Gender-based Violence and Development: Knowledge and Attitudes among Student Teachers

Elise Bjåstad
December 2008

The School of Development Studies is one of the world's leading centres for the study of the political economy of development. Its research and graduate teaching programmes in economic development, social policy and population studies, as well as the projects, public seminars and activism around issues of civil society and social justice, organised through its affiliated Centre for Civil Society place it among the most well-respected and innovative inter-disciplinary schools of its type in the world

We specialise in the following research areas: civil society; demographic research; globalisation, industry and urban development; macroeconomics, trade and finance; poverty and inequality; reproductive health; social aspects of HIV/AIDS; social policy; work and informal economy.

List of Acronyms

AIDS   Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ANCOVA   Analysis of Covariance
BEd   Bachelor of Education
CIDA   Canadian International Development Agency
CIET   Community Information, Empowerment and Transparency Foundation
COLTS Culture of Learning, Teaching and Service
CPTD   Continuing Professional Teacher Development
CSA   Child Sexual Abuse
DFID   Department for International Development
DoE   Department of Education
ESAROEastern and Southern African Regional Office
GBV   Gender-Based Violence
GDP   Gross Domestic Product
GETT   Gender Equity Task Team
HIV   Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HSRC   Human Sciences Research Council
IPET   Initial Professional Development of Educators
NGO   Non-Governmental Organisation
PGCE   Post-Graduate Certificate in Education
SACE   South Africa Council for Educators
SALDRU   South African Labour and Development Research Unit
SAPS   South African Police Service
SMS   Short Message Service
SPSS   Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
UCT   University of Cape Town
UK   United Kingdom
UKZN   University of KwaZulu-Natal
UN   United Nations
UNESCO   United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF   United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
USA   United States of America
USAID United States Agency for International Development
UWC   University of the Western Cape

Contents

Appendices

List of Tables and Figures

Acknowledgements

Thanks to the student teachers who participated in this study, and particularly to those contributing to the focus group discussions, for giving me part of their time and for sharing their thoughts, ideas and experiences.

I would like to thank Robert Morrell for his input at the early stages of this dissertation, and for his support during my fieldwork at Edgewood. I would also like to thank Richard Devey for giving valuable inputs on research methodology and data analysis, and for being so generous with his time towards students generally. Thanks to Lesley Anderson for dealing so efficiently with administrative matters. I am also grateful to the Mellon Foundation for helping with funds for my fieldwork at Wits University.

A huge thank you goes to my supervisor Julian May for his support and valuable feedback, and for always making time available for consultation both face-to-face and over great distances. The completion of this thesis would not have been possible without you.

Encouragement and support from friends have been of great value, and a special thanks to those who gave me a helping hand in this process. Finally, I would like to thank my family for providing so generously for me during the writing of this dissertation. I am forever grateful.

Abstract

Amartya Sen has sought to refocus development theory towards the ultimate goal of freedom, and has in this context emphasised the importance of education in building human capabilities to lead the lives they have reason to value. However, research suggesting that gender-based violence is prevalent in the South African school system represents a paradox as it reveals that years of schooling can contribute to deprivation and capability failure rather than enhanced human capabilities and development. Literature reviewed for this dissertation suggests that over and above the lost educational opportunities due to gender-based violence in schools, it can cause long-term and even terminal health damages and contribute to increased society-wide levels of violence with substantial socio-economic costs.

Anti-violence interventions among learners have been found to have minimal effect unless they are supported by the overall school culture. However, educators who are expected to ensure a safe school environment are not only responding inadequately to cases of gender-based violence between learners, but some are personally engaging in acts of gender violence towards learners. Recognising the significant role of educators, both as part of the problem and as key to any solution, this dissertation seeks to improve understanding of the context within which interventions at the level of educators may be possible.

This study explores what previous research have identified as common attitudes, beliefs and knowledge gaps among educators in schools with high levels of gender-based violence. Findings include confusion about the legal and policy framework as it applies to such cases, a lack of will to acknowledge the problem and inadequate understanding of gender-based violence. The construction of men and women as essential opposites has been identified as an underlying reason for inadequate acknowledgement and understanding. Research on these dimensions forms the basis for a study using survey and focus group methodologies to assess the prevalence of such attitudes and knowledge gaps of issues around gender-based violence among student teachers about to finalise their studies and start their professional lives as educators. The data collected suggests that the student teachers will vary considerably in their ability to respond to cases of gender-based violence. A more concerted effort is required in order to prepare student teachers for the problem of gender-based violence and enable them to create more gender-friendly school environments. Possible routes for improvement are suggested.

Keywords: education, gender-based violence, teacher education, development, capabilities

1 Introduction

1.1 Background and Problem Statement

Amartya Sen (1999) defines development as a process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy. This focus on human freedoms is a fundamental move away from more narrow views which identify development with growth of gross national product, with rise in personal incomes, with industrialisation, with technological advance or with social modernization. Progress at these levels can substantially contribute to the process of expanding human freedom, even though they are not ends in and of themselves. Within this framework the concept of freedom is central to development for two reasons. First, development progress must be assessed in terms of whether the freedoms that people enjoy have been expanded. Second, development is only achieved with the free agency of people. Hence, freedom is both the primary end of development, and an important means to its achievement.

The capabilities approach evokes the concept of 'human capability', defined as "*...the ability - the substantive freedom - of people to lead the lives they have reason to value and enhance the real choices they have*" (Sen, 1999:293). Poverty is a failure of basic capabilities, which is strongly related but not equal to the common conception of income inadequacy (Sen, 1993). Other factors than income influence our capabilities:

> "*What people can positively achieve is influenced by the economic opportunities, political liberties, social powers, and the enabling conditions of good health, basic education, and the encouragement and cultivation of initiatives*" (Sen, 1999:5)

Access to education and good health contribute to the enhancement of human capabilities, and therefore to the achievement of development progress. Education and good health are central to development because these factors can contribute directly to a feeling of well-being and freedom, but can also contribute in the narrower sense of the word 'development' by improving personal income, production and Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Investment in the education of women has received particular attention from Sen (1999) because of its potential role in improving the well-being and agency of women to the benefit of all.

However, discussing education as a homogeneous and universally benign process would be a mistake as it fails to take into account the contested and unequal terms on which many learners go through school. In South Africa, until recently, children of particular racial groups have, to use Unterhalter's (2003:11) language, "learnt their place of unfreedom" through theeducation system. Available evidence indicates that schools have played, and are still playing, a similar role in terms of gender. Not only are learners, both boys and girls, taught their place of unfreedom on the basis of gender, but learners have been found to be victims of gender-based violence while in the care of schools.

In this situation, years of schooling can contribute to capability failure and deprivation rather than to capability building and development as argued by Sen. Not only can school-related gender-based violence lead to diminished development returns to education through lost educational opportunities, but it can cause long term health damages and can contribute to the further entrenchment of violent cultures. This has

serious implications for a society like South Africa that already suffers from a very significant health burden and high levels of violence. This thesis argues that gender-based violence in schools must be recognised as an obstacle to development, leading to a process in which effective interventions are identified and implemented.

1.1.1 Gender-Based Violence and Education in South Africa

In South Africa, the Gender Equity Task Team (GETT) commissioned by the Department of Education in 1996 to conduct a gender analysis of the education sector found violence to be the single most significant obstacle towards achieving gender equity in the South African education sector (Wolpe, Quinlan and Martinez, 1997). In the years following this report, a number of studies documented learner's experiences of gender-based violence in schools, ranging from verbal and non-verbal harassment to rape and sexual assault (Human Rights Watch, 2001; Brookes and Richter, 2001; Brookes and Higson-Smith, 2004). In these studies the significance of educators is evident.

While educators are expected to play an active role in initiating and implementing anti-violence interventions among learners, evidence suggests that some educators are not only turning a blind eye to learner-perpetrated violence, but are themselves perpetrators of gender-based violence in their interaction with learners. For instance, the Demographics and Health Survey found that 32.8 % of rape victims who specified their relationship to the perpetrator identified their educator or principal as the offender (Department of Health and Medical Research Council, 2002). Some educators have been found to negotiate sexual favours and/or relationships with schoolgirls, thereby abusing their own position of power and taking advantage of the often vulnerable position of these girls (Human Rights Watch, 2001). Some educators have also been found to engage in sexual harassment, such as propositioning, sexual joking and unwelcome touching. Learners reporting gender-based violence have often been met with inadequate responses and sometimes even been discouraged or ridiculed for coming forward. Hence, some educators contribute to increasing the levels of gender-based violence in school rather than to solving the problem of violence between learners.

Research in South Africa has found four key factors to determine the nature and level of gender-based violence in schools: "*…understanding of, and attitudes towards, gender violence; levels of acknowledgement of gender violence; the degree to which the school had developed policies on gender violence and implemented preventative measures; and most importantly, school climate or culture*" (Brookes and Higson-Smith, 2004:114). These findings testify to the important role educators' play in determining the gender climate in schools, and to the significance of their understanding and knowledge of gender-based violence as well as their willingness to take appropriate action.

Against this background, it is clear that for education to be the instrument for freedom and development envisaged by Amartya Sen, increased attention must be awarded to the problem of school-related gender-based violence and to the role of educators in shaping the gender climate in schools. This study recognises the need for intervention at the level of educators in order to address educator perpetrated gender-based violence in schools, and to enable them to intervene effectively at the level of learners. Such interventions should consider the attitudes, beliefs and

gaps in knowledge associated with high levels of gender-based violence in schools.

1.2 Purpose of Study and Research Questions

Given the paucity of information on educator understanding and knowledge of gender-based violence, and the neglect of school-related gender-based violence as a capability failure in terms of Sen's conceptualisation of development as freedom, this explorative study seeks to deepen our understanding of the context within which policy interventions may be possible. The research questions to be addressed are therefore:

1. What development implications of gender-based violence in schools have been identified in the literature?

2. a) What attitudes, beliefs and knowledge gaps has previous research found to be common among educators working in schools where gender-based violence is high?

   b) To what extent are these attitudes, beliefs and knowledge gaps prevalent among final year teacher training students?

1.3 Structure of the Dissertation

The following chapter starts by discussing why education is seen to be a crucial element of any development effort, and goes on to discuss the consequences school-related gender-based violence might have in terms of education, public health, level of violence and socio-economic development. Chapter 3 turns to the South African situation more specifically, with an assessment of the level and nature of gender-based violence in schools, followed by a discussion of why certain schools have higher levels of gender-based violence than others. Research suggests that violent and less violent schools differ in terms of school climate, which educators are responsible for managing. However, their ability to perform this role in a manner that builds capabilities depends on the extent to which they acknowledge and understand gender and gender-based violence. Findings within these areas of research are reviewed in this chapter and forms the basis for the study conducted among student teachers. Chapter 4 describes the methodological approach, in which survey and focus group methodologies complement each other in terms of breadth and depth to explore levels of acknowledgement and understanding of gender-based violence among graduating student teachers. This leads on to the discussion of findings from the survey and the focus groups in Chapter 5.

1.4 Conclusion

Sen (1999) has highlighted the significance of education in enhancing human capability, or freedom, to lead the lives they have reason to value. However, research has found levels of gender-based violence to be high in many South and Southern African schools with severe consequences for those affected. This thesis seeks to investigate the development implications of this problem in terms of lost educational opportunities, public health and the further entrenchment of violent cultures in society. It goes on to argue that educators have a particular responsibility for keeping the school environment violence-free and safe. However, evidence suggests that some educators are not only neglecting this responsibility, but are personally engaging in acts of gender-based violence in their profession. A number of misconceptions and knowledge gaps have been

identified as common among educators in violent schools, and this information is incorporated into the research design. Using survey and focus group methodologies, an assessment of the prevalence of such attitudes, beliefs and gaps in knowledge among graduating student teachers was conducted. The findings serve to help identify areas requiring more attention in the preparations of student teachers for their profession as educators.

2 Description of Problem: Education, Violence and Development

In his discussion of development, Sen (1999) emphasised the role of education, because of its importance in building people's capability to lead the lives they have reason to value. The importance of and need for education gained international recognition in 1948, when it was acknowledged as a human right for all people in the United Nations (UN) General Assembly (UN General Assembly, 1948). Echoing the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the promise of Education for All has been reasserted numerous times, most recently in the Millennium Development Goals (UN General Assembly, 2000) and in the Dakar Framework of Action (UNESCO, 2000). The role of education in development was most powerfully expressed by former Secretary-General of the United Nations, Kofi Annan:

> *[E]ducation is the single most vital element in combating poverty, empowering women, protecting children from hazardous and exploitative labor and sexual exploitation, promoting human rights and democracy, protecting the environment and influencing population growth.*
> *Education is a path towards international peace and security.*
> (Kofi A. Annan, former Secretary-General of the United Nations, quoted in Human Rights Watch, 2001:1)

While education has been praised as the key to development, violence has increasingly received attention as a barrier to development progress (McIlwaine, 1999). For instance, the UK Department for International Development (DFID) identified violence as an important development issue in relation to gender and poverty reduction in their 1998 White Paper. While Sen's theory (1999) refocused our understanding of development to the ultimate goal of freedom, and reasserted the importance of education in the development process, it has failed to take account of the complexities of the school environment in which education takes place (Unterhalter, 2003). What is argued here is that schools can hardly play the expected role in development if gender-based violence is perpetuated within them. In this chapter, the possible benefits of education will be discussed, before introducing the problem of gender-based violence in schools together with its possible consequences in terms of reduced educational attainment, negative public health effects, and increased level of violence resulting in increased costs to household and society.

2.1 Education and Development

The role of education in development is threefold (Sen,1999): firstly, it can directly improve well-being by improving the ability to read, write, communicate and acquire knowledge, secondly, it can indirectly improve well-being by adding to the value of production, and thirdly, it can indirectly improve well-being through increasing the income of the person who has been educated. Different arguments have been used to support these various outcomes of education.

The role of education is also emphasised in human capital theory, but the focus is here more confined to the indirect benefits of increased production and income. Attention to this theory and the role of education in efforts to improve productivity has increased due to empirical findings on the experiences of certain East Asian countries, such as Japan, South Korea and Taiwan. It is argued that substantial investment in the education sectors of these countries was a significant factor contributing to their rapid economic growth (Booth, 1999). Even though an educated workforce is not enough on its own, it must be considered an important step towards increased productivity and ability to compete internationally.

In South Africa, an indication of the correlation between education and income level has been offered by Klasen (1997:68), analysing a survey conducted by the South African Labour and Development Research Unit (SALDRU) in 1993. Investigating the relationship between income poverty and other critical capability-related measures suggested by Sen, he found household level of expenditure[1] in South Africa to be closely related to level of education. The poverty rate of households whose heads had no formal education was found to be nearly 80 %, compared to a poverty rate of 7 % among households whose heads had at least secondary school. About 84 % of the poverty gap found in this survey was accounted for by households whose heads had less than completed primary education. A correlation between household expenditure and education was also found by Hunter and May (2002:11). Hence, there is reason to believe that education level has significant impact on household income levels in South Africa. The pattern of low income among those with no education is likely to be further entrenched by the high unemployment rate in South Africa, which disproportionately affects the poor, and by a considerable wage gap among those who are employed (Klasen, 1997: 70-71). Education can not only give those from poor backgrounds better employment opportunities, but the poor might also be better able to negotiate wages and work conditions, and to develop sustainable businesses in the formal and/or informal economy (Hill and King, 1995: 23-24).

Sen (1999) has argued that education can directly improve the capabilities and therefore the well-being of a person, suggesting that a person may for instance benefit from improved ability to read, communicate, discuss and make informed choices. In addition to the personal satisfaction of being more knowledgeable and verbal, these skills can contribute to enhancing other capabilities, for instance health, with beneficial impact on both well-being and productivity. Sen has emphasised the importance of educating women in particular, because it contributes to enhancing the capabilities, well-being and independent agency of women. This in turn can bring reproductive health benefits in terms of reduced fertility rates and child mortality.

With Sen, Hill and King (1995) have argued for the importance of educating women, with a view to improved employment opportunities and family planning. Acknowledging the significant role of women in non-market activities, i.e. in the home, they have emphasised the importance of women's education for social or family well-being. It can have important intergenerational effects in terms of improved educational outcomes for children. Educated women may also be better able to

---

[1] Monthly household expenditure is often the preferred measure of household material well-being, as it is more reliably reported and more stable over time than household income, especially among poor people.

improve family health, through having better access to information about healthy life styles, personal hygiene and health services (Hill and King, 1995:25). Educated women may also have a greater appreciation for the value of health care and hygiene, be more willing to invest time and resources in it and be better able to put knowledge into practice than less educated women. The health dividend associated with education has been particularly important in the context of the HIV/AIDS epidemic, which is on the increase in many parts of the world and not least in the Southern African region. Research conducted in the course of the last decade has suggested that education leads to postponed sexual debut and higher levels of condom use. This suggests that education can play a central role in reducing the spread of HIV/AIDS as well as other sexually transmitted diseases (STIs) (Hargreaves and Boler, 2006:27-28).

The relationship between education and development is multifaceted and all aspects will not be covered here. What is important to note, however, is the great expectations attached to education as a development tool, by Sen and others, in terms of economic growth and productivity, increased personal and household income, as well as personal and social well-being. What is argued in this study is that theories highlighting the beneficial outcomes of education must not ignore the complexities of the school context, and how these impact on the actual outcomes of education. More specifically, evidence suggesting that gender-based violence is prevalent in schools cannot be ignored, but must be acknowledged as a question of school quality and be adequately addressed.

2.2 Gender-Based Violence in Educational Contexts

Gender-based violence was first recognised as a problem in institutional settings when feminist activists in the 1970s were trying to address the unwanted sexual attention faced by women in the workplace (Lee, Croninger, Linn and Chen, 1996). The workplace was also the site for the first studies conducted on sexual harassment (Sunnari, Heikkinen and Kangasvuo, 2003). The discussion soon broadened to cover other institutional environments, including education. Complaints of sexual harassment were first filed in institutions of higher education, although scrutiny of primary and secondary schools was soon to follow (Lee et al, 1996:384-385). However, this new awareness of sexual harassment was concentrated in so called 'western' or 'developed' countries (Leach, Fiscian, Kadzamira, Lemani and Machakanja, 2003). Up until the mid-1990s there was a paucity of research on school-related gender-based violence in developing countries. This was not because the problem was confined to developed or western countries. Evidence to the contrary was made most painfully obvious in July 1991, when 19 schoolgirls died and 71 others were raped at the hands of male schoolmates in a Kenyan Catholic secondary school (Omale, 2000). Attention to gender-based violence in schools increased on the African continent after this incidence. Hallam (1994) published an investigative study on sexual harassment and violence against women in African schools and institutions of higher education, documenting available information on the subject. Swainson (1995), writing on gender inequalities in the education sectors of Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe, found evidence in existing literature that sexuality and sexual harassment in school were significant obstacles to female participation in education, and called for more research on these topics. Terefe and Mengistu (1997) investigating violence in Ethiopian schools, found girls to be the major victims of violence, resulting in low female enrolment rates and high female drop-out rates in secondary schools. Research on gender-based violence in schools has increased over

the last decade and problems have been identified and investigated in many countries of the Sub-Saharan African region, including Ghana (Afenyadu and Goparaju, 2003; Leach et al, 2003), Uganda (Mirembe and Davies, 2001), Kenya (Mensch and Lloyd, 1998; Omale, 2000), Zimbabwe (Leach, Machakanja and Mandonga, 2000; Leach et al, 2003; Shumba, 2001), Mozambique (Aikman, Unterhalter and Challender, 2005) and South Africa.

2.2.1 The Concept of Gender-Based Violence

The concept of gender-based violence points to violence perpetrated on the basis of particular constructions of gender, and it is well established that men are the major perpetrators of such violence both against women and against other men (Kenway and Fitzclarence, 1997). Connell's theory of masculinities (1995) has therefore been an important contribution to our understanding of why violence is perpetrated on the basis of gender. Rather than offering a strictly biological or social explanation of gender difference, Connell suggests that gender is constructed in the interplay between material and social processes: *"The bodily process, entering into the social process, becomes part of history (both personal and collective) and a possible object of politics"* (Connell, 1995:56). This theory is a move away from seeing violence as a result of the individual pathology of the perpetrator, towards an understanding of violence as an integral part of a broader system of dominant and subordinate masculine cultures that together are complicit in maintaining patriarchy or male dominance over women.

Multiple masculinities coexist, and are constructed relationally through gendered practices. Masculinities are defined by their access and relation to power, both male patriarchal powers over women, and relations of power between masculinities. 'Hegemonic masculinity' is key to male identity and refers to the culturally idealised form of masculinity, which claims the highest status and exercises the greatest influence and authority. Embodying the currently accepted strategy for maintaining the legitimacy of patriarchy, hegemonic masculinity is always contestable and changing. For instance, in South Africa, and more specifically in KwaZulu-Natal, the word *isoka* was used to capture the masculine ideal of a man who is successful with women, but who intends to marry at least one of them (Hunter, 2002). However, as society has changed, the masculine ideal and the word *isoka* have increasingly been constructed around a man having sexual relations with many girlfriends.

At the other end of the spectrum you find masculinities embodying non-hegemonic or subordinate identities, for instance gay masculinities, which tend to be positioned at the bottom of the gender hierarchy among men (Connell, 1995). The pattern of exclusion and hierarchy is further complicated by the intersection of gender with race and class. In the South African context, it has been argued that racism has created feelings of powerlessness and inferiority. Such feelings are experienced as a form of emasculation among men, as they contradict their gender construction of being powerful and potent (Simpson, 1992). All men live in a state of tension with, and distance from, hegemonic masculinity. The majority do not live up to its ideals, and may not even draw moral inspiration from them, but will all the same be complicit in maintaining and benefiting from the 'patriarchal dividend' defined as *"...the advantage men in general gain from the overall subordination of women"* (Connell, 1995:79).

In the ongoing project of sustaining male power and masculine identity, violence can be mobilised to intimidate opportunist groups (e.g. feminists)

and to sanction masculinities that follow non-hegemonic ideals (e.g. gay). Personal feelings of failure relative to masculine ideals have also been found to elicit violent behaviour. In South Africa, it has been suggested that many men have experienced unemployment as a personal failure, and have used violence as a symbolic reassertion of masculinity and control (Simpson, 1992). Schools are important arenas for playing out and negotiating masculinities, particularly since young and adolescent males are in a process of finding their own identities within this gender order (Connell, 1995). Insecurity about masculine identities can result in gender-based violence, both in relation to female and male peers.

Among the problems encountered when investigating the nature and scope of gender-based violence in schools is that many forms and incidents of violence are not recognised as gendered (Dunne, Humphreys and Leach, 2003). Analysis of violence in schools, and elsewhere, are sometimes made without any consideration of gender as a factor (e.g. Burnett, 1998, Oshako, 1997). This might be linked to how the concepts of gender and gender-based violence are defined. When defining gender-based violence, many refer to the UN definition of Violence Against Women (USAID, 2003, Bott, Morrison and Ellsberg, 2005, Morrison and Orlando, 2004), which includes «...*any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life*» (UN General Assembly, 1993: Article 1). A weakness of this definition is that while a link is created between gender-based violence and violence against women, it leaves unanswered what defines an act as gender-based (Vetten and Bhana, 2001). Gender is implicitly equated with women, as gender-based violence is equated with violence against women. This might be part of the reason why school violence and gender-based violence in schools are often discussed separately. However, the theory of masculinity discussed above suggests that all acts of violence are in essence gender-based and are inextricably linked to gender-power relations, whether it occurs between men and women, between men or between women (Morrell, 2002, Vetten and Bhana, 2001)

While the challenges of defining gender-based violence are acknowledged, a tentative definition is suggested for this study as "*all forms of violence targeting victims on the basis of gender roles traditionally assigned to their sex*" (USAID, 2003:2). It can be physical, sexual, emotional and/or economic in form (Morrison and Orlando, 2004). These are overlapping and not mutually exclusive categories. While this definition does not imply a particular focus on violence against women or girls, the literature review is likely to contain more information on gender-based violence in school as it affect girls as research suggests that girls are more at risk of sexual violence as children, adolescents and adults (Bott, Morrision and Ellsberg, 2005), and of violence in intimate relationships, than boys (Wood, Maforah and Jewkes, 1996; Wood and Jewkes, 1998). Violence against girls in schools has also been the main focus of research on gender-based violence in South Africa (e.g. Human Rights Watch, 2001, Brookes and Richter, 2001) and elsewhere in sub-Saharan Africa (Shumba, 2004). It is clear that gender-based violence experienced by boys is not well researched in this region, and might be comparatively under-reported due to myths of masculinity and taboos surrounding it (Shumba, 2004).

2.3 Gender-Based Violence in Schools: Impacts on Development

Adopting Sen's (1999) definition of development, as a process of expanding the real freedoms people enjoy, gender-based violence in schools represents a major barrier to achieving the goal of development. Gender-based violence is not only a major source of unfreedom in and of itself, but in the educational context it also prevents schools from being the capacity builders they potentially could be. While education can be a source of freedom and an instrument for enhancing people's capabilities, experiences of harassment and violence in school will limit rather than expand the freedoms enjoyed by the victims, and can result in lost educational opportunities as well as reduced personal health and well-being. To use the language of Øyen (2002); if gender-based violence is not attended to, schools might end up acting as poverty producing rather than poverty reducing forces.

The following section will discuss impacts of school-related gender based violence on the development process in terms of education attainment and public health.

2.3.1 Educational Attainment

When gender-based violence is allowed to prevail in schools it constitutes a potentially significant barrier to good educational outcomes. For instance, victims of gender-based violence have often been found to change school or stop attending due to fear of continued abuse, particularly when perpetrators are allowed to stay on. In a study on the impact of gendered school experiences on retention and achievements in Botswana and Ghana, Dunne et al (2005) found that gender-based violence, such as sexual intimidation, verbal abuse and physical assault, contributed significantly to the irregular attendance and underachievement of girls. A survey conducted in Botswana found that 11 percent of the girls in the sample were seriously considering dropping out of school because of continuous harassment by educators (Rossetti, 2001). In South Africa, reports of declining school performance and school drop outs are common among girls experiencing sexual violence in school, as documented by Human Rights Watch (2001). If a victim of sexual abuse is not leaving school because of the trauma experienced, chances are that she will be excluded if pregnancy has occurred. Exclusions due to pregnancy are still practiced in many schools, even though it is illegal according to South African law.

Pregnancy has been identified as the main reason why female learners in South Africa drop out of school, accounting for more than one third (38 %) of female drop outs (Hunter and May, 2002:16). This is exceptionally high compared to other countries on the African continent. For instance, the proportion of female drop outs due to pregnancy has been estimated to be 5 % in Kenya (Mensch, Clark, Lloyd and Erulkar, 1999:36), and only 1 % in Niger (Lloyd and Mensch, 2006:10). Evidence also suggests that school drop outs in South Africa more frequently identify sexual harassment as a problem at school than non-drop-outs (Hunter and May, 2002:16). These findings indicate that gender-based violence might contribute to high levels of drop outs in South African schools.

While the educational gender gap in most African countries has been well documented (Boyle, Brock, Mace and Sibbons, 2002), the situation in South Africa is not equally clear. It has been argued that South Africa follows the Latin American pattern, with high enrolment up to grade two followed by high drop out rates thereafter, as opposed to the pattern of low enrolment levels in other sub-Saharan African countries (Hunter and May, 2002). Using the 1995 October Household Survey, Anderson, Case

and Lam (2001) found the racial gap in South African education outcomes to persist, while the gender gap was insignificant. However, in the study of Transition to Adulthood among Adolescents conducted in Durban, South Africa, it was found that girls are more likely to drop out of school than boys, with 18 % of female as opposed to 14 % of male learners reporting such an experience (Hunter and May, 2002:15).

Research suggests that boys as well as girls are victims of harassment and violence in school, with similar negative educational consequences (e.g. Lee et al, 1996), and South Africa is unlikely to be an exception. It is also important to keep in mind that violence can be disruptive for both victims and perpetrators (Connell, 1996; Morrell, 2002). Engaging in violence can have a range of negative effects, on educational achievements as well as in other areas of life, and can be a symptom of other social problems. Like victims, perpetrators of violence have been found to drop out or have poor academic records, and the links between violence and substance abuse are strong (Matthews, Grigg and Caine, 1999). The 97 % male prison population in South Africa (Morrell, 2002:39) illustrates well both the gendered nature of aggressive behaviour, and the impact of being the perpetrator. Hence, both victims and perpetrators might be affected negatively by peer violence in school.

When gender-based violence is tolerated and not addressed adequately, the school as an institution will suffer (Mirsky, 2003). Not only will the gendered environment place severe restrictions on learner educational choices, their movements and opportunities to contribute, and therefore on institutional performance, but it fosters a corrupt institutional culture lacking in accountability and transparency.

2.3.2 Public Health

Gender-based violence is also a significant public health issue, with both mental and physical health consequences (Heise, Raikes, Watts and Zwi, 1994). Child sexual abuse can lead to the internalisation of a confused and negative self-image, combined with feelings of guilt and powerlessness (Potgieter, 2000). Collings (1997a) conducted a study exploring the prevalence, characteristics and long-term effects of child sexual abuse among a group of 640 South African university women, using a retrospective questionnaire approach. More than one third of the respondents (34.8%) had experienced child sexual abuse, and through a number of tests it was established that this had a significant impact on their present level of functioning. Compared to non-abused subjects in the sample, the abused subjects showed significantly elevated scores on the Brief Symptom Inventory, the Sexual Conflict Scale and the Suicidal Feelings Rating Inventory, while their scores on the Self-Esteem Scale were significantly lower.

Experiences of abuse can impact negatively on physical functioning, with implications both for personal well-being and for productivity in society. Compared to non-abused adults, those who have experienced childhood abuse are more likely to report an overall lower health status and to use health services more frequently (Springer, Sheridan, Kuo and Carnes, 2003). More days in bed, and greater odds of being confined to bed or restricted in normal activities, are also associated with a history of abuse. Childhood abuse has been associated with a range of psychological and somatic symptoms, as well as psychiatric and medical diagnoses such as depression, anxiety disorders, eating disorders, post-traumatic stress disorder, chronic pain syndrome and irritable bowel syndrome (Springer et al, 2003:864). Also, compared with non-abused adults, those

experiencing childhood abuse are more prone to engage in high-risk health behaviours including smoking, alcohol and drug use, and unsafe sex. In a national cross sectional study of views on sexual violence and risk of HIV/AIDS among South African school pupils, a history of forced sex was found to increase the likelihood of holding views that would put them at high risk of HIV infection, for example the belief that sex with a virgin will cure HIV/AIDS and that condoms cannot protect against HIV infections (Andersson et al, 2004).

Assuming that the education sector can positively influence sexual behaviour and reproductive health among learners through sex education, it has increasingly been seen as an important part of the solution to the HIV/AIDS crisis (Haregreaves and Boler, 2006; USAID, 2003). However, research conducted in Kenya on premarital sex and school drop-out has indicated that the impact of education on sexual behaviour depends on the gender climate in school. Only when schools have gender-friendly educators and a gender-neutral atmosphere, in combination with a supportive home-environment with female role models, does education reduce early sexual activity, and among girls only (Mensch et al, 1999). On the other hand, schools characterised by considerable pressure to engage in sexual activity were found to be associated with higher levels of premarital sexual behaviour among girls. The gender climate of the school environment was also found to impact on the likelihood of sexually active boys using contraceptives. Hence, the capacity of schools to improve reproductive health, instil norms of safe sexual behaviour and reduce HIV/AIDS is dependent on a gender neutral or gender friendly school climate. If these findings made by Mensch et al (1999) are valid in South Africa, the high level of teenage pregnancy and consequent school drop outs in South Africa discussed earlier, could indicate that schools have not provided the kind of gender neutral environment that would reduce early sexual behaviour among female learners.

It has been suggested that educators are particularly at risk of HIV infection due to high mobility, spouse separation and high socio-economic status which enables them to engage in transactional sex and 'sugar daddy' relationships with young girls (Bennell, Hyde and Swainson, 2002). Evidence of transactional sexual relations between educators and learners in South Africa is available (Human Rights Watch, 2001), and presents the possibility of HIV/AIDS being spread in this manner. Associations have been found between education and levels of coercive sex, transactional sex, cross-generational relationships and men engaging in commercial sex (Hargreaves and Boler, 2006:28). However, the directions of these relationships are not clear, as different studies have shown different results. The findings made by Mensh et al (1999) might suggest that the nature of the relationship between education and these sexual practices depends on the gender climate and practices in schools. However, more research would be needed to establish such a relationship.

In sum, different forms of abuse can result in mental health problems and reduced physical functioning with severe impacts on well-being and ability to live productive lives. Evidence also suggests that unsupportive gender climates and/or experiences of gender-based violence in schools can increase likelihood of early sexual debut and of engaging in high-risk health behaviours, including unsafe sex. Gender-based violence in schools can therefore jeopardise the health benefits that are assumed to derive from education in terms of reduced fertility and HIV/AIDS rates. With a relatively high rate of teenage pregnancy, and one of the highest

HIV/AIDS prevalence rates in the world, South Africa can not afford to ignore the possibility that the education system could be aggravating rather than reducing these problems.

2.4 Increase in Society-Wide Gender-Based Violence

Both girls and boys learn patterns of behaviour from the gender relations played out in the school environment. A study conducted in Zimbabwe found that the special attention awarded to some female students by male educators created resentment among the other students, and that male students took after their male educators in making advances towards female students (Leach, Machakanja and Mandonga, 2000). Similar dynamics in the classroom were found in a study commissioned by UNICEF and conducted in seven African countries[2] (Pattman and Chege, 2003a:155). The boys perceived the sexualisation of girls by male educators, and the resulting special treatment in terms of marks, exam leakages and lenient punishment, as favouritism, while they also identified with the educators as males with uncontrollable sex drives, and understood what they were 'going through'. Hence, a socialisation process is taking place in the school, where boys are learning to 'be men' from the conduct of the male educator, while girls are learning to 'be women' in interaction with him (Leach, 2003). This will have a major influence on how gender identities and relations evolve among the learners, a process which in some cases means learning to be violent and to accept violence. Individual experiences of victimisation and violence will have cumulative effects on society at large to the detriment of socio-economic development both on household and national level.

Experiences of gender-based violence have been found to foster new abusers. From a psychological perspective, the correlation between abuse and subsequent abusiveness is supported by the positive relationship found between childhood abuse and adult depression, aggression, hostility, and anger (Springer et al, 2003). In a national cross sectional study conducted among South African school pupils by Anderson et al (2004), 11 % of males and 4 % of females claimed to have forced sex on someone else. 66 % of these males and 71 % of these females had personally experienced forced sex. In the USA, Lee et al (1996) made similar findings in relation to harassing behaviour in school. Nearly three quarters of those who had been victims of harassment, also admitted to have been a perpetrator at least once in their school-going life. Similar proportions (53 %) of girls and boys had been both perpetrators and victims of harassment. These findings suggests that gender-based violence in schools can be a factor contributing to increased society-wide violence, through learnt behavioural patterns and personal experiences of violence.

In South Africa, the idea of education contributing to the perpetuation of violence has serious implications, as the current level of violence is high. Although many efforts have been made to measure the level of gender-based violence in South Africa, reliable numbers are not available (Hirschowitz, Worku and Orkin, 2000; Jewkes et al, 1999). However, research suggests that violence against women and in intimate relationships is common. A cross-sectional study conducted in three provinces found that 26.8 % of women in Eastern Cape, 28.4 % of women in Mpumalanga and 19.1 % of women inn Northern Province had been physically abused in their lifetimes by a current or ex-partner (Jewkes et

---

2 Kenya, Tanzania, Rwanda, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Botswana and South Africa

al, 1999). In a random sample of 1394 male workers in Cape Town, approximately 44 % reported to have physically and/or sexually abused their female partners within the last 10 years (Abrahams, Jewkes and Laubsher, 1999). However, 74 % of those interviewed agreed that it was acceptable to hit a woman in certain circumstances, a finding which suggest that the self-reported prevalence of abusive behaviour might have underestimated the actual prevalence of abusive behaviour in this group of men. According to the South African Police Service (SAPS), 55 114 rapes were reported from April 2004 to March 2005 (South African Police Service, 2006). Allegedly, 22 486 of these rape cases were perpetrated against children (Adams, 2006[3]). Hence, about 40 % of reported rape cases happened to children, which is consistent with rape statistics in the mid 1990s (Jewkes and Abrahams, 2002:1233). This is equivalent to the proportion of the population below 18 years of age. However, research suggest that most rapes are of girls over the age of 9, in which case teenagers are at a higher risk of rape than the overall population. Many cases of rape are never reported to the police (Jewkes and Abrahams, 2002:1232)

The high prevalence of violence in intimate relationships in South Africa, particularly among adolescents, has been confirmed by findings made in qualitative studies. Wood, Maforah and Jewkes (1996) and Wood and Jewkes (1998) have described a situation in which violence is seen by adolescent women and men as a normal, and even necessary, part of dating relationships. This normalisation of violence reflects the high prevalence of interpersonal violence in overall society, among parents, neighbours, community leaders and in schools, and indicates that intimate partner violence is not recognised as a 'crime'. Hence, the prevalence of gender-based violence in South Africa is high, to the extent that it is regarded as a normal part of gender interaction.

2.4.1 Gender-Based Violence and Socio-Economic Development

Several attempts have been made to measure the costs of gender-based violence to households and to society, although mainly in developed countries (Duvvury, Grown and Redner, 2004; Morrison and Orlando, 2004). Conducting similar measurement exercises in developing countries have proved to be more of a challenge since costs are often not captured in public sector expenses, such as health services, but are carried by individuals and households. The typology of possible costs from crime and violence in Table 2.1 (overleaf) gives an idea of aspects that must be considered. Some of these costs have already been discussed as possible immediate effects of gender-based violence in schools, such as reduced educational attainment, reduced quality of life and mental and physical health problems. Others might only be evident later in life, such as mental disorders, reduced labour market participation and job productivity as well as increased absenteeism.

No comprehensive attempt has been made to measure costs of gender-based violence in South Africa. However, the three provinces study conducted by Jewkes et al (1999) provides information on some of the costs inflicted by gender-based violence. The extent to which gender-based violence creates direct monetary costs in terms of medical expenses was assessed by measuring the proportion of abused women in the sample who were injured and sought medical attention in the previous

---

[3] This number is taken from a newspaper article, and could not be confirmed by SAPS rape statistics as they do not provide this sort of breakdown.

year: 34.5 % of those abused were injured in the Eastern Cape, and 91.7 % of these sought medical attention; 48 % were injured in Mpumalanga, and 62.5 % of these sought medical attention; 60 % were injured in Northern Province, and 91.7 % of these sought medical attention. Impacts of gender-based violence in terms of the economic multiplier effects created by lost working days were also measured: 96 751 days in the Eastern Cape, 178 929 days in Mpumalanga and 197 392 days in Northern Province were lost from employment in formal and informal sectors due to gender-based violence.

Table 2.1 Socio-Economic Costs of Violence: A typology

Direct monetary costs	Value of goods and services used in treating or preventing violence: • Police • Criminal justice system • Medical • Psychological counselling • Damage to physical infrastructure (housing etc.) • Social services
Non-monetary costs	Pain and suffering: • Increased morbidity • Increased mortality via homicide and suicide • Abuse of alcohol and drugs • Depressive disorders
Economic multiplier effects	Macroeconomic, labour market, intergenerational productivity effects: • Decreased labour market participation • Reduced productivity on the job • Lower earnings • Increased absenteeism • Intergenerational productivity impacts via grade repetition and lower educational attainment of children • Decreased investment and savings • Capital flight • Decreased tourism • Decreased government revenue • Impact on policy-making by distorting government spending
Social multiplier effects	Impact on interpersonal relations and quality of life: • Intergenerational transmission of violence • Erosion of human capital • Erosion of social capital and the social fabric • Reduced quality of life • Erosion of state's credibility • Reduced participation in democratic process

Source: Morrison, Buvinic and Shifter (2003), quoted in Heinemann and Verner (2006)

While this study documents relatively immediate costs of abuse, the studies by Springer et al (2003) and Collings (1997) discussed earlier, which documented the effects of child sexual abuse on adult physical functioning, suggests that abuse early in life also can give long-term costs to individual, household and society.

Violence has been found to affect poor people more severely than others by eroding limited available assets such as labour, human and social capital, household relations and productive assets such as housing (see Table 2.2) (Moser, 1996). Childhood and adolescence are formative years and critical stages for the accumulation of these assets.

Table 2.2 Asset-Vulnerability and Violence

Violence erodes:
- *Labour* as an asset when it limits access to jobs;
- *Human Capital* as an asset when it limits access to education and health facilities by both users and providers;
- *Social Capital* as an asset when it reduces trust and cooperation between community-level social organisations;
- *Household relations* as an asset when it limits the capacity of households to function effectively as a unit;
- *Productive assets* when it destroys housing – the urban poor's most productive asset.

Source: Moser and Van Bronkhorst (1999)

In South Africa, it has been argued that the cycle of violence is indistinguishable from the cycle of poverty (Aliber, 2001). In fact, evidence suggests that a poor person is 80 times more likely to be injured or killed than a wealthy person (Aliber, 2001: 29). Hence, while violence imposes significant costs on society as a whole, it seems to affect poor people and households more severely and more often. The aggregate costs of gender-based violence to society are high, and there is a need for schools to play an active role in mitigating this problem, particularly in poor communities where violence is highest.

2.5 Conclusion

Research suggest that gender-based violence is significant in certain school environments, with severe consequences in terms of educational outcomes, and with possible adverse consequences in terms of public health, both mental and physical, and in terms of increased level of violence in overall society. The socioeconomic costs imposed by gender-based violence are substantial, and must be considered a significant obstacle to development progress, particularly as violence affects poor people disproportionately by eroding their already limited assets and livelihoods. In South Africa, the cycles of violence and poverty seems to be indistinguishable. Schools could contribute to break these interlinked cycles, but only if gender-based violence is addressed adequately within their premises.

3 Gender-Based Violence in South African Schools: the Role of Educators

This chapter attempts to assess the nature of gender-based violence in South African schools, in terms of perpetrators and victims, the forms of violence that occur, and the nature of reporting and response. It further seeks to establish why certain schools have higher levels of violence than others. Educators are found to have a central role to play in shaping the level and nature of gender-based violence and the gender-climate in schools. However, they seem to vary considerably in how they perform this role. Existing research on the level of awareness and understanding of gender-based violence among educators is explored. These findings form the basis for the study of awareness and understanding among student teachers.

3.1   Assessment of the Problem

The South African Gender Equity Task Team (GETT) put a spotlight on violence against schoolgirls as a major barrier towards gender equity in their 1997 report (Wolpe, Quinlan and Martinez, 1997). Although research on the problem of gender-based violence in South African schools started recently, the problem is not new. In South Africa, schools have been sites of violence for generations. In the 1970s and 1980s, schools became contested ground in the struggle against apartheid and its discriminatory education system, and violence was prevalent in schools as a result (Fiske and Ladd, 2004). This period is often portrayed as being characterised by violence inflicted by an entity outside of the school, the apartheid government, and violent retaliation from those oppressed by it. However, available evidence suggests that schools were places of internal violence long before the 1976 uprising, even with limited interference from the apartheid government. Niehaus (2000) has through ethnographic research documented how masculine sexuality featured as a political issue in the liberation struggle mobilised around a group of South African lowveld schools. The starting point of his analysis is the repressive regime and double standards on issues of sexuality in local primary and high schools during the period of Bantu Education from 1953 to 1986. While all forms of sexuality between students were strictly prohibited and punished, male educators freely engaged in sexual relations with schoolgirls. He argues that the revolts organised by political activists in these schools between 1986 and 1992 were partly motivated by discontent about sexuality. Learners involved in anti-apartheid social movements challenged the leadership of schools, for instance creating a ban on corporal punishment. They expelled educators known to have sexual relations with schoolgirls, but simultaneously used their newly acquired position of power to demand sex from girls in the area and justified rape by asserting the need to give birth to new soldiers. Throughout this intergenerational contestation of appropriate expressions of masculine sexuality, which has continued in new guises up until today, male power was realised largely through the silencing of women and the subordination of women's bodies (Niehaus, 2000:390). Hence, while the years of apartheid struggle might have allowed violence in schools to flourish, it seems likely that schools have long been sites for gender-based violence.

3.1.1 Perpetrators and Victims

While the extent of violence in schools has not been adequately documented, further investigations made after the GETT report have contributed to a better understanding of what is going on in schools. In March and April 2000, Human Rights Watch (2001) investigated cases of sexual violence reported by schoolgirls to South African NGOs in three provinces; KwaZulu-Natal, Gauteng and the Western Cape. They documented cases of rape, assault and sexual harassment of girls perpetrated by both educators and male students. The involvement of both learners and educators in cases of gender-based violence has been confirmed by other studies (e.g. Brookes and Richter, 2001, Abrahams, Mathews and Ramela, 2006).

Research suggests that for victims, harassment and violence from educators are more upsetting and have more severe consequences than that perpetrated by schoolboys. Abrahams, Mathews and Ramela (2006) conducted a number of focus groups with schoolgirls while investigating their perceptions and negotiation of dangers and risk associated with the use of toilet facilities in schools, and found that sexual harassment by male educators was feared much more by these girls than similar behaviour from their male peers. These findings are consistent with those of studies conducted in the USA (Lee et al, 1996) and in the Netherlands (Timmerman, 2002). In the Netherlands, harassment from educators were found to be less verbal in nature, more physical or a combination of different sorts of behaviour, and were more often directed at girls (Timmerman, 2002). Hence, differences in harassing behaviour could be one reason why harassment from educators is experienced as more upsetting than from peers. However, educators are not only in a position of power and authority, but also of trust, relative to the learners, which creates a different dynamic than between peers (Dunne, Humphrey and Leach, 2003). It can be argued that educators act as 'in locus parentis' to the learners, and sexual behaviour from educators towards learners might therefore be expected to take on similar dynamics as those experienced in cases of incest (Shumba, 2001).

It is worth noticing that the concept of paedophilia has rarely, if ever, been brought up in Southern African literature on gender-based violence perpetrated by educators in schools. Paedophiles are sexually attracted to children, and can be contrasted with romantic or bad judgement abusers (Shakeshaft and Cohan, 1995). Many choose to work in schools in order to be close to children, and their victims tend to be young learners in primary school. Romantic/bad judgement abusers, which have been the main focus of research on school-related gender-based violence in Southern Africa, are not after sex with children as such, but seek older learners in secondary and high school as sexual partners. Awareness of this distinction could be useful when designing prevention and intervention strategies.

Although gender-based violence from educators may have more serious consequences, schoolgirls are more at risk of being sexually assaulted by classmates than by educators (Human Rights Watch, 2001:48). This finding is supported by other studies conducted in the region (e.g. Brookes and Richter, 2001; Leach, Machakanja and Mandonga, 2000). Girls have been attacked by peers during class breaks, in toilet facilities, in empty classrooms and hallways, in hostels and dormitories, and other remote areas of the school (Human Rights Watch, 2001:49). More often than not these boys are found to operate in groups of two or more. This tendency has been reflected most grotesquely in the practice of *jackrolling*

(gang-rape), which have emerged as a subculture of violence in some township youth gangs (Mokwena, 1991). Gender-based violence is often found within adolescent dating relationships, inside and outside of school, and might be used as a tool to 'police' the boundaries of gender relations and to punish transgressions (Wood, Maforah and Jewkes, 1996; Wood and Jewkes, 1998; Human Rights Watch, 2001). Hence, girls who are perceived as too assertive or arrogant, such as prefects, student leaders or girls who succeed in school, are often targeted for assault or threatened with violence.

In addition to the violent elements within the school premise, learners often experience violence within school coming from outside, and violence in transit to and from school (Brookes and Richter, 2001:26). High schools in particular seem to be focal points for gangs and out-of-school youth in the community, who gather at the school gates and pose a threat to learners as they leave school or stay on for extra-curricular activities or extra lessons after the gates are opened. During the writing of this dissertation there were numerous accounts of gangs attacking schools in the news media (Dolley, 2006; Serrao, 2007; Andrew, 2007). Learners also experience verbal, physical and sexual harassment travelling to and from school, including threats of rape, particularly those who walk long distances or use taxis (Human Rights Watch, 2001).

3.1.2 Forms of Gender-Based Violence

Researchers have found ample evidence that rape is a major problem in South African schools. According to the Demographics and Health Survey 1998, 32.8 % of rape victims who specified their relationship to the perpetrator identified their educator or principal as the offender (Department of Health and Medical Research Council, 1998). In a study of ten child rape cases, Lewis (1997, cited in Matthew, Griggs and Caine, 1999:9) also found a high proportion of school-related incidents. Five out of the ten rape cases investigated happened on the school ground, three happened on the way to school, and two were raped by neighbours. The personal accounts of school-related rapes collected by Human Rights Watch (2001) have contributed to a better understanding of how these acts of violence could take place in schools. Victims revealed how educators used their teaching position to create situations of alone-time with learners, for instance in their own homes or in empty classrooms (Human Rights Watch, 2001: 37-41). These situations have allowed educators to proposition and even rape or sexually coerce learners, often through the use of threats or tricks. Demands of sexual favours and the subsequent silencing of learners have been reinforced by threats of physical violence (Human Rights Watch, 2001: 42) or failed classes (Human Rights Watch, 2001: 46). Educators are also reported to have negotiated sexual favours from learners by offering better marks or money in exchange. Poverty and prospects of financial gain have motivated some learners to actively initiate sexual relationships with educators, who are financially stronger than their families. Parents sometimes encourage these relationships, or agree not to press charges against the educator, due to hope or promise of financial benefits (Human Rights Watch, 2001: 45). Even though the educator is clearly taking advantage of the economic vulnerability of the learner and their families upon entering such a relationship, the elements of transaction blurs the lines between coercion and consent, and seems to create confusion on questions of acceptability and obligation to report. The same is true when an educator plays on the emotions that a learner may nurture towards him or her to gain sexual access (Human Rights Watch, 2001: 42-43).

Although the line between coercion and consent may not always be clear, it is in many ways irrelevant in an educational context. This is both because an adult having sexual intercourse with a girl under the age of 16 is guilty of statutory rape whether it is with or without her consent (Education Rights Project, 2005), and because educators working in a professional capacity with learners, regardless of age, are exploiting their position of authority and of trust by transgressing these boundaries (Dunne, Humphreys and Leach, 2003). Significantly, in South Africa, any educator getting involved in a sexual relationship with a learner is guilty of a disciplinary offence. The Employment of Educators Act (Government of South Africa, 1998) was amended in 2000 (Government of South Africa, 2000b), with a new section on serious misconduct. The amended Act stipulates that an educator must be dismissed if found guilty of committing sexual assault on any person in school, or of having a sexual relationship with a learner where he or she is employed. This law leaves no room for discussions of consent or coercion[4].

While rape and other forms of sexual assault may be among the more severe forms of gender-based violence, physical and verbal harassment or bullying are most prevalent, starting from first grade and continuing through high school (Brookes and Richter, 2001:24). At the earliest stages, physical violence between learners tends to be in the form of pushing, pulling and hitting, while verbally they would resort to swearing. Many learners may respond to conflict with aggression. More serious forms of violence such as stabbings and beatings resulting in injury are also common in primary school. As learners grow older the sexual element of harassment becomes stronger. In a study of HIV among South African children,40.3 % of children aged 12 to 14 reported that boys sexually harass girls by touching, threatening and making rude remarks (Brookes, Shisana and Richter, 2004:32). Boys express a sense of entitlement over females and their bodies, and as they enter grades 5, 6 and 7, this translates into physical forms of sexual harassment such as touching of girls' breasts and private parts as well as forced kissing, and non-physical forms such as voyeurism and sexual remarks (Brookes and Richter, 2001:25). However, other research suggest that harassment might have sexual undertones even before school-going age, as children are aware of issues around gender and sexuality, and can negotiate relations of power and resistance using sexual references from a very early age (Walkerdine, 1991:4-6). This finding has implications for the timing of interventions in schools.

Incidents of sexual harassment have been reported to occur in the classroom, in full view of educators, who might turn a blind eye (Human Rights Watch, 2001). Educators are also referred to as accomplices and initiators of sexual comments, jokes and gestures (Human Rights Watch, 2001: 57). Girls report that educators sexually proposition them and make sexually explicit and degrading comments about them in class (Human Rights Watch, 2001: 43). In a study of HIV among children, 15 % of participants aged 12 to 14 reported that male educators propose relationships with female learners (Brookes, Shisana and Richter, 2004:32).

Like learners, educators in many schools, both at primary and high school level, use physical violence and threats to maintain discipline and solve conflicts (Brookes and Richter, 2001:24), despite the fact that

---

[4] The content of the laws discussed in this paper might not coincide with current belief systems in South Africa, which might also result in differences in the interpretation or understanding of them.

corporal punishment is illegal according to the South African Schools Act of 1996 (Government of South Africa, 1996b). The forms of corporal punishment can range from taps on the head to beatings with canes. Verbal abuse is also used frequently as a disciplinary measure. The gendered nature of corporal punishment will be discussed further later.

3.1.3 Reporting and Response

In order to change this pattern of gender-based violence in schools, incidents that are detected or reported must be dealt with adequately. There is a two-way relationship between school response to cases of gender-based violence and reporting of incidents by learners. Willingness to report depends on school response, but ability to respond is also dependent upon reporting. Educators are obliged by the Child Care Act of 1983[5] to immediately report any suspicion that a child is ill-treated to the Director-General or any officer designated by him or her (Government of South Africa, 1983). However, the Human Rights Watch (2001) have found the response in South African schools to be variable.

Brookes and Richter (2001:30) have identified three major factors that act as barriers to reporting among learners in certain school environments. Firstly, reporting of gender-based violence is low where educators give unclear messages about what is socially unacceptable behaviour, where gender-based violence is not taken seriously, or where victims are blamed. When victims worry about being believed, being taken seriously or that their own reputations might be affected, reporting might be seen as futile. For instance, Human Rights Watch (2001:75) found cases where the perpetrators version of 'playing' and 'joking' were accepted, rather than the victims version of attack, and therefore no disciplinary action was taken. The problem of not being believed or taken seriously seems to be particularly pertinent if the alleged abuser is an educator or a principal. One educator, for instance, avoided accusations of sexual abuse by simply responding that the learner had a crush on him (Human Rights Watch, 2001: 77). Hence, reluctance to report might very well be based on own or others experiences of inadequate responses from school authorities, which is dependent on the attitudes and beliefs held by staff members.

Secondly, reporting is low where learners do not trust educators to keep reports confidential (Brookes and Richter, 2001). With lack of trust in confidentiality, fear of what consequences reporting might have weighs heavy on the decision to take action. Some girls have received threats of physical violence from their offender and, due to a lack of trust in school authorities, are effectively forced to stay silent (Human Rights Watch, 2001:71-73). Others have not been threatened as such, but are all the same afraid of retaliation if the case comes out. If they cannot rely on confidentiality, victims might also fear ridicule, vicious rumours in school, lack of support and negative reactions from peers when they report.

Thirdly, reporting is low where educators and school management are inconsistent in their responses, provide inadequate support for the victims or do not follow through with punishment of the perpetrators (Brookes and Richter, 2001). In many cases the punishment is not proportionate to the seriousness of the attack. Human Rights Watch (2001:75) found cases in which learners who had attempted rape were back in the same classroom as their victim after a three day suspension, and of boys beating up girls who were simply asked to stop and return to

---

[5] For South African laws relevant to gender-based violence in schools, see Appendix 1.

class. School officials also appear to respond differently, depending on whether the alleged abuser is a learner or an educator and on whether it happens inside or outside the school (Human Rights Watch, 2001:80-84). Support for the victim is generally more easily available if the accused is an outsider, although school officials might avoid getting involved in cases of gang-violence and learners carrying weapons due to fear for their own safety. When someone within the school is accused, however, school officials might try to keep the problem within the school community. Learners and parents have sometimes been asked to wait for the school to take action, only to find that nothing happens (Human Rights Watch, 2001). In the meantime the accused employee, or learner, might be silently transferred to another school or the parents of the victims might be paid off. In some cases no effort is made to separate an alleged perpetrator from his or her victim unless in the unlikely case of a criminal conviction. Hence, many learners who report abuse end up being disbelieved, ostracised, ridiculed and even rejected by the school community rather than supported and cared for, while the perpetrator goes free. Higson-Smith found that in less than 10 % of cases reported by schools to the police did the principal or educators later learn whether investigations had been initiated or assistance had been provided to child (Brookes and Higson-Smith, 2004). The limited follow up of cases was due to neglect from both the schools and the child protection services.

The discussion of school response to gender-based violence, and its impact on learner willingness to report, begins to paint a picture of why gender-based violence is allowed to persist in certain schools. It becomes evident that school response to cases reported by learners is central, and strongly related to what attitudes and beliefs the school staff holds about gender and gender-based violence, as well as their knowledge of the legal framework that applies in these situations. Currently, there is no national policy stipulating how to address gender-based violence in schools. The absence of such a policy is a weakness in the government response to this problem and leaves it up to the judgement of educators how to respond when cases of gender-based violence occur. The response in schools will therefore vary considerably. The following section turns to focus on the differing characteristics of schools with high levels of violence compared to those with low levels of violence.

3.2 Why are certain schools more violent than others?

A presidential project was officially launched in 1996 aiming to resuscitate a *Culture of Learning, Teaching and Service* (COLTS) in schools (Chisholm and Vally, 1996). This project was launched due to a concern that there had been a breakdown of learning and teaching in many South African schools. The breakdown was ascribed to the conditions in schools over the past 50 years, starting with the passing of the Bantu Education Act, and through to the violent meeting between the apartheid state and those opposing it from 1976 onwards. Schools where learning and teaching was not taking place during this period were found to be characterised by "...*unprepared educators, educator despondency, late-coming, absenteeism (resulting in the loss of teaching and learning), abuse and violence becoming the norm rather than the exception*" (Rampa, 2004:16). Hence, the COLTS team found a correlation between low educator morale and violence. Research conducted under COLTS also found that certain schools had managed to largely eradicate violence from the school environment, even if situated in violent communities (Christie and Potterton, 1997). These findings suggest that school staff have

considerable influence both in shaping the school environment and in preventing further entrenchment of violent cultures through education.

Without any reference being made to COLTS, a HSRC research team found a similar correlation between management of the school environment and gender-based violence (Brookes and Richter, 2001). Case studies were conducted in four different socio-cultural contexts; a black township in Gauteng, a black rural settlement in KwaZulu-Natal, a coloured township on the Cape Flats, and former white urban suburbs in Gauteng. One primary and one high school in each socio-economic context were selected, eight all together, and in order to get an impression of the average school experiences, these were neither the 'best' nor the 'worst' schools in the area. The Gauteng and Cape Flat township schools, as well as the rural schools, were catering for communities characterised by high levels of poverty and unemployment, while the suburban former model C[6] schools catered for learners from a variety of middle to low income communities (Brookes and Richter, 2001: 19). Violent crime was a problem in all four contexts, but interpersonal violence appeared to be higher in the townships and the rural communities, than in the communities from which the former model C schools drew learners. The study found gender-based violence to be common in these schools, but the level of violence was significantly lower in the former model C schools (Brookes and Richter, 2001: 27).

The HSRC team identified four key factors determining the nature and level of gender-based violence in schools. These were:

- [educators] understanding of, and attitudes towards, gender-based violence;
- [educators] levels of acknowledgement of gender-based violence and;
- the degree to which schools have acted on this acknowledgement by creating policies and implementing preventative measures;
- and, with emphasis, general school climate or culture (Brookes and Higson-Smith, 2004:114)

High levels of gender-based violence were found in schools where random physical violence was used as a form of discipline; where educators did not take responsibility for discipline, particularly with respect to monitoring learners and addressing misconduct; where punitive measures were used in general, or rules were applied inconsistently; where educators came late and often did not attend class; and where a culture of male entitlement to leadership prevailed, together with a highly distinct subculture of male educators disassociating themselves from female educators (Brookes and Higson-Smith, 2004:120).

Schools with low levels of violence were found to be characterised by "...*zero tolerance for any form of violent behaviour, close monitoring of learners, unified and consistent application of rules, and emphasis on the core values of respect*" (Brookes and Higson-Smith, 2004:120). These schools were not found to address gender relations or gender-based violence at any length in their curriculum or through specific interventions, but the overall school 'climate' or 'culture' seemed to prevent gender-based violence from thriving.

---

[6] Model C schools were part of a transition system at the end of apartheid. Since virtually all former white schools was converted into this model, it came to be synonymous with former white schools (Fiske and Ladd, 2004:51)

Brookes and Higson-Smith (2004) have emphasised school culture