powers and thereby giving men control over women (WHO 2016).

2.7 Effects of youth gender-based violence

Incidents of sexual violence and hate crimes in South African schools are greatly under-reported (Ngidi and Moletsane 2015; Langa 2018). When less extreme harassment is condoned, it can and does lead to more extreme forms of violence such as rape, and physical and sexual harassment. According to Department of Education (South Africa 2015), gender-based violence erodes social cohesion. Social cohesion refers to the resources that work together so that we function satisfactorily and develop as individuals and as a society. Mullick *et al.* (2010) argued that poor gender relations and gender-based violence degrade human potential and relationships. This can lead to a loss of self-esteem, failure to fulfil ambitions, school dropouts, unwanted pregnancies, substance abuse and loss of educational opportunities. These in turn

result in unemployment or under-employment, further substance abuse, child neglect, new cycles of gender- based- violence and abuse, and an ongoing lack of capacity for community involvement and development.

According to Wilson (2014), the recognition of violence against girls as a significant barrier to social and economic development in all parts of the world is linked with the understanding that the societal mistreatment of schoolgirls is reflected in the culture of the nations that marginalize and lessen the value of women and their contribution to the society. Furthermore, school-related gender violence in developing countries takes place on the context of inequality and specific cultural beliefs and attitudes about gender roles, especially concerning male and female sexuality, a pattern of economic inequality, and in some instances significant political unrest and violent conflict (Wilson 2014).

Chitrali *et al.* (2014) stated that the existence of gender-based violence in schools leads to low or poor educational output. The impacts of gender-based school experiences on enrolment retention and achievement outcomes found that sexual harassment, physical assault and verbal abuse are significantly contributed towards irregularity in attendance and lower grades among girls (Dunne, Humphreys and Leach 2006). Pereznieto *et al.* (2010) stated that the experiences of gender-based violence at schools could also introduce truancy thereby undermining learners' ability to learn with a consequent negative impact on their academic output. Chitrali *et al*. (2014) study put into consideration the effects of violence find that gender-based violence causes school dropout significantly with physical violence and psychological violence.

Sikweyiya, Nduna, Khuzwayo, Mthombeni and Mashamba-Thompson (2016) argued that growing up with an absent father is a risk factor to gender-based violence perpetrated by boys. Moreover, boys who perpetrate violence against girls are likely to be those who did not co-reside with their biological fathers, had poor father-son relations or did not even know their fathers. Girls with fathers are likely to have poor heterosexual adjustment, dissatisfying and violent sexual relationships.

Devers *et al.* (2012) argued that many victims of gender-based violence who continue to attend school loose interest, lack concentration, and as a result they perform poor

in academic. Victims of gender-based violence may become hyper vigilant or extremely lethargic, often leading to the deterioration of their academic performance and contributing to absenteeism, failure or low achievement causing girls even drop out from school before graduation which affect their ability to reach their academic aspirations (Walker and Smith Jr 2009; Mncube and Harber 2012; Badri 2014; Mgijima 2014; Masinga 2016). Some girls fall pregnant, contract sexual diseases, become stressed, develop poor self-esteem or become emotionally withdrawn due to gender-based violence (Mncube and Harber 2012; Mgijima 2014).

School-related gender-based violence has very real consequences in learners' lives ranging from self-esteem and depression to early and unintended pregnancy (UNESCO 2018). Moreover, this violence also has a serious impact on educational outcomes, with many learners avoiding school, achieving below their potential or dropping out.

2.8 Consequences of youth gender-based violence

According to the study by Brown (2016), feelings of isolation, depression, self-hate and at times suicide ideation resulted from experiences of violence and, or bullying, which were again implicated in poor academic achievement and early school leaving. More so, SRGBV often results in poor performance, irregular attendance, dropout, truancy, and low self-esteem, in addition to the serious health and psychological effects (UNGEI-UNESCO 2013). This suggested that schools should strongly condemn gender-based violence, as it discriminates and constraints the freedom of movement, choices and activities of female learners. Furthermore, girls being constantly intimidated leads to poor participation in learning activities and that erodes the basis of equal opportunity realized through equal access to education.

Victims of school-related gender-based violence experience decreased self-esteem, unsure and unsafe feelings in school, avoidance of school, and eventually drop-out (Peguero and Popp 2012). Franks, Dunn, Wyss and Williams (2015) stated that youth, regardless of whether they are perpetrators or victims, can experience depression, eating disorders, suicidal ideation, sexually transmitted diseases and unplanned pregnancy as well as, engagement in future violent behaviours. Lampert (2014) argues that the most pressing concern in Namibia is the increasing reports of gender-

based violence is widely reported to be targeting women and girls (Brown 2016). Gender-based violence does not only limit individual freedom, but also prevent schools from building the capacity of students (Taole 2016). In South Africa, many schools are no longer regarded as centres of knowledge, instead, they have been transformed into battlegrounds (Asbeh 2010).

In summary, interventions to eradicate gender-based violence presents a far more complex challenge. Much of our effort in South Africa has been focused on response. However, it is inferred that such response efforts must be supported and complemented by prevention programming and policy development. By understanding the nature, extent and effects of GBV, schools will be better equipped to address the underlying, interlinked causes of GBV and as such work towards intervention and prevention strategies.

2.9 Conclusion

This chapter reviewed pertinent literature in the South African and international context regarding the causes, nature, extent, effects and consequences of youth GBV. As this study is located within an analysis of the gender regime at schools, it is therefore important to understand the extent to which the gender regime of a school creates conditions for or reduces the possibilities of gender-based violence. The review of literature showed that a gender regime may not necessarily reflect gender inequalities or, at least, may reflect more equitable arrangements that might be a harbinger of gender change.

The next chapter provides a broad review of literature that explores the problem of school related gender-based violence, discusses the theoretical models that informed this study and reviews work on the implicit and explicit nature of gender-based violence.

CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 Introduction

This chapter reviewed literature that is relevant to the key research questions of this thesis, which investigated the perceptions, attitudes, beliefs and behaviour of a sample of high school township youth with regard to gender-based violence. In-depth exploration of individual and group attitudes, beliefs and behaviour towards women of a sample of township youth was explored. The aim of this literature review was to identify and discuss the literature surrounding the conceptions that underpin the research study. The chapter begins with a short introduction exploring the problem of school related gender-based violence. The theoretical framework that informs this study is then discussed. The rest of the chapter is discussed under the following sub-headings: the theoretical framework which explores the Social Identity Theory, definitions of Gender-based violence and SRGBV, the types of gender-based violence such as implicit gender-based violence and explicit gender-based violence, gender dynamics in South Africa, masculinity and gender-based violence, community and society gender-based violence. The chapter concludes with strategies to address SRGBV.

A study conducted on violence in township schools in South Africa (Ngqela and Lewis 2012) found that socio-economic factors within the community and society was a major contributor to gendered school violence. School gender violence stems from societal factors over which the school has no control, such as inequality and specific cultural beliefs and attitudes about gender roles (MiET Africa 2009; Burton 2008; Masinga 2016). Masinga (2016) argued that schools are fertile breeding grounds for potentially damaging gendered practices which remain with learners into adult life. Mpiana (2011) stated that girls are trained to submit to violence while boys are not condemned. This conclusion infers that boys may be encouraged to continue perpetrating violence

against girls. Burton (2007) averred that some individuals are so exposed to such violent cultures and messages that they have accepted and internalised these as a normal way of life. While this may be the case, there are however, serious consequences to violence against females which cause serious short- and long-term physical, mental, sexual and reproductive health problems for women. They also affect their children, and lead to high social and economic costs for women, their families and societies (WHO 2017).

Extensive research has pointed to ongoing and increasing gender-based violence among youth in South African schools (Joseph 2011; SACE 2011; Bhana 2012; Burton and Leoschut 2013). The easy access and availability of drugs in the communities, as well as the high percentage of adults involved in crime, further increases the possibility of youth or learners' participation in gender violence (Donald, Lazarus and Lolwana 2010; Mathungeni 2017). Significantly, by 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 (Sekhesa 2011; Joseph 2011).

Therefore, efforts to advance females in society must strongly manifest issues of gender-based violence which has negative social, economic and political consequences. An important aspect highlighted in this study is that perceptions and the fear of gender violence, within the school premises must be understood and addressed constructively. Therefore, in order to broaden my understanding of bullying in different contexts and settings I looked at a number of theories that inform bullying behaviour. Each approach reveals assumptions about the importance of internal and external forces, behaviour that triggers or sustains interactions, or the impact of competing goals or interests.

The next section highlights the two theoretical models that have been adopted to analyse and explain the prevalence of GBV and its implications for Vuma and Phakama High schools. The social identity theory and the bio-ecological theory are the two models that were used to inform this study. Bronfenbrenner's bio-ecological model was developed to explain that everything in a child and his/her environment affects how the child develops and grows (Bronfenbrenner 1994). However, there is also a need for investigating the social and contextual aspects of GBV (Thornberg

2015). The social identity approach proposes that development is shaped by the contexts in which the individuals are based, as well as the social and interactional relations that exist between them (Maunder 2017).

3.2 Theoretical framework

3.2.1 Social identity theory

Tajfel and Turner (1986) cited in Abrams and Bippus (2014) developed the social identity theory as an acknowledgement of the significance of social groups to individuals' self-concepts. In addition, the Social Identity theory suggests that Individuals want to feel positive about their social group membership, they will show an in-group bias by favorably differentiating their group from relevant outgroups. The aforementioned study described the Social Identity theory as, "*a macro-social psychological theory that explains the psychological processes underlying prejudiced attitudes, intergroup conflict and discrimination*." In addition, the theory focuses on intergroup interaction or interaction that is shaped by social group membership and assumes that individuals strive to enhance their self-esteem. Furthermore, Abrams and Bippus (2011:93) believed that "*gender is an obvious focus for exploring intergroup dynamics because the group distinction of gender often begin before birth, and members of both groups spend tremendous energy socially constructing each identity in an effort to differentiate the groups*."

Hack *et al.* (2019:3) believed that the social group to which people belong are essential to their social identity and serve to develop and maintain their self- concept and social behaviour. They further stated that, "*the more highly people identify with and value the groups to which they belong, the more positive their collective self-esteem, which is derived from one's group memberships.*"

From a theoretical perspective, social constructionism has traditionally been related to and connected to the sociology of knowledge. In essence, it believes that cultural knowledge and representations of reality are interactionally constructed, socially transmitted, historically entrenched and frequently institutionally solidified, and finally communicatively reproduced on-site (Gunnarsson, Linell and Nordberg 2014). More so, Renzetti, *et al.* (2012) postulated that sexual violence can be due to gender roles and norms. These arguments were important in my analysis of why some male youth

enacted violence towards females and why in some cases the female victims were reluctant to report the abuse.

3.2.2 Bronfenbrenner's bio-ecological model

In the bio-ecological model, development is defined as the phenomenon of continuity and change in the bio-psychological characteristics of human beings, both as individuals and as groups. The phenomenon extends over the life course, across successive generations, and through historical time, both past and future (Bronfenbrenner 1994). According to this model, we should be studying development in its ecological context, that is, in the actual environments in which human beings live their lives (Bronfenbrenner 2005).

Two propositions define this model. According to the first proposition, human development throughout a person's life takes place progressively through more complex reciprocal interactions between an active, bio-psychological human being and the people, objects and symbols in the immediate environment. This interaction must take place on a relatively regular basis over a prolonged period to be effective. These are referred to as proximal processes. Child-child and parent-child activities, group or solitary play, studying, reading, learning new skills, performing complex tasks and athletic activities are all examples of these processes. The second proposition states that the form, power, content and direction of these proximal processes systematically affect the development of the individual. This is a result of the combination of the characteristics of the developing individual, both the immediate and remote environment as well as the nature of the development outcomes. These two propositions are theoretically interdependent (Bronfenbrenner 1994).

Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory views child development as a complex system of relationships affected by multiple levels of the surrounding environment, from immediate settings of family and school to broad cultural values, laws, and customs. Bronfenbrenner divided the person's environment into five different systems: the microsystem, the mesosystem, the exosystem, the macrosystem, and the chronosystem.

3.2.2.1 Microsystem

This layer is closest to the child and includes the structures with which the child has direct interaction. A microsystem is a small, immediate environment in which the child lives. It includes the relationships and interactions of children with their immediate surroundings. Examples include family, school, neighbourhood, childcare environments or organised sports activities (Bronfenbrenner 1994). The child's growth will be affected by the interactions between these groups and the child. The more encouraging and nurturing these relationships and places are, the better the child will be able to grow. Furthermore, the child's reaction to the people in the microsystem will affect how they reciprocate (Bronfenbrenner 1994).
The family is the primary socialising unit with its own strengths and weaknesses that influences a child's early values and attitudes.

Nearly two-thirds of South African children grow up in homes without fathers, and our country has the distinction of having one of the highest global rates of single motherhood (Parent 24 2020). Apartheid damaged the very structure of family life; without the ability to own land and live close to their low-paying jobs, black men were subjected to the migrant labour system that took them away from their families for months or years at a time. Geographically disrupted families are still the norm for many South Africans. Men believe if they cannot provide financial assistance, they have nothing to offer. As a result, they do not offer emotional and physical support or try to be good role models. As we shall see in Chapter 6 one of the causes of GBV is related to how boys are socialised to become men and families and communities beliefs about what it is to be a man which includes social norms pertaining to sexual purity, family honour and men's authority over women and children in the family.

3.2.2.2 Mesosystem

This layer consists of a system of microsystems (Bronfenbrenner 1994). Examples include the connection between the child's teacher and his parents, between his church and his neighbourhood, among others. Initially, the most important relationships are those between the home and mother, the home and kindergarten

and the home and school. It is important for the child to see if the influencing factors of socialisation are similar or different. In other words, do the different microsystems support each other or does the child perceive them as opposing entities with different expectations or obligations for different ways of behaviour (Bronfenbrenner 1994).

In contemporary society the microsystems of youth in many cases do not support each other. Parental control is diminishing and children are not afraid of authority figures at school since educators do not have the power to discipline children anymore (HESS 2022). Furthermore the lack of clear rules for behaviour and the inability to enforce school rules/policies contribute to toxic behaviour (Heidelburg, *et al.* 2022). This helped me to understand my analysis of the causes of GBV in the research schools.

3.2.2.3 Exosystem

The structures in this layer influence the child's development by interrelating with some structures in the child's microsystem. Examples include the relationship between the home and the parent's workplace or community-based family activities. Children may not be directly involved, but they can experience a positive or negative effect from this interaction (Bronfenbrenner 1994). In certain neighbourhoods, daily activities are secondary in nature to those of fighting (Parkinson, 2019). This type of aggressive behaviour includes physical abuse, child exploitation and domestic violence. According to Koposov *et al.* (2021), a child's coping skills are reduced by frequent exposure to violence.

According to Stats SA statistics (2021) South Africa has the fourth highest rate of violence against women in the world. The high levels of interpersonal violence that continue to saturate South African society are widely believed to have become the standard and accepted means of settling dispute among co-workers, parents and children, strangers, or intimate partners, to mention a few (Gibbs *et. al.* 2020, Marais *et. al.* 2020). Children who are exposed to violence are at a greater risk of suffering from low self-esteem, nightmares, self-blame and aggression toward

other. Research has shown that children who normalise violence in their lives become the perpetrators or victims of some form of aggressive behaviour (Govender 2006). These findings were helpful in analysing why some youth enacted GBV in school.

3.2.2.4 Macrosystem

This is the outermost layer of the child's environment. It consists of an all-encompassing pattern of micro-, meso- and exosystems. This layer does not have a specific structure. It incorporates cultural values, customs, and laws with a specific focus on the developmental belief systems, lifestyles, hazards, resources, opportunity structures, life-course options, and patterns of social interaction (Bronfenbrenne, 1994). The effects of these larger principles have a cascading influence throughout the interactions of all other layers. It is like a 'societal blueprint' for a particular culture, subculture, or other broader social context (Bronfenbrenner 1994).

Twenty years since the dismantling of Apartheid, the legacy of Apartheid remains an integral part of South African society. The Eurocentric influence can be seen in the legal, education and religious systems. Chisholm (2012) contend that unemployment, migration, cheap labour practices and brutality of their own societies have all had a severe impact on the youth of South Africa. As the demographics of large cities change, their urban schools bring together an increasing number of children who are at risk of being perpetrators or recipients of violence, since numerous psycho-social elements merge (Gibbs *et al.* 2020, Marais *et al*. 2020).

3.2.2.5 Chronosystem

This system incorporates the dimension of time as it relates to a child's environment. It encompasses change or consistency over time in the characteristics of the individual as well as in the surrounding environment (e.g., changes in the family structure, place of residence, parent's employment, socio-

economic status or ability to cope with everyday life (Bronfenbrenner, 1994). The elements within this system can be either external, such as the timing of a parent's death, or internal, such as the physiological changes that occur as the child gets older (Paquette and Ryan 2001). One example of this is exposure to violent events which can negatively impact multiple factors such as development, academic functioning, coping skills and relationships. Youth are not only being exposed to violence within their communities at a much higher rate, but also through technology. Social media has increased access to violent content online, which, studies have shown, increases violent behaviour (Bushman, Newman and Calvert 2016).

3.3 Definitions

3.3.1 Gender-based violence

Although an official definition of gender-based violence does not exist, and in fact the term is contested, most definitions in the human security literature are worded along the same lines. European Institute for Gender Equality (2014) defined gender-based violence as violence that is directed against a person based on gender. The UN WOMEN (2009) reported that gender-based violence includes acts that inflict physical, mental, or sexual harm or suffering, threats of such acts, coercion and other deprivations of liberty. According to United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (2003), gender-based violence is defined as:

(a) Physical , sexual and psychological violence occurring in the family, including battering , sexual exploitation, sexual abuse of children in the household, dowry-related violence, marital rape, female genital mutilation and other traditional practices harmful to women, non-spousal violence and violence related exploitation.

(b) Physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring within the general community, including rape, sexual abuse, sexual harassment and intimidation at work, in educational institutions and elsewhere, trafficking in women and forced prostitution.

(c) Physical, sexual and psychological violence perpetrated or condoned by the State and institutions, wherever it occurs."

According to USAID Strategic Framework for the prevention of and response to gender-based violence in Eastern, Southern and Central Africa (2009:3), gender-based violence, *"is a term for any harmful act that is perpetuated against a person's will and that is based on socially ascribed (gender) differences between males and females".*

Furthermore, the term gender-based violence is commonly used to refer to violence that affects women and girls. Men too can be the victims of gender-based violence (Dzinavane 2016). Therefore, gender-based violence is common in many societies including the developed countries. According to Hossain and McAlpine (2017:12), the Inter- Agency Standing Committee (IASC) gender-based violence is defined as:

> *"an umbrella term for any harmful act that is perpetrated against a person's will and that is based on socially ascribed for example, gender differences between males and females. The term is primarily used to underscore the fact that structural, gender- based power differentials between males and females around the world place females at risk for multiple forms of violence. This includes acts that inflict physical, mental or sexual harm or suffering, threats of such acts, coercion and other deprivations of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life."*

This study adopts the above definition by the IASC of gender-based violence as in most cases gender-based violence victims suffer a combination of violations that include sexual, emotional and physical abuse (Burril, Roberts and Thornberry 2010; Dzinavane 2016). This study pays particular attention to the gender-based power differentials between males and females that exist within the school setting and the community. According to Ringrose and Renold (2010), an important aspect of gender violence is the power differential that exists between the perpetrator and the victim. This power differential makes young women in particular more vulnerable to violence or the threat of violence."

3.3.2 School related gender-based violence

Greater definitional agreement of SRGBV will contribute to the expansion of the evidence on effective SRGBV interventions and will allow for greater comparability of

research, and the identification of research gaps. A narrower definition will serve to better inform SRGBV prevention activities, future investigations of SRGBV and more effective measurement of SRGBV (USAID 2016). It is therefore critical to come to a common understanding of the term SRGBV and how it is used. While no universal definition exists, the international development community continues to align its definitions of the types of SRGBV more closely. UNESCO (2018:1) defined school related gender-based violence as, "*acts or threats of sexual, physical or psychological violence occurring in and around schools, perpetrated because of gender norms and stereotypes and enforced by unequal power dynamics"*.

Parkes *et al.* (2017) stated that SRGBV includes a range of acts of violence experienced by girls and boys that have their roots in inequalities, norms, exclusions and stigma within everyday interactions and in institutions and structures of society. According to the report by USAID (2016), SRGBV is defined as acts or threats of physical, sexual or psychological violence or abuse that is based on gendered stereotypes or that targets students on the basis of their sex, sexuality or gender identities. SRGBV reinforces gender roles and perpetuates gender inequalities. It includes rape, unwanted sexual touching, unwanted sexual comments, corporal punishment, bullying, and other forms of non-sexual intimidation or abuse such as verbal harassment or exploitative labour in schools. Unequal power relations between adults and children and males and females contribute to this violence, which can take place in formal and non-formal schools, on school grounds, going to and from school, in school dormitories, in cyberspace or through cell phone technology.

SRGBV may be perpetrated by teachers, students, or community members. Both girls and boys can be victims, as well as perpetrators. SRGBV include explicit threats or acts of physical violence, bullying, verbal or sexual harassment, non-consensual touching, sexual coercion and assault, as well as rape (Parkes *et al.* (2017). The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) (196/EX/30, 2015) defines SRGBV into six different forms as follows:

I. An expression of gender stereotyping and gender inequality at work in all of our societies, the reproduction of which is sustained through that violence.

II. Includes all forms of violence and threats of violence directed specifically against a pupil because of gender and/ or that affects girls and boys disproportionately.
III. Can be of a physical, sexual or psychological nature and take the form of intimidation, punishment, ostracism, corporal punishment, bullying, humiliation and degrading treatments, harassment, sexual abuses and exploitation.
IV. Can be inflicted by pupils, teachers, or members of the educational community.
V. Can occur within the school; in its outbuildings; on the way to or from school; during extracurricular activities or through the increasingly widespread use of information and communication technology (ICT) (cyberbullying, sexual harassment through mobile phones).
VI. Can have serious and long-term consequences such as: loss of confidence and self-esteem, impaired physical and psychological health, early and unintended pregnancies, depressions, reduced learning achievement, absenteeism and drop-out, aggressive behaviours.

There are many more definitions that take a broader or narrower approach to school-based gender violence. The above definitions are offered as an understanding of how this study conceptualises gender-based violence in a school setting.

3.4 School-related gender-based violence in the global North

There is now a relatively large body of research on violence in schools. Although much of it originates in the global North, there is sufficient evidence to assert that schools across the world are not always the sites of safety and security that parents and educators expect them to be. However, little of this research has engaged in a gender analysis of school violence (Leach 2015). Much of it has been framed as either corporal punishment (teachers as perpetrators) or bullying (students as perpetrators), with gender-neutral data collected through large scale surveys (Akiba *et al*. 2002; Smith 2003) which are unable to illuminate the links between violence, institutional structures and gender inequality. Research studies which combine large scale gender-disaggregated quantitative data on school violence with in-depth qualitative insights into the underlying gender-based causes and consequences are lacking. Despite global concern about the high incidence of sexual violence against women, research

into gender violence in schools is surprisingly limited. There are some exceptions, for example a few surveys of sexual harassment in the USA and Western Europe (Timmermann 2003; American Association of University Women 2011). There are also some qualitative studies which have raised the issue of violent behaviours in exploring gender and sexuality issues in education (Kehily 2002). More recently, studies of dating violence, cyber-bullying, homophobic and girl-on-girl violence, as well as heightened concerns over gang violence (and in the USA school shootings), has turned attention towards a broader understanding of schools as sites of violence (UNESCO 2012).

International organisations have called on health systems and education systems to address the exacerbation of gender-based violence since the onset of the COVID -19 pandemic (Dlamini, 2020; World Health Organization, 2021). Vanner *et al.* (2022) stated that the role of teachers regarding gender-based violence education found that teachers were aware of gender-based violence in schools but were apathetic to it, and recommended educating teachers on the systemic contexts of gender-based violence. Vanner *et al*. (2022) believed that findings from this study would fill the gap in the Canadian context, while informing teachers and teacher education globally by providing further insight into teacher perspectives on transformative gender-based violence education. Studies of school related gender-based violence in the UK found that teachers utilised discursive manoeuvres to sanitise gender-based violence, for example, by referring to it as bullying (Rawlings 2019).

A global review of literature examined the latest research evidence on approaches to addressing SRGBV. The review found that research efforts around SRGBV tend to focus on short-term, local level interventions with limited attention to policies and policy implementation processes. The most promising interventions are multi-layered and address the links between violence, identities, social and cultural norms and intersecting structural inequalities. However, how to sustain and institutionalise work on gender and violence in schools and communities is less known. Most importantly, the review finds that a focus on resources and efforts are needed to build a robust evidence base that supports policy, practice, monitoring and evaluation at all levels (Parkers *et al.* 2020).

3.5 School-related gender-based violence in Africa

A data analysis from Violence Against Children (VAC) Surveys across four countries including Kenya, Tanzania, Cambodia and Swaziland found that 78% of girls and 79% of boys had experienced some form of violence before the age of eighteen years, with 20% of girls and 11% of boys having experienced sexual violence, including unwanted sexual touching, pressured and physical forced sex (Ravi and Ahluwalia,2017 ; Parkers, Ross and Heslop, 2020). Vanner (2018) found that schools may be sites where multi-dimensional violence is performed and reinforced as highlighted by reports of sexual abuse and corruption with development agencies (House of Commons International Development Committee 2018).

In post-conflict settings, including Liberia, Burundi and Sierra Leone, studies have reported heightened sexual violence (Hendriks *et al*. 2020; Steiner *et al.* 2021). For example, a study involving interviews and focus groups in six interventions areas by Plan International in Sierra Leone found sexual exploitation by teachers in junior secondary schools took the form of sex for grades, with girls without financial means to pay bribes to progress to the next class particularly vulnerable (Reilly 2014; Parkers *et al.* 2022).

The Government of Uganda has signed and put in place a significant number of international and national legal and policy frameworks and instruments to protect children (MoESTS Uganda 2015, 8-10). One of the most notable framework is the *National Strategic Plan on Violence against Children in Schools* (2015-2020), developed by the Ministry of Education Science, Technology and Sports (MoESTS) together with the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development (MGLSD) (Parkers *et al.* 2022). Furthermore, the strategic plan provides the clear instructions for implementing the national strategy on violence in schools, including sexual violence but does not, discuss the penalties specifically on teacher sexual violence.

3.6 School-related gender-based violence in South Africa

Bhana (2012) found that girls in a low-income township neighbourhood in South Africa, reported enduring experiences of sexual violence in and out of the school, involving boyfriends, male teachers, and men in the neighbourhood and at home.

Qwabe *et al.* (2022) study of school violence in Jozini settlement on South Africa found that the most common nature of school violence is verbal abuse and bullying. Furthermore, they recommend that every school must have an intervention team which consists of at least the local South African Police Service (SAPS) officials, KZN DBE personnel from district level, School Governing Body (SGB) members, academics and educators to deal with the outrange nature of school violence. Equally the intervention team must have at least one mandatory meeting a month to look at the matters of school violence (Qwabe *et al.* 2022).

Mayeza *et al.* (2021) study stated that their findings illuminate the normalisation of violence instigated by boys against girls: such violence is highly sexualised and complex in its manifestations. Furthermore, girls were sexually harassed, subjected to violence and sexual coercion by their male peers in different spaces at school. Beyond simplistic binary positions through which girls are constructed as merely victims, some girls in the study engaged in the problematic discourse of victim-blaming, girls who frequent school spaces dominated by boys and girls who use drugs, such as dagga, were often stigmatised and blamed for the violence they experienced (Mayeza *et al.* 2021).

3.7 Types of gender violence

Skiba (2002) classified gender-based violence into two categories: explicit gender violence and implicit gender violence. Explicit gender violence includes sexual harassment, assault, intimidation, and rape. Implicit gender violence includes corporal punishment, bullying, verbal and psychological abuse and teachers' unofficial use of students for labour. This violence originates in the balances of power between males and females, the gendered hierarchy and separation of tasks and socially accepted views of what constitutes masculine and feminine behaviour (Taole 2016).

3.7.1 Implicit gender-based violence

Leach (2006) highlighted that implicit or symbolic gender violence covers actions that are less visibly and directly gendered and emanate from everyday practices that reinforce gender differentiation. In addition, these practices may in themselves be violent or they may indirectly encourage violent acts (Leach 2006). Implicit gender-based violence is violence that is symbolically sanctioned and reinforced especially in

scenarios where honour is a salient organizing theme (Vandello and Cohen 2003). Implicit gender-based violence indicates insidious forms of violence against girls such as demeaning language that undermines self-esteem, and even assigning girls to perform domestic tasks (UN General Assembly 1993).

Woodzicka *et al.* (2015) noted that gender jokes were more likely to be dismissed and less likely to be regarded as offensive or problematic but is regarded as a form of implicit gender violence. In addition, accepting and normalizing the negative gender stereotypes implied by the tease could lead to greater tolerance of discrimination which can have individual and societal consequences. O'Brien *et al.* (2016) believed that experiencing interpersonal discrimination, such as in the workplace, embodies implicit gender-based violence. On a societal level, tolerating discrimination can serve to justify negative perceptions and behaviours towards women. Therefore, this can lead to greater societal group prejudice, subsequently normalizing widespread acceptance of inequality (Ford 2000; Jost and Kay 2005; Ford, Boxer, Armstrong and Edel 2008; Woodzicka *et al*., 2015).

Beliefs about traditional gender roles have been found to be linked to violent behaviours, particularly in women (Santana *et al*., 2006). These beliefs have implicit behavioural intentions associated with gender-based violence. Zuma (2018) stated that, "*women are being subjected to gender discrimination because of cultural beliefs and that some women are complicity accepting their roles of subordination and subscribing to what they call, 'The Zulu Way'"*. Furthermore, implicit gender-based violence in schools includes acts that reinforce gender differentiation, such as teachers' behaviours towards male and female students (Leach, Dunne and Salvi 2014; UNGEI and UNESCO 2015; Psaki, Mensch and Soler-Hampejsek 2017).

Pantaleon and Ison (2020) classified implicit gender-based violence as 'implicit' because they are physical, verbal, or psychological manifestations of violence but have a gender dimension, which may be openly sexual in the case of verbal assault. For example, offensive language that seeks to humiliate women, or it may have no sexual content. Mkancu (2019) argued that the language used in schools perpetuates violence. In addition, it is the kind of language that views girls in relation to boys and what role they ought to fill in society. Therefore, through language, perpetrators of gender-based violence objectify, demean and inflict trauma on girls. Direct exposure

to SRGBV includes sexualised bullying , sexual harassment, forced sexual acts in exchange for good grades or male dominance or aggressions within the school environment (Sida 2015).

Parkes (2011) cited in Psaki, Mensch and Soler-Hampejsek (2017) found that the research on implicit gender-based violence should incorporate a broader understanding of the impact of violence on education by considering cultural norms and behaviours such as sexual harassment and abuse in the community, high burdens of housework, and the "hidden curriculum" that discourages girls from speaking out about their experiences. Psaki *et al*. (2017) believed that from this perspective, the focus of researchers and practitioners should shift from individuals and behaviours to an understanding of violence as an outcome of unequal power relations. An unwillingness of female students to disclose sexual harassment or abuse by male students to authority figures should be understood in the context of cultural endorsements of these behaviours (Psaki, Mensch and Soler-Hampejsek 2017).

A study by Wilson (2006) on gender-based violence in schools found that girls are required to provide cleaning and maintenance services for the school, while teachers and boys use the time for academic work or leisure. Sometimes girls are made to sit at the back of classrooms and are not called on to participate in classroom discussions. Though some may not consider the above incidents a form of violence, Wilson (2006) maintained that denying girls the opportunity to take part in learning is an implicit form of violence.

3.7.2 Explicit gender-based violence

Explicit gender-based violence can be divided into three major categories namely, physical, psychological/emotional and sexual violence.

Physical violence includes behaviour such as hitting, biting, slapping, pulling/twisting hair, pushing, choking, throwing objects and using a weapon such as knife or gun (Wolfe *et al.* 2001; Offenhausser and Buchalter 2011; Rodriguez-Diaz *et al*. 2017). Studies (Foshee *et al.* 1996; Lewis and Fremouw 2001; Set 2020) regard swearing or violent behavior, such as threats, pushing, slapping and beating as physical violence. Many studies believed that different forms of violence are interrelated, and verbal violence often precedes physical violence (Set 2020; Curtis and Burnett 2017; Jackson 1999). Additionally, Set (2020) stated that individuals can show dysfunctional

communication and problem-solving skills and may develop a perception that gender violence is a method one partner can apply to another.

Psychological violence involves behaviours such as humiliation, controlling behaviors, withholding information, threatening behaviour, rejecting one's right to privacy and isolating from friends and/or family (Wolfe *et al*. 2001; Offenhausser and Buchalter 2011; Urena, Romera, Casas, Viejo. and Ortega-Ruiz 2015; Rodriguez-Diaz *et al*. 2017). Psychological or emotional abuse can create fear and dependence on the partner by threatening the personal integrity and self-worth of victims (Smith and Donnelly 2001; Set 2020). Follingstad *et al.* (1990) study (cited in Set 2020:446) stated that in their study conducted with women exposed to violence, the participants mentioned that "*psychological violence harms them more than physical violence and is the most troublesome factor in the relationship*". A gendered psychological script relevant to consent is that women communicate their willingness to engage in sexual activity indirectly and that men do so directly (Jozkowski and Peterson 2013; Curtis and Burnett 2017; Jozkowski, Marcantonio and Hunt 2017; Willis *et al.* 2020). Women are more likely to let sexual behaviours happen to them without resisting as a means of communicating consent (Hickman and Muehlenhard 1999; Jozkowski 2017).

Sexual violence entails behaviors such as compelling the partner to have sex, insisting on sexual touching without the partner's consent, forcing the partner to undress to have unwanted sexual acts, and to kiss (Rodriguez-Diaz *et a*l. 2017; Wolfe *et al*. 2001; Toplu-Dermirtas, Oztemur and Fincham 2020). Sexual violence involves, "*rape, coerced undressing and non-penetrating sexual assault*" (Nordas and Cohen 2021:193). Sexual violence is defined as, "*the pressure of on partner to engage in sexual intercourse or other sexual acts or forced to participate at a higher rate than her consent*" (Smith and Donnelly 2001; Cornelius and Resseguie 2007; Set 2020). Set (2020) believed that when emotional or physically violent behaviour occurs in the relationship, it is also likely that sexual oppression will occur, which will serve as a function that can affect the balance in the relationship. DeGue *et al*. (2020) stated that sexual harassment is a significant public health problem affecting adolescent health and wellbeing.

Perreault (2020:3) defined explicit gender-based violence as, "*violence committed against someone based on their suggestive or explicit images or messages"*. Parkes

et al. (2020) argued that gender violence in schools have expanded to include corporal punishment, and bullying or peer violence, as well as sexual harassment in recognition of the explicit ways in which gender influences multiple everyday practice of violence in girls' and boys' lives.

3.8 Gender dynamics in South Africa

Historically, huge differences have shaped the lives of South African women from different racial backgrounds, but patriarchy has been the one constant 'profoundly non-racial institution' across all communities.

In terms of gender there are contradictory indicators that highlight the particularity of South Africa's past, as well as the continuities between the apartheid and post-apartheid periods according to Frenkel (2008). In the present, South Africa has the largest percentage of women in parliament in the world, yet, South Africa also has the highest levels of rape and violence against women in the world. While women's struggles were subordinated to the larger anti-apartheid struggle out of the necessities of a nationalist agenda, in a post-apartheid context, the residue of these modes and repertoires of operation coupled with the patriarchal nature of apartheid, has resulted in ambiguous gender positioning's that are highlighted by polarised statistics – where women are clearly both empowered and victimised, seen and unseen, included and excluded in different ways (Frenkel 2008).

The South African history of colonialism apartheid is a significant contributor to the widespread of gender-based violence and the subsequent lack of human security currently experience by South African people (Zupka 2013). According to Zupka (2013), the attitudes and beliefs held by members of a deeply patriarchal society are a major contributor to gender-based violence. For example, some people have strong beliefs about violence, power, and the roles that men and women are expected to play within the society. Furthermore, a study by Essed (1994) cited in (Diale 2017) argued that African women were excluded from White women's occupations such as clerical jobs and administration before 1990s. Moreover, the historical trends, racism and stereotypes against women have made it more complicated for Black African women to establish a business or to be self-employed.

Behind historical imbalances factors such as income variances, privileges, and power in parts of South Africa still pose a challenge (Rogerson 1996). According to Diale (2017) one can deduce that these challenges further pose a hinderance in Black African Women as most of them are born and raised in large parts of township and rural areas. Additionally, the Centre for the Study of Violence and Recognition (2016) argued that culturally, males are often placed in a powerful position in relation to black women especially due to practices such as lobola and ukuthwala. The groom's family oversees providing these gifts after negotiation between the two families (Ansell 2001). Despite its cultural benefits, some men misconstrue the payment of lobola as their right to control and treat their partner as their property. In some marriages, this has resulted in gender-based violence (Ansell 2001; Ludsin and Vetten 2005). Many Black men justify their abuse of black women by asserting that, '*I paid lobola for you*' (Ludsin and Vetten 2005:24). Traditional idioms such as "*a woman must endure the pain in the marriage until she dies*" encourage women to stay in abusive marriages (CSVR 2016:8). Women who decide to leave such abusive marriages are culturally mocked, called names also seen as failures in life. Some women feel trapped in abusive marriages because of their inability to pay back the lobola (Ludsin and Vetten 2005; CSVR 2016). Although it is not culturally expected that lobola must be paid back, some men may demand this. This leaves women with no option but to stay in abusive marriages.

Ukuthwala has been practised in African culture for a significant amount of time (Kheswa and Hoho 2014). According to Mkhize and Vilakazi (2021:6),ukuthwala refers to, "*an African traditional practice evident especially among the Ngunis in South Africa, which not only promotes patriarchal control of female sexuality, but also perpetuates a direct violation of the rights to individual autonomy and bodily integrity-hence, upholding gendered violence*". Mkhize and Vilakazi (2021:6) further define ukuthwala as, "*isiZulu word in South Africa that refers to forced marriage(s)*".

Rautenbach (2022:171) define ukuthwala as an "*irregular form of marriage where a young girl is literally abducted from her parental house often forcefully to marry the man who abducted her*". Ukuthwala refers to a "*forced marriage of girls as young as twelve to adult men*". (Igwe, Udu, Obali 2021:1). According to Warnpene and Mqidlana (2021:1), "*a forced marriage refers to a marriage relationship or cognate union entered*

into without the consent and free will of one of the parties and includes those marriage relationships or cognate unions purporting to be contracted in pursuit of such practices such as ukuthwala". However, there are numerous negative effects associated with ukuthwala. The females subjected to this practice are often denied an education and the social development that would allow them to uplift themselves. HIV transmissions remains a serious problem, with HIV- positive men transmitting the virus to their new wives (Maluleki 2012).

Of significance, the Commission for Gender Equality (2000) has found *ukuthwala* to be a harmful cultural practice, especially given its link with gender-based violence, as it is hard for young girls to negotiate safety in these relationships. According to Diale (2016), women are faced with the challenge and pressure of maintaining the "*Perfect family*." Forson (2013) stated that black women particularly are faced with being wife material or referred to as Makoti duties, revealing womanhood as being embedded in African culture in the sense that women need to fulfil certain duties to keep the family close, full of love and warmth. Operating on the ideology of maintaining perfect families creates hindrance in women experiences and challenges in work life balance (Forson 2013). The data on the cultural context of gender relations confirms that South African society is immensely patriarchal. The belief that many men believe that women are subservient to men generally is not surprising and should rather be seen as a testament to the 'success' of patriarchy (Mkhize 2017).

Culture can be defined as, "*the system of shared beliefs, values, customs, behaviours, and artefacts that the members of society use to cope with their world and with one another, and that are transmitted from generation to generation through learning",* (Bates and Plog 1990:7). Lobola, according to Ansell (2001:697) is defined as, *"a practice associated with the provision of gifts, usually in the form of money or livestock, to the parents of a bride to be".* Ukuthwala is considered the *"culturally legitimate abduction of a female with the intention of marrying her"* (Nkosi 2009:109).

The governing technologies and cultural practices of Zulu culture, like those of many other African societies, provide a framework by which community members can align their behaviour, attitudes and actions concerning gender and intimate relationships within culturally acceptable 'sexual' standards (Chappell 2016). The gender roles of Zulu men and women are defined in heterosexual relationships as for the most part,

where men are seen as the heads of the household, whilst women assume subordinate positions (Buthelezi 2004; Sathiparsad, Taylor and Dlamini 2008; Chappell 2016). According to LeClerc-Madlala (2003) the primary role of Zulu women was to satisfy their husbands sexually and physically, bear children and accept male domination and violence. These demarcated gender roles form an essential component of heteronormativity, hegemonic masculinity, and an integral part of a patriarchy society (Connel and Messerschimdt 2005). For hegemonic masculinity and patriarchy to maintain power in society, this requires both men and women to continually perform cultural ideas and practices of masculinity and femininity (Jewkes and Morrell 2010). Patriarchy continues to remain a dominant force in South Africa, with violence against women reaching *epidemic proportion*' (Bhana and Anderson 2013).

These entrenched cultural beliefs strongly govern the sexual socialisation and relationship dynamics of Zulu young people, with young men in particular needing to assert their dominance and sexual prowess and young women remaining passive and ultimately, taking a passive role in relationships (Chappell 2016). Facing the socio-economic inequalities and the need to maintain culturally acceptable roles in relationships, young Zulu women are portrayed as risking their sexual health and compromising their sexual agency in order to achieve social and material security (Jewkes and Morrell 2010). The critical of the passivity of young women in relationships, contend that young women are in fact "*strategisers who create sexual meanings within a context of sexual oppression and resistance"* (Bhana and Anderson 2013:549). This is made evident by young women choosing older, wealthier sexual partners (Bhana and Pattman 2011; Chappell 2016; Sathiparsad and Taylor 2006; Zambuko and Mturi 2005). It can therefore be inferred that youth gender violence is perceived as a tool to validate masculinity, as an exhibition of power and control, and as a form of discipline (Bhana 2012).

3.9 Masculinity and gender-based violence

Vonarx (2014:2) defined masculinity as, "*an identity or an individual's sense of being a man as determined by what one knows about this gender and what one's society says on this subject*". Furthermore, masculinity is constructed as a function of different social references. Moreover, masculinity characterizes men, and the roles they must

play in a society or a social group, their ways of being, of living certain experiences, of behaving in different situations, of fitting into an environment, of exploring their emotions. Therefore, masculinity is seen as a conception of identity that determines whether one feels like a man or not.

The so called “dominant” masculinity is associated with attributes considered as predominantly male characteristics, such as physical strength, emotional self-control, aggression, courage, intelligence and power (Vonarx 2014; Zuma 2018). However, the adoption of certain behaviours connected with dominant masculinity is problematic as these behaviours negatively affect the living conditions and well-being of both women and men and prejudice the adoption of healthy and egalitarian gender relations. These problematic characteristics include violent behaviour by men, notably regarding women, men’s domination of women on both the personal and social planes, the limited role men play in children’s education, and their perception of invulnerability in relation to sickness. As noted by Dunne, Humphreys and Leach (2006), gender relations and boundaries within the institution are part of the hidden curriculum and learners’ informal learning, through which feminine and masculine identities are constructed and reinforced). For example, in some African schools girls are predominantly responsible for cleaning and boys for digging the school grounds (Dunne *et al.* 2006, Dreyer *et al.* 2002; Goodey 1994; Harber 2001; Leach, Machakaniaand Mandoga 2001; Perry 2014). According to Greig (2015), masculinity refers to the roles, behaviours and attributes that are associated with the maleness and considered appropriate for men. Femininity refers to a society’s ideas about the roles, behaviours and attributes that are considered appropriate for women and associated with femaleness (Greig 2015).

Ngakane (2010) suggested that gender positioning may occur through formal and informal institutional rules and practices that differentiate, for example, separate queues for boys and girls or that privilege male power. In addition, boys are taught to be experiential, outgoing, questioning and highly active. Boys are allocated higher status as public tasks are allocated to boys and domestic private tasks to girls. Patriarchal masculinities are a “*term that can be used to describe ideas about and practices of masculinity over femininity and the authority of men over women*” (Greig 2015:8). Therefore, ideas about practices of patriarchal masculinities maintain gender

inequalities. For example, violence against girls and women maintains and is maintained by ideas about and practices of patriarchal masculinities. However, female is to be identified with feminine which, in most societies, is treated as being weaker and lesser than the masculine, then girls and women are seen as being 'naturally' vulnerable to male violence, and thus in need of male protection. Then, these ideas about feminine weakness or vulnerability and masculine strength or protection expose girls and women to more violence and reinforce the belief in masculine superiority which is central to patriarchal masculine (Gressard, Swahn and Tharp 2015; Zuma 2018; Littleton and DiLillo 2021) .

Connel and Messerschmidt (2005:829) defined hegemonic masculinity as the "*configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy which guarantees (or taken to guarantee) the dominance of men and the subordination of women*". Moreover, the most visible bears of hegemonic masculinity are (not) always the most powerful people" and "hegemony is likely to be established only if there is some correspondence between cultural ideal and institutional power, collective if not individual". According to Connel (2014:183), "*hegemonic masculinity is always constructed in relation to various subordinated masculinities as well as in relation to women*". Hegemony is an accomplishment, an expression of social control, and apparent in the ability to impose a definition of the situation, to set the terms in which events are understood and issues discussed, to formulate ideals and define morality (Connel 2014).

Zuma (2018) stated that hegemonic masculinity is frequently utilised as a central version of masculinity, an ideological force fixed in patriarchy, used to subordinate contending masculinities and women. Anderson (2009) cited in Zuma (2018) argued how violence towards girls and other boys is widespread and flows from and adds to the construction of hegemonic masculinity, in an existing study of coloured boys in a school in KwaZulu Natal. She further associates hegemonic masculinity with violent masculinity. According to Zuma (2018), hegemonic practices of masculinity are repeatedly connected with prevalent male violence against women, and this is proven in a rural setting in KwaZulu-Natal where school- going boys smack their girlfriends to secure obedience and to promote themselves in the eyes of their peers.

Substantial research has implicated the gender power inequities in a patriarchal South Africa in which politically and culturally perpetuated social inequality are embedded in explanations for the high degree of interpersonal violence (Jewkes and Morrell 2010; Sathipersad 2008). Several researchers (Sathiparsad, 2008; Sathiparsad, Taylor and De Vries 2010; Hamlall 2018) have emphasised the centrality of educational interventions with young people to bring about more respectful gender relationships and safer sexual behaviours. There is evidence of some positive behaviour change among young people in South Africa, particularly in the behaviour of young men towards women (Hamlall 2010; Bhana 2009; Jewkes and Morrell 2010; Singh 2016).

Gender is a significant predictor of reactive violence, with males being prone to reactive violence (Sekhesa 2011). Numerous studies indicates that boys are more likely to hold more violent attitudes and behave more violently than their girls peers (Burton 2008; Mills 2001; Sekhesa 2011). Mills (2001) stated that in Australia schools are patriarchal institutions that promote male violence through their emphasis on aggression and power over other men and women. Nkani (2006) stated that female learners in South African schools are facing various forms of gender-based violence and in schools it is interconnected with the constructions of masculinity and femininity of the broader society.

Parkes (2016) stated that SRGBV affected girls and boys across the globe and manifested in physical, sexual and psychological acts of violence, and underpinned by norms, stereotypes, inequalities and exclusion. According to Ngidi and Moletsane (2015), secondary schools, which bring into proximity a collective of young people, tend to be a fertile environment for gendered violence by and against youth. Bhana (2012:353) stated that sexual harassment in the "*form of fondling and touching of girls in their private parts within classrooms and hallways on school grounds*" is common and perpetrated by learners and male learners. Mullick *et al.* (2010) argued that the gendered nature of sexual violence in schools speaks to the unequal power dynamics in male to female relationships in which girls tend to hold little or no power. The fact that male youth are often the perpetrators of the sexual abuse of girls, furthermore, suggest that adult men are also often the culprits (Peterson, Bhana and McKay 2005; Prinsloo 2006). Bhana (2012) reported on the widespread forms of gender violence

and harassment of girls by adult teachers, male relatives, as well as male peers in the household and in schools.

Green, Robles and Stout (2013) stated that school related gender-based violence relate to the differences between girls' and boys' experience of and vulnerabilities to violence. Forms of gender violence are not fixed; they evolve to fit different times, circumstances and cultures (Leach 2008; Taole 2016). Furthermore, this suggests that gender roles are not static, and they change according to different cultures due to the dynamic nature of culture. Wilson (2014) stated that in the developing countries in particular, school- related violence takes place in the context of inequality and specific cultural beliefs and attitudes about gender roles, especially concerning male and female sexuality.

Taole (2016) referred to school as a gendered community. Schools should be seen as places knowledge production and economic advancement. However, in practices schools breed and perpetuate the gendered inequalities from the communities they serve. Green, Robles and Stout (2013) maintained that no school is immune from the attitudes and beliefs of the broader society that promote harmful gender-based norms and condone acts of gender- based violence. Thus, schools tend to reproduce dominant, unequal power relations between boys and girls in society. Boys and girls learn that society expects them to behave differently and to fulfil socially constructed gender roles. Schools are parts of society and reflect its traditions and values (Taole 2016). Dunne *et al*. (2013) stated that schools are one such institutions where gender is learnt and where power structures can normalise explicit forms of gender-based violence. Moreover, in the school context, girls are given roles different to those given to boys. Girls perform light tasks such as cleaning windows and boys perform demanding tasks such as cleaning the school yard.

According to Chimazi (2016), although the division of labour is common in the experiences of boys and girls, the division is not the same in different cultures or at different points of history. The way teachers assign duties to boys and girls at school may show a certain pattern. Connell (2002) supports this by stating that the informal specialisations among learners, from the elementary classroom is when a teacher asks a "big strong boy" to help move a piece of furniture, to the gendered choice of electives in vocational education at secondary and post-secondary level. Moreover,

boys may be given hard work while girls are asked to do light duties like cleaning the classroom.

Schools are important institutions in the construction of masculinity (Kimmel 2004; Bhana 2006; Martin and Muthukrisna 2011; Chimazi 2016). The organisation of a school must be understood because "*gender is embedded in the institutional arrangements through which a school function*" (Connell 2002:213. Kimmel 2004 (cited in Chimazi 2016:27) argued that through the "*hidden curriculum of the informal interactions with both teachers and learners, the learners become gendered"*. This inferred that the gendering process begins as soon as the children get into school, for example, may show who teaches which grades and what subjects or hierarchy of the school.

Connel (2002) refers to the totality of the school function in the school's gender regimes. Kessler *et al.* (1985: 43) use the term gender regime to describe how the "pattern of practices that construct various kinds of masculinity among staff and students, orders them in terms of prestige and power, and constructs a sexual division of labour within the institution". A school's gender regime can be analysed from two angles. The first being the 'agency' of the school in shaping the gender regime. This involves analyzing the structures and practices by which the school formed gender relations among its pupils, teachers and other role players. The second being where the school is a setting in which other agencies, especially of pupils and teachers, are at play. However these two aspects are inextricably linked and have overlapping dynamics and processes.

Connell (1996) stated that learners participate in these masculinity constructions by entering the school and living within its structures. Relations among learners are observed through formal and non-informal interactions and such relations may differ between schools (Chimazi 2016). However, learners negotiate or adjust to the patterns or rebel against them as they are not passive recipients of the socialisation process.

The manner in which boys are disciplined and physically handled in schools plays a part in masculinity construction (Haywood, Mac and Ghaill 2003). Normally, harsh

methods are used in disciplining boys, and this has an impact on their emotional growth (Humphreys 2006). Haywood *et al*., (2003:65) argued that "*a key element of institutional masculinities in western societies circulates through the controlled and disciplined use or mastery of physical force"*. However, in South Africa most learners, especially in the townships, are still subjected to corporal punishment (Morrell 2001).

Dunne *(*2007) cited in Taole (2016) identified examples of gender regimes that manifest themselves as the daily school's daily routine. These are as follows:

(a) **Physical space**: The gender regime determines the physical space that boys and girls occupy. For example, in the classroom girls and boys are separated spatially.

(b) **Peer pressure**: This is seen as part of the school environment, for example, teasing, exclusion and intimidation.

(c) **Implicit message of accountability**: The school knows who to blame if something goes wrong in the school, for example, if the school window is broken, boys will be the suspects. The above gender regimes are reinforced by girls and boys in the school with both groups protecting their space, often in very stereotyped manners.

Joseph (2011) stated that boys engaging in oppositional and gendered discourses, claiming power over girls, and constructing a version of masculinity that correlates with prestige and these have inequitable effects. Moreover, the boys' domination of classroom interaction in schools may also be due to the girls' fear of being taunted by their male classmates. Additionally, power can be observed through the organisation of the school (Chimazi 2016). For example, discipline at the school can be left in the hands of some male teachers. The organisation of the school management team (SMT) can also reveal power relations with more men than women often being included in SMT. Therefore, power relations may also be visible in the school between boys and girls as they interact both formally and informally. Boys tend to show power over girls on their attempt to prove to girls that they are different from them. Msibi (2011:50) argue that the understanding of masculinities may provide answers to the increasing gendered violence, and that higher education institutions can be key in bringing about change. Hadebe (2010) stated that the high level of gender-based violence and HIV prevalence rate is an outcome of some men's essential ways of

thinking about life. They cling to the old ways of what it means to be a man in order to protect their masculinity.

3.10 Community and society gender-based violence

The origins, causation, and consequences of the high levels of violence against women found in South Africa are highly complex but research is beginning to shed further light on these. These studies suggests that to a great extent its roots lie in the patriarchal nature of our society, where women are viewed as inferior to men, often as their possessions (Perry 2002), and in need of being led and controlled (Wood and Jewkes 2001; Reddy and Reddy 2007; Copenhaver 2015; Dzinavane 2016; Zuma 2018).

GBV and in particular, sexual violence in and around schools was identified as a challenge for young people in South Africa (Human Rights Watch 2001; Mncube and Harber 2013; University of the Witwatersrand 2014). Bhana (2013) argued that all violence is gendered, and violence prevention in schools must be steeped in gender as a dynamic process since it relates to broader social conditions. Therefore learners, parents, teachers and communities need to understand how gender is deeply embedded in and produces violence. Similarly, this might include raising awareness and knowledge of gender and the gender norms which make boys and girls both vulnerable to violence and perpetrators of it.

Ngidi and Moletsane (2015) emphasised that women experienced gender-based violence as victims and or witnesses while the men experienced it as either victims, witnesses or perpetrators (or all of them). Gender-based violence is often perpetrated at home (enacted by an older relative or parent) and at school by both the teachers and other students. Ngidi and Moletsane's (2015:8) study revealed the experiences of a grade 12 female learner who spoke about victimisation by a relative since the death of both her parents as follows:

" *I live with my cousin in his house, and his wife lives and works in Pretoria. I depend on him for everything. So, whenever I ask for anything including food, or money for books he tells me to sleep with him first. When I refuse, he locks all the food cupboards and the fridge. So, I have no choice but to sleep with him. I have been pregnant once, and he forced me to terminate the pregnancy."*

The above quote highlights the extent of disempowerment of young women that leaves them with 'no choice' but to succumb to sexual victimisation and rape. Many of the females in the group who had been sexually abused, had not questioned her abuser's behaviour believing that it was acceptable in the family and the community (Ngidi and Moletsane 2015).

Gender-based violence and the fear of gender-based violence is a global phenomenon that knows no geographical, cultural, social, economic, ethnic, or other boundaries. It occurs across all societies and represents a brutal violation of human rights, the worst manifestation of gender- based discrimination and a major obstacle to the achievement of gender equality. It is present within social institutions, including some schools where the measures put in place to prevent gender-based violence and other forms of violence, and to punish perpetrators, are not always successfully or consistently applied. In South Africa SRGBV, in particular, violence against girls that occurs in and around schools, continues to be a serious barrier to the right to education (de Lange and Mitchell 2014).

Adar and Stevens (2000) stated that South Africa has one of the highest rates of sexual violence in the world. According to Gender Links (2012), a woman is raped every 26 seconds. Much of this violence is against girls under the age of 18, most of whom are in school (Petersen, Bhana and Mckay 2005). Relevant to the education system are findings that suggest that the majority of both perpetrators and victims are teenagers. About 75% of men who rape does so as teenagers and that intimate partner violence is common among teenagers (Jewkes *et al*. 2011). It was stated in the policy (South Africa 1996) that all forms of violence in schools, and the many forms of violence, and gender-based violence in particular, are pervasive in and around schools, functioning as a barrier to learning and development for all children, particularly for girls.

The numerous reports that have been commissioned on gender-based violence in South Africa highlight this as an issue that appears to be relentless, in both urban and rural contexts (de Lange and Mitchell 2014). For example, the articles "*Scared at school: Sexual Violence Against Girls in South Africa School Report* (Human Rights Watch 2001), to the more recent "*School-Based Violence Report: An overview of School- Based Violence Study*" (SACE 2011), through to the "*School Violence in*

South Africa: Results of the 2012 National School Violence Study" (Burton and Leoschut 2013), researchers and policy-makers continue to draw attention to the magnitude of the situation of gender-based violence in South African schools.

CSVR (2016) reported that children who are chronic delinquent probably grew up in negative families and had a negative school experience. This supports the notion that socio-economic challenges still play a major role in spreading violence in South Africa (Vally, Dolombisa and Porteus 1999). Msezane (2015) argued that girls and boys are victims of violence in schools. According to Dzinavane (2016), gender-based violence is deeply rooted in patriarchy and culture, making it difficult to address it without analysing such key drivers to violence. Moreover, gender-based violence is reflective of existing power imbalances within societies and acts as a strategy to maintain the status quo by power holders.

Men in the household of traditional black African patriarchal culture are regarded to be the prime bread winners and resolution makers (Langa 2012; Dzinavane 2016; Zuma 2017). Reddy and Reddy (2007) confirmed that it is generally believed that men are always at a higher level than women and control all the resources and decision-making. According to the study by Langa (2012), "*in the Zulu culture, men and women do not enjoy equal status, as it occurs in most African cultures*". Forson (2013) confirmed that mostly, black women are confronted with being wife material, and being entrenched in African culture by fulfilling certain responsibilities to keep the family close, full of love and warmth.

Forson (2013) further stated that operating in the philosophy of preserving perfect families creates restrictions in women's life experiences and hinders their opportunities in general. Countless women, mostly black African women subjected to patriarchy "*in rural and traditional settings, remain submissive and silenced, a symptom of imbalanced gender power*" (Morrell 2003:50). De Wet (2008) supports this notion by highlighting that most of the South African women become powerless when converging gender issues in cultural patriarchal communities. Subrahmanian (2005) stated that gender ideologies become the basis of social norms, practices and rules, these processes in turn inform masculine and feminine identities. Masked as culture, these identities and ideologies become stubbornly defended as traditional and immutable.

Copenhaver (2015) maintained that gender stereotyping originates from traditional beliefs and has an influence on how both males and females are perceived, with males frequently attributed features such as control, self-assurance and assertiveness, often underlined by the threat of violence. Consequently, society rejects females more, rather than incorporating them. Reilly and Bauer (2015) confirmed that South African women continue to fight against sexist traditional attitudes in their societies and within the school settings. Zuma (2018) revealed that the community mostly hears men's opinions on problems and solutions, because women generally remain silent and are usually discouraged or forbidden to speak in public. Reddy and Reddy (2007) found that women who are too intelligent and have knowledge and experience are often not given an opportunity to express their opinions, which is serious loss for the community in fighting against gender-based violence.

A study of gender-based violence conducted by Shabalala (2012:20) highlighted that:

"Victims of GBV themselves have been silenced, not only by the perpetrators of the violence but also by society. They are told by society that the violence is a result of their fault in that they must have done something to deserve it. Results show how the perpetrator's abuse can affect victim's beliefs about themselves and others thereby making it difficult for them to initiate or even entertain discussions on GBV in their lives. Despite all these pressures not to tell, victims do want to break the silence about the violence in their lives. A few women might be able to speak out on their own but most of them need to be asked about it".

Poor welfare services and the breakdown of social networks and justice systems make it more difficult for victims of violence to escape and leave the perpetrators unpunished (Stevens 2001). According to the study by Dzinavane (2016), traditional laws and courts exist in most African nations, and their mission is controlled by traditional authorities such as village heads and chiefs, with women's role in decision-making limited. These male village rulers and chiefs (custodians of culture) support patriarchal inclinations in many cases. Women who dispute gender roles in the home, for example, are physically punished and beaten by their spouses or partners. In a traditional court, most women are instructed to return home and speak with their husbands because these are private problems; this just adds to the hostility and, in some cases, leads to murder.

In Nigeria, women confronted with male dominated structures in the home, religious circles and domestic violence is seen as a private issue that should be resolved within the family (Adekeye, Oluremi and Adeus 2011). In Swaziland, women are expected to uphold the very traditions that perpetuate their discrimination with the payment of lobola further imposing an obligation or duty of care towards the husband (Dzinavane 2016). Furthermore, Maselesele, Myburgh and Poggenpoel (2009) found that in many families females were still staying with their abusive partners throughout the world but especially in Africa due to cultural beliefs, socialisation and religious beliefs further the vulnerability of women, exasperates gender-based violence and reduce their ability of women to live resilient lives.

3.11 Addressing school-related gender-based violence

Although gender-based violence is the most extreme expression of unequal gender relations in society and one of the most widespread violations of human rights, it is preventable and educational institutions can play a vital role in ending gender-based violence. Schools, from primary level to higher educational institutions, vocational training and non- formal education are important sites for normative change and have the potential to address gender inequalities and prevent gender-based violence. A range of school-based programmes can be developed that teaches learners, staff about awareness of gender-based violence, also build the skills of learners and staff to create equitable and respectful relationships (Wade 1994).

Schools and other educational institutions are not isolated from traditions, culture, norms, customary laws and government policies that exist in the country nor from individual experiences of learners and staff both outside and inside schools and educational institutions. If not addressed properly, schools and other educational institutions can implicitly legitimize and reinforce harmful gender norms. According to Wade (1994:1) violence is a "*possibility that derives from a context in which power differences, usually with a material basis in the sexual division of labour are implicit or explicit in the cultural construction of gender which give to certain representations of masculinity a dominant status*". It is for this reason that the literature has been reviewed on how the community and society affects gender-based violence. It is also important to note that in order to address gender-based violence in educational institutions, gender-based violence needs to be uprooted from our families,

communities and societies. Thus far, such efforts include the global #MeToo and #TimesUp, as well as the South African-led #MenAreTrash, which was followed by the #TheTotalShutDown and women's marches across numerous African cities, amongst other movements that rallied public outcries against the scourge.

In summary, schools can normalise a violent environment both in the classroom and outside it by using authoritarian pedagogy that strengthens the unequal power balance between teachers and learners as well as among learners themselves. Schools and higher education institutions can reinforce traditional gender norms when men and boys are expected to be strong and respond with violence, or when encouraging men to apply to male dominated sectors and women to female dominated sectors. It is therefore necessary to address gender norms at all levels and across multiple settings to prevent GBV in schools and the society at large.

3.12 Conclusion

This chapter provided the theoretic foundation for the presentation of the research data.

The next chapter provides a review on intervention programmes and strategies to combat youth gender-based violence.

CHAPTER 4: INTERVENTION PROGRAMMES AND STRATEGIES TO COMBAT YOUTH GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

4.1 Introduction

Understanding locally-based strategies that females use to deal with gender violence provide a firm basis upon which to develop appropriate interventions and support structures to address issues pertaining to females and violence. Responding effectively to females' experience and fear of gender violence and insecurity is an important aspect of improving the quality of life of females and communities in South Africa (Perry 2002; Sekhesa 2011).

Darj *et al.* (2017) argued that secondary prevention to reduce repeat gender-based violence should not only involve perpetrators and behaviour changing programs, but also communities, health workers, the police and law enforcement to improve awareness and knowledge of the health consequences of gender-based violence. A study by Wilson (2014) of school gender-based violence found that to play an effective role in addressing gender-based violence, teachers need to understand and confront their own attitudes and experiences regarding gender and violence. However, given that some teachers are perpetrators of abuse and others may be victims of abuse, it is important that strategies to address gender violence in schools acknowledge and address teacher's experiences as well as learners, so that constructive and collaborative relationships can be encouraged.

4.2 Effectiveness of programmes

Whilst there are a growing number of well-designed studies looking at the effectiveness of prevention and response programmes, however, more resources are needed to strengthen the prevention of and response to intimate partner and sexual violence, including primary prevention, that is, stopping it from happening in the first place. Therefore, this research will benefit service providers and government departments better understand how to cope with violence against females in schools and in society at large.

Prevention programmes shown to be effective or to have promise in reducing youth violence include life skills and social development programmes. These are designed to help children and adolescents manage anger, resolve conflict, and develop the necessary social skills to solve problems, school-based anti- bullying prevention programmes, and programmes to reduce access to alcohol, illegal drugs and guns (World Health Organisation 2009). In low-resource settings, prevention strategies that have been shown to be promising include: those that empower women economically and socially through a combination of microfinance and skills training related to gender equality; that promote communication and relationship skills within couples and communities; that reduce access to, and harmful use of alcohol; transform harmful gender and social norms through community mobilization and group-based participatory education with women and men to generate critical reflections about unequal gender and power relationships.

The World Health Organisation (2019:16) suggested a framework that can guide actions to prevent and respond to violence at schools. They further stated that these actions cover leadership, action planning and coordination structures as follows:

(a) Good leadership can encourage staff and students to take responsibility for violence prevention activities over a long –term.

(b) A formal event to launch the programme of activities can be a good way of helping to raise awareness about violence in the school community and can create a sense of responsibility among teachers, students, parents and the community.

(c) Set up a school-based coordinating team to help put in place the measures to deal with violence.

(d) Strengthen capacity of the coordinating team.

(e) Developing a school policy to deal with violence can help the school to agree on a shared vision and overall plan to tackle violence in schools.

(f) Develop an action plan which sets out how to achieve the vision and targets outlined in the policy. The action plan should cover the areas that can adapt it to the school and local circumstances.

(g) Make violence prevention an essential part of the day –to day work of the administration.

The above guidelines are supported by Ngidi (2018) who reported that schools should support learners by implementing violence reduction strategies.

4.3 Restorative justice practices

Restorative justice seeks to bring those that have created harm together with those that have been harmed, and often stands in contrast to retributive and punitive approaches to justice that centre the state in the responses to crime and harm. Similar to restorative justice, restorative practice applies the same philosophy and approach, but is applied in a more diverse range of settings that sit outside of the criminal justice process. This includes school, organisational, and community disputes. Wachtel (2016) points out that the variety of applications of restorative work means that the tools and applications of the principles vary. Wachtel (2016) uses a continuum of informal to formal processes, which offers useful insight into the different structures. Another way to understand the variety of restorative contacts, Hobson *et al.* (2021) illustrate the spectrum of restorative approaches that range from direct contact between victim/harmed and offender/harmer to those that are indirect, overlapping or discrete processes: Direct contact (face-to-face): for example, victim-offender conferences, circles; Indirect contact (non-face-to-face): for example, letter writing, shuttle work; Potentially overlapping processes: for example, victim and offender circles that may or may not intersect, surrogate offender interactions; Discrete processes: for example, healing circles for victims, community or family to repair relationships.

In school settings, administrators and teachers are faced with resolving disputes and misconduct in an expeditious and peaceful manner, while at the same time, addressing the needs of youth. Restorative justice is transforming the way that these decision-makers are thinking about and responding to wrongful occurrences. This approach seeks to balance the needs of the victim and the school community with consequences and accountability for the wrongdoer (Sandra, 2013). While this study does not seek to implement intervention programmes in combatting GBV it I strongly

recommended that restorative practices be implemented in addressing GBV by including victims and perpetrators in the interventions.

4.4 Community-based approach

Vindhya and Lingam (2019) postulate an approach in which the community assessed information on the nature of gender-based violence, raised awareness in the community, and built networks to encourage community members to work together to address gender-based violence. People must be made aware of the value of social relationships in reducing everyday violence. Given that GBV occurs within the context of a specific society because of the normative role expectations associated with the male and female as well as unequal power relationships between men and women community-based support approaches are pivotal to both support the resilience and psychosocial wellbeing of women and girls minimizing their exposure to violence as well as to create a safe and enabling environment for survivors of violence to heal, re-establish relationships, and re-integrate into their communities (WHO 2011).

According to a report by Mathews *et al*. (2021) on prevention of violence against children in and through schools in the Global South we should not just be targeting learners but teachers, governing bodies, as well as parents and communities. As children are exposed to programmes, you've got to take your parents with on the journey as far as possible, or else you're not going to have the sustained effect of your programme. Group-based education can also impact behaviour and empower learners, creating resilience among learners, and building peer support. But safe spaces are critical, even in group settings. It's crucial that the group setting is a safe space where students can express themselves and ask questions without fear of being judged. Creating safe schools is part of a larger societal challenge. We've got to be thinking about how we create an intervention that interfaces with all the risks that the child could be exposed to in their life. Interventions must include multiple stakeholders, such as community and religious leaders. The more comprehensive the approach, the better the outcomes.

4.5 Conclusion

While this study does not implement an intervention programme to combat SRGBV it serves as a precursor that will inform other research that aim particularly to tackle and

combat GBV in schools. The approaches discussed in this chapter however does inform my analysis in establishing some of the reasons for the high rate of GBV in the research schools and to point out the shortcomings in the efforts made so far to bring about peace and justice with respect to GBV in the research schools. This chapter highlights that a holistic, integrated approach must be implemented to combat GBV in schools.

The next chapter presents the research design and methodology for this study.

CHAPTER 5: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

5.1 Introduction

This chapter explains the research design and the methodological rationale adopted in this study. The research methodology is introduced and justification for the research is explained. The research methodology describes the main research approach, namely qualitative, and provides an argument for why it was chosen. The collection of data and the sampling method used to generate data is described. Finally, the analysis of data is discussed.

5.2 Research design

According to Maree (2014), a research design is a plan or strategy which moves from the underlying philosophical assumptions to specifying the selection of respondents, the data gathering techniques to be used and the data analysis to be done. "*A research design is a plan of how the researcher will systematically collect and analyse the data that is needed to answer the research question*" (Bertram and Christiansen 2014:40). The aforementioned includes collection of data, sampling, data recording and analysis, with careful consideration of the trustworthiness of the data, ethical issues, the limitation of the planned research and the timeliness involved. The choice of research design is based on the researcher's assumptions, research skills and research practices, and influences the way in which she or he collects data.

Moreover, researchers need to think through the philosophical worldview assumptions that bring the strategy of inquiry which is related to the worldview, and the specific methods or procedures of research that translate the approach into practice. "*The broad research approach is the plan or proposal to conduct research and involves the intersection of philosophy, research design, strategies of inquiry and specific methods*" (Creswell 2018:4).

Research methodology or a research design is the specific techniques or procedures that are used to identify, select, process, and analyse information about a research topic (Wilkinson and Birmingham, 2003).

The methodology must explain what you did and how you did it. In this way, the reliability and validity of the research can be evaluated. The design must explain what you did and how you did it. In this way, the reliability and validity of the research can be evaluated. It should include:

- the type of research you did
- how you collected and/or selected your data
- how you analysed your data
- any tools or materials you used in the research
- your rationale for choosing these methods

My research design was an interpretive case study that was analysed through qualitative methods using semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions to elicit information about their lives at home and social relationships in school with specific reference to their experiences of violent behaviour articulated by the perpetrators', victims', and bystanders'.

5.3 The Qualitative research approach

The word *qualitative* implies an emphasis on the qualities of entities on processes and meanings that are not experimentally examined or measured in terms of quantity, amount, intensity, or frequency (Denzin and Lincoln 2008). Qualitative researchers stress the socially constructed nature of reality, the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is studied, and the situational constraints that shape inquiry (Denzin and Lincoln 2008). The aforementioned study further stated that such researchers emphasise the value-laden nature of inquiry, seek answers to questions that stress *how* social experience is created and given meaning. In, contrast, quantitative studies emphasize the measurement and analysis of casual relationships between variables, not processes.

According to Leedy (2010:135) the term qualitative research, *"encompasses several approaches to research that are, in some respects, quite different from one another*". Qualitative approaches have two things in common. Firstly, they focus on

phenomenon that occur in natural settings- that is in the ‘real world.’ Secondly, they involve studying those phenomena in all their complexity. Moreover, qualitative researchers rarely try to simplify what they observe. Instead, they recognize that the issue they are studying has many dimensions and layers, and so they try to portray the issue in its multifaceted form.

This study utilised a qualitative research approach because the researcher sought to obtain a better understanding of the experiences of others by looking at multiple perspectives on the same situation or complex situation, which was gender-based violence among high school learners.

According to Creswell (2009:4), “*qualitative research method is a means for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem*”. Hence, in educational research, if the researcher seeks understandings and experiences of a group of learners or educators, qualitative methods are likely to be the best suited methods. In that case, using quantitative research, which describes the world in numbers and measures instead of words, is not likely to be productive. It is unlikely that the researcher will gather “depth and insight” via the statistics that are frequently used in quantitative methods. In addition, one of the reasons why qualitative data is rich and in-depth is that researchers often capture data through the process of “deep attentiveness, of empathetic understanding” (Punch 2009; Thanh and Thanh 2015).

Leedy and Ormrod (2010) stated that quantitative research involves looking at amounts, or quantities, of one or more variables of interest. Therefore, a quantitative researcher typically tries to measure variables in some way, perhaps by using commonly accepted measures of the physical world, for example, rulers, thermometers, oscilloscopes. This can also include carefully designed measures of psychological characteristics or behaviours, for example, tests rating scales while qualitative research involves looking at characteristics or qualities, that cannot easily be reduced to numerical values. Therefore, a qualitative researcher typically aims to examine the many nuances and complexities of a particular phenomenon. Qualitative researchers are more likely to studies of complex human situations, for example, people’s in- depth perspectives about a particular issue, the behaviours and values of

a particular cultural group or complex human creations, for example, television commercials, works of arts.

Studies (Marquerite, Dean and Katherine 2006; Thanh and Thanh 2015) described some of the features of qualitative research as:

- Studies which carried out in a naturalistic setting.
- Researchers ask broad research questions designed to explore, interpret, or understand the social context.
- Participants are selected through non-random methods based on whether the individuals have information vital to the questions being asked.
- Data collection techniques involve observation and interviewing that bring the researcher in close contact with the participants.
- The researcher is likely to take an interactive role where she or he gets to know the participants and the social context in which they live.
- Hypotheses are formed after the researcher begins data collection and are modified throughout the study as new data are collected and analysed.
- The study reports data in narrative form.

Marshall and Rossman (2011) highlighted that qualitative research takes place in the natural world and focuses on context. Qualitative researchers thus seek to understand the context or setting of participants by visiting the context and collecting the information personally (Creswell 2009). Merriam (2009) described a basic qualitative research study as having been derived philosophically from constructivism, phenomenology, and symbolic interaction and as being used by researchers who are interested in how people interpret their experiences, how they construct their worlds and what meaning they attribute to their experiences. Moreover, the overall purpose is to understand how people make sense of their lives and their experiences**.**

Furthermore, Creswell and Poth 2018:45) highlighted that "*qualitative research is conducted because a problem or issue needs to be explored*". This exploration is needed, in turn, because of a need to study a group or population, identify variables

that cannot be easily measured, or hear silenced voices. These are all good reasons to explore a problem rather than to use predetermined information from the literature or rely on results other research studies. Qualitative research is also conducted because researchers need complex, detailed understanding of the issue. This detail can only be established by talking directly with people, going to their homes or places to work, and allowing them to tell the stories unencumbered by what we expect to find or what we have read in the literature.

Qualitative research occurs in natural settings, where human behaviour and events occur (Marshall and Rossman 2011; Creswell and Creswell 2018). Creswell (2009) believed that qualitative research seeks to understand the context or setting of participants by visiting the context and collecting the information personally. As such, qualitative research focuses on the process that is occurring as well as the product or outcome (Creswell and Creswell 2018).

Qualitative researchers are interested in the meaning participants provide about their life experiences, how they create their worlds and what importance they attribute to their experiences (Merriam 2009; Fouche and Schurink, 2011; Mthiyane 2013).

In this study, the participants described their life experiences, ideas, beliefs, views, opinions and behaviours in relation to the gender dynamics at the school and in particular gender-based violence. This is in keeping with Maree's (2010) description of qualitative research as research that attempts to collect rich descriptive data in respect of a particular phenomenon or context with the intention of developing an understanding of what is being observed or studied. Therefore, it focuses on how individuals and groups view and understand the world and construct meaning out of their experiences. This study explored the perceptions and experiences of gender-based violence among high school youth and the significance they attributed to these experiences and how they were responding to it. The qualitative research approach suited this study as the researcher wanted to understand from educators and learners' experiences of gender-based violence among high school youth. For example, the interview questions for learners asked for the learner to render experiences of physical fights and/or conflict with other learners at school and to recount experiences of difficulties with educators. Educators were also asked to render experiences of

gender-based violence at their school among learners. Twelve learners and ten educators were taken from each school.

5.4 Social constructionism

The theoretical framework in this study is cast in a socio-constructivist approach which is guided by the perspective of different researchers on gendered violence amongst learners. This study drew from the principles of the socio-constructivist theory to analyse and understand learners and educators specific experiences of gender violence in their schools and how they deal with these experiences in the context in which they find themselves.

Creswell (2014) stated that in a socio-constructivist approach which is guided by the perspective that individuals develop subjective meanings of their experiences, meanings directed toward certain objects or things. However, these meanings are varied and multiple, leading the researcher to look for the complexity of views rather than narrowing meaning into a few categories or ideas. According to Kiraly (2000), in social constructivism the individual is never alone because people learn to communicate and then to think by sharing and contrasting perspectives with other members of the communities to which they belong. Kiraly (2000:34) further stated that, *"one of the most powerful qualities of constructivist thought is that it recognizes that cultural and social change are natural products of the interaction of multiple perspectives"*. It is not the individual who learns through dialogue by appropriating cultural meanings in what Vygosky (2003:39) called "*zones of proximal development*" (ZPD); the culture itself also evolves in response to dialogue among its constituent individuals.

The constructivist perspective views opportunity as a result of individuals' actions framed by social processes in existing social structures (Wood and Mckinley 2010; Van der Walt 2017). They postulated that communities focus on elements in the social structure and environment that they can control and refrain from making predictions to guide actions and behaviour. Constructivist thinking thus postulates social construction and that reality is influenced by individual perceptions induced by the contextual environment (Wood and Mckinley 2010; Van der Walt 2017). Metzger and

King (2015) argued that constructivist theory emphasises “perception, interpretations and understanding” of environmental forces that influence the construction of opportunities. Social constructionist paradigm considers an inter-actional process where the reseacher is actively involved in gaining information of lived experiences of the external world from the population (Terre-Blance 1999; Ngqela 2010). This study fits the social constructivist approach in that the study attempts to understand learner’s specific experiences of gender violence in their school and how they make sense of these experiences in the context in which they find themselves.

Social constructionists believe that individuals seek understanding of the world in which they live and work (Creswell 2018). Creswell (2018) further stated that the goal of the research is to rely as much as possible on the participants’ views of the situation being studied. The more open-ended questioning, the better, as the researcher listens carefully to what people say or do in their life settings. The researcher serves as an instrument of data collection and asks the participants broad, open-ended questions to allow them to share their views about and experiences with the phenomenon (Maree 2014). In this study the data collection methods involved interviews that encouraged participants to provide their views and experiences of gender-based violence for example educators were asked to describe some violent incidents that occurred among learners at this school recently and learners to describe their relationship with other learners at their schools.

The notion that each historical era has different cultural norms of gender practices, suggest that traditional gender practices and cultural norms may therefore be contested and reworked as a result of historical, cultural and geographical changes (Ratele, 2016). In this study the social constructionist theory is therefore relevant, when examining the changes in male’s and female’s practices in these particular schools.

According to Chimazi (2016), social constructionists reject notions of innate-characteristics, arguing that gender constructions are purely the result of intersecting historical, social and cultural factors at a particular moment in time. Robinson (2008:56) believed that “*social constructionist theories are best suited to explain men’s behaviour in a contemporary, historical and cross-cultural context.*” Men are actively constructing masculinity and they tend to use culture as a group (Chimazi 2016).

Chimazi (2016) further stated that masculinity is constructed differently depending on the social conditions in which people are situated. In addition, people's experiences are shaped by the societies they live in and they in turn reshape those societies. Therefore, social constructionists go further than the issue of gendered individuals negotiating their identities within gendered institutions to those institutions producing the very differences people assume are the properties of individuals. In this study the social constructionist framework was employed in examining the various forms of masculinities that were available to the boys in this social context and how they positioned themselves to occupy multiple and contradictory forms of masculinities, simultaneously. This study supports the multiple masculinity theory which adds to the argument that gender is socially constructed, fluid and diverse.

5.5 The study paradigm

A paradigm is a world view or a belief system (Davies and Fisher 2018). Furthermore, a paradigm is the lens through which we see the world around us. In research, the paradigm governs how we ask research questions and conduct the research (Davies and Fisher 2018). According to Niewenhuis (2010:69) paradigm refers to: "*a set of assumptions or beliefs about fundamental aspects of reality which gives rise to a particular world-view"*. Niewenhuis (2010) further stated that a paradigm addresses fundamental assumptions taken on faith, such as beliefs about form and the nature of reality (*ontology*),the basic belief about knowledge or the relationship between the knower and the known *epistemology* and how the researcher goes about finding whatever s/he believes can be known (*methodology*). Mthiyane (2013) highlighted that paradigm serve as the lens or organising principles by which reality is interpreted.

Paradigm refers to "*a model or pattern containing a set of legitimated assumptions and a design for collecting and interpreting data*" (Barker 2003:312). Glesne (2006:6) defines paradigm as: "*frameworks that function as maps as guides for scientific communities, determining important problems or issues for its members to address and defining accepting theories or explanations, methods, and techniques to solve defined problems*" while Martens (2009) and Creswell (2007) described it as an approach at looking at the world and is composed of certain philosophical assumptions that guide and direct thinking and action. Niewenhuis (2010) further stated that a paradigm addresses fundamental assumptions taken on faith, such as beliefs about

from the nature of reality (*ontology),* the basic belief about knowledge or the relationship between the knower and known (*epistemology*) and how the researcher goes about finding out whatever she or he believes can be known (*methodology).* Mthiyane (2013) believed that paradigms serve as the lens or organising principles by which reality is interpreted. Paradigms are influential in determining research questions, methodology, methods and the way data is collected and analysed; there should be demonstrated congruence between these in any research study (Davies and Fisher 2018).

Numerous researchers highlighted that there are number of research paradigms that provide major paradigms in scientific inquiry, which are, positivism, post-positivist, critical, pragmatic and interpretive (Atkinson and Delmont 2011; Vogt 2011; Creswell 2014; Denzin and Lincoln 2018 ; Davies and Fisher 2018). These are discussed below.

5.5.1 Positivism

Positivism is based on the assumption that there is one, single (*ontology*) and that in order to know this single reality, the study of a phenomenon must be undertaken with objectivity and detached impartially (*epistemology*) (Davies and Fisher 2018). Oliver (2010) stated that in order to discover this single reality in an objective way, positivist methodology is experimental in nature, tests predetermined hypotheses or theories and usually uses rigorous, quantitative research methods with large sample sizes.

5.5.2 Post-positivism

Post-positivism was developed as an approach to research that recognised that human behaviour is complex and that the positivist objective of unbiased, objective reporting of research was not always possible (Clark 1998; Davies and Fisher 2018). Sharma (2010) stated that post-positivist research is based on a critical realist ontology, the belief that there is a single reality.

5.5.3 Critical paradigm

The critical paradigm aims to raise awareness and promote social change (Davies and Fisher 2018). The purpose of critical paradigm is often to empower groups who are marginalised, or to investigate inequalities or social injustices, and is sometimes referred to as emancipatory research (Denzin, 2016). Critical research is based on the ontological position of historical realism and the epistemological position of social

constructivism, believing knowledge to be socially and historically constructed (Scotland 2012).

5.5.4 Pragmatic paradigm

Pragmatism views the traditional research paradigms as being prescriptive in their approach to undertaking research and believes that they constrain intellectual curiosity (Davies and Fisher 2018). Feilzer (2010) stated that pragmatic paradigm avoids the ontological and epistemological arguments that have led to paradigm tension between positivist and interpretive approaches, acknowledging that there are single and multiple realities, while turning its attention to solving “real world” problems rather than focusing on philosophical positioning.

5.5.5 Interpretivist paradigm

Thanh and Thanh (2015) argue that researchers who are using interpretivist paradigm often seek experiences and perceptions of individuals for their data rather than rely on numbers of statistics. This study also attempted to gain an understanding of the particular contexts in which the participants lived (Cohen and Manion 1994), through gaining insight into their backgrounds, beliefs and experiences (Creswell 2003; Yanow and Schwartz-She 2011).

This study adopted the interpretive paradigm which considers a communicating procedure where the researcher is actively involved in gaining information of lived experiences of the external world from the population being studied (Terre Blance and Durrheim 1999). This approach enabled data generation based on the participants’ interpretation and lived experiences.

Researchers believed that the interprevists, paradigm predominantly uses qualitative methods (Glesne and Peshkin, 1992; Silverman, 2000; McQueen, 2002; Thomas, 2003; Willis, Nind and Todd, 2011; Thanh and Thanh, 2015). Willis (2007:90) asserts that “*interpretivist tend to favour qualitative methods such as case studies and ethnography*”. Wills (2007) further explained that qualitative approaches often give rich reports that are necessary for interprevists to fully understand contexts. McQueen (2002:17) stated that “*interprevist researchers seek methods that enable them to understand in depth the relationship of human beings to their environment and the part of those people play in creating the social fabric of which they are a part*.” According

to McQueen (2002:16) interpretivists view the world through a "*series of individual eyes*" and choose participants who "*have their own interpretations of reality to encompass the worldview and quantitative methods are not the preferred mode of interpretivism*."

Interpretivist believed that reality is constructed by social actors and people's perceptions of it (Dina 2012). Dina (2012) further argues that interpretivists recognise that individuals with their own varied backgrounds, assumptions and experiences contribute to the on-going construction of reality existing in their broader social context through social interaction. Since these human perspectives and experiences are subjective, social reality may change and can have multiple perspective (Hennink, Hutter and Bailey 2011). To understand the social world from the experiences and subjective meanings that people attach to it, interpretivist researchers favour to interact and to have a dialogue with the studied participants (Dina 2012). Furthermore, they also prefer to work with qualitative data which provides rich descriptions of social constructs. The social constructs of gender roles and gender behaviour was explored in this study in order to gain a deeper understanding of how and why gender-based violence was enacted in this setting.

An interpretive approach not only sees people as a primary data source but seeks their perceptions or what Blaikie (2000) calls the 'insider view'. That is, they are concerned with presenting an account that recognises the subjective reality of the experiences of those people who constitute and construct the social world (Pole and Morrison, 2003).

Taking into account views from the various scholars, it is theoretically understood that interpretive paradigm allows researchers to view the world through the perceptions and experiences of the participants.

The aim of this study is to explore the attitudes, beliefs expressed by the youth towards gender-based violence by focusing on the perpetrators and victims in conflict situations. This study also sought to explore the experiences of learners studying at two chosen high schools located in the Umlazi Township, and also the experiences of the impacts of school violence among learners and on the school as an institution. The interpretive thematic analysis process of recognising, examining and identifying similarities and differences and thereby finding themes within the data was used. The

broad themes that emerged, included *who* were the perpetrators of GBV; the *nature* of GBV and *causes* of GBV. The study found that it was within the broader context of violent forms of masculinity and patriarchal power that GBV was enacted.

The core belief of the interpretative paradigm is that reality is socially constructed and therefore interpretivism usually seeks to understand a specific context (Willis 2007). Morehouse (2011) believe that, "*the acceptance of multiple perspectives in interpretivism often leads to a more comprehensive understanding of a situation*". This study sought to gain the perspectives, views and experiences of learners and teachers, and in doing so, sought to obtain a comprehensive understanding of violent behaviour among learners in a particular setting.

5.6 Research methodology

Numerous researchers highlighted different qualitative methodologies. Yin (2014) considered case study as qualitative research method which focuses on in- depth data collection among participants in their natural settings. In addition, a case study approach requires a unique event or contemporary issue to study. Grounded theory is a methodology that uses an existing theory or builds a theory from research data to examine research questions (Corbin and Strauss 2008). On the other hand, the narrative method describes through sequential events an individual's account in hopes of giving meaning to the narrative (Polkinghorne 1998; Clandinin and Connelly 2000). Fetterman (1998) describe ethnography, as predictable behaviour and thought from the viewpoint of a specific culture group.

Beck (2013) stated that phenomenology is both a philosophy and a method. Hence, the philosophy of phenomenology provides the foundation for the method. Phenomenology began in the early years of the twentieth century with work of German philosopher, Edmund Husserl (Giorgi 2012). Husserl outlined a science for knowing essences of phenomena as they are experienced in human consciousness (Giorgi 2009; Weiss 2016; Kazanjian 2018). Phenomenology became the first discipline in Western science that sought to understand the structures of phenomena through lived experience (Merleau-Ponty 2002; Moustakas 2004; Creswell 2007; Husserl 2012; De Monticelli and Simionescu-Panait 2015; Van Manen 2016). Other Western philosophers, such as Heidegger (1962) described phenomenology as studying a

phenomenon that appears in itself, as itself. This study used phenomenological methodology to investigate gender-based violence among high school youth.

5.6.1 Phenomenology

Phenomenology is a unique method in that it does not seek either to prove or disprove a thesis, interpret meanings, or conceptualise a phenomenon (Kazanjian 2018). Instead, it is a method of pure description- the researcher aims to describe phenomena precisely as themselves (Wertz *et al.* 2011; Husserl 2012). This is accomplished using eidetic - an exceptionally precise memory recall of an experience – which provides descriptions of the experience's invariant essences and qualities (Moustakas 1994). To achieve a pure description, the researcher does not deduce, analyse or draw conclusions. Preferably, the researcher becomes aware of the images, feelings, perceptions, and sensations and then describes them (Giorgi 2009; Kazanjian 2018).

Therefore, the phenomenology approach is grounded in this study to explore beliefs, perceptions , attitudes of youth gendered violence which becomes grounded in the learners' cultural worldview (Kazanjian 2018). This approach also entailed developing critical thinking, reflection and creative expression, while challenging inequality and working toward social justice (Rossatto 2005; Lea and Sims 2008).

Phenomenology aligns with anti-gendered violence principles in two essential ways: challenge cultural bias through the processes of bracketing and epoche' (Kazanjian 2018). Furthermore, this aligns with the anti-gendered violence goal of promoting equity. This study explored high school youth and educator's views on their experiences, cultural bias, privilege and works to broaden their reality as a way of becoming an agent of social change. The other alignment is that phenomenology seeks to uncover the meaning of experience as a way of understanding a phenomenon, allowing the researcher to achieve the anti-gendered goal of preserving and promoting gender equality in the growing society (Au 2014). The basics of phenomenology is to understand the experiences of diverse people which "*drills deeply into, a fundamental phenomenon –not through the lens of another individual , but with the writer bringing together the spheres of lived experience, intellect, and the unknown*" (Mika 2015:1140).

The phenomenology approach in this research study sought to enhance the understandings of youth gendered violence, by seeking to engage with violent phenomena and nuances that may be overlooked by other approaches. Therefore, this research method pursued these hidden elements to understand their structure and essence.

Van Manen (2016:260) believed that the phenomenological method is driven by pathos. Although for the phenomenologist, pathos means that there is nothing more meaningful than the quest for the origin, presentation and meaning of meaning. This is highlighted by Van Manen (2016:260) below.

- *Phenomenological research begins with wonder at what gives itself and how something gives itself. It can only be pursued while surrendering to a state of wonder.*
- *A phenomenological question explores what is given in moments of pre-reflective, pre-predicative experience-experiences as we live through them.*
- *Phenomenology aims to grasp the exclusively singular aspects (identity/essence/ otherness) of a phenomenon or event.*
- *The epoche' (bracketing) and the reduction proper are the two most critical components of the various forms of the reduction-through the reduction itself is understood quiet differently, at times in commensurably, and sometimes contested by the various leading philosophers and phenomenologists.*
- *Phenomenological reflection and analysis occur primarily in the attitude of the epoche', the reduction, and the vocative- variously understood.*

Phenomenology refers to a person's perception of the meaning of an event, as opposed to the event as it exists external to the person (Leedy and Ormrod 2010). Leedy and Ormrod (2010) further highlighted that phenomenological study is a study that attempts to understand people's perceptions, perspectives and understandings of a particular situation.

As such, a phenomenological research approach is chosen for this study because it is a design of inquiry coming from philosophy and psychology in which the researcher describes the lived experiences of individuals about the phenomenon of gender-based violence as described by participants (Creswell 2014). The researcher wanted to generate an in-depth understanding of human behaviour and reasons that govern

such behaviours, attitudes, value systems, concerns, motivations, aspirations, culture and lifestyles. Furthermore, this study selected phenomenology in that it tried to realise the unseen meanings and the essence of the experiences as well as how the participants generated sense of their experiences.

Schwand *et a*l. 2007 (cited in Mauke 2015:140) believed that phenomenology entails the researcher to view social life in an unprejudiced, open-minded way and thus to bracket his or her own knowing of how encounters are socially organised or accomplished. In this study, the researcher bracketed her own knowledge and understanding about gendered youth violence and its interventions in order to be able to describe the way youth in school settings accomplish their own sense of understanding the gender violence phenomenon.

Padilla-Diaz (2015) maintained that there are differing types of phenomenology each having a place in different research contexts. Van Manen (2016:90) offered four types of phenomenological approaches:

- *Descriptive or hermeneutical phenomenology which refers to the study of personal experience and requires a description or interpretation of the meanings of phenomena experienced by participants in an investigation.*
- *Eidetic (essence) or transcendental phenomenology which analyses the essences perceived by consciousness with regard to individual experiences.*
- *'Egological,' genetic or constitutional phenomenology which refers to the analysis of the self as a conscious entity. This type of phenomenology appeals to universal consciousness".*
- *Transcendental phenomenology is "the experiential entities that may become the objects of our reflection in regarding the meaning of objects we encounter in the world. Inherent is what is within us, transcendent is what is outside us.*

This study utilised transcendental phenomenological framework developed by Edmund Husserl (Moustakas 1994; Martirano, 2016; Mohamed 2017) who established the school of phenomenology..

5.6.1.1 Transcendental phenomenology

The transcendental phenomenology as an approach to study refers to the lived experiences of human beings at the conscious level of understanding (Mohamed 2017; Qutoshi 2018). Giorgi (2012) highlighted that Husserl introduced the 'life world' experiences or 'lived experiences' and claimed that mind aims at objects and used the term 'intentionality' to define his claim. Daley (2017:9) refers transcendental phenomenology as, "*the study of the lived experience or 'Lebenswelt' which allows the development of a perspective inclusive of external, physical, isolatable stimuli, bracketing out of stimuli and capturing the 'essence' of the phenomenon"*.

A transcendental phenomenology focuses the study around rich, textual descriptions, structural descriptions and an essence of the study (Moustakas 1994; Creswell 2013; Cordes 2014). The textual descriptions examine the participants' experiences, the structural descriptions develop through how the participants experienced the phenomenon (Creswell 2013). In this study transcendental phenomenology was useful for describing the phenomenon of gender-based violence using the participants' experiences, perceptions and voices.

This approach suited this study as it allowed the researcher to use methods that provided rich and deep understandings of the research setting and of the data collected. From this the researcher was able to gain knowledge about every individual's perspectives and understanding about the processes, rather than focusing on generalisations. Using a phenomenological approach alerted the researcher to the fact that it was not only the boys' reality that I had to consider in the research process, but also my own. The researcher therefore made a concerted effort to convey the views and meanings of the boys and not her own views.

5.7 Sampling strategy

This study utilised non-probability purposively sampling in order to select the participants. Non-probability sampling represents a group of sampling techniques that help researchers to select units from a population that they are interested in studying. Purposive sampling means that the researcher makes specific choices about which people, groups or objects to include in the sample (Bertram and Christiansen 2014).

A core characteristic of non-probability sampling techniques is that samples are selected based on the subjective judgement of the researcher, rather than random selection, that is, probabilistic methods which is the cornerstone of probability sampling techniques. Non-probability purposively sampling fits this study because the researcher is of the view that the most senior educators at this establishment was in the best position to supply rich data that will allow for thick description during the analysis phase. Further the researcher also believed that leaners who were directly involved in conflict situations and those that refute gender violence will be more suited to explaining the factors that influence violent or peaceful resolutions to conflict situations. As such, participants were purposively selected. The researcher used a purposive sampling strategy to ensure the inclusion of participants who would have had a range of harassment experiences, from relatively minor experiences to much more severe experiences.

Twenty-four learners and twenty educators were purposively selected from two urban high schools in the Umlazi District. Twelve learners and ten educators were taken from each school. The twenty-four learners interviewed were identified from the educator's observation of conflict situations at the school in the classroom and the playground, especially between male and female learners. The educators identified those learners who diffused the conflict peacefully and those that fostered violent reactions. The learners selected were from the FET phase., that is 15 to 18 years of age. The twenty most senior educators formed the sample of educators for this study. Seniority was determined according to the number of years the teacher had been teaching.

5.8 The research participants

Table 5.1 - 5.4 below provides a list of the twenty-four learners and twenty teachers that were interviewed. Learners that were interviewed lived in the Umlazi Township and surrounding areas. Majority of the learners walked to school while the rest used public transport.

Table 5.1: Profile of learners (School A)

Learner	Gender	Description	Grade	Age
Ayanda	Female	Ayanda lives with her both parents and her two sisters, her uncle and her aunt at Umlazi township, P section. She like singing and studying.	11	17
Snenhlanhla	Female	Snenhlahla lives at uMlazi township, D Section, with her parents. She loves them because they are responsible. She like reading novels .	11	17
Charmaine	Female	Charmaine lives at Umlazi township, Z section with both parents and her three sisters. She like playing basketball.	11	16
Winnie	Female	Winnie lives at Umlazi township, M section. She lives with her mother, and she enjoys playing with her friends. She is very co-operative and confident.	11	16
Brian	Male	Brian lives at Umlazi township, Q section, He is from a complicated family.He lives with his aunt from fathers' side. He is humble and shy.	11	18

Sanele	Male	Sanele lives at Umlazi township, BB section with both parents and his siblings. They are a family of eight.	9	15
Lebo	Male	Lebo lives at Umlazi township, A section with both parents and two brothers. His family is supportive. He is a very descent.	8	15
Ngcebo	Male	Ngcebo lives at Folweni township with both parents and his siblings. He has two sisters and one younger brother. Ngcebo is very shy.	11	16
Sphelele	Male	Sphelele lives at Umlazi township, Q section with his three sisters and his mother. His father died in 2002. One of his sisters is working and she is very supportive. He like studying. He is very humble.		17
Mfundo	Male	Mfundo lives at Umlazi township, B section, Mfundo's family is a supportive family. He lives with his grandmother and his grandfather and his	11	18

		brother who is still studying in high school.		
Sane	Female	She lives at Adams Mission with her mother and her little brother. Sane is very shy. She like chatting.	11	15
Aphiwe	Female	Ayanda lives at Adams Mission with both parents and siblings. They are a family of six. They like going out as a family and chilling. She like to spend her time watching movies.	11	18

Table 5.2: Profile of learners (School B)

Learner	Gender	Description	Grade	Age
Bandile	Male	Bandile lives at illovu near Amanzimtoti. He lives with his mother and his sister.	12	17
Sizwe	Male	Sizwe lives at Glebelands Hostel, He comes from a very big family. He is a Xhosa speaking boy. He likes	12	17

		academic competition.		
Andiswa	Female	Andiswa lives at UMtubatuba. They are a family of seven. They all depend on their mother who is a bread winner.		18
Sisanda	Female	Sisanda lives at Umlazi township, F section with both parents, two brothers and two sisters.	12	17
Phelelani	Male	Phelelani lives at Umlazi township, BB section with both parents and one sister. He like to study.	12	17
Sphesihle	Male	Sphesihle lives at Empangeni with mother, two sisters and one brother.	12	18

		Sphesihle is shy and humble.		
Amahle	Female	Amahle lives at Kwamashu, E section. She lives with mother and her young brother. Amahle is very shy.	12	17
Zukiswa	Female	She lives at Tongaat with her grandmother and her two sisters who are studying.	12	18
Nokuthula	Female	Nokuthula lives at Umlazi township, R section. Her parents are separated, she is a first born from both of her parents. She has three sisters and three brothers. She stays with her	12	18

		grandmother from her mothers' side.		
Michael	Male	Michael lives at Umlazi township, S section. He lives with both parents and one sister. He is very shy and humble.	12	18
Phila	Male	Phila lives at Umlazi township, BB section. He lives with his parents and his siblings. Phila is shy and humble.	12	18
Enhle	Female	Enhle lives at Umlazi township, D section with her mother and her siblings. Enhle is co-operative and confident.	12	17

Table 5.3: Profile of teachers (School A)

Teacher	Gender	Description	Subject Specialisation	Teaching Experience (Years)
Mr Dludlu	Male	Mr Dludlu resides at Woodlands suburb area. Hi, is presently teaching in Senior Phase. He was once an HOD but now he is a PL1 educator. He is a dedicated teacher. He is doing extra classes after school. He is a member of the induction committee. He also commits himself academically helping learners with their extra classes.	English, Afrikaans	40 Years.
Mr Xolani	Male	Mr Xolani resides at at Yellowwood suburban area and is presently teaching FET Phase. He is an ordinary educator who believes in helping learners and making them better people in life. He always spends more hours doing extra classes and have activities like running his own	Visual Arts. History	10 years

		businesses after school.		
Mrs Dlamini	Female	Mrs Dlamini resides at Umlazi township, BB section. She is presently teaching in Senior phase. She is a member of environmental committee.	Social Sciences, IsiZulu	8 years
Mr Cele	Male	Mr Cele resides at Umlazi township, J section. He is currently teaching in FET phase. He is a member of safety and security committee.	Mathematics, Life Science	13years
Mr Xulu	Male	Mr Xulu resides at Isipingo Hills suburban area, and he is teaching in FET Phase. He is the member of safety and security committee.	Accounting, Life Orientation	17 years
Miss Jama	Female	Miss Jama resides at Umlazi township, BB section. He is presently teaching in Senior Phase.	English, Business studies	12 years
Miss Maphumulo	Female	Miss Maphumulo resides at Umlazi township, AA section. She is presently	IsiZulu, Arts	10 years

		teaching in Senior Phase. She is the member of exam committee.		
Mrs Gumbi	Female	Mrs Gumbi resides at Adams Mission area. She is presently teaching Senior Phase. She shows a great concern for developing learners spiritually.	Social Sciences, EMS	28 years
Mr Zwane	Male	Mr Zwane resides at Montclair suburban areas. He is presently teaching in Senior Phase. He is a member of admission committee.	English, Geography	28 years
Mrs Ngcobo	Female	Mrs Ngcobo resides at Seaview suburban area. She is presently teaching in Senior Phase. She is the secretary of time - table committee and SGB representatives.	Accounting, Business studies	19 years

Table 5.4: Profile of teachers (School B)

Teacher	Gender	Description	Subject Specialisation	Teaching Experience(Years)
Mrs Zungu	Female	Mrs Zungu resides at Umlazi township, W. Section. She is presently teaching in FET Phase. She is a member of the cultural activities committee.	Business Studies, CAT	24 years
Mr Siba	Male	Mr Siba resides at Lotus Park suburban area near Isipingo. He is currently teaching in FET phase. He is a member of safety and security committee.	Mathematics, Physical Science	23 years
Miss Mhlongo	Female	Miss Mhlongo resides at Folweni. She is presently	Mathematics, Life Sciences	14 years

		teaching in FET Phase. She is the member of School Development Team (SDT).		
Mr Mpanza	Male	Mr Mpanza resides at Isipingo Hills suburban area. He is presently teaching in Senior phase. He shows great concern for nurturing learners' talents as she also conducts the school choir.	Arts, Geography	19 years
Miss Zama	Female	Miss Zama resides at Umlazi township. BB section. She is presently teaching in FET Phase. She is the member of	English, History	17 years

		admission committee.		
Mrs Shibe	Female	Mrs Shibe resides at Umlazi township, E section. She is presently teaching in FET Phase. She is a member of cultural activities committee.	IsiZulu, Technical Drawing	14 years
Mrs Jali	Female	Mrs Jali resides at Umlazi township, BB section. She is presently teaching in FET Phase. She is a member of environment committee.	Agricultural Sciences Isizulu	25 years
Mr Khumalo	Male	Mr Khumalo resides at Umlazi township, L section. He is presently	Natural Sciences, Technology	13 years

		teaching in Senior Phase. He is the member of cultural activities committee.		
Mr Sithebe	Male	Mr Sithebe resides at Woodlands suburban area. He is presently teaching in FET Phase. He is a member of sports committee.	Mathematics, Physical Sciences	17 years
Mr Mtshali	Male	Mr Mtshali resides at Umlazi township, M section. He is presently teaching in FET Phase. He is the member of safety and security committee.	English, History	16 years

5.9 Data collection

Marshall and Rossman (1999) believed that qualitative researchers typically rely on four methods for gathering information: (a) participation in the setting, (b) direct observation, (c) in-depth interviewing, and (d) analysing documents and material culture. Moreover, these methods form the core of qualitative inquiry. Guest *et al.* (2017) highlighted that the qualitative researcher must often decide whether to use individual or focus groups interviews to elicit experiences, beliefs and opinions from the study. Furthermore, these two methods draw on a similar technique for collecting data, open ended questioning with inductive probing of responses but differ in how they are structured. In this study both individual and focus group interviews were used to gather data. While Guest *et al.* (2017) suggested that most often one of the two methods are utilized in qualitative study, this study used both methods which are individual interviews and focus group discussions.

According to Maree (2014), an interview is a two-way conservation in which the interviewer asks the participants to collect data and to learn about the ideas, beliefs, views, opinions and behaviours of the participant. The aim is always to obtain rich descriptive data that will help the researcher to understand the participant's construction of knowledge and social reality. The interview is a constructed and usually a specifically planned event rather than naturally occurring situation, and this renders it different from an everyday conversation, therefore the researcher has an obligation to set up, and abide by, the different "rules of the game" in an interview (Cohen, Manion and Morrison 2011). Moreover, interviews enable participants to discuss their interpretation of the world in which they live, and to express how they regard situations from their own point of view.

An interview is a structured and focused construction where the researcher has in mind particular information that he or she wants from the respondent and has designed particular questions to be answered (Bertram and Christiansen 2014). Yin (2012) believed that interviews offer a rich and more extensive material than other methods of data collection. Mthiyane (2013) highlighted that interview are particularly utilised when qualitative data are required. Walliman (2009) asserted that interviews are a very flexible tool with a wide range of applications. Walliman (2009) further stated that interviews can be used for subjects both general or specific in nature and even, with

the correct preparation, for very sensitive topics. Schensul (2012) stated that critical researchers rely in- depth interviews to reveal ways in which dominance and persistent inequities are transferred to the behaviours, opportunity structures and meaning systems of vulnerable populations. I also believed that youth gender-based violence made victims feel vulnerable and helpless which eventually ushered in a sense of despair to them. Through this study, the researcher hoped to empower the participants to be able to manage the phenomenon of gendered violence.

Referring to this study, interviews allowed the researcher to gain in-depth insight from the people who wrestled with the issues of youth gender-based violence at a personal level and questioning them on their views and experiences of gender violence formed an integral part of interviews.

Individual interviews and focus group interviews served as methods utilised to collect data for this study. Two face-to-face interviews with the learners and two face-to-face interviews with educators were conducted. Three focus groups interviews were conducted for learners as well as for educators in the selected schools.

In the case for learners, one focus group was conducted with boys only, the second with girls only and the third was a mixed group of boys and girls. Learners were divided into two groups of 6, that is 6 girls and 6 boys in each school. The third focus group was a mixed gender group of 12 learners from each school. The focus groups for educators also consisted of females only, males only and mixed group. The first focus group interview with educators consisted of 5 females, the second 5 males and the third focus group were mixed gender from each school.

Both the focus groups and face-to-face interviews were 50 minutes in duration. The same interview schedule was used for all three focus groups. By using repeated interviews, the researcher gained richer and deeper insights into the respondents' unique meanings and be able to pick up on incoherent links. The repeated interviews with the respondents also enabled the researcher to interrogate critically what was said, and to pick up on contradictions, inconsistencies, and avoidances.

The face-to-face interviews were extremely useful in allowing a complex interpretation of the perspective on GBV and how this related to the research context. For example

learners were asked to describe the level of violence at their school and who they felt were the main perpetrators – girls or boys and who were the main victims. In the focus group interviews, participants were asked to build on each other's ideas and comments to provide more in-depth views that were not attainable from individual the interviews.

5.9.1 Data collection instruments

Data collection instruments are the tools used for data collection (Bogdan and Biklen 1982). These can include questionnaires, interviews, observation and reading. In addition, Mackey and Gass (2015) stress that it is the duty of the researcher to make sure that the instrument selected is valid and reliable.

5.9.1.1 Interviews

The interview is a discussion that is conducted one-way; provides data for the researcher; is constructed on the researcher's agenda; leads to the researcher's interpretations and contains 'counter control' elements by the interviewee who could withhold information (Creswell 2013). Interviews can return generate useful information (Leedy and Ormrod 2013) by the researcher probing the following:

- facts, for example, biographical information
- people's beliefs and perspectives about the facts
- feelings
- motives
- present and past behaviours
- standard of behaviour – what people think should be done in certain situations
- conscious reasons for actions or feelings, for example why people think that engaging in a particular behaviour is desirable or undesirable.

Green *et al*. (2017) stated that individual interviews produce more detail than focus groups, and offer more insight into a respondent's personal thoughts, feelings and worldview. Eder and Fingerson (2003) reported the value of individual interviews with adolescents, particularly about sensitive matters like relationships, family, physical and behavioural issues. Indeed, they report examples where individual interviews yielded different results from group interviews with the same people about the same

topic, where the individuals valued greatly the opportunity for a one-on-one conversation. The face-to-face interviews do increase the credibility and validity of the study data.

Semi-structured interviews were engaged as the principal plan for data collection in this study, which included the verbal questioning of respondents. Two formal semi-structured interviews were conducted with each of the study respondents. Each of these interviews took approximately 50 minutes. The first interview served to provide biographical information and to locate the respondents in the study. The second interview provided data on how the school was handling or managing gender-based violence among learners. The second interview also provided insights into the ethos, climate and school policies regarding learner self-control and how these impacted on learner behaviour. As such, interviews were deemed suitable for this study in order to explore the first-hand experiences and insight of the participants. This allowed the researcher to attain a thorough and detailed understanding of gender-based violence and its causes in a school setting.

Face-to-face interviews have the distinct advantage of enabling the researcher to establish rapport with potential participants, thereby gaining their trust and co-operation. As such, interviews yield excellent response rates in survey research (Leedy and Ormrod 2001). More so, personal interviews also allow the researcher to clarify ambiguous answers and, when appropriate, enable the researcher to seek follow-up information. Telephone interviews are less time-consuming and less expensive (they involve only the cost of long-distance calls), gaining the researcher ready access to virtually anyone on the planet who has a telephone. The response rate is not as high as with a face-to-face interview as occasionally potential participants are busy, annoyed at being bothered, or otherwise not interested in participating. However, the response rate is considerably higher than that of a mailed questionnaire (Leedy and Ormrod 2001). According to Tracy (2013), face-to-face interviews provide the opportunity to create rapport and to collect both verbal and non-verbal data. Consideration of issues regarding access, space, privacy and comfort can help interviews to proceed smoothly.

In this study, all interviews were conducted in English. The school was used as the venue to meet and interview the learners. For the educators both the school premises

and their personal residence was used to conduct the interviews. The researcher faced many challenges that were addressed accordingly. This is described below.

In the first school, interviews were conducted with learners after school hours which was 12h00 and teachers at 14h30 if they are not supervising study. In the second school, interviews were conducted in the afternoon at 15h00 from Monday to Thursday. Furthermore, this was dependent on the availability of the teachers. Teachers leave the school at 17h00 to supervise study. This provided an opportunity to conduct interviews with learners without interfering with instruction time while educators were still on the premises. While, conducting interviews with learners in the first school, other learners had to leave after school because they use organised transport to and from school. The researcher had to transport them to their homes from school to ensure their safety. As such, the researcher took the decision to interview only one participant per day in order to finish early while teachers were still at school.

5.9.1.2 Focus group discussions

Focus groups are open discussions between a researcher and research participants and expose the researcher to the diverse perceptions held about a particular topic of interest (Mthiyane 2013). Focus groups are also known as discussion group or group interviews (Robson, 2002; Dawson, 2009; Greef, 2010; Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011). In a focus group interview or discussion, individuals meet together to express their views on a topic that they have knowledge about defined by the researcher (Cronin 2011). Focus groups are popular as a means of using a group interview setting for data collection in social research (Mertens 2009). They are commonly used in conjunction with other methods, for example, with individual interviews (Robson 2002). Greef (2010) stated that focus groups are a means of better understanding how people feel or think about an issue, a product or service. The group is “focused” in that it involves some kind of collective activity. The advantages of focus groups are that they are cost effective since they allow for the concurrent interviewing of several participants. (Mthiyane 2013). Moreover, the researcher is able to build on a single response in order to develop a thicker description of the data by exploring the participants’ perceptions in more detail than would normally be obtained from the use of survey instruments. As participants answer the questions posed to them, their

responses may spark new ideas from other participants and in this way contribute to the depth and richness that is typical of qualitative data (Niewenhuis 2010:69 ; Greef 2010). Creswell (2007:133) stated that "…*focus groups advantageous when the interaction among the interviewees will likely yield the best information, when interviewees are similar and obliging with each other, and when individuals interviewed one-on-one may be tentative to provide information*."

It was on this basis that participants in this study were split into separate focus groups to prevent intimidation by the presence of other members (power relations). The researcher felt that learners may be uncomfortable being interviewed simultaneously with the other gender. For this reason, the researcher chose to deliberately interview boys and girls, as well as female and male educators, as gendered groups. The researcher believed that some of the participants might not be comfortable discussing gender violence in the presence of mixed gender groups. .

According to Maree (2014), the focus group interview strategy assumes that group interaction will be productive in widening the range of responses, activating forgotten details of experience and releasing inhibitions that may otherwise discourage participants from disclosing information. Furthermore, in a focus group a moderator directs discussion among five to twelve people with a purpose of collecting in-depth qualitative about a group's perceptions, attitudes and experiences on a defined topic. Hyden and Bulow (2003) cited in Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011) argued that focus groups are contrived settings, bringing together a specifically chosen sector of the population, previously unknown to each other to discuss a particular given theme or topic, where the interaction with the group leads to data and outcomes.

According to Moravcsik (2014), focus group practitioners can mitigate problems of transparency by making the data collection process more explicit. This results to open their work to more active engagement by other scholars Elman and Kapiszewski 2014; Lupia and Elman 2014). Cyr (2016) highlighted that in focus groups, a group of individuals is convened to discuss a set of questions centred on a particular topic or set of topics. The author further stated that the primary objective of focus groups is to generate conversations that uncover individual opinions regarding a particular issue. Moreover, focus group also assist to reveal group consensus, where it exists, on the

issue at hand. The potential for data collection emerges from the "*range of experiences and perspectives that these focused conversations uncover*" (Morgan 1996:134).

Green *et al.* (2017) stated that the interpersonal and interactive nature of focus groups allows them to produce information that might not gathered from a single respondent and generate a wider range of views and ideas than could be captured through individual methods. They further highlight that focus groups may produce more 'surface' data in comparison to individual data collection contexts.

The composition of the group of this study consisted of participants with different interests and cultures, in order to stimulate debate. The questions were similar to the questions used in individual interviews to broaden the data by comparing the responses of respondents when they were on their own, to responses in a group. The discussions were recorded and their collective opinions were compared to the responses of individual interviews.

Focus group interviews for learners, as well as for educators, were held in the school's staffroom on different dates and times. A focus group interview for learners, consisting of twelve participants in each school, was used as starting point for both same and mixed gender groups. The participants were learners who also participated in individual interviews. The questions were the same as were used in the individual interviews, but excluded the biographical characteristics of respondent's section.

The focus group interviews for educators consisted of a sample of 10 educators per school. However, two of the educators withdrew before the commencement of the discussions as one of them was appoined to the private school and the other went on sick leave. Educators who participated in the focus group discussion were also part of the individual interviews. Permission to record the focus group interviews was requested in advance from the respondents. All the interviews were recorded digitally which enabled the researcher to concentrate on the interview process, instead of writing notes during actual interview.

The focus group discussion for learners was successful, as all the learners were very energetic and supportive towards each other in their discussions. They readily shared their views and experiences. The discussions were 60 minutes per session. Learners further requested to be part of the researcher's future projects. It was found that

learners who seemed shy during individual interviews were very active in discussion groups. Following the discussions, some parents communicated their appreciation for allowing their children to be part of this project. They were pleased for the encouragement and motivation provided to their children to take education more seriously, and also to get more involved in conversations with their peers about GBV. Most parents also communicated to the researcher that their children's communication skills developed through this process. One learner even asked to invite his friend to be part of the programme.

The group discussion with educators was also successful, although some participants were not as forthcoming as they were in the individual discussions. It is suspected that these particular teachers were apprehensive because they were weary that others in the group may report their criticisms of the manner in which management handled conflict and violence at the school.

5.10 Data analysis

The qualitative data analysis transforms data into findings (Marshall and Rossman, 2011). De Vos, Strydom and Fouche (2005: 338) stated that: "*the data analysis process involved bringing order, structure and meaning to the mass of collected data*". The researcher begins with a large body of information and must, through inductive reasoning, sort, categorise and gradually reduce it to a small set of abstract, underlying themes (Leedy and Ormrod 200). De Vos *et al.* (2011) state that the process of data analysis includes building an outline for interactive the essence of what the information reveals. Data collection, recording and analysis are interrelated, concurrent procedures that are developed continuously (Creswell 2007).

Qualitative data analysis involves organising, accounting for and explaining the data; in short, making sense of data in terms of the participants' definitions of the situations, noting patterns, themes, categories and regularities. Qualitative data analysis is distinguished by its merging of analysis and interpretation and often by the merging of data collection analysis (Gibbs 2007). The first step following data collection is to process and consolidate qualitative data such as the interviews. This required sorting, processing, sharpening, focusing discarding and organising data for coding in order to prepare the data for data analysis (Miles and Huberman 2013). In this study, content

analysis was used to address the research questions. A content analysis is a detailed and systematic examination of the contents of a particular body of material for the purpose of identifying patterns, themes, or biases according to Leedy and Ormrod (2012). The material is broken down, into small manageable segments that are analysed separately. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011:461) stated that, "*qualitative data often focuses on smaller numbers of people than quantitative data, although the data tends to be detailed and rich*". They further stated: *"A researcher needs to decide early on whether to present data on an individual case basis, and to then combine key issues emerging across the individual cases, or whether to proceed by working within a largely predetermined analytical frame of issues that crosses the individuals concerned".*

The researcher should use the preliminary research questions and the related literature developed earlier in the proposal to provide guidelines for data analysis. According to Mthiyane (2013:122): "v*oluminous data collected can be overwhelming, therefore analysis of the data should be done systematically so that there is some order in the process*" Once the data was generated, it was transcribed immediately, and preliminary analysis began. "*Transcription involves getting the dialogue or narrative from the devices on which the researcher had recorded it into a document format with a clear researcher-defined column for notes*", according to Grbich (2013:20). According to Grbich (2013), preliminary data analysis refers to an ongoing process that is undertaken every time data is collected. The author further stated that during the preliminary stage of data analysis, data needs to be checked and tracked to see what comes out of it, and in order to identify areas that require follow-up, while actively questioning where the information collected is leading - or should lead - the researcher.

Greenwood *et al.* (2017) argued that interviews and focus group are popular data collection methods to gather opinions from research participants. They further stated that researchers invest important time and resources to transcribe, analyse and manage data obtained from research studies that have significant financial implications. Therefore, the standard approach to the analysis of the interview and focus group discussion data has been to undertake audio recordings, have verbatim, transcription, that is, word for word reproduction of verbal data, and to then analyse the text to uncover themes in order to understand the topic from the participants'

perspective. Transcripts also facilitate the development of an audit trial of data analysis, although it has been argued that cross-checking should be done undertaken from the original audio recording, due to the potential errors that result in the transcribing process (Then, Rankin and Ali 2014).

Clark *et al.* (2017) highlighted that assurance of transcript accuracy and quality in interview-based qualitative research is foundational for data accuracy and study validity. Maintaining quality in the transformation of an interview into a transcript ready for analysis establishes a foundation for rigor in the rest of the research process (Witcher 2010; Hennink and Weber 2013).

Graham (2005) cited in Clark *et al*. (2017) described transcription "*as the process of producing a valid written record of an interview*". Therefore, qualitative researchers using interviews generally agree that transcript is a word- for word or verbatim record of the interview dialogue. Errors in the spoken words of both the researcher and participant such as incomplete sentences, word choice mistakes, or sentence structure problems are reproduced in the interview transcripts. Depending on the research purposes, pauses, stutters, utterances, volume and emphasis can all be added. Transcription errors introduce inaccuracies into a transcript by omitting words, inserting sound-alike phrases instead of the uttered phrase, or mishandling colloquialisms or accented speech in ways that distort meaning (Witcher 2010; Poland 1995).

In analysing the data, the transcript was utilised for narrative analysis using the approach adapted by De Vos (2010) as follows:

1. Planning for recording of data: This was done in line with the view of De Vos (2010) where the interviews with the respondents were recorded after obtaining their consent and written permission. This allowed the researcher to pay attention to the interviews and to make notes where it was necessary.
2. Data generation and preliminary analyses: Data analyses in a qualitative study involves a mutual relationship between data generation and data analysis, which means that the data that was generated was also analysed. De Vos (2010) further states that data collection and analysis improves both the quality of data collected and the quality of analysis.

3. Managing or organising the data so that it is retrievable and manageable to work with: According to Mthiyane (2013) getting organised for analysis begins with an inventory of what a researcher has available for use. In this study it involved transferring voice recordings into the computer before transcription could begin. Listening to the voice recordings and reading the transcriptions several times created an opportunity to become deeply involved with the data. De Vos (2010) states that planning ahead would assist the researcher to make retrieval for analysis puposes easier. This includes data file folders, index cards and computer files. In this case, separate file folders were created for individual interviews, mixed group interviews and focus group interviews, for learners as well as educators.
4. Generating categories, themes and patterns: According to Creswell (2009) category generation refers to "taking the qualitative information apart and looking for categories, and themes or dimensions of information". "*Interpretation involves making sense of data and lessons learned*",according to (Marshall and Rossman (1999) by analysing and interpreting what the participants said and did.
5. Coding the data: Coding data is the formal presentation of analytical thinking (Marshall and Rossman 1999). This includes generating categories and themes: Colour-coding of notes to keep track of titles, names, dates, description of settings, attendance of events, establishing units of analysis of the data, indicating how these units are similar to and different from each other. Codes may consist of abbreviations of keywords, numbers or coloured dots (De Vos 2010).

The analyses and interpretion of the data obtained from the semi-structured interviews and focus group interviews was obtained using thematic analysis.

In this study, the following approach was adopted to analyse the data:

Transcripts were carefully read in their entirety. The voice recorded interviews were transcribed immediately after each interview in line with Mthiyane (2013) who stated that voice recordings should be transcribed immediately. The data obtained from the

individual interviews and focus group interviews were organised in a folder under separate files. During this process of developing themes, the data was coded and reviewed repeatedly. The researcher aimed to bring meaning and insight to the words and acts of the participants in the study by analysing and interpreting what they said and did.

Recurring catagories that emerged from the data were noted. A list of themes was then generated from the broadere categories. These themes were grouped and organised according to their similarity. The list of themes was compared according to the data and codes that were allocated. The data was then divided and organised into relevant themes and sub-themes. Special care was taken with regards to the "*meaning and insight of the words and acts of the participants in the study*" (Marshall and Rossman 1999:152).

The researcher concentrated on the whole data and then took them apart to make comparisons and contrasts between patterns and threads. Definition of codes and themes took place, to refine and arrange into a logical and consistent manner. This enabled the researcher to answer the following research questions:

1. What is the nature, causes, and consequences of gender-based violence among high school students in Umlazi?
2. What efforts have been made so far to bring about peace and justice with respect to gender-based violence among high schools in general, but particularly with regards to Vuma High School and Phakama High School in Umlazi district?

The themes generated from the data analysis are discussed in the next chapter.

5.11 Trustworthiness

Trustworthiness is the greatest significance in qualitative studies (Niewenhuis 2010; Mthiyane 2013). This involves consistency checks and credibility or stakeholder checks. Yin (2012) believed that it is important for the researcher to check and re-check the consistency of the findings from the different as well as the same sources. Trustworthiness equates to neutrality of findings or decisions (Barbie and Mouton 2009; Zuma 2018).

Mthiyane (2013) suggested that for qualitative research to be credible (in preference to internal validity) and transferable (in preference to external validity or generalisability), it should be dependable (in preference to reliability). The author further stated that reliability and validity are essential criteria for quality in quantitative paradigms, whereas in qualitative studies, terms such as credibility, dependability, applicability or transferability, confirmability and consistency are preferred. In addition, credibility in naturalistic inquiry can be attained by the following: prolonged engagement in the field, persistent observation, triangulation, peer debriefing, negative case analysis and member checking (Lincoln and Guba 1995). Transferability, which is the extent to which findings can be applied in other context or with other respondents also forms parts of trustworthiness even though qualitative researchers are not primarily interested in generalisation (Mthiyane 2013). Dependability, that is, if the study were to be repeated with the same or similar respondents in the same context, its findings would be similar and confirmability (the degree to which the findings are the product of the focus of the inquiry and not the biases of the researcher are also other strategies used by qualitative researchers to enhance trustworthiness (Mthiyane 2013).

Trustworthiness is enhanced by using multiple data sources, raw data , keeping notes on research data, ensuring consistency in coding data, verifying and validating findings, minimising researcher bias, choosing quotes carefully, avoiding generalisation, maintaining confidentiality and anonymity as swell as stating the limitationsof the study (Niewenhuis 2010; Mthiyane 2013).

The above requirements was considered in this research study to validate and cross check the soundness and supply confidence of the findings. Moreover, the researcher spent proclaimed time at each research site during data generation until she had data saturation to ensure trustworthiness.

5.12 Limitations of the study

The findings from this study were not generalised to other school settings and communities.

5.13 Validity and reliability

Creswell (2014) described validity as one of the strengths of qualitative research and is based on determining whether the findings are accurate from the standpoint of the researcher, the participant, or the reader of an account. In qualitative data, validity might be addressed through the honesty, depth, richness and scope of the data achieved, the participants approached, the extent of triangulation and the disinterestedness or objectivity of the researcher (Cohen, Manion and Morrison 2011). According to Maree (2014), the validity of qualitative designs includes the degree to which the interpretations and concepts used have mutual meaning for both the participant and the researcher.

Honesty in informants when contributing data is an important contributor to validity. In this study each person who was approached was given the opportunity to refuse to participate in the project so as to ensure that the data collection sessions involved only those who were genuinely willing to take part and prepared to offer data freely. Participants were encouraged to be frank from the outset of each session, with the researcher aiming to establish a rapport in the opening moments and indicating that there were no right answers to the questions that were asked. Participants could, therefore, contribute ideas and talk of their experiences without fear of losing credibility in the eyes of the researcher. It was made clear to participants that they had the right to withdraw from the study at any point without having to disclose an explanation to the researcher.

In addition to the strategies outlined above, attempts were made to ensure that the most accurate responses were elicited. These included the use of probes to elicit detailed data and iterative questioning, in which the researcher returned to matters previously raised by an informant in order to extract related data through rephrased questions.

Qualitative reliability indicates that the researcher's approach is consistent across different researchers and different projects (Creswell 2014). Reliability is the extent to which the test, measure or instrument can be repeated with the same or a similar group of respondents, and still produces the same or very similar results (Bertram and Christiansen 2014). Cohen, Mannion and Morrison (2011) argued that reliability

relates to the precision and accuracy of the instrument. If used on a similar group of respondents in a similar context, the instrument should yield similar results.

In this study, qualitative content analysis was applied as a measure of reliability for the interviews and focus group discussions. The data was recorded and transcribed. The results were interpreted and analysed against existing literature using thematic content analysis. Therefore, the measuring instrument for this study has met the requirements, since it was developed based on an extensive review of the literature,

5.14 Ethical issues

Durban University of Technology (DUT) has a strict research ethics policy that applies to all members of staff, graduate and postgraduate students who are involved in research on or off the campuses of the university. In addition, any person not affiliated with the Durban University of Technology who wishes to conduct research with Durban University of Technology students and/or staff member/s is bound by the same ethics framework. Each member of the University community is responsible for implementing this policy in relation to scholarly work with which she or he is associated and to avoid any activity which might be considered to be violation of this Policy. Strydom (2010:56) and Mthiyane (2013:127) in their studies stated that "…*until recently, professional ethics and conduct (in research) have for the most part been ignored*". Strydom (2010)and Mthiyane (2013) further highlighted that anyone involved in research needs to be aware of what is proper and improper.

In this research study, all ethical consideration were discussed with the participants before the research undertaken. Strydom (2010:57) refers ethics "*as a set of moral principles which offers rules and behavioural expectations about the most correct conduct towards experimental subjects and respondents*". Mthiyane (2013) asserts that ethical guidelines in research are needed to guard against any possible harm and also against the less obvious, yet harmful effects of research. Litchman (2011) believed that a basic principle of conducting experiments on humans is that voluntary consent is important. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011:85) refers ethics as "…a matter of principled sensitivity to the rights of others". This means that the action of pursuing knowledge and truth respecting the dignity of participants is the first priority. Therefore, ethics are important parts of every research study. "The essence of

anonymity is that information provided by participants should in no way reveal their identity" (Cohen *et al*. 2011:91). Cohen *et al.* (2011:92) further stated that "…way of protecting a participant's right to privacy is through the promise of confidentiality". In addition, Mthiyane (2013: 128) study stated "…*confidentiality means that information given to the researcher will not be divulged to others, except in reporting research results as agreed and that the information will not be used for any purpose other than the research*".

Researchers must take cognisance of the importance of participant confidentiality as an ethical requirement of research (Roberts, 2015).The researcher assured the participants that their names and those of their schools would be kept anonymous. Pseudonyms were used to ensure anonymity. The researcher put in place measures according to the DUT guidelines to ensure that there is protection of the participant's rights, by obtaining informed consent from all participants and parents of learner participants and by abiding to DUT's ethical review process. Permission to conduct the study at the chosen two schools was obtained from the KZN Education department (Annexure 2). A letter of information and consent was given to participants (Annexure 3A and 3B) which provided details of the study to be undertaken. The participants were asked to complete and sign a letter of consent (Annexure 3C). The participants were assured on the confidentiality of the data obtained and that their names, schools and principals would not be disclosed in the dissertation. The participants were also assured that no information about their participation or the interviews would be disclosed to their school principal and fellow colleagues.

5.15 Challenges during data collection

At school A, one participant did not return his consent form. On further enquiry, it was learnt that the participant was hospitalised. As such, the participant was replaced with another candidate. At school B, one male educator passed away during holidays and another female educator was promoted to an independent school before the scheduled interview. In both schools there were educators who agreed to be part of the study but did not participate, on the day of the meeting. The researcher had to request other educators in these chosen schools to be part of the study.

5.16 Conclusion

This chapter presented the qualitative research approach applied to this study. Data was collected from individual interviews and focus group discussions. A sample population of twenty-four learners and twenty educators were used from the two selected schools. Content analysis was used to interpret the results.

The next chapter discusses the results and discussion of the collected data.

CHAPTER 6: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION: PERCEPTIONS, ATTITUDES, BELIEFS AND BEHAVIOUR

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter the data is presented and analysed from the transcript of individual interviews, focus group discussions and mixed focus group discussions with educators and learners at two urban high schools in Umlazi Township. This study investigated the perceptions, attitudes, beliefs and behaviour of a sample of high school township youth regarding gender-based violence. The study further identified sources of the attitudes and beliefs expressed by the youth in Umlazi that gave rise to gendered violent outcomes. In doing so, the main focus of this chapter identified the causes of gender violence at these two urban high schools. In the first instance this chapter looks at the types of gender violence and then turns attention to the causes of gender violence at School A and School B.

Verbatim quotations are used in the data presentation in order to ensure that the proper context of the responses is maintained and sustained. The following themes emerged from the interviews with participants at Vuma High School (School A) and Phakama High School (School B) in Umlazi Township:

6.2 Nature of violence at Vuma High School and Phakama High School

This section is organised using two overlapping categories: implicit gender violence, which relates to the everyday institutional structures and practices, and explicit gender violence, which relates to more overtly sexualized encounters. It is beyond the scope of this modest study to include all forms of violence in school. Thus, for the current purpose, this section focusses on gender violence which includes 'explicit' forms of violence such as sexual violence, sexual abuse and physical violence and 'implicit' forms such as jokes and humour, teasing, punishment and initiation, verbal abuse, bullying and division of labour.

A report by Plan International (2013) stated that bullying is often the most common form of violence in schools, reflects an imbalance of power and is carried out through verbal or physical acts whose purpose is to inflict suffering over a period of time.

Furthermore, girls are more likely to engange in verbal and psychological bullying. Nkoopo (2017) stated that verbal abuse in schools against girls found in high levels. Nkoopho (2017) further highlighted that implicit gender based violence against girls in schools is widely reported. Gender based violence towards school girls in the formal education settings is pervasive, worldwide and this makes the female learners continue to face many obstacles to learning, safety within the school (Nkoopho 2010).

"*Explicit gender violence involves sexual harassment, assault, intimidation and rape while implicit gender violence involves corporal punishment, bullying, verbal and psychological abuse, teacher's unofficial use of students of labour*" according to Skiba (2002:81). Wilson (2012) further stated that violence is not limited to physical and sexual violence but also includes behaviour that cause psychological trauma, which affects the identity of an individual. In addition, the act of aggressive and intimidating behaviour as well as unwelcome physical contact such as grouping and touching coercise sex and rape all are forms of abuse.

Mkancu (2019) reports that the school is where children are to practise adulthood. Boys often have more freedom and leeway to be 'rough' and so they start to exercise their superiority over females. Girls are socialised to cater to the male sex, and are even assigned to domestic chores at school while the boys study. The study further reports that there is the language used in schools that perpetuates violence. It is the kind of language that views girls in relation to boys, and what role they ought to fill in society. Through language, perpetrators of gender-based violence objectify, demean and inflict trauma on girls.

6.3 Emerging themes

The following themes and subthemes emerged from this study. This section relates to objective one of the study, to explore the nature of gender- based violence at the two reseaech schools and answers the question : what is the nature of gender based violence among the learners at high in Umlazi. The findings and discussion begins with an analysis of implicit violence reported by the participants.

6.3.1 Theme 1: Implicit gender-based violence

6.3.1.1 Subtheme 1: Only Joking

Gender joking are jokes with gender content and are made across gender lines, almost entirely initiated by men who operate to keep women in a subordinate position through stereotypes, conventional images, and definitions of women at work in sexual, domestic, or maternal terms (Cunnison 1989). In this study, gender joking intiated by boys and aimed at girls was fairly common among learners. Such joking has been interpreted as gender-based harassment by many gender scholars (Hodson, Rush and MacInnis 2010; Abrams and Bippus 2014; Woodzicka, Mallet, Hendricks and Pruitt 2015).

The interviews with learners and educators from both schools revealed the following:

> *"Boys usually treat girls otherwise, they sometimes make jokes about them, because they know that girls can have no power towards boys.Even in class they don't take girls seriously."* **Snenhlanhla: (Girl,17 from School A- Individual interview)**

> *"Boys don't treat girls with respect at school - they don't want them to have a voice in the class. They make a joke if a girl raises an idea. They make funny noises and change their words into funny words. We girls feel bad when this happens. We like to say things back but we know that this will only make things worse. Therefore we are silent. They like to silence us with jokes. Sometimes it is better not to show that you know."***Sane: (Girl,15 from School A- Individual interview)**

> *"When a girl gets high marks – boys would joke to say - she copied or someone gave her the answers because she kissed him – or she showed him her …Just to ridicule the girl and then they say – ah – only joking."* **Bandile: (Boy, 17 from School B – Individual interview)**

"The relationship with girls in our class in not good because girls are treated special by educators and as boys we don't like that, girls always think they are smart. Boys make jokes about girls especially when girls do something good". **Brian *(Boy, 18 from School A- Boys focus group)***

"Boys always compete in the class, boys always think that they are smarter than girls, they don't want to get lower marks, if it happens that a girl became the highest of the class then they start to get jealous and put some funny remarks." **Sanele: (Boy, 16 from School A- Boys focus group)**

Boys have great challenges when an educator praises a girl for good work. Boys become jealous when girls get praised for good work and say her boyfriend wrote for her, then the class laugh make it a joke and laugh." **Phila: (Boy, 18 from School B – Mixed focus group)**

The testimonies from both boys and girls indicated that jokes are implicitly used to suppress the girls at the school. Whenever a girl is seen to be advancing or displays any hint of gaining advantage over boys, the girls are suppressed by using jokes as a tool. The boys used jokes to ensure that any power that the girls gained is usurped. This suggested that whenever the boys feel threatened by the girls in terms of losing influence over the girls the boys try to gain sway by using humour to ridicule the girls.

When girls gain momentum by expressing themselves in the class, the boys are quick to make a joke to decelerate this momentum. "*They make a joke if a girl raises an idea".* The boys use humour to silence the girls when they suspect that the girls are acquiring some form of status by being resourceful and astute. This is a form of gender-based violence. This finding is supported by Ford, Boxer, Armstrong and Edel (2008) and Ford, Triplett and Kochersberger (2013) who found that men often use humour to deride females.

Ford *et al*., (2013) stated that sexist humour derives power to foster expressions of prejudice against women from ambivalence of society's attitudes towards women. This was evident that the boys used jokes as a tactic to downplay the academic achievement of girls. This infers that they are not ready to accept or recognize the amplitude and mental capacity of the girls. They attempt to nullify the girls' achievements through banter and repartee. The boys are dismissive of the girls' successes by accusing the girls of dishonesty or using their sexuality to falsify academic success.

The boys however claimed to be jesting. Belittling women is a common form of gender-based violence. In many situations there is an unstated conversational norm dictating that the derogatory jest is to be perceived as light-hearted fun (Ford *et al.* 2008). However, accepting or normalising the negative gender stereotypes implied by the joke could lead to greater tolerance of discrimination which can have individual and societal consequences. On a societal level, tolerating discrimination can serve to justify negative perceptions and behaviours toward marginalized groups. This can lead to greater societal group prejudice, subsequently normalizing widespread acceptance of inequality (Ford *et al*. 2008; Woodzicka *et al*. 2015).

Significantly, there are a growing number of studies that show how gender-based violence is enacted by means of making women subscribe to notions of being mentally weak, foolish or unwise. Mthiyane (2013) believed that gender violence may be used to perpetuate male authority, particularly when a man feels threatened by, for example a woman achieving higher status in education or labour market. In addition, violence against women and girls in wars and civil conflicts can arise from men's struggles to wrest power, resources and political control. Men often use guilt to maintain power of women by insinuating that women use sexuality to control situations for personal gain (Diale 2016).

Denying women recognition for their achievements is an implicit form of gender-based violence. Nullifying the recognition of women's accomplishments is a violation of women's rights and an injury to one's identity. Dietrich and Hofman (2020) argued that measures of learners' self- sabotaging behavior include hiding academic effort and holding back academic effort. It is proposed that gender stereotypes and the expectations they produce about both what women are like (descriptive) and how they

should behave (prescriptive) can result in devaluation of their performance, denial of credit to them for their successes, or their penalization for being competent (Shabalala 2012). Mthiyane (2013) argued that girls' academic performance may be affected due to crude remarks by boys towards them. Not being allowed to participate in classroom discussions and being denied acknowledgement for achievements is implicit gender-based violence (Wilson 2012).

Kapoor (2016) and Ford (2017) found that men used sexist jokes so as to not allow women to be publicly praised. In this study there was evidence of boys mocking when a girl was given praise. They used the '*only joking*' discourse to stifle the girls and maintain power over them.

More so, studies (Ferguson *et al.* 2015; Dietrich and Hofman, 2020) argued that high-teasing climates lead to self-sabotaging behaviours among adolescents, such as hiding and holding back academic effort to school. According to this theory, learners tend to engage in such behaviours due to peer pressure: "*Fear of social repercussions can lead learners to behave publicly in ways that they privately disapprove* "(Ferguson 2016:36). The evidence in this study supports this theory in that the girls chose to be silent and hid their academic abilities. This was evident by the statement by Participant **Sane: (Girl,15 from School A - Individual interviews).**

Abrams and Bippus (2011) stated that the goal of jokes is to make people laugh, the content of jokes, what people laugh at, and why people laugh varies greatly. Disparaging jokes that denigrate out-groups provide an outlet for individuals to express their superiority by laughing at the expense of out-groups (Hodson, Rush and MacInnis, 2010). Men serve as a relative comparison group for women, when women engage in social comparison with men, they may be aware of their subordinate status (Abrams and Bippus 2014). Abrams and Bippus (2014) further stated that in turn, they may experience a more negative social identity, and as a result, endorse their own intellectual inferiority communicated through the joke.

From a theoretical perspective, social constructionism has traditionally been related to and connected to the sociology of knowledge. In these schooling communities we see that there is a sense of subordinate status of the girls where the boys did not show much concern for how their behaviour impacted on the feelings and emotional status of the girls. We see evidence of representations of a socially transmitted and

institutionally solidified gendered belief system that was reproduced at these schools. (Gunnarsson, Linell and Nordberg 2014). Furthermore Hack *et al.* (2019) argued that the social group to which people belong are essential to their social identity and serve to develop and maintain their self-concept and social behaviour and is played out in the behaviour of the boys.

6.3.1.2 Subtheme 2: "Just for fun" - Teasing

While talking to the boys about incidents of violence against girls in schools, there was a perceived level of insensitivity as many did not relate their actions against girls as incidents of sexual harassment but merely as teasing.

> *"You see there was a girl who was coming from a poor family and that girl didn't have the T-shirt for PE. She wore this loose shirt. When we saw her we started calling her 'loose boobs'. Other boys now tease her 'loose boobs'. There is nothing bad – we just having some fun."* **Sanele: (Boy,16 from School A -Boys focus group)**

> *In my class there is a girl who is very black in complexion. She is very naughty. Boys called her 'Kiwi-Black Polish' when she is making noise in class to stop it. We just laugh about it."* **Lebo: (Boy, 16 from School A - Boys focus group)**

It is important to understand what motivated the boys to harass the girls. Common reasons to harass include power, control, and sexual attraction. Dhillon and Bakaya (2014) described scenarios where men who harboured negative attitudes about women, harassed women in public to assert their power and control over women. The study found that the boys used the notion that they teased the girls in fun but were using teasing as a mechanism to ridicule, control and dominate the girls. In other studies when men were asked why they tease, multiple studies report that they believe it was funny or trivial, and that it does not hurt the victim (Ghosh 1990; Leach and Humphreys 2007; Akhtar 2013; Nahar, Van Reeuwijk and Reis 2013; Dhillon and Bakaya 2014).

In this study, majority of the girls reported feelings of shame or humiliation when they were teased by the boys. They did not perceive the teasing as boys merely having fun as indicated by the statements below.

> *"When a girl enters the class if she is short the boys tease 'Ugqinsi' (meaning short and fatty). If she is tall they call 'Ukhozi' (Eagle). They always have something to say – because you are a girl. We feel really embarrassed."* **Sisanda: (Girl, 17 from School B- Girls focus group)**

> *"Boys only treat girls better if they are in the same class with them, if a girl from another class walks into their classroom the boys would tease that girl and call her 'Zumba' which means that girl is ugly. Even if she is not this is the way used by boys to tease girls. So mostly we don't go to the other classes if even a teacher asks we send a boy."* **Ayanda:(Girl,17 from School A - Girls focus group)**

Crouch (2010) reported that whilst it was a common defence tactic to ignore the harasser, this however led leads to more aggressive harassment. Given the social stigma of eve teasing victimisation, it is reasonable to assume that women would avoid a confrontation with the harasser(s) to minimise attention to the situation. In this study majority of the girls indicated that they merely avoided the abusive situation.

Teasing is a form of implicit gender-based violence as found by other studies (Horowitz *et al*. 2014; Kraus *et al*. 2014; Espelage *et al*. 2015). Teasing involves verbal and nonverbal peer interactions which may be humorous and playful on one level but annoying for distressing on another level (Horowitz *et al*. 2014). Differences in personality or behaviour can single out a learner to be the object of teasing (Horowitz *et al*. 2014).

Gender moderates the relationship between social status and teasing (Kraus *et al*. 2014) which suggest that higher-status boys are more likely to engage in male violent forms of teasing than higher-status girls. Whilst this study did not interrogate the status

of boys and their hierarchy in the pecking order of proving masculinity, the boys did use teasing to display power over the girls.

Fun teasing at Vuma High School and Phakama High School normally included aggressive verbal messages targeted at any characteristic at the core of a learner's sense of identity. For example, girls who displayed physical characteristics that were different from other learners, were teased. The impotance the provocateurs place on appearance was apparent in the words that they used when teasing, for example, "*'loose boobs', 'Kiwi-Black Polish', 'Mkhishini', 'Ugqinsi' (meaning short and fatty), 'Ukhozi' (Eagle), tall person and 'Zumba* a derogatory term used to refer to an ugly person or humiliating a person. Mncube and Harber (2013) found that teasing led to humiliation and was a form of gendered violence.

6.3.2 Theme 2: Social bullying

Social bullying, sometimes referred to as relational bullying, involves hurting someone's reputation or relationships. Social bullying includes leaving someone out on purpose, telling other children not to be friends with someone, spreading rumours about someone, embarrassing someone in public (Stuart-Cassel, Terzian and Bradshaw 2013). This type of bullying was very prominent among the leaners at the selected schools. It was more evident with boys bullying the girls. Learners of both genders as well as educators indicated that social bullying was rife at their schools. Public understanding of youth bullying behaviour continues to evolve as definitions have expanded to recognize social bullying as an important form of youth aggression. (Stuart-Cassel *et al*. 2013). In addition, relational aggression, indirect aggression and social aggression are terms used to describe different dimensions of social bullying (McDemott 2014). Furthermore, the terms convey subtle differences in meaning, they describe a set of closely related, often overlapping behaviours that share the effect of undermining social status and threatening feelings of support, security and closeness in youth relationships.

In this study, learners highlighted during the individual interviews and focus group discussions that social bullying was rife, especially by boys towards girls. They stated that the social bullying was mainly retaliatory in nature. This study found that alienation and spreading rumours was the two major forms of social bullying among the learners.

6.3.2.1 Subtheme 1: Distancing and alienation of girls

"You see the boys here, they have a way of getting to the girls. Sometimes they have a reason and sometimes they just do it because they are bad. I don't know why they choose a girl and ask others to leave her alone. So these boys are popular and the children listen. Then she has no friends. Boys know that they have more power so they take advantage them." **Mfundo:(Boy,18 from School A - Mixed focus group)**

*"Boys are fine with girls for as long as girls know their place as girls and respect boys. Otherwise, they are out of the friendship groups. The girls know this so they do what they must do to stay in the group***." Ayanda: (Girl,17 from School A- Girls focus group)**

"Girls have greater challenges, they are abused by boys because they know that if they react then they are made to feel alone". **Andiswa: (Girl, 18 from School B - Mixed focus group)**

"Boys are aggressive to the girls; they shout at them and have attitudes towards girls. But girls are different. Some of them have attitude but those ones are pushed aside. The boys say that those with attitudes must have no friends". **Andiswa: (Girl, 18 from School B - Individual Interviews)**

"In our school all girls are scared of boys because they are bullying us. Boys are always angry at girls, it is like their parents told them to do this. Sometimes the boys ask that no-one must be friends with a certain girl. We don't know why but we do it because we are scared". **Sane: (Girl, 17 from School A - Individual Interviews)**

The educators also indicated that many boys used friendship groups as a tool to keep the girls in check and to force them into complicity. This was highlighted in the statements below.

> *"Boys will always want to be bossy against girls. They want to be in charge. If a girl says or does something that they do not like then they use other children to distance the girl. They have friendship groups and tell the groups to leave out this girl*". **Mr Mtshali: (Educator, 44 from School B - Mixed focus group)**

> *"It is not always males who are violent even girls especially when they defend themselves. When boys are being provoked they want to deal with the situation because should you not, you get seen as being weak. You have to solve it yourself that way you're going to be seen as a man. The boy attack friendship groups of the victim to distance from her and the girl feels embarrassed by not getting support from her friends".* **Mr Siba: (Educator, 55 from School B – Mixed focus group)**

> *"There was once a girl that came to me crying because of something with a boy. Nobody wanted to speak with her or be friends with her. We found out that the boy was punishing the girl for something stupid, and he and his friends were making sure that other children must avoid her. So the boy was trying to get his dignity back by making her feel and be alone."* **Mrs Zungu: (Educator, 43 from School B – Mixed focus group)**

> *"Usually, you find a boy dating a girl within the school and they sometimes fight and boys are the ones who always react badly. The*

boys always try to get back at the girl. When it comes to relationships, and something goes wrong the boys try to get other children to isolate her". **Mrs. Shibe: (Educator, 42 from School B – Mixed focus group)**

"We find many cases coming to the office where a girl tried to harm herself. In many cases it is because of leaners being mean to the girl. When we investigate we find that it is often the case where some boy is involved in trying to make the girl feel alone and abandoned because she had rejected him". **Mrs Dlamini: (Educator, 38 from School A - Individual Interviews)**

Stuart-Cassel *et al.,* (2013) highlighted that social bullying can occur within context of large social groups as well as within small networks, close friendships or romantic relationship. Social bullying can be proactive, or used to achieve or maintain social position, gain attention or alleviate boredom, or it can be reactive, or retaliatory, in nature, in response to a perceived threat or to feelings of anger, jealously or betrayal (Young, Boye and Nelson 2006). The testimony of the teachers indicated that the boys felt a certain degree of embarrassment when girls did not comply with their requirements and expectations. The boys retaliated by using other learners at the school to alienate the girls, thereby making them feel unaccepted, disdained and disparaged.

Analysis under this subtheme suggested that the boys are influenced by stigmas of male superiority and sex identified stereotypes and unable to interact with the girls on an egalitarian level. Instead, they use alienation as a tool to maintain their dominance over the girls. Stereotyped by their gender, the girls were isolated and oppressed by the boys if they do not conform to expectations of male dominance. Even though today there is an era of third wave feminism many of the girls in this study accepted being treated badly.

Stereotypical roles in which women are seen as subordinate to men constrain a woman's ability to exercise choices that would enable her to end abuse (Shabalala

2012). Gender as a characteristic of persons is easily observable and therefore may often lead to stereotyping, consciously or unconsciously categorizing others and making conclusions of their unobservable attributes such as socioeconomic status, values and education (He, Butler and King 2014).

Alienation is argued by many feminists to be a form of female oppression (Kain, 2009). It is important to understand that violence against women manifests in unequal power relations between men and women and the factors that increase the risk of its occurrence are grounded in the broader context of systemic gender-based discrimination against women and other forms of subordination. Vulnerability to violence is understood as a condition created by the absence or denial of rights (Coomaraswamy and Kois 2015).

Shabalala (2012) stated that gender-based violence is often used to demonstrate the power of the winning side and as a tool of psychological warfare. Furthermore, gender-based violence is also used to dehumanise females, that is, to show that they are not worthy of civilised treatment. Shabalala (2012:12) believed that such violence is even used to punish women depicted as traitors.

Coompraswamy and Kois (2015) highlighted that violence is present throughout the lifetime of a woman, affecting girls and older women too. In addition, violence against women is a manifestation of historically unequal power relations between man and woman, a human rights analysis posits that specific causes of such violence and the factors that increase the risk of occurrence are grounded in the broader context of systematic gender-based discrimination against women and other forms of subornation (Coompraswamy and Kois 2015). The unequal power relations between the boys and girls to a large extent is related to the social identity theory where the distinction of gender is seen through how the boys spend tremendous energy socially constructing their identity in an effort to elevate themselves above the girls while at the same time suppressing the girls through various bullying techniques.

The United Nations Special Rappoteur (2009) on violence against women has recognised the need to apply an intersectional analysis when researching gender-

based violence to demonstrate different categories of discrimination against women with alienation being one of these categories.

6.3.2.2 Subtheme 2: Spreading rumours in school

Nahar *et al.* (2013) provided examples of harassment based on sexual attraction, sometimes as romantic expressions of feelings. The learners and teachers in my study spoke of patriarchy, power and emotional bullying by boys in their expressions of romantic interest and relationships. Examples of abuse was given and was described as "rumours" that hurt specifically where the boys tried to smear the girl's reputation and worth within the school community by spreading rumours.

> *"When a boy wants a romantic relationship with a girl and the girl refuses some boys believe that when a girl does not comply, he must degrade her to lose her self-esteem. The boys then start all these rumours about her".* **Winnie: (Girl, 16 from School A - Girls focus group)**

> *"My cousin is in grade 11 in this school. This boy wanted her to be his girlfriend. She chose another boy over him. He then started telling people that he had sex with her and did all sorts of things. This led to humiliation and degrading towards my cousin at school as well as at home."* **Charmaine:(Girl, 16 from School A - Girls focus group)**

> *"For me friendship groups with boys is not good because they take advantage if you become friends with them. They end up wanting to date you and spreading rumours if you don't agree with him."* **Sane (Girl, 17 from School A – Girls focus group)**

"Usually boys expect the girls to accept them as a boyfriend. If they refuse then the boy starts to spread bad things about her". **Sanele: (Boy, 16 from School A - Individual Interviews)**

"Once a girl breaks up with a boy we usually dislike that girl in the class as we are boys and avoid her. We tell everyone that she is used goods. That way no-one will want to date her. **Phelelani: (Boy, 17 from School B - Boys focus group)**

"Some girls are forced to be in the relationship because if she don't do that boys disrespect her, and start to spread rumours. They say all sorts of things to others." **Andiswa: (Girl, 18 from School B - Girls focus group)**

"Girls are confronted by a group of boys when they want that girl to date one of the boy in the group. The girls feels threatened to say yes, otherwise those boys start to spread bad things about her." **Ayanda: (Girl, 17 from School B - Girls focus group)**

The educators also provided similar testimonies.

" Sometimes you find a girl reporting that a boy was trying to date her and when she refused then the boy ended up abusing her by spreading rumours about her. Boys are like that towards girls". **Mr Dludlu: (Educator, 57 from School A - Individual Interviews)**

"Boys don't play fair when it comes to romance. Mostly girls are victims because they are afraid of getting a bad reputation by falsely accusing

them of things. **Mr Xolani: (Educator, 34 from School A – Individual Interviews)**

"Most boys want to be in a relationship with the girls here at this school. "Boys are aggressive about this. If the girl, they want does not agree then the boy is embarrassed. He spreads rumours that he had her and left her because she was not good. We get a lot of complaints about this." **Mr Mpanza: (Educator, 50 from School B - Individual Interviews)**

Contemporary feminists refer to the practice of criticizing a woman's real or perceived sexual promiscuity as 'slut-shaming'. The concept of "slut-shaming" manifests itself in the spreading of sexual rumours in the workplace. In effect, accusing a woman of being sexually promiscuous calls into doubt her desirability to other men. Increasingly, courts recognize this gender-based insult is offensive because it is based on gender stereotypes that "good" women are not sexually promiscuous (Neal 2019).

In this study the boys directed their resentment towards the girls who refused their gestures of romantic relationships by spreading rumours. The boys attempted to shame the girls and attempted to denigrate their reputations by creating a vision that the girl is sexually promiscuous. This form of social bullying is regarded as gender-based violence. Gordon (2020) argued that gossip and rumours can destroy a person's self-confidence and affect their self-esteem. He further stated that gossip and rumours can alienate friends, ruin reputations and even lead to ostracizing behaviour and other forms of relational aggression.

Girls who are victims of rumours or gossip in the school environment may withdraw in class activities such as discussions and group work or increased absenteeism (Batsche and Knopf 1994). The presence of gossip and rumours within a school creates an environment of fear and intimidation for not only victims but also bystanders who observe such incidences (Batsche and Knopf 1994). Moreover, learners who are

severely bullied are likely to regard school as a negative setting and ultimately avoid certain places or people within the school or avoid school completely.

From the above testimonies it is clear that social bullying is gendered in both schools. Nieman (2011) confirmed that girls are more prone to social bullying at schools than boys. Stuart-Cassel *et al*. (2013) argued that for schools to appropriately identify and respond to incidents of social bullying, school policies must recognize social bullying as a form of aggression and must contain clear prohibitions against these behaviours. Kosciw *et. al.* (2010) advocated that school policies should clearly communicate a lack of tolerance of bullying due to race, religion, disability, sexual orientation, gender identity and gender expression.

For the girls at both schools, implicit gender-based violence was inherent in their everyday school lives. Although this section has highlighted the incidents in which implicit gender-based violence was most pronounced, the implicit violence acted as a backdrop to the physically harassing behaviour to which the girls were frequently exposed at school.

The next section focusses on explicit gender-based violence in form of sexually explicit gender-based violence and interpersonal physical violence.

6.3.1 Theme 3: Explicit gender-based violence

6.3.1.1 Subtheme 1: Sexual Harassment

In this study the girls reported facing high levels of sexual gender-based violence. The greatest threat of sexual abusive behaviour came from male learners, in the form of sexual touching and non-consensual sex. Under this subtheme, the following categories emerged:

- ***Unwanted touching***

All the girls that were interviewed mentioned that unwanted touching of girls by the boys was a common occurrence at school.

> "Boys have this habit of touching the bums and as girls we feel we are harassed. We slap their hands and things but next time they still do it as

they walk pass. Sometimes they just laugh". **Andiswa: (Girl,18 from School B - Mixed focus group)**

"There is a boy who used to look at me in a way that made me feel uncomfortable in the classroom. One day this boy touched my bum and I became very angry which led to a fight since I am an aggressive person by nature". **Winnie: (Girl,16 from School A - Girls focus group)**

*"I have a problem with many boys in this school who say that I am a Tom boy (lesbian) and all that. They said I must let them feel me to see that I was a girl. The boys always touch my privates***". Aphiwe: (Girl,18 from School A - Mixed focus group)**

"Boys don't play well because they use to play with physicality, always wanting to touch our bodies. I tell them if they don't stop then we will not play with them". **Ayanda: (Girl, 17 from School A - Individual Interviews)**

"My classmate used to come in my desk. He would say he wants to talk but always ends up touching my body. Now when he comes, I go to another desk". **Sane: (Girl, 15 from School A - Individual Interviews)**

"The boys are always handling the girls. Touching and feeling all the time. We don't like it. Some girls fight back and some girls just leave it because the boys will give you attitude. It seems like no-one cares about the girls here". **Snenhlanhla: (Girl, 17 from School A - Individual Interviews)**

Grabbing, touching and feeling their bodies were the forms of sexual violence most frequently mentioned by the students. The girls expressed frustration and were clearly upset about the sexual harassment. In all of the individual and focus group interviews with the girls none of them mentioned that girls derived satisfaction from the attention of the boys. They did not receive any pleasure or flattery and did not enjoy or welcome the attention. None of the girls mentioned that they encouraged the boys and tried not to be passive victims.

Just as with other forms of sexual harassment, the girls tried their best to handle the situation and to question and confront the boys who expose them to this behaviour. However, the girls also reveal that it is quite difficult to deal with the harassment as the boys were persistent and did not change their behaviour in spite of the girls attempts to discourage them, "*We slap their hands";* "*I became very angry which led to a fight"; "we will not play with them"; "I go to another desk"; "some girls fight back".* In order to protect themselves and to "survive" in the harsh school environment and to discourage and stop the abuse, the girls adopted tough-girl femininity where they enacted a tough attitude, and sometimes were prepared to physically defend themselves.

However, it was interesting to note that the girls did not see reporting these incidents to the school authority as an option. While it was not overtly mentioned in the interviews with the girls it could be that they did not see reporting as an avenue to curb the harassment. All the girls who cited incidents of sexual harassment relayed their attempts to handle the situation by themselves instantly and directly. They did not take it further than that. None of the girls mentioned that they reported the abuse to a teacher, parent, or community member. The self-protective strategies they developed in trying to avoid and stop the harassing behaviour must be seen as positive expressions of their strength and resistance, but these tactics did not serve to change the boy's behaviour.

Other studies (Hlavka 2014; Rolfe and Schroeder 2017; Odenbring and Johansson 2019) reveal similar findings where the girls attempted to handle and dissuade the abuse by themselves without seeking support from other authorities. Odenbring and Johansson (2019) found that most of the girls regarded the harassing behaviour as part of the fabric of their daily lives and while did not 'let' the abuse happen, the girls

did not report to the school authorities. Hamlall (2018) revealed subscription to gendered cultural expectations as a reason for Black South African women not reporting sexual harassment and abuse. Durbach (2018) argued that a large number of sexual assaults are not being reported and it is therefore not surprising that sexual harassment and violence is widespread.

Many boys also supported the girl's testimonies of unwanted touching by the boys.

> *"You sometimes find boys smoking at a place in the school. When a girl goes there they touch her, sometimes calling them with bad names. But I don't know why that girl must go there".* **Ngcebo: (Boy, 16 from School A - Mixed focus group)**

> *"There is a lot of bias against girls, I think school has become a scary place because girls are abused by boys. I find that boys are always touching and feeling girls. I think sometimes some girls don't mind". Sphesihle***: (Boy, 18 from School B - Boys focus group)**

> *"Girls have no power to defend themselves. Boys usually touch girls but that girl sometimes dates that boy."* **Sphelele: (Boy, 17 from School A - Individual Interviews)**

> *"According to me in the classroom girls are not treated as they are supposed to be treated, the boys don't treat girls in good manner. Boys touch girls in their bums and in their privates. Boys used to go and share one desk with the girls. They usually put their hands under their skirts. The girls push and slap them. I think that the girls should not share the desk with that boy".* **Bandile: (Boy, 17 from School B - Individual Interviews)**

Of all the boys that were interviewed, none of the participants mentioned they themselves touched or handled a girl. All the boys mentioned that they witnessed or related stories that they heard secondhand. The boys indicated that they felt it was wrong to touch the girls without their consent and that this behaviour made school life very difficult and uncomfortable for the girls. The boy's testimonies revealed that violating the girls by touching them inappropriately was quite common at both schools. However, while the boys sympathized with the victims and that it was offensive to treat girls in this manner, they were quick to say that the girls were not entirely without blame.

The boys highlighted that the perpetrators were not entirely responsible for the harassment as it was the girls who served as sexual gatekeepers and are in fact the ones who needed to more vigilant by avoiding hot spots and not allowing the boys to get too close, thus to a certain extent blamed the girls for failing to navigate the nearly impossible terrain of proscribed gender-specific behaviour.

- ***Unwanted sex***

All the evidence with regards to non-consensual sex was reported by girls who were in romantic relationship with boys. The girls mentioned that they were pressurise or manipulated by their boyfriends into having sex with them. The evidence provided below are all drawn from individual interviews as the girls did not talk about sex during the focus group interviews.

> *"Girls are victims of gender violence because girls are always afraid to tell boys that they don't like what they are doing and boys know that they rule girls at school. Therefore, with my boyfriend I let him have sex with me. He is my first. If I say I don't like it then he may choose another girl. Then the others will say that I am spoilt goods*." **Winnie: (Girl, 16 from School A - Individual Interviews)**

> *"You see, I have a boyfriend. This is my first boyfriend. I like him and we spend time in school. Sometimes we kiss and I like it. I kiss in front of*

others because they must know he is my boyfriend. But I don't like the sex part. He always forces me when we are alone. I do it because he might leave me. Now everyone know that he was my boyfriend and if he left you others will know. This would be bad". **Ayanda: (Girl, 17 from School A - Individual Interviews)**

" My sister has a boyfriend at this school. Some days I see her crying. She says that her boyfriend pushes her to do things like sex. She says she does not like it but he is a boy and she must do what he wants. He is also popular in school". **Charmaine: (Girl,16 from School A - Individual Interviews)**

"My boyfriend is strong. When he starts there is no stopping him. I can't do nothing about it. That's why I do it". **Snenhlanhla: (Girl, 17 from School A - Individual Interviews)**

"I wanted to break up with my boyfriend, but he did not want to accept. You see I don't like the sex part. He says he is a man and must do it. There was no physical violence but he pushes till he gets it. I have no power there". **Andiswa: (Girl, 18 from School B - Individual Interview)**

"I experienced sexual abuse, my boyfriend wanted me to sleep with me. I said no but he forced me. I do it now because I am forced". **Sane: (Girl, 17 from School A - Individual Interviews)**

"I feel emotional sometimes, last year I used to date this boy in my class and he said that he will write my name in the chalk board if we did not

do it. We did it a few times because he forced me, but then he broke up with me". **Enhle: (Girl, 17 from School B - Individual Interviews)**

Most of the girls were never in a prior relationship and felt obligated to have sex with their boyfriends in order to continue with their relationships. The girls mentioned that they enjoyed being with their boyfriends at school and enjoyed kissing and holding hands but did not voluntarily engage in sex and only 'did it' to satisfy their boyfriend's requests and succumbed to the constant pressure put on them by their boyfriends. A few girls also mentioned that they agreed to have sex because of threats by the boyfriend that they would end the relationship and accused the girls of not committed enough to have sex with them. In both the selected schools the girls mentioned that if a boy 'left you' then you were regarded as 'spoilt goods and girls in this position are derided by other learners. These girls allowed the abuse to avoid shame and stigmatization.

Sexual violence is defined as the pressure of one partner to engage in sexual intercourse or other sexual acts or forced to participate at a higher rate than her consent (Smith and Donnelly 2000; Cornelius and Resseguie 2007; Set 2020). Sexual dating violence entails behaviors such as compelling the partner to have sex, insisting on sexual touching without the partner's consent, forcing the partner to undress, to have unwanted sexual acts, and to kiss (Rodriguez-Diaz *et al*. 2017; Wolfe *et al.* 2001). Physical, psychological and sexual violence can occur independently or con-currently in romantic relationships (Toplu-Demitras, Hatipoglu-Sumer and White 2013).

Some of the boys wielded power over the girls through popularity and reputation. The reasons for engaging in sexual violence vary from attempts to gain authority or power over the partner, through culture (men's authority in some cultures), to behavior learned by observing abuse in parent or peer relationships (Radzilani-Mkatu and Mahlalela 2015; Toplu-Demirtas, Oztemur and Fincham 2020). Consistent with social cognitive theory it has been posited that those who observed marital violence or experienced violence during childhood internalize behavioural scripts and develop attitudes that endorse violence as a problem-solving mechanism in dating relationships and to maintain power and control over the spouse (Copp *et al*. 2016; Mc Closkey and Litchter 2003; Toplu-Demirtas 2015).

Sexual non-consent is way harder when one person has a lot of power over the other. For example, it is hard to say 'no' if you feel at risk in some way if you don't respond to another person's sexual advances. Sexual coercion and duress tend to be a common element among adolescents (Katz, Hensel, Hunt, Zaban, Hensley and Ott 2019). It's good to be open about the power imbalances, and to do what you can to enable those with less power in each area to identify and articulate their needs and boundaries and have them respected. Education on consent is needed for all children, youth, teens and adults. People from all walks of life are participating with the feminist movement and joining the struggle against sexual harassment to make to possible to have positive sexual relationships (Joanpere and Morlà 2019). Awareness on consent, from early ages, has to do with freedom, shaping the limits of one's own body and that of the other person.

The girls that were interviewed also mentioned that some boys used threats to get girls to conform. Glick and Fiske (1996) differentiated two dimensions of violence - hostile and benevolent. "Hostile sexism implies women are weak or incompetent, and it is excessively intimidating" (Glick and Fiske 1996:491). Benevolent sexism, however, is more complex, as it supports the idea that women have traditional roles, such as dependency on men, need help from men, are weak, and need intimacy. Although seemingly positive, the consequences of such stereotyping results in male dominance, underestimation of women's power, and not being taken seriously as a professional (Toplu-Demirtas 2020). Both sexism types view women as the "weaker sex" and thus limits them to traditional gender roles (Glick and Fiske 1996; Ibabe, Arnoso and Elgorriaga 2016). Ibabe *et al.* (2016) believed that both hostile and benevolent sexism are related to victimization in dating violence; dating college students who were more accepting of dating violence and had more sexist beliefs been more inclined to use psychological violence (Toplu-Demirtas 2015). Valor-Segura *et al.* (2011) believed that hostile sexism is related to discriminating attitudes and aggression towards women which in many cases is enacted in the form of threats and intimidation.

All types of relationships, at any age, should be free of coercion. Social influence, especially peer influence, plays a crucial role on adolescent decision making (Ciranka and van den Bos 2019). In this study some boys also used male privilege and entitlement to force girls into sexual intercourse. Set (2020) argued that in patriarchal

societies that adopt male domination, men blame the women for not fulfilling their wishes. Men in these societies generally use patriarchy as a means of justifying sexual violence (Set 2020).

Sex can't be consensual unless we know that we absolutely don't have to do it, and that no kind of punishment will occur if we don't do it. With relationships the same is true for the whole relationship. We need to know that we are free to not be in this relationship, or in this particular way, without fearing that we will be punished or suffer significant loss (Flecha, Tomas and Vidu 2020). The girls in my study indicated that their romantic relationships were contingent on having sex regularly with their boyfriends and that they may suffer certain consequences if they refused to indulge in sexual activity with these boys. Although some of the girls mentioned that there was to no violence in them being coerced into sex it was non-consensual since they did not readily agree to the sexual activity. The non-consensual sex is tantamount to gender-based violence. Other studies reveal that experiences of sexual violence are gender-specific, under-reported, under-prosecuted and more likely within relationships (Walby *et al*. 2017). Educating for and about consent is tasked both with preventing sexual violence by reducing non-consensual sex acts and enabling an 'enthusiastic yes' to sex (Coy *et al*. 2016) to be sought and heard, particularly from girls by boys.

6.3.1.2 Subtheme 2: Interpersonal physical violence

Interpersonal violence includes pinching, tripping, punching, grabbing, beating, pulling hair, slapping, shoving, biting, twisting arms, kicking, using a weapon against you, throwing you down, choking, hitting, pushing (Rodriguez-Diaz *et al.* 2017; Offenhausser and Buchaltrer 2011; Wolfe *et al*. 2001).

In this study interpersonal violence was surreptitiously inflicted by the boys against the girls in both schools. The violence was inflicted in the form of gaming and play. I did not find any evidence of overt forms of physical violence against the girls. However, the boys used duplicitous ways of inflicting violence against the girls. The findings in this section are similar to the findings in the earlier section of verbal violence where the boys inflicted violence on girls and put it down to only joking or having fun. In this section I highlight three practices, 'kiss or slap', 'new pinch' and 'let's twist' that was

common at the schools where the boys displayed aggression and violence against the girls under the pretext of innocent fooling around.

The following categories emerged under this subtheme:

- ***Kiss or slap***

The game of "kiss or slap" in both schools was a precursor to gender-based violence. What started out as a harmless question culminated in most cases to the infliction of physical violence on girls. Although most learners regarded this to be physical play that was not harmful in nature all the girls that were interviewed said that this was aggressive behaviour towards them and were very unhappy about being slapped by the boys.

> *"They will come to the girl and say 'kiss or slap'. The weak girls just keep quite so the boy slaps her and runs away. It is a way of bullying the girls but they say it is a game".* **Winnie: (Girl, 16 from School A - Individual Interviews)**

> *"You see this is a stupid thing. It is a game they play. It always the girl who is in trouble. I don't think that anyone should slap a girl".* **Ayanda: (Girl, 17 from School A - Individual interviews)**

> *"They laugh about this, but it is hurtful for the girl. This boy asked me the question once in the corridor. I was surprised and did not say anything. He slapped hard and it hurt. The others just laughed so I just walked away".* **Sisanda: (Girl, 17 from School B - Individual Interviews)**

> *"Sometimes you get a slap and you are shocked. You feel ashamed, more than the pain. You don't know what to do, so you do nothing".* **Enhle: (Girl, 17 from School B - Individual Interviews)**

The girls that were interviewed most certainly did not approve of this 'game'. The *'kiss and slap game'* was a conduit to physical violence against the girls. The girls were not willing participants in the 'game'. They were almost always slapped which was hurtful, painful, upsetting and embarrassing. The girls did not respond or react because most learners regarded the 'game' as harmless, light-hearted and amusing. Only the girls were victims of the game and on the receiving end. The boys were never on the receiving end as the game was not played on them. While the learners regarded the slapping as a harmless game the enacting of the game resulted in the girls were being physically abused by the boys.

- ***New pinch***

  "Girls get abused a lot here. She can't even wear something new. There is this new pinch thing. The boys pinch the girls and say new pinch. It hurts a lot". **Aphiwe: (Girl, 18 from School A - Girls focus group)**

  "The girls get pinched when they use something new. It is like a game they play". **Miss Maphumulo: (Educator, 35 from School A - Mixed group)**

  "I always use my sister's bag. If I use my own new bag, I know they will pinch me, the boys. I don't like it. Some girls take the pinch but some girls cry if the boys are rough". **Nokuthula: (Girl, 18 from School B - Girls focus group)**

  "The boys here do this thing. They call it new pinch. When the girls get a new bag or a new shoe or something then they pinch that girl. The girls don't like it but what can they do. The guys are just fooling around". **Sizwe: (Boy, 17 from School B - Mixed group)**

"What I know is that boys are always the perpetrators of violence in this school. The girls are the ones who are the victims. Like this new pinch. The girl gets a pinch if she uses something new. This is violence but the boys don't see it like that". **Mrs Shibe: (Educator, 42 from School B – Individual Interviews)**

The above statements indicated that the girls were abused under the guise of "*fooling around", "gaming*" and "*play*". While the boys see it as lighthearted fun, for the girls the pinching is demeaning and hurtful. The educators also recognize that the pinching practice is violence against the girls. The boys have come up with shrewd ways to physically abuse the girls in the pretense of amusement without being seen as perpetrators of physical violence. The girls realize this but are powerless to break these traditions. Another common practice that the boys engaged in where the girls became victims of the boy's actions was the practice of twisting a girls' arm in jest to get her attention.

- ***Let's twist***

The boys regarded the twisting of the girl's arms as harmless fun as shown in the statements below.

"Twisting is a common thing. We just twist the girls arm as she walks to stop her to talk. They don't get hurt or anything. It's just to stop them". **Brian:(Boy,18 from School A - Mixed focus group)**

"When we boys are together, someone says – go talk to that girl. So the boy must hold her,back. He just twists her hand. The girl feel shamed and stops. That is all, no one is hurt". **Sphelele: (Boy,17 from School A - Boys focus group)**

However, from the statements below, the girls did not share the boy's views that twisting was inoffensive and painless.

> *"When the boys do this twisting thing it hurt the girl*"**. Snenhlanhla: (Girl, 17 from School A – Girls focus group)**

> *"The boys do this thing to the girls. They twist the girl's hand. We don't do nothing. It hurts so we stop to listen".* **Charmaine: (Girl, 16 from School A – Individual interviews)**

> *"This boy came up to me and said lets twist. He grabbed my arm and it hurt. I think it's a game they play".* **Andiswa: (Girl, 18 from School B- Focus group)**

> *"In our school the level of violence is very high. Boys always take advantage of girls within the school premises. Boys always threaten girls and they always get scared and end up doing what the boys want. I hate the 'lets twist' thing they do. This boy twisted my hand. The others say it is a game. How can it be a game if it hurts".* **Sane: (Girl, 17 from School A - Individual Interviews).**

Educators also provided their views about the '*Lets Twist'* game.

> *"Boys usually say 'let's twist' towards the girl in the class to stop them from something. They grab the girl's hand".* **Mr Zwane: (Educator, 53 from School A- Individual Interviews)**

The educators also do not see much wrong with the boys twisting the girl's hands. They took the incidents lightly and did not believe that it was serious enough to warrant any action from them.

> *"There was a case where a girl pointed to a boy saying that he had twisted her hand. The other children said it was just a game*". **Mrs Zungu (Educator, 43 from School B - Individual Interviews)**

> *"There was a boy who grabbed his girlfriend in a bad way in front of other learners and twisted her hand. I think it is something they do".* **Miss Jama: (Educator, 37 from School A - Individual Interviews)**

> *"We do have instances where you will find a girl's hand being twisted".* **Mr Cele: (Educator, 39 from School A - Mixed group)**

In summary, the testimonies from learners indicated that there was no evidence of overt physical violence inflicted by the boys on the girls. Instead, the boys used guile techniques to gloss over their abuse of the girls. The bodily stances and verbal control methods of the boys over the girls, in many instances, served to maintain their dominance. In effect, the boys used intimidatory, aggressive and violent means to control the girls masking their behaviour as playful and light-hearted. This explicit enactment of GBV can be understood through the principles described in the social Identity theory which draws on a social psychological theory that explains the psychological processes underlying prejudiced attitudes, intergroup conflict and discrimination. In this particular study the use of aggressive and violent means to dominate the girls by the boys (while classified by the boys as playful) can be attributed to the boys identifying with certain social identities that exited in the community and filtered into the school.

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter focused on the nature of gender-based violence. The violent acts of the boys were classified as explicit and implicit gender-based violence. The implicit violence took the form of having fun and joking at the expense of the girls. Violence was also implicitly enacted by the boys through social bullying in the form of alienation and spreading rumours about the girls. The boys inflicted explicit violence on the girls in the form of unwanted touching and unwanted sex. Other clandestine performances were also enacted by the boys to inflict harm and punishment on the girls. These violent acts were camouflaged as harmless gaming. The implicit and explicit violence brought the girls severe distress and pain and in most cases the girls were powerless to combat these violent acts. The next chapter explores the causes and consequences of gender-based violence.

CHAPTER 7: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION: THE CAUSES AND EFFECTS OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

7.1 Introduction

The preceding chapter discussed the findings related to the perceptions, attitudes, beliefs and behaviour related to the nature of gender-based violence at the selected high schools. This chapter discusses the causes and consequences of gender-based violence at the two selected schools. The first part of this chapter focuses on the major causes of gender-based violence that the youth experienced in both the research sites. In discussing the causes, deliberate attempts were made to relate the findings to the research questions, literature review and theoretical framework as highlighted in Chapters 2 and 3. .

The following themes emerged from the data, namely, ignorance of the perpetrators, the gender regime of the schools, gender bias and non-reporting of enactments of violence against girls. While most studies focused only on the effects of gender-based violence on the victims , this study focussed on the effects of gender-based violence on the perpetrators as well.

7.2 Causes of gender-based violence

The following themes emerged from the collected data which relates to objective one of this study. In particular these themes relate to the causes of gender-based violence at the research schools.

7.2.1 Theme 1: Masculine entitlement

Many of the boys in this study laid claims to certain powers that they believed permitted them to mistreat girls in certain situations. As a result of this belief, they used violence and aggression to dominate and control the girls. This means that to prevent gender-based violence the boys need to be made aware that their beliefs and practices are tantamount to gender based violence.

"I had a conflict with a girl. We had an argument because she made my desk dirty. You see it is the duty of girls to clean up, even at home it is like that. If they don't do this duty you can shout or even hit them." **Sphelele: (Boy, 17 from School A - Individual Interviews)**

"I fight with girls who think they are better than me. I don't think it is wrong when you fight with such girls." **Lebo*:* (Boy, 16 from School A - Individual Interviews)**

"I was in a deep relationship with a girl. When she ended it for another guy I beat her. You can beat her if a girl does this". **Mfundo*:* (Boy, 18 from School A - Individual Interviews)**

" Girls must behave like girls. Boys are allowed to smoke – not girls. If a girl smokes then you can be rough with her because she is doing things that she is not allowed to do." **Bandile: (Boy, 17 from School B - Mixed focus group)**

"You see we play with these girls. Boys are allowed to do this. You know just messing around with them. It is okay as long as no one gets hurt." **Ngcebo: (Boy, 16 from School A- Boys focus group)**

"There are boys who try to satisfy expectation because they want the class to see that they are real boys. They show their power with girls to prove this." **Sizwe: (Boy, 17 from School B- Mixed focus group)**

"There is always a competition between girls and boys, some boys will want to show the girls that they are nothing." **Lebo: (Boy, 16 from School A- Mixed focus group)**

"Boys like competition but not with girls. Most boys feel it is okay to use violence if a girl is competing. I think its pride in boys because they want to be seen as strong people." **Brian: (Boy, 18 from School A- Mixed focus group)**

"In my class there is a Zulu boy who believes that if a women lift a voice towards you it is wrong, that women is disrespecting you, that is his culture. Culture plays a good role because it tells women to respect men and that what we know as Zulus but others misinterpret it." **Mfundo: (Boy, 18 from School A- Mixed focus group)**

"I think the role of culture influence violence because you find a Zulu guy acting like a king in the class because he wants to be respected by girls". **Bandile: (Boy, 17 from School B – Individual interviews)**

"In Zulu culture boys are told that a girl must not beat you or shout at you so as boys we always make sure of that." **Ngcebo: (Boy, 16 from School A- Boys focus group)**

From the statements provided by the boys above it is unlikely that the boys are ignorant of the fact that they are harming the girls in their actions to uphold their pride or defend their manhood. However, they do believe that they are entitled to use force in order to maintain their superiority and power over girls. This belief has many origins including the cultural expectation to be dominant in order to prove masculinity and peer support.

Other studies on the causes of gender-based violence also reveal that men's beliefs of entitlement and subsequent constructions of masculinity play a major role in the perpetration of violence. Socially constructed ideologies about masculinity or the expectations and beliefs about what men should do or what attributes they should perform are implicated in men's perpetration of violence (McCathy, Mehta and Haberland, 2018). For example, masculinity ideology frequently includes roles and qualities such as strength, toughness, control and sexual dominance that may be demonstrated through violence. Families and communities have shared beliefs and unspoken rules that both proscribe and prescribe behaviours that implicitly convey that GBV against women is acceptable, even normal (Read-Hamilton and Marsh 2016; Glass *et al.* 2018). This includes social norms pertaining to sexual purity, family honour and men's authority over women and children in the family. Bronfenbrenner (1994) postulates that the child's reaction to the people in the microsystem will affect how they reciprocate. Nearly two-thirds of South African children grow up in homes without fathers, and our country has the distinction of having one of the highest global rates of single motherhood (Parent 24 2020). This to a large extent not having a male role model at home may lead to boys drawing from toxic forms of masculinity from the society to construct their masculinity which may include roles such as control and sexual dominance that may be enacted through violence.

Every institution has a culturally authoritative form of masculinity and so too at both the research schools there was a hegemonic form of masculinity. It was one that rendered hyper-heterosexual behaviour as the norm and worked with a gender hierarchy that placed boys above and superior to girls. This was often regulated by the threat of violence. However, it is important to note that it does not automatically follow that all boys accept or aspire to meet the institution's norms for masculine behaviour.

7.2.2 Theme 2: Gender regime of the school

Schools have particular patterns of gender relations which influence in specific ways on the lives of girls and boys (Hunter and Morrell, 2021 ; Durrani and Halai, 2020) . This section investigates the extent that the gender regime of the schools created conditions for or reduced the possibilities of gender- based violence.

This was addressed by establishing the ways in which the schools' (policies, teachers, ethos) influenced the course of actions. The researcher examined how the school steered the manner in which violence was handled, how the practice of teachers encouraged or discouraged gender-based violence and what measures were in place at the schools to control learner behaviour. While this section relates to the causes of gender based violence in the research schools, this section also addresses objective two of the study : To examine and evaluate efforts made so far to bring about peace and justice with respect to gender-based violence among high schools in general, but particularly with regards to Vuma High School and Phakama High School in Umlazi district.

7.2.2.1 Subtheme 1: Code of conduct

Dlungwane (2017) argued that in order to control behaviour and maintain discipline a school has to put many mechanisms in place. According to the South African Schools Act No.84 of 1996 Sub-s. (8) every school must have a code of conduct that, "*aimed at establishing a disciplined and purposeful school environment, dedicated to the improvement and maintenance of the quality of learning process. A code of conduct must contain provisions of due process safe-guarding the interests of the learner and any other party involved in disciplinary proceedings.*"

Both schools had a code of conduct and classroom rules in place. At the beginning of the year learners are given the code of conduct and to be signed by their parents. Classroom rules are compiled by class teachers and displayed at the classroom to be visible to the learners on the first day, at the beginning of the year.

While both schools had well-drafted codes of conduct that spelt out disciplinary measures for acts of violence among learners, however, the interviews with educators revealed that the code of conduct did not include policies on gender-based violence where boys inflicted harm on girls, as shown below.

> *"The South African Schools Act states that every school must have a code of conduct. Our school has one that was drawn up by the principal and governing body. It does address violence and all types of*

misbehavior of all learners. It does not say anything about gender based violence. There is no section there. No one has brought this up. We are not even sure if what is happening about gender-based violence for the school". **Mr Xulu: (Educator, 40 from School A – Individual Interviews)**

"The school usually takes from the code of conduct. Where it says that learners should not fight. Every aspect we use or put into action is taken from there. But when it comes to the boys interfering with the girls this is just ignored, as if it does not apply there. **Mr Mpanza: (Educator, 50 from School B - Individual Interviews)**

"*The code of conduct is from the South African Schools Act. It says what is not allowed. Now when it comes to the boys against girls it says nothing. It is very difficult for us to understand".* **Mr Siba: (Educator,55 from School B –Mixed focus group)**

The educators from both schools mentioned that the code of conduct did not provide guidance about what is gender-based violence and how they should respond to gender-based violence. The educators were clear on the purpose of the code of conduct and how to use it as a tool to discipline leaners who breach the school rules. However, they were unclear about how to react or handle incidents of gender-based violence. This suggested that there was confusion and uncertainty on how to tackle boys harming girls in covert and overt ways. Chaplain (2016) stated that the school's value and expectations should be communicated through the school's behaviour policy. Therefore, a well-designed behaviour policy, operated throughout the school day, provides the framework for what goes on inside classrooms and other areas inside and outside the school grounds. Chaplain (2016) further stated that the behaviour policy should also provide the fundamental principles for day-day classroom management, including how educators deal with challenging behaviour.

In South Africa, the Department of Education expects that schools review and revise their codes of conduct on a yearly basis to accommodate the new challenges that school experience each year. GBV is a profound and widespread problem in South Africa, impacting on almost every aspect of life. GBV (which disproportionately affects women and girls) is systemic, and deeply entrenched in institutions, cultures, and traditions in South Africa (Decker et al, 2015). Schools are not exempt from the scourge of gender-based violence. My review of the schools' codes of conduct also revealed that no reference was made to issues of gender-based violence and in fact both school's codes of conduct failed to address any issues of gender at the schools.

It is understood that outlawing something on its own will not be effective in eradicating it completely , and in an effort to combat gender-based violence there is a need to address the school environment and relationships, including addressing teachers' gender stereotypes as well as teacher training in alternative classroom management and addressing various discipline methods. Some research suggests that a process supporting schools to develop their own code can be highly effective if supported by a carefully developed programme with step-by-step guidance and skilled facilitators. For example, *The Good Schools Toolkit* in Uganda demonstrated that the code of conduct intervention reduced violence considerably (Devries *et al.,* 2015). South African researchers argue that codes of conduct will effectively address norms underlying violence and will help teachers or school leaders to consider their own values, understandings and experience of violence and gender (Mestry and Khumalo, 2012; Daluxolo and Moletsane, 2015, Heslop *et al.*, 2015). The absence of addressing gender issues in a school's code of conduct can reinforce gender inequalities and underlie more serious or extreme forms of violence.

A study of SRGBV found participants felt that the Code of conduct was helping to reduce violence through acting as a deterrent – perpetrators fearing that they would be held accountable for committing violence (Heslop *et al,* 2015). In the two researched schools in my study the codes of conduct did not address gender-based violence with educators being confused on how to address issues of gender-based violence.

The previous chapter showed that gender-based violence is rife at both schools in an overt and covert manner. The absence of proper and clear policy on how to combat

and tackle gender-based violence allows boys to continue with violence against girls unabated. Other studies (Cornell, Shukla and Konold 2015; Konold *et al.* 2014, Mthiyane 2013 ; Duma 2013; Hunter and Morrell 2021) also concluded that no clear direction and guidance on how to inhibit and prevent gender-based violence in schools as a major contributor to the increase in gender-based violence in schools. There is sufficient evidence to suggest that the manner in which Vuma High School and Phakama High School tackled gender issues contributed to gender-based violence at these schools.

7.2.2.2. Subtheme 2: Teachers' response to gender-based violence

> *"We don't really take the situation seriously anymore because it happens all the time. They can take care of themselves".* **Mr Khumalo (Educator, 48 from School B – Mixed focus group)**

> *"To add on that we sometimes say they were fixing her because of a situation that happened with a boy".* **Mrs Jali: (Educator, 45 from School B – Mixed focus group)**

> *"There was no bias in discipline at school because the boy abused the girl or the girl abused the boy. Mostly we leave them to sort it out themselves".* **Mr Shibe: (Educator, 42 from School B - Mixed focus group)**

> *"There was a boy in the school who beat his girlfriend and the other day the girl came and reported that the boy is abusing her. The school handled the incident correctly because the principal called the SGB and they discussed the matter. They gave him a warning. This was the right approach for them".* **Mrs Gumbi: (Educator, 50 from School A - Individual Interviews)**

"In terms of how soon a case may be resolved, sometimes the schools governing body is not functional, members lack in some aspects. It sometimes takes many days for an issue to be resolved whereas we have to keep in mind that we can't solve all their problems. Education is a challenge". **Mrs Zungu: (Educator, 43 from School B - Individual Interviews)**

It can be inferred from the above that the educators did not respond to issues of gender-based violence with the urgency and gravity that it required. In most cases, the educators did not react at all and in cases where the violence was reported the procedure was slow and tedious. Some educators were of the view that the leaners needed to sort out their own problems without intervention from the educators' citing reasons that this was a common occurrence. One female educator hinted that the girls were deserving of their abuse as they may have done something wrong to the boy and that the girl needed "*fixing*". Furthermore, some educators did not feel that they needed to make input into incidents of gender-based violence and readily accepted the findings of the governing body. This flaccid, insensitive and lethargic mentality of the educators allowed the boys to continue with their abuse largely unhindered.

Learners also articulated the non-action of teachers of violence against girls as highlighted in the following:

"When a girl comes to report about being abused educators don't care". **Sisanda: (Girl, 17 from School B - Individual Interviews)**

"The teachers think that if there is a case where a girl is involved then the girl gets emotional for something not serious. Most of the time they just listen and do nothing". **Winnie: (Girl, 16 from School A - Individual Interviews)**

"Learners are not treated equally, you find a boy fighting with a girl and when they go to the office the teachers will just take it as something small. When boys are fighting with boys then this is serious and the office gets involved". **Sanele: (Boy, 16 from School A - Boys focus group)**

"If girl is involved in something then it is seen as stupid, teacher don't care- but if it boys they take that serious". **Phila: (Boy, 18 from School B - Individual Interviews)**

"Teachers take the side of the boy if you had conflict with a girl, even female teachers". **Lebo: (Boy, 16 from School A - Boys focus group)**

Other studies of school gender-based violence also found that the educator's indifference and bias approach to violence against girls contributed to the ongoing abuse of female learners. Cruickshank *et.al*. (2020) argues that role differentiation in schools often reflects broader societal gender constructions that are increasingly subjected to critical scrutiny. Dorinda, Andrews and Gutwein (2020) found that educator's culturally biased and gender inequitable approach to discipline impacted gender-based violence at school. Dorinda *et al*. (2020) also argued that educators conscious and unconscious understandings and enactments of gender and culture of the school affect the manner in which learners interact with each other. Educators can also be a huge part of the solution to gender-based violence. They can be allies in stopping this abuse. Schools are perfectly positioned to create an environment of non-violence, tolerance and gender equality – and educators have a central role to play in this transformation, through their own actions.

7.2.3 Theme 3: Gender bias and non-reporting

Non-reporting of gender based violent acts is a major stumbling block in the fight against gender-based violence (Machisa, 2011). The girls at both of the study schools described commonplace experiences of bullying and harassment, by the boys and rarely reported these incidents, as they did not think that their concerns will be taken seriously or were afraid of repercussions. Sexual harassment was extensive and an everyday feature of girls' lives at both schools.

All of the learners indicated that the girls were reluctant to report any incidents of violence against them.

> *"Teachers don't take girls seriously if they report the case. The teachers say that they don't have time to listen to the story. So, we as girls don't even bother to go to them. The boys know this too".* **Sane: (Girl, 15 from School A - Girls focus group)**

> *"If there is a case teacher don't punish the boys. They even say that it may be the girls that is at fault. If I have a case, I don't go to the teachers. I know that they may blame me".* **Ayanda: (Girl,17 from School A – Individual Interviews)**

> *"Male teachers have their favourite even if a learner bullied someone especially if a boy bullies a girl, they don't attend that case. I think boys are treated well within the school, educators are afraid of them, they don't shout at them so that cause them to think boys are really kings of the school because even my educators are afraid of them. So we don't go to the teachers if a boy is involved. We know what will happen".* **Aphiwe: (Girl, 18 from School A - Individual Interviews)**

"Male teachers take sides and they don't attend cases, but female teachers follow the story, they want to know what happened. Even the female teachers - they don't take it to the office when a boys interfere with girls. I think they are afraid. They listen to the story and try to tell us it is okay. Many girls don't even go to the female teachers when they need help. It is useless". **Snenhlanhla: (Girl, 17 from School A - Girls focus group)**

"Boys and girls are not treated the same at the school, when it comes to punishment. The boys get away. Sometimes the teacher says that it was the girl who made a mistake and that case doesn't go even to the principal because it is a girl. I don't know if the teachers are treated the same at the school but here the boys are superior most of the time and you will find that girls are being called many times. They always favour boys in the school". **Bandile: (Boy, 17 from School B – Individual interviews)**

"Boys and girls are not always treated the same because when it comes to punishment it different, boys are privileged. If there is violence between a girl and boy, most of the educators believe that the punishment is not always necessary because the boy has more power than a girl. I expect educators to understand the story and find the solution - not to take sides. I think that is why many boys take advantage of girls". **Sizwe: (Boy, 17 from School B - Individual Interviews)**

"Some boys don't respect female teachers. Teachers are not treated equally, learners are not scared of the female teachers and they are rude if the female teachers are in the class. So I feel that the boys do these things because nothing happens. The girls cannot go to someone who

is afraid. They have no chance". **Michael: (Boy, from School B - Individual Interviews)**

*"I have been in a fight, my friend was beaten by gangsters in the school and they took her money. She did not report to the office. I went back to them and we fought and the principal came and said that maybe girls should not bring so much money to school. Now I know why she did not go to the office***". Mfundo: (Boy, 18 from School A - Individual Interviews)**

The data from the interviews with girls and boys revealed that it was common practice at both schools not to reprimand the boys when they committed acts of violence against girls. Teachers were lenient with the boys when they became aware of nefarious acts by boys against the girls. In many cases the teachers sought ways of avoiding taking any action – "*they don't have time to listen to the story"* or they would dispel the allegations without investigating or escalating to higher authority – "*that case doesn't go even to the principal because it is a girl".* Sometimes the teachers would seek to blame the girl (victim) rather than to investigate and reprimand the perpetrator (boy). There is a general sense of bias against girls when it comes to handling cases of gender-based violence at the schools. Some leaners cited reasons that the teachers (especially females) were afraid of the boys and that the boys enjoyed a certain privilege and power – "*that cause them to think boys are really kings of the school".* The above findings relate to objective two of this study. Teachers were lenient with the boys when they committed violence acts against the girls. This shows that little effort was made to bring about peace and justice with respect to gender-based violence at these high schools.

This study does not focus on gender power among teachers however the learners that were interviewed did hint that there existed a certain amount of discrimination against female educators. Other studies of gender relations at South African schools have found strong evidence of discrimination against female educators (Zuma, 2017; Islam

and Asadullah, 2018; Hazel and Kleyman, 2020). It may be for these reasons that the girls at both the research schools did not report gender-based violence to school authorities. As a result, the non-reporting allowed the boys to continue abusing, hurting, and committing acts of violence against the girls. The United Nations Scientific and Educational and Cultural Organization, UNESCO (2017:9) highlights some important aspects of the non-reporting issue, stressing on the fact that girls are the most affected among the victims:

> *"Special data on sexual violence in and around the school is limited, since many victims are hesitant to report acts of sexual violence for fear of being shamed or stigmatized or because they are concerned that they will not be believed or will face retaliation from their aggressor or aggressors. Nevertheless, available figures suggest that sexual violence and abuse in schools, perpetuated by staff and by other students, is a reality for many students, particularly girls."*

Taole (2016:46) stated that teachers believed in accountability where, *"the school knows who to blame if something goes wrong in the school*". The author further stated that both boys and girls protect their space in a very stereotyped manner.

According to United Nations Children's Emergency Fund, UNICEF (2012 :15):

> *"The most common form of bullying is verbal, which, if left unchecked, can also lead to physical violence. All bullying is sexual or gender-based in nature aimed at putting pressure on children to conform to cultural values and social attitude especially those that define perceived masculine or feminine roles."*

7.2.4 Theme 4: Absence of school awareness programmes

The learners and educators from both schools indicated that there were no programmes that addressed or created awareness around issues of gender-based violence. In both the schools, issues of gender-based violence was never mentioned

in assemblies, there were no advocacy campaigns or posters and signs that denounced gender-based violence at school.

> *"You see the children do as they think is okay. They do what they are told at home and by their friends. Some of them think it is fine to ill-treat girls as long as the girl does not complain. No teachers or anyone tells us anything about how to behave with girls. There is nothing said".* **Ngcebo: (Boy, 16 from School A - Individual Interviews)**

> *"I used to ask girls from my class to clean my desk as the ones who are supposed to clean the classroom. Girls are not complaining about that".* **Brian: (Boy, 18 from School A - Boys focus group)**

> *"People from different organisations visit our school for career guidance but no one comes for gender talks. They even come for hygiene things – nothing about gender violence".* **Charmaine: (Girl, 16 from School A - Individual Interviews)**

> *"We don't get much support as girls even at school because teachers in assembly talks are not addressing misbehaviour of boys towards girls at school".* **Winnie: (Girl, 16 from School A- Individual Interviews)**

> *"Boys lifestyle behaviour is always to ill-treat girls at school. I do not feel comfortable to walk even in the corridor to avoid embarrassment. I cannot complain to teachers because they don't talk about this boy's behaviour."* **Nokuthula : (Girl, 18 from School B - Girls focus group)**

"I see a lot on TV about gender based violence. Also all types organisations have programs for gender based violence. But in this school, there is nothing." **Zukiswa : (Girl, 18 from School B - Girls focus group)**

"I think that boys behave the way they do towards girls because nobody comes to this school to tell them what they should do and what they should not do." **Phelelani: (Boy, 17 from School B - Individual Interviews)**

"I think that these boys need to be shown what can happen if they mistreat girls at school. Even if someone from the government can come and give them posters and pages or something. Others can use this to show them what they are doing is wrong." **Sizwe: (Boy, 17 from School B - Individual Interviews)**

This study found that there was a lack of information in these schools, and this tended to contribute to and reinforce a culture of violence and discrimination based on gender. Furthermore, the lack of efforts to eliminate all beliefs and practices that discriminate against women or sanction violence and abuse, including any cultural, social practices are among the major causes of gender-based violence.

It was also found that inadequate support to undertake information activities that aim to raise awareness of GBV are often the underlying causes of gender-based violence. It is important to ensure that information about GBV prevention and response, including how and where to access relevant assistance and services, is readily available for all survivors of GBV (IASC, 2005).

Green *et.al*. (2013:21) reported that, "*the prevention of and response to SRGBV are slowed by weak institutional capacity to implement learners' protection policies, as well*

as by limited enforcement of laws in education settings." Unterhalter's (2017) highlighted that although teachers are aware of and accept the principle of non-violence, they lack the capabilities to implement non-violence programmes. Moreover, teachers have a challenge of how to create the conditions for learner-friendly, non-violent pedagogies to be utilised in schools. The absence of school awareness programmes again shows the apathetic attitude that the schools displayed around gender issues in general but especially in preventing and tackling gender based violence. The above analysis address's objective two of this study.

7.3 Consequences of gender-based violence

Both girls and boys can be victims or perpetrators of SRGBV, but the extent forms differ (Pinheiro, 2006). Literature suggests girls are at a greater risk of sexual violence, harassment and exploitation, while boys are more likely to experience frequent and severe physical violence. Boys are more commonly perpetrators of physical bullying, while girls are often more likely to use verbal or psychological forms of violence (Pinheiro, 2006). Yet these distinctions are not clear-cut. Girls also commit violent acts and boys also experience abuse at school. Different forms of gender-based violence in schools overlap and reinforce each other. Their rates vary enormously between and within countries (UNESCO, 2012). As such, it can be surmised that gender inequality and social norms underpin violence in schools. Violence in schools reflects underlying social norms regarding authority and expected gender roles. Societal expectations can normalize negative aspects of male and female behaviour. Dominant conceptions about manhood may condone boys acting out expressions of aggression, violence, sexual power and homophobia. Conversely, expectations of girls can include deference to men and boys, submissiveness and passivity. Gender norms often dictate that boys settle disputes with physical violence, and some may enact the gender-based violence observed in their own homes or communities against female students (UNGEI-UNESCO, 2013).

In this study there was overwhelming data that pointed to the boys as perpetrators of gender-based violence and the girls were the victims of gender-based violence. The next section explores in detail the various consequences of gender-based violence on

victims and perpetrators as well as examines a variety of possible social responses to the phenomenon.

7.3.1 Consequences for victims of gender-based violence

There are numerous consequences to gender-based violence. Studies of school gender-based violence have revealed that the effects of gender-based violence (GBV) are countless as it affects all works of life (Malongo and Mwale 2019; Miller *et al.* 2019; Waterman, Siller, Edwards and Dworkin 2020). SRGBV has very real consequences in learners' lives, ranging from low self-esteem and depression to early and unintended pregnancy and sexually transmitted infections such as HIV. This violence also has a serious impact on educational outcomes. Based on the evidence provided from the interviews in this study, this section focusses on two main consequences of gender-based violence, namely avoiding school and dropping out completely.

7.3.1.1 Avoiding school

> *"Gender violence in schools sometimes disturbs a learner in his/her career because boys always threaten girls and they always get scared and end up not coming to school".* **Aphiwe: (Girl, 18 from School A - Individual Interviews)**

> *"Gender violence sometimes makes girls become afraid of coming to school, like if a learner is known that he is abusive no one will report him, even if he beat someone and that girl will start to stay away from school. That boy is still in school and when the girl comes back he sometimes starts again with her".* **Andiswa: (Girl, 18 from School A - Individual Interviews)**

> *"If the boys keep harassing this girl then she does not come to school for a few days. Sometimes they stop and forget and sometimes they start again".* **Winnie: (Girl,16 from School A - Individual Interviews)**

“I approached my parents when the boy was interfering with me every morning to stop that because I stayed at home not attending school daily as I was scared of him”. **Sane: (Girl, 17 from School A - Girls focus group)**

“I saw this boy twist this girls hand and she was crying from pain. The girl was absent from school for a week because she said that she was injured. I think that she was afraid of him.” **Charmaine: (Girl, 16 from School A - Girls focus group)**

From the above statements, it can be seen that the girls avoid or stay away from school to escape distressing aspects of harassment by the boys and to get some form of immediate short-term relief. However, in most cases when the girls return to school the harassment and violence continued. The main reason provided by the respondents for the girls staying away from school is that they feared the perpetrator. Because the school seldom acts against the boys when they abuse the girls, the victims are left with little option but to avoid the abuse by getting absent from school. Consistent with previous research (Dietrich and Hofman 2020 and Siller, Edwards and Barnyard 2020), gender-based violence victims report absences from school because of fear. The reason becomes clear, given that girls suffer more frequent and severe violence and cannot rely on teachers’ support.

However, when a student continues to miss school, returning can feel harder and harder as she falls behind academically and starts to feel socially disconnected from classmates and teachers. Additionally, the child doesn’t get the chance to learn that it’s possible to handle school-related anxiety and cope with any challenges the school day brings. This can keep her stuck in a vicious cycle of school avoidance that often leads to dropping out of school (UNESCO, 2016).

7.3.1.2 Dropping Out

"Gender violence stops other learners from following their careers because they come here to study and get abused by other learners and then dropout, it is usually those who are harassed all the time. I know one girl who was always harassed by boys. She hardly came to school. Because of her situation she lost out and then ended up dropping out." **Sane: (Girl,15 from School A - Girls focus group)**

"It was my sister who was a prefect in the class at that time then she wrote a boy down because he was making noise so every morning the boy would do something to my sister. My sister started staying away and lost her prefect post. Then my sister ended up leaving school. It was too much." **Enhle: (Girl,17 from School B - Girls focus group)**

"Some learners drop out because they are abused by other boys. So there was this girl from my class and another from the other class. They were friends and the boys used to handle them roughly because they were friendly. This used to make them upset. The girl in my class started doing badly in her schoolwork. One day she just didn't come back to school". **Amahle: (Girl, 17 from School B - Individual Interviews)**

"In this school when the grade 8 girls come in the boys take advantage of them. There was a young girl who dropped out because she was abused by a grade 12 boy. There is this thing here where grade 12 boys are superior. They act like they own girls." **Sizwe: (Boy, 17 from School B - Individual Interviews)**

"Gender violence sometimes makes other learners become afraid of coming to school, like if a learner is known that he is abusive no one will

report him, even if he beat someone and the learner will start not to focus in his/her studies. One of the girls in my class borrowed money from a senior boy at school. She could not pay back in time so he used to do things to her. I think she couldn't take it so she left school." **Andiswa: Girl, 18 from School B - Girls focus group)**

Bayene *et al.* (2019) stated that learners who had experienced gender-based violence were more likely to report low school achievement and an increased school dropout rate compared to non-abused youths. Maphalala (2017) also confirmed that girls at school continue to face barriers to their learning as victims of violence perpetrated by boys. The author further stated that learners highlight that their schools are not safe places but are primary sites for gender violence which has a negative impact on their education and their emotional welfare. Akram, Laila and Aimeri (2020) stated that SRGBV is correlated with lower academic achievement and high drop-out rates. The findings from the above study resonate with this study to a large extent where girls reported dropping out of school because of gender based violence and consequently an inability to cope with schoolwork related expectations. The next theme addresses objective one of this study.

7.3.2 Consequences for perpetrators of gender-based violence

The participants at both schools revealed that boys were the perpetrators of gender-based violence. While women are usually the immediate victims of gender violence, the consequences of gender violence extend beyond the victim to the perpetrators as well.

7..3.2.1 Legal implications

"Gender violence disturb learners because conflict that happens within the school, yes I know the boy who was beating the girl and the parents of the girl called the police and the boy was arrested so the boy don't

have access to education." **Sphelele: (Boy, 17 from School A - Individual Interviews)**

*"I know this one girl who was being abused by a senior boy. The girl's uncle laid a charge with the police***." Snenhlanhla: (Girl, 17 from School A - Individual Interviews)**

While most of the boys - in this study - who perpetrate violence against the girls go undetected, there were a few cases where the victims or victims' family reported the abuse to the police. While the boys may have regarded their behaviour as harmless, joking or inoffensive they suffered consequences of possible prosecution and having a criminal record of violence.

7.3.2.2 Perpetuation of further violence

"Boys are perpetrators of violence always want to overpower girls, and they want to control the girls, boys have that mentality of that they are superior than girls. Sometimes siblings of the victim attack the boy outside school premises who abuse their sisters at school." **Phelelani: (Boy, 17 from School B - Individual Interviews)**

"This boy that was interfering with me got a good hiding from my brother's friends. My brother does not allow anyone interfering with his sisters." **Enhle: (Girl, 17 from School B - Individual Interviews)**

The data showed evidence of retaliation from sympathizers of the girls who were abused. The boys who perpetrated the abuse against girls now became victims of violence themselves. Although they may have initially not regarded their actions as destructive, their actions lead to them being physically harmed, beaten, and injured. The actions of the perpetrators of gender-based violence served to endure the cycle of violence in the cases above.

7.3.2.3 Maintenance of toxic masculinity

"Boys are perpetrators of violence at school because they always want to show that they are bossy than the other, they don't want to be seen as weak people especially towards girls." **Michael: (Boy, 18 from School B - Individual Interviews)**

" I was angry with this girl because she was mean to me. I didn't really want to hurt her, I just shoved her. My teachers were very disappointed because my computer teacher even came and asked me that did I really did that and I said yes because I was trying to defend myself and not be seen as weak." **Sizwe: (Boy, 17 from School B - Individual Interviews)**

"Boys are always boys because they always want to be bossy towards girls." **Mr Sithebe: (Educator, 47 from School B - Mixed focus group)**

" Boys are perpetrators of gender violence. I think its pride in boys because they want to be seen as strong people." **Zukiswa: (Girl, 18 from School B - Individual Interviews)**

"Sometimes boys fight with each other saying that they want to protect the girl. Boys think that they are better than each other, if they fight, they want to see who is better. I don't think that they want to protect the girl. Some of them are also abusers of girls." **Sisanda: (Girl, 17 from School B - Individual Interviews)**

In summary, it can be inferred that in the enactment of gender-based violence, some boys get caught in the mix of proving their own masculinity. They subscribe to notions of toxic masculinity of violent competition, maintaining dominance and publicly proving superior physical strength and might in their attempts to demonstrate their own manhood. Furthermore, the boys who usually inflicted violence on girls did so to assert their power. However, in the aftermaths of their actions and in their attempts to gain inclusion or hierarchical ascendancy boys had to jostle for position and this often led to physical violence among themselves. This heightened the vulnerability of the boys. They responded to this vulnerability by forcibly and sometimes violently establishing their masculine credentials.

What was common in all the incidents of violence was that boys projected certain images of themselves and sought to live up to certain versions of what it is to be a man. The boys mainly subscribed to the values which included toughness, authority, competitiveness, maintaining peer group prestige and the subordination of girls and other boys. In the aftermath of gender-based violence the perpetrators in most instances were bound by values to resolve consequent conflict aggressively. Bronfenbrenner (1994) argues that disconnection between family/home and school (mesosysyem) is often a contributor to youth not conforming to proper modes of behaviour. We see evidence here that many of the boys (who were perpetrators) subscribed to certain masculine values proscribed by peers which sometimes was underwritten by violence against girls. They were not particularly concerned about the possible consequences of their behaviour. This study found that majority of the boys perpetrated violence towards girls in order to maintain their masculine supremacy. Some boys believed that their cultural practices promoted protection of manhood. Both schools have disciplinary systems in place, but these disciplinary systems did not address the handling of the issues of gender- based violence amongst learners. Furthermore, the teachers were uncertain on how to deal with gender-based violence amongst their learners. Drawing from Bronfenbrenner's (1994) theory, Van Niekerk *et al. (*2002) argues that parental control is diminishing, and children are not afraid of authority figures at school since educators do not have the power to discipline children anymore. The above findings from this study supports these arguments. While most studies focused on the consequences of gender-based violence for victims this

chapter also looked at the consequences of gender-based violence for the perpetrators

7.4 Conclusion

In this chapter the findings from the collected data showed that girls face different challenges relating to gender-based violence from those of boys. The main causes of gendered violent behaviour were associated with the boy's construction of masculinity and the gendered practices off and within the school environment.

Bronfenbrenner's bio-ecological model helped this study's analysis in understanding why many boys from Vuma High School and Phakama High School in Umlazi adopted a discriminatory attitude towards the girls which was often underwritten by violence. The multiple levels of the surrounding environment, from the immediate settings of their families and school to the broad cultural values of the community influences their thinking and behaviour. In terms of the social and contextual aspects of GBV at the research schools, the social identity approach informed the researcher's understanding of why the boys enacted violence against the girls and why girls reacted in the ways that they did. The main reason being that their behaviour was shaped by the contexts in which the individuals were based as well as the social and interactional relations that exist between them.

The next chapter provides a summary and draws conclusions from this study.

CHAPTER 8: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

8.1 Introduction

The purpose of this final chapter is to recapitulate the findings made as the thesis has unfolded in preceding chapters and to restate these findings as the conclusion of the thesis. This chapter identifies the restrictions, restraints and limitations and offers recommendations for a future research agenda. The chapter commences with a summary and review of the research process. Thereafter, the conclusions are drawn based on the findings of this study. Limitations of the study are presented and recommendations for interventions are made. The chapter concludes with a discussion of future research and policy recommendations regarding the school's role towards change implementation.

8.2 Research background and aims

Violence in schools is on the rise in South Africa, and its impact on students is becoming increasingly clear (Du Plessis, 2010; Ngidi, 2018). Of particular, gender-based violence in schools is a challenge in many South African schools. During the apartheid era as well as the post-apartheid era, there has been many studies on school-related gender-based violence on different groups and in various contexts.

The overall aim of the study was to investigate the gender-based violence among high school students in the Umlazi district and to explore how to resolve the conflicts constructively. The study further aimed to investigate the extent that the gender regime of these schools created conditions for or reduced the possibilities of gender-based violence.

The following were the secondary objectives:

1. To explore the nature, causes, and consequences of gender-based violence among high school students in Umlazi.
2. To examine and evaluate efforts made so far to bring about peace and justice with respect to gender-based violence among high schools in general, but

particularly with regards to Vuma High School and Phakama High School in Umlazi district.

The theoretical frame work of this study is cast in a socio-constructivist approach which underpinned the methodological design utilised in the study and was guided by the perspective of different researchers on gendered violence amongst learners. This study draws from the principles of the socio-constructivist theory to analyse and understand learners and educators specific experiences of gender violence in their schools and how they deal with these experiences in the context in which they find themselves. The main methods utilised in data generation in the study were individual interviews and focus group discussions with boys, girls, female educators and male educators.

8.3 Main insights of this study

The following sections presents the key findings of this study.

8.3.1 Nature of gender-based violence

In this study gender-based violence was classified into two broad categories: implicit gender violence, which relates to the everyday institutional practices and explicit gender violence, which relates to more manifest encounters. Implicit forms of violence included jokes and humour, teasing, social bullying, alienation and spreading rumours, whereas explicit forms of violence took the form of physical violence and sexual violence.

8.3.1.1 Implicit gender-based violence

A significant finding of this study was the use of humour by the boys to regulate and control girls. The boys would participate in a form of 'dueling play', where they would make statements under the guise of joking that might otherwise be interpreted as abuse. If the joking provoked confrontation, then they would disclaim malice by saying that they were "*just joking*". The "*just playing*" and "*just joking*" claim was also used by many boys to silence objections or ward off confrontation. It emerged that whilst many boys subscribed to this type of thinking, the girls had different views about humour and positioned themselves differently in relation to the "*just joking*" assertion. The girls saw the humour as offensive, unpleasant, and hurtful.

The implicit violence took many forms but the manner in which the girls were alienated is of significance. Firstly, the alienation occurred through the medium of large social groups (larger school population) and within small networks (close friendships and boy's fidelity groups). The girls that were targeted found it difficult to endure this type of collective condemnation. Secondly this systemic gender-based discrimination and 'punishment' for not conforming to oppression lead girls to feel unaccepted, disdained and disparaged which in turn forced them to succumb to the subordination.

8.3.1.2 Explicit gender-based violence

In terms of the explicit physical gender-based violence it was interesting to note that in this study, unlike many other findings of gender-based violence in schools, the violence took the form of play. Physical harm was inflicted on the girls through a system of guilefully crafted actions that was masked as not being malicious. For example, girls would be slapped and pinched by enacting a particular kind of game and their hands would be twisted as an intention of wanting to talk to them and regarded as harmless fun.

It is also interesting to note that none of the girls mentioned acts of rape or forced sex but rather forms of coercion to have sexual intercourse. This related to benevolent sexism, where women have traditional roles, such as dependency on men and a need for intimacy. The consequences however resulted in male dominance, underestimation of women's power and sexual exploitation. Some girls highlighted that in an attempt to protect their romantic relationship they agreed to have sex although not entirely consensual. Sexual acts such as touching girls on their bums and in their privates without granted permission was quite common at both schools although boys revealed this as witnessed or related stories that they heard.

8.3.2 Causes of gender-based violence

The following were the most common causes of gender-based violence at Vuma High School and Phakama High School.

8.3.2.1 Subscription to masculine ideals

An important finding in this study was that the boys' investments and subscription to a particular type of masculine ideal was linked to how and why gender-based violence was and is generated. The boys identified with a certain configuration of masculinity on the basis of a general social, cultural and the school's patterns of power and meaning which was associated with heterosexuality, toughness, power and competitiveness and the subordination of girls. There was a close relationship between the masculine ideals of the boys in this study and violence. The boys were under enormous pressure to conform to public standards of masculinity which included being in positions of power and being able to use violence as a controlling mechanism. Peers were mutually involved in participating in the endorsement of masculine norms which often involved domination and mistreatment of the girls. Denigrating a girl in the class and in the playground was an effective way to publicly validate their masculinity, especially with male friends. The role of various social factors most importantly ethnicity (what the boys referred to as the Zulu culture) influenced the configurations of masculinity and this impacted on the causes of gender-based violence at the research schools. Many boys at these schools misinterpreted Zulu cultural practices and forms of self-organisation to claim certain powers that they believed permitted them to mistreat girls in certain situations. This often resulted in violence and aggression directed against girls in order to dominate and control the girls. What was common in all the incidents of gender-based violence was that boys projected certain images of themselves and sought to live up to certain versions of what it is to be a man. However, in this study, the researcher argues that the form of masculinity that boys subscribe to influence the manner in which they dealt with and behaved with the girls. This study concludes that one of the causes of violence was the nature of masculinity that the boys subscribed to and enacted in the school setting.

8.3.2.2 The Enactment of the gender regime of the school

This study also explored the extent that the gender regime of the school created the conditions for or reduced the possibilities of gender-based violence. The researcher found that the schools had particular patterns of gender relations (the gender regime) which impacted in specific ways on gender-based violence. The code of conduct and

the manner in which the teachers responded to issues of violence were major contributors to shaping the schools gender regime.

This study concluded that the schools steered the manner in which conflict was handled between boys and girls which had an impact on gender-based violence. The code of conduct had no measures in place at either school to control or tackle gender-based violence. Most of the educators (male and female) did not have an empathetic, compassionate and nurturing approach to handling issues of gender-based violence. These practices of the school and teachers did serve to discourage gender-based violence at these schools. In both schools, members of the school community such as the managers, educators, and learners constantly negotiated gender meanings, identities, relations and norms and in this way influenced the form of the gender regime. The manner in which the schools' gender relations are enacted shaped the school's gender regime, which played a major role in shaping the behaviour of boys (and girls) at both schools. The gender regime reflected gender inequalities which contributed to the gender oppression of the girls which in turn lead to enactments of gender-based violence. It is however important to note that the construction of a gender regime in a school is a process of negotiation, rejection, acceptance, and ambivalence. There is always a danger of reifying the gender regime, therefore it is important to be reminded that the gender regime is fluid and changing and that a school's gender regime is not a naturalness and inevitable of process.

8.3.2.3 Non-reporting of the abuse

An important finding of this study was that gender-based violence was grossly under-reported at both schools. The reasons that learners provided for not reporting abuses ranged from them not regarding the violations as serious enough, fear of embarrassment and shame, accepting the offences as normal behaviour, fear of being labelled and stereotyping and concerns that no real action is taken by authorities if reported. Some of the females mentioned that no action was taken because the boys enjoyed a certain amount of privilege at school. Furthermore, if a girl had to report any form of abuse the report was not taken seriously and that they were made to feel that they were at fault. Their complaints were downplayed. The silence associated with the stigma is a major stumbling block in addressing GBV at schools. If gender-based

violence is not reported, then there will be no sanctions for the perpetrators, and this would serve to worsen the problem.

8.4 Consequences of school gender-based violence

This study found that school-related gender-based violence had very real consequences in the lives of learners. While most studies focussed only on the effects of gender-based violence on the victims this study also focussed on the effects of gender-based violence on the perpetrators.

Both girls and boys are victims or perpetrators of SRGBV, but the forms, extent and consequences differ. It was found that the girls were at a greater risk of sexual violence, harassment and exploitation than the boys. Based on the evidence provided from the interviews in this study, two major consequences of gender-based violence were identified: avoiding school and dropping out completely. Other longitudinal studies also found that victims of gender-based violence also achieved below their potential. In a small study of two schools, this study could not conclusively determine that the victims of gender-based violence were achieving below their potential. However, it was very evident that the girls who experienced gender-based violence did avoid school and, in many cases, dropped out of school to avoid the abuse. While there was overwhelming evidence that girls were the immediate victims of gender violence, the consequences of gender violence extend beyond the victim to the perpetrators as well.

Although the perpetrators may not have been directly aware of the consequences of their actions, the researcher was able to ascertain that their actions sometimes had legal ramifications where the victims' family reported the abuse to the police.

In some cases, retaliation from sympathizers of the girls who were abused caused the perpetrators to defend themselves or take revenge which further amplified the perpetuation of violence. In an attempt to keep their honour and pride intact and to maintain their place in the pecking order of masculine hierarchy the perpetrators of gender-based violence were often placed in situations where they were bound by values to resolve consequent conflict aggressively. This served to advance a toxic masculinity among the boys.

8.5 Discussion

8.5.1 Nature of gender-based violence

The nature of gender-based violence at Vuma High School and Phakama High School was implicitly and explicitly enacted. In this study implicit gender-based violence took the form of gender joking, teasing and social bullying and spreading rumours.

8.5.1.1 Implicit Gender Based Violence

The testimonies from both boys and girls indicated that jokes were implicitly used to suppress the girls at the school. When girls gain momentum by expressing themselves in the class, the boys were quick to make a joke to decelerate this momentum. Mkancu (2019) agrees that through language, perpetrators of gender-based violence objectify, demean and inflict trauma on girls. In this study there was evidence of boys mocking when a girl was given praise. They used the '*only joking*' discourse to stifle the girls and maintain power over them. Significantly, there are a growing number of studies that show how gender-based violence is enacted by means of making women subscribe to notions of being mentally weak, foolish or unwise through the use of humour. For example, Woodzicka *et al.* (2015) noted that gender jokes were more likely to be dismissed and less likely to be regarded as offensive or problematic but is regarded as a form of implicit gender violence. This study highlights as does Soler-Hampejsek (2017) found that the research on implicit gender-based violence should incorporate a broader understanding of the impact of violence on education by considering cultural norms and behaviours that discourages girls from speaking out about their experiences. This study also recommends a greater focus on implicit gender-based violence when investigating and implementing intervention strategies to combat violence against females.

This study found that whilst the boys used the notion that they teased the girls in fun, they were however, using teasing as a mechanism to ridicule, control and dominate the girls. These findings are in line with other studies where men were asked why they tease. These studies reported that men believed it was funny or trivial, and that it does not hurt the victim (Ghosh 1990; Leach and Humphreys 2007; Akhtar 2013; Nahar, Van Reeuwijk and Reis 2013; Dhillon and Bakaya 2014).

In this study, learners highlighted during the individual interviews and focus group discussions that social bullying was rife, especially by boys towards girls.The educators also indicated that many boys used friendship groups as a tool to keep the girls in check and to force them into complicity. The boys used alienation as a tool to maintain their dominance over the girls. Stereotyped by their gender, the girls were isolated and oppressed by the boys if they do not conform to expectations of male dominance. A study by Wilson (2006) also found that forms of alienation was used to in schools to suppress girls. Sometimes girls are made to sit at the back of classrooms and are not called on to participate in classroom discussions. Wilson (2006) argued that that denying girls the opportunity to take part in learning and freedom of socialization is an implicit form of violence. This study classifies this violence as social bullying.

In this study the boys directed their resentment towards the girls who refused their gestures of romantic relationships by spreading rumours. Increasingly, courts recognise this gender-based insults as offensive because it is based on gender stereotypes that "good" women are not sexually promiscuous (Neal 2019). The boys attempted to shame the girls and attempted to denigrate their reputations by creating a vision that the girl is sexually promiscuous. Gordon (2020) argued that gossip and rumours can destroy a person's self-confidence and affect their self-esteem. The boys in this study used rumours as a mechanism to control and denigrate the girls as argued by Gordon (2020). These findings are significant in that it cast light on the implicit nature of GBV which many studies ignore by focussing only on explicit gender based violence.

8.5.1.2 Explicit gender-based violence

The findings of this study revealed that explicit gender-based violence was not enacted overtly in the form of physical beatings and rape. Rather the boys used illusory ways of inflicting violence against the girls. The boys inflicted violence on girls and put it down to only joking or having fun. The girls were abused under the guise of "*fooling around", "gaming*" and "*play*". Most studies of gender based violence found that explicit violence took the forms of physical violent behaviour such as hitting, biting, slapping, pulling/twisting hair, pushing, choking, throwing objects and using a weapon such as knife or gun (Wolfe *et al.* 2001; Offenhausser and Buchalter 2011; Rodriguez-Diaz *et*

al. 2017). Foshee *et al.* 1996; Lewis and Fremouw 2001; Set 2020) considered slapping, beating and physical violence as explicit gender based violence. I did not find evidence from the interviews with the boys, girls and educators of the type of explicit violence mentioned above. Sexual forms of violence were enacted by boys in romantic relationships with girls. None of the girls reported that they were raped but rather some of the boys used popularity and reputation, trickery, threats of ending their relationship to get girls to indulge in sexual acts. Toplu-Demirtas (2015) classified this as benevolent sexism. However, it is important to note that any form of coercion is regarded as sexual harassment, be it hostile or benevolent sexism. All types of relationships, at any age, should be free of coercion. It is interesting to note that rape was considered as serious gender based violence and other form of sexual violence was regarded as less serious. This is important to address in further work on gender based violence.

8.5.2 Causes of gender-based violence

Other studies on the causes of gender-based violence revealed that men's beliefs of entitlement and subsequent constructions of masculinity play a major role in the perpetration of violence (McCathy, Mehta and Haberland, 2018).This study also found that the manner in which most of the boys at both schools created and consolidated heterosexual hierarchies in male peer groups through: regulation of self and others, enhancing and disparaging reputations, and maintaining pride and proving loyalty, and in doing so, in many instances, indulged in behaviour that underwrote violence against girls. Most of the boys subscribed to masculinity ideology of strength, toughness, control and sexual dominance. Glass *et al.* 2018 argue these versions of masculinity may be demonstrated through violence and in some communities may be regarded as acceptable and even normal. This study contributes to the understanding of these issues and how the construction of masculinities is implicated in the causes of violence at school. The causes of the gender regime of the schools and gender bias and non-reporting are also related to the way boys saw themselves in the school and the manner in which they constructed their identity. In other words, 'cause' here refers to the boys' rationale for a violent response. It points the way to implementing a range of integrated approaches for the prevention and reduction of gender-based violence in schools. This study alerts us that gender regimes have a major role to play in the enactment of gender based violence.

8.5.3 Consequences of school gender-based violence

Peguero and Popp (2012) argue that victims of school-related gender-based violence experience decreased self-esteem, unsure and unsafe feelings in school, avoidance of school, and eventually drop-out. These are common consequences of SRGBV and is reported from most studies of SRGBV. Further, Taole (2016) argues that gender-based violence does not only limit individual freedom, but also prevents schools from building the capacity of students. The findings of my study in relation to the consequences of SRGBV on the victims were not dissimilar.

The study however went further to investigate the consequences on the perpetrators and found that the consequences included legal implications, perpetuation of further violence and maintenance of toxic masculinity. Studies of the consequences of SRGBV on perpetrators is very limited. Santana *et al*., (2006) believes that if perpetrators go unpunished this could lead to traditional gender roles that are linked to violent behaviours being reified. Therefore, Fergus and van't Rood (2013) highlight the need for school to actively promote a gender equal, respectful, non-violent culture with gender aware pedagogy amongst learners, teachers and other staff. Furthermore, the potential for young people to act as agents of change provides one of the greatest hopes for achieving the social transformation necessary to end GBV and can be unlocked through high-quality, gender sensitive education.

8.5.4 Efforts made so far to tackle gender-based violence in the high schools

Both selected schools in this study had a code of conduct and classroom rules in place. Violent behaviour was handled by imposing heavy sanctions on the perpetrators and ignoring the role of emotions in the lives of adolescents. Researchers of school violence, for example Chaplain (2016) maintain that behaviour policy should provide the fundamental principles for day-day classroom management. The researcher's review of the of Vuma High School and Phakama High School codes of conduct also revealed that no reference was made to issues of gender-based violence. In fact both schools' codes of conduct failed to address any issues of gender at the schools. South African researchers argue that codes of conduct will effectively address norms underlying violence (Mestry and Khumalo 2012; Daluxolo and Moletsane 2015, Heslop *et al.* 2015). However, they fail to address issues of gender and other social issues. Therefore, these policies fail to combat violence in schools and in fact become

complicit in producing violence. In the absence of clear policies on how to handle gender-based violence teachers were unclear on how to deal with issues of violence related to gender and it became common practice at both schools not to reprimand the boys when they committed acts of violence against girls. Where counselling and pastoral care of learners is limited, issues of discipline are likely to be handled insensitively or mechanistically.

In both research schools there was a complete absence of awareness around issues of gender-based violence. Distancing teachers from the learners means teachers are denied the opportunity of communicating firmly but consistently what is not acceptable in terms of behaviour and challenging adolescent beliefs, attitudes and behaviours. Unterhalter (2017) agrees that although teachers are aware of and accept the principle of non-violence, they lack the capabilities to implement non-violence programmes. It can be drawn from the discussion above that it is imperative for learners and teachers to be made aware of the different ways in which gender based violence is enacted for them to address gender based violence in schools.

8.6 Recommendations

The following recommendations are compiled by the researcher and based on the findings of the study.

8.6.1 The integration of strategic approach to SRGBV management

It is essential to focus on multi-dimensional aspects when dealing with school-related gender-based violence. There should be a drive to an integrated, whole-school or comprehensive method or strategy that is consistent, effective, lawful and based on human rights and sustained through the school principal, school management team (SMT) members, post level one educators, learners, non-teaching staff , school governing body members and relevant community members. Integrated comprehensive method exceeds beyond a limited focus on the school itself to collaboration with all stakeholders in the community when addressing school gender-based violence. An integrated method will also assist in reducing gendered violence perpetrated by identified groups as vital role-players in the fight against school gender-based violence.

It is important for cooperation among principals, SMT, educators, learners, non-teaching staff, school governing bodies , parents or guardians, community leaders, non-governmental organisations, and environmental health organisations to curb school gender violence and more programmes or projects to succeed. Partnership with stakeholders having interest in education including women's organisation, crime policing forum (CPF), church, clinics, rehabilitation centres will assist in fighting against drugs and substance abuse. The formulation of policy will serve a good integrated method of handling gender-based violence among learners that occurs internally and externally at school.

8.6.2 Whole-school programme to address school going youth gender-based violence

Educators and learners highlighted that no documents available that direct educators to address the issues pertaining gender-based violence. Learners even stated that, *"concerned people only come for career guidance not for gender talks".* Learners also rely on television (TV) programmes to develop themselves in defence of gender-based violence issues since the code of conduct at school did address gender-based violence.

The introduction of free-violence programmes such as peer-clubs, teenage girls-clubs, participation in competitions that promote non-violence activities will assist learners in addressing the contributing factors of gender-based violence. Educators will be able to discipline the learner in a proper manner guided by policy for example using substance abuse framework policy (SAFP) from the Department of Education as well as national safety and security framework (NSSF). Parents and community can also play a role in developing programmes and activities to promote gender violence awareness. This will serve to tackle and eradicate gender-based violence at schools.

8.6.3 The development of training programmes on the management of gender-based violence at school

The unavailability of documents and programmes to handle or deal with gender-based violence at schools shows that the school principal and the school governing bodies

still need development in managing misconduct matters related to gender violence. Gender problems amongst learners are a factor in numerous South African schools which need to be addressed through seminars, workshops, officials from Department of Education (DoE). As such, the researcher recommends that both school principals and school governors should be adequately developed through various training programmes on how to manage gender issues so that they would address them in a proper manner.

Various non-discriminatory policies and procedures to ensure safety and security at schools must be designed by the schools. This include gender management policies, the i safety and security committees, strategies to curb violence and need to be developed, implemented and reviewed on regular basis to ensure relevance to the changing contexts which may arise. All of these must involve and include all stakeholders at the school.

It is recommended that school principals, school management team members and educators are trained in school safety issues but also monitored and evaluated various performance measures that already exist in the Department of Education system such as quality management systems (QMS) to ensure compliance. In addition, safety and security training should be made as one of the key performance areas in the QMS document.

8.7 Conclusion

Even though the sample was small, and the study was conducted with only two schools, the researcher did succeed in exploring the perceptions and understanding of gender-based violence in a school setting**.** The research did shed some light on learner experiences, nature and causes of school gender-based violence and the consequences of school gender-based violence on victims and perpetrators. It is hoped that the recommendations would pave the way for larger studies and promote conversations to continue within the wider school communities that would promote the eradication of violence against girls at school and females

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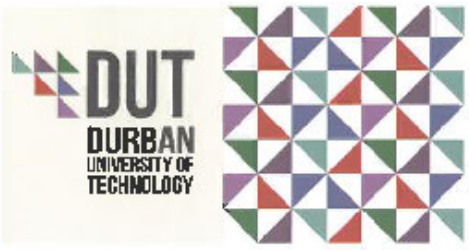
ANNEXURE 1: Ethics Clearance Letter



Institutional Research Ethics Committee
Research and Postgraduate Support Directorate
3rd Floor, Berwyn Court
Gate 1, Steve Biko Campus
Durban University of Technology

P O Box 1334, Durban, South Africa, 4001

Tel: 031 373 2375
Email: irec@dut.ac.za
http://www.dut.ac.za/research/institutional_research_ethics

www.dut.ac.za

12 February 2019

Ms A D Dlungwane
103 Ruslynn
47 Diakonia Avenue
Durban
4001

Dear Ms Dlungwane

Gender based violence among high school youth in the Umlazi District, Durban

The Institutional Research Ethics Committee acknowledges receipt of your gatekeeper permission letter.

Please note that FULL **APPROVAL** is granted to your research proposal. You may proceed with data collection.

Any adverse events [serious or minor] which occur in connection with this study and/or which may alter its ethical consideration must be reported to the IREC according to the IREC Standard Operating Procedures (SOP's).

Please note that any deviations from the approved proposal require the approval of the IREC as outlined in the IREC SOP's.

Yours Sincerely

Professor J K Adam
Chairperson: IREC

ANNEXURE 2: Gatekeeper Letter

education

Department:
Education
PROVINCE OF KWAZULU-NATAL

Enquiries: Phindile Duma | Tel: 033 392 1063 | Ref.:2/4/8/1461

Ms A.D Dlungwane

47 Diakonia Avenue
Durban
4001

Dear Ms Dlungwane

PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN THE KZN DoE INSTITUTIONS

Your application to conduct research entitled: **"GENDER BASED VIOLENCE AMONG HIGH SCHOOL YOUTH IN THE UMLAZI DISTRICT, DURBAN."**, in the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Education Institutions has been approved. The conditions of the approval are as follows:

1. The researcher will make all the arrangements concerning the research and interviews.
2. The researcher must ensure that Educator and learning programmes are not interrupted.
3. Interviews are not conducted during the time of writing examinations in schools.
4. Learners, Educators, Schools and Institutions are not identifiable in any way from the results of the research.
5. A copy of this letter is submitted to District Managers, Principals and Heads of Institutions where the Intended research and interviews are to be conducted.
6. The period of investigation is limited to the period from 26 January 2018 to 09 July 2020.
7. Your research and interviews will be limited to the schools you have proposed and approved by the Head of Department. Please note that Principals, Educators, Departmental Officials and Learners are under no obligation to participate or assist you in your investigation.
8. Should you wish to extend the period of your survey at the school(s), please contact Miss Phindile Duma at the contact numbers below.
9. Upon completion of the research, a brief summary of the findings, recommendations or a full report/dissertation/thesis must be submitted to the research office of the Department. Please address it to The Office of the HOD, Private Bag X9137, Pietermaritzburg, 3200.
10. Please note that your research and interviews will be limited to schools and institutions in KwaZulu-Natal Department of Education.

Dr. EV Nzama
Head of Department: Education
Date: 23 February 2018

ANNEXURE 3A: Letter of Information and Consent (Educators)

LETTER OF INFORMATION

Title of the Research Study: GENDER BASED VIOLENCE AMONG HIGH SCHOOL YOUTH IN THE UMLAZI DISTRICT, DURBAN

Principal researcher: Angel Duduzile Dlungwane, Phd student (present qualification MTech)

Supervisor: Dr. Vijay Hamlall (PhD)

Brief Introduction and Purpose of the Study:

Dear Educator,

I am a doctorate candidate from Durban University of Technology (DUT) in Durban. This study aims to examine gender-based violence amongst school going high school youth in the Umlazi Township. The focus of this study is to investigate the perceptions, attitudes, beliefs and behaviour of a sample of high school township youth regarding gender-based violence. This study will further identify sources of the attitudes and beliefs expressed by the youth.

Outline of the Procedures:

The data collection method will be formal interviews and focus group interviews. Twenty-four learners and twenty educators will be the respondents in this study. The problem of school-related gender-based violence (SRGBV) include explicit threats or acts of physical violence, bullying, verbal or sexual harassment, non-consensual touching, sexual coercion, and assault, as well as rape. In the past decade each one of these areas has escalated to a level of security that seems difficult to manage. You will answer interview questions from the researcher. Interviews will be done privately in an unused office or classroom that you will be comfortable with. The interview will last for approximately 50 minutes.

Risks or Discomforts to the Participant: There will be no risks or discomfort to you if you agree to take part in this study. Data will be stored in a secure storage and be destroyed after five years.

Benefits: Your involvement is purely for academic purpose only, and there is no financial benefit involved. The findings of the study will be published locally and internationally. This study attempts to understand why gender-based violence occurs at school level and makes recommendations for interventions that can reduce gender-based violence in schools. The findings from this study will be presented at different conferences, workshops and written into manuscripts to be published for the voices of the research study participants to be heard.

Reason/s because you May Withdraw from the Study: You have a choice to participate or not to participate or withdraw at any stage without any penalties. You should participate voluntarily.

Remuneration: No remuneration will be received by you for participation in this study.

Costs of the Study: You are not allowed to cover any costs of my study. The researcher will travel to meet you at the agreed comfortable venue.

Confidentiality: Anonymity and confidentiality will be guaranteed through the use of pseudonyms. You will be told about the concepts of anonymity and confidentiality which will be applied to this study. Data will be stored in a secure storage and be destroyed after five years.

Research-related Injury: Since the research will be conducted using interviews that will be audio recorded, no research-related injury is envisaged.

Persons to Contact in the Event of Any Problems or Queries: Please contact the researcher 0731348892, my supervisor, 0834190441 or the Institutional Research Ethics Administrator on 031 373 2375. Complaints can be reported to Prof. C.E. Napier-Acting Director, Research and Postgraduate Support. Contact number is 031 373 2326.

ANNEXURE 3B: Letter of Information and Consent (Learners and/or Guardians)

LETTER OF INFORMATION AND CONSENT

Title of the Research Study: GENDER BASED VIOLENCE AMONG HIGH SCHOOL YOUTH IN THE UMLAZI DISTRICT, DURBAN

Principal researcher: Angel Duduzile Dlungwane, Phd student (present qualification MTech)

Supervisor: Dr. Vijay Hamlall (PhD)

Brief Introduction and Purpose of the Study:

Dear Parent /Guardian,

I am a doctorate candidate from Durban University of Technology (DUT) in Durban. This study aims to examine gender-based violence amongst school going high school youth in the Umlazi Township. The focus of this study is to investigate the perceptions, attitudes, beliefs and behaviour of a sample of high school township youth regarding gender-based violence. This study will further identify sources of the attitudes and beliefs expressed by the youth.

Outline of the Procedures:

The data collection method will be formal interviews and focus group interviews. Twenty-four learners and twenty educators will be the respondents in this study. The learner has a choice to participate. The problem of school-related gender-based violence (SRGBV) include explicit threats or acts of physical violence, bullying, verbal or sexual harassment, non-consensual touching, sexual coercion and assault, as well as rape. In the past decade each one of these areas has escalated to a level of security that seems difficult to manage. The learner will answer interview questions from the researcher. Interviews will be done privately in an unused office or classroom that you will be comfortable with. The interview will last for approximately 50 minutes.

Risks or Discomforts to the Participant: There will be no risks or discomfort to your son/daughter as a participant in this study.

Benefits: Your son's/daughter's involvement is purely for academic purpose only, and there is no financial benefit involved. The findings of the study will be published locally and internationally. This study attempts to understand why gender-based violence occurs at school level and makes recommendations for interventions that can reduce gender-based violence in schools. The findings from this study will be presented at different conferences, workshops and written into manuscripts to be published for the voices of research study participants to be heard.

Reason/s why you May Withdraw from the Study: All participation in the study is voluntary and no adverse effects will result from discontinuing the participation. Your son/daughter has a choice to participate or not to participate or withdraw at any stage without any penalties.

Remuneration: No remuneration will be received by you for participation in this study.

Costs of the Study: Your son/daughter will not cover any costs for the study. The researcher will travel to meet the participant at the agreed comfortable venue.

Confidentiality: Your son's/daughter's confidentiality is guaranteed as their inputs will not be attributed to them in person, but only as a population member opinion. Pseudonyms will be used to disguise any identifiable information. Data will be stored in a secure storage and be destroyed after five years.

Research-related Injury: Since the research will be conducted using interviews that will be audio recorded, no research-related injury is envisaged.

Persons to Contact in the Event of Any Problems or Queries: Please contact the researcher 0731348892, my supervisor, 0834190441 or the Institutional Research Ethics Administrator on 031 373 2375. Complaints can be reported to Prof. C.E. Napier-Acting Director, Research and Postgraduate Support. Contact number is 031 373 2326.

ANNEXURE 3C: Letter of Consent

LETTER OF CONSENT

Statement of Agreement for your participation in the Research Study:

- I hereby confirm that I have been informed by the researcher, about the nature, conduct, benefits and risks of this study - Research Ethics Clearance Number: _____.
- I have also received, read and understood the above written information (Participant Letter of Information) regarding the study.
- I am aware that the results of the study, including personal details regarding my sex, age, date of birth, initials and diagnosis will be anonymously processed into a study report.
- In view of the requirements of research, I agree that the data collected during this study can be processed in a computerised system by the researcher.
- I may, at any stage, without prejudice, withdraw my consent of participation in the study.
- I have had sufficient opportunity to ask questions and (of my own free will) declare myself prepared to take part in the study.
- I understand that significant new findings developed during this research which may relate to participation will be made available to me.

_____ _____ _____ _____

Full Name of Participant **Date** **Time** **Signature / Right Thumbprint**

I, herewith confirm that the above participant has been fully informed about the nature, conduct and risks of the above study.

Angel Duduzile Dlungwane

Full Name of Researcher **Date** **Signature**

_____ _____ _____

Full Name of Witness (If applicable) Date Signature

_____ _____ _____

Full Name of Legal Guardian (If applicable) Date Signature

ANNEXURE 4A: Interview schedule for learners

Title: gender-based violence among high school youth in the Umlazi district, Durban

Researcher: Angel Duduzile Dlungwane

Respondent No_____

SECTION A: Biographical characteristics of Respondent

[1] How old are you?

Probe: What grade are you in?

[2] Where do you live?

[3] Tell me about your family?

[4] What are your hobbies?

[5] Who are you friends with?

[6] Who are your role models?

[7] How do you spend your spare time?

[8] What movies do you like?

[9] Do you play sport?

Probe: What sport do you play? Why do you like this sport?

[10] What other activities do you enjoy?

Section B

1. Perceptions and Experiences of Gender Based School Violence School Ethos/Gender Regime

[1] Do you like/dislike coming to school?

Probe: What do you like about school? What do you dislike about school?

[2] Which are you favourite teachers? Why?

Probe: Do you get along better with male or female teachers? Why do you think this is the case?

[3] What does gender equality mean to you?

Probe: Are girls and boys treated the same at this school? Are male teachers and female teachers treating the same at this school? Tell me about the gender dynamics at this school? Who is privileged? Why do you think this is so?

2. Perceptions and experiences of gender-based violence

[1] Have you ever been in a fight or conflict with boy/girl at school? Please tell me about the incident.

Probe: How do you react when a learner interferes with you? Why?

Do you feel that learners and/or you try to satisfy a particular expectation of you as a boy/girl?

How do your parents feel about the manner in which you should react to a dispute at school in terms of being a boy/girl?

How do your teachers feel about the manner in which you should react to a dispute at school?

How do your friends feel about the manner in which you should react to a dispute at school?

Do male teachers have different views than female teachers about violence towards boys/girls?

[2] How do boys/ girls treat or take care for each other?

[3] How are you performing in school? Are there any issues that you are experiencing in terms of being a boy/girl at this school?

Probe: Why do you think this is the case?

[4] How do you feel about the prefects at school? How do prefects treat boys/girls? Why do you think this is so?

[5] What are your expectations of your educators? How do you expect them to react to violence against boys/girls at this school?

[6] Please recount a situation where you had some difficulty with an educator where you felt unhappy? How did you overcome this?

General Relationships

[7] Do you have friends? Tell me about them? What do you do during the breaks with your friends? Probes: What do you think of the different friendship groups within the school?

Describe your relationship with girls at this school.

Describe your relationship with boys at this school.

[8] In your opinion what is the level of violence at this school?

Probes: Who do you think generally are the main perpetrators – girls or boys?

Who do you think generally are the main victims – girls or boys?

Why do you think this is so?

Romantic Relationships

[9] Do you have a girlfriend/boyfriend?

[10] Did the boy/girl respect you?

Probes: Did you have conflict? What was the nature of the conflict? Was there any physical violence? Tell me about this?

Probes: What were these relationships like for you? Try to get a picture of the relationship? Ascertain whether there were physical or emotional abuse.

Influences on the youth attitude and behaviour

[11] Who or what influenced you the most regarding your attitude towards girls/boys?

(Parents, culture, religion, peers, media). Explain. What was appealing about that particular influence?

Probes: In your view as a learner, how does gender violence in schools influence access to education for all learners? Do you know of boys/girls that have dropped out of school as a result of violent behaviour inflicted on them either by other boys/girls or by educators? Please explain.

Does the religion and culture influence gender-based violence among boys and girls? Please explain.

[12] Have you experienced gender-based violence and if so what type? -physical violence, sexual violence/rape, verbal abuse. Please explain.

Probes: Do boys/ girls miss classes at school?

When you violated who you report to (parents, educators, peers, media)?

Have you approached your parents, educators, peers, media for assistance about the manner of boys /girl's violent behaviour? If so, for which purpose?

[13] In your own view, what are the main causes of gender-based violence among boys and girls? Please explain.

Probes: How did you react to the situation?

How did you handle the situation?

What is the role of the religion and culture in influencing gender-based violence? Elaborate your answer.

Suggestions for Change

[14] What changes would you like the school to introduce in terms of gender dynamics?

[15] What changes would you like to see in society?

[16] What changes would you like to see in South Africa?

Probe: What ideas do you have to improve on the existing routines and running of the school in terms of gender issues?

Thank you for your time and valuable input

ANNEXURE 4B: Focus group interview schedule for learners

A. FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR LEARNERS

[1] Tell me about your school experiences.

Probes: What are your likes and dislikes about school?

Tell me about your friends and your friendships groups? Do boys and girls readily mix with each other?

How do learners get along with teachers – boys/girls?

Are there gendered biases at the school? Who is privileged? Who privileges these leaners? Why do you think this happens? Tell me about the gender relations at school.

Is there competition among and between boys and girls? How do they handle this competition?

[2] What are your views and experiences of gender-based violence in this school?

Probes: What challenges do learners experience in this school in terms of violence towards boys/girls? How do they overcome them?

Do girls have greater challenges? Who creates these challenges? Why do you think this is so?

Does the religion and culture influence gender-based violence among boys and girls? Please explain.

What other factors influence gender-based violence at this school?

[3] Tell me about your relationship with people in authority at school.

Probes: What ways are learners who are prefects treated differently to learners who are not prefects?

How do you feel about the prefects at school? How do prefects treat boys/girls? Why do you think this is so?
What is your relationship with boys/ girls? Do you respect them? Why?

What are your expectations of your educators? How do you expect them to react to violence against boys/girls at this school?

Please recount a situation where you had some difficulty with an educator where you felt unhappy? How did you overcome this?

[4] Have you been involved in any conflict or misunderstanding with other boy/girl at your school? Tell me about this.

[5] Besides you, what about other learners, did they have conflicts or misunderstanding among themselves?
Probes: What do you think is the cause of conflict or misunderstanding among learners themselves in your school? What triggers these conflicts?

Thank you for your time and valuable input

ANNEXURE 4C: Interview schedule for educators

Respondent No_____

SECTION A: Biographical characteristics of Respondent

[1] How long have you been an educator?

[2] Why have you chosen to be an educator?

[3] What position do you hold at this school?

[4] What do you find to be the most rewarding /enjoyable aspect of your duties as an educator?

[5] How did you come to be teaching at this particular school?

Probe: Have you taught at other schools?

[6] What subjects are you teaching?

[7] What is your highest qualification?

[8] Do you have children of your own?

Probe: Tell me about them.

[9] Do you spend extra time after hours at school?

[10] What are some of your other activities outside of school?

Section B

Climate of the school

[1] Can you describe the socio- economic status of this community?

[2] What is climate and ethos inside the school?

Probes – robust, order, disorder, discipline, behaviour

[3] What is the climate outside the school?

Taxis, hustle and bustle, aggressive, levels of crime, violence

What are the levels of violence in this school among the learners?

Who are perpetrators? Who are the victims?

[4] What are the home backgrounds of the learners?

Probes – culture, class, size of families, homes.

2. Perceptions and experiences of gender-based violence

[5] What are your experiences of gender-based violence at this school among learners?

Please relate some of your experiences.

Probe: How would you describe the boy's relationship with girls?

[6] What challenges have you experienced in implementing discipline in this school? How do you overcome them?

Probes: Do you have Discipline, Safety and Security Committee (DSSC) or similar structures in this school?

Do you have policies that prevent gender based violent behaviour among learners inside and outside their classrooms?

What policies measures and initiatives are taken by the school to promote peace and a secure environment that protects learners against harm?

Does the school have a policy in place to handle gender-based violence among the learners?

How does the school (teachers, managers, principal governing body) handle violent incidents?

[7] Can you describe some violent incidents that occurred among learners at this school recently?

Probe: Do you think that the school handled the incident correctly?
In other words, did they use the right approach?
In your opinion was there a bias towards boys/girls in handling the situation?
How would you have handled the situation?

[8] Do you handle girls and boys differently? Why?

[9] How do the boys or girls respond to authority? How would you describe the learner's interactions with each other?

[10] Does the religion and culture influencing gender-based violence among boys and girls? Please explain.

In your opinion, what are some of the major causes of gender violence among boys/girls in this school? How do you overcome them?

General Relationships

[11] How would you describe the boys' relationships with girls?

Probe: Can you describe incidents where boys/girls were violent with each other? What do you think triggered that? Are boys more aggressive with the girls or is it the other way around? Why do you think this is so?

Romantic relationships

[12] Do you know of romantic relations among the learners?

How do you think the girls are treated in these relationships?

Do you know of violence or threats of violence in these relationships?

Can you tell me briefly what happened? How did parents, community peers, media and other react?

How would you react to a situation where a girl is abused violently by her boyfriend?

Suggestions to Change

[13] Do you have suggestions you would like to make regarding the school in reducing gender-based violence?

[14] Is there anything else that you would like to mention about what we have spoken about?

Thank you for your time and valuable input

ANNEXURE 4D: Focus group interview schedule for educators

[1] What is the culture and climate of this school?

Probe: Will you regard the climate as peaceful? Why do you have this opinion? Do others agree with this view?

[2] Describe the socio- economic status of this community?

[3] What are the home backgrounds of the learners?

Probes – culture, class, size of families, homes.

[4] What is the climate outside the school?

[5] What are the home backgrounds of the learners?

[6] What are your experiences of gender-based violence at this school among learners?

[7] Please relate some of your experiences.

[8] What challenges you experience in implementing discipline in this school?

How do you overcome them?

Does the school have a policy in place to handle gender-based violence among the learners?

How does the school (teachers, managers, Principal, governing body) handle violent incidents?

[9] Do teachers handle girls and boys differently? Why?

[10] Does the school have a policy in place to handle gender-based violence among the learners?

[11] How does the school (teachers, managers, Principal, governing body) handle gender based violent incidents?

In individual interviews participants described gender violent incidents.

Do you think that the school handles gender-based violent incidents correctly?

In other words, did the school use the right approach?

How does the school prevent gender-based violence among learners at school?

[12] Can you describe some violent incidents that occurred among learners at this school recently?

Probe: Do you think that the school handled the incident correctly? In other words, did they use the right approach? In your opinion was there a bias towards boys/girls in handling the situation? How would you have handled the situation?

[13] In individual interviews educators mentioned that learners are involved in romantic relationships. Can you tell me about these relationships? Do you have any knowledge of violence in these relationships? Are there power dynamics in these relationships? Can you explain?

[14] Is there anything else that you would like to mention about what we have spoken about?

Thank you for your time and valuable input

ANNEXURE 5: Turnit in report

Gender Based Violence Among High School Youth in the Umlazi District,Durban

ORIGINALITY REPORT

18%	17%	6%	8%
SIMILARITY INDEX	INTERNET SOURCES	PUBLICATIONS	STUDENT PAPERS

PRIMARY SOURCES

1	ir.dut.ac.za Internet Source	4%
2	hdl.handle.net Internet Source	1%
3	journals.sagepub.com Internet Source	1%
4	www.tandfonline.com Internet Source	1%
5	researchspace.ukzn.ac.za Internet Source	1%
6	www.researchgate.net Internet Source	<1%
7	uir.unisa.ac.za Internet Source	<1%
8	repository.up.ac.za Internet Source	<1%
9	www.unicef.org Internet Source	<1%

ANNEXURE 6: Editing Certificate Letter

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EDITING CERTIFICATE LETTER

Date: 13 May 2023

Re: Ms. Angel Duduzile Dlungwane

Student Number: 21450930

Doctorate dissertation: GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE AMONG HIGH SCHOOL YOUTH IN THE UMLAZI DISTRICT, DURBAN

I confirm that I have proof-read, language edited and lay-out edited the abovementioned work by the doctorate candidate Ms. Angel D. Dlungwane.

The work was returned to the candidate with evidence of track changes and implementations to be undertaken. The correct implementation of the changes in the text and references is the responsibility of the student. The final edited version was returned to the student on 13 May 2023 via email.

I am satisfied that the editing and proof-reading of the above-mentioned work meets the post-graduate guidelines as set-out.

Sincerely,

Dr. Maleni Rookmoney Thakur

Editor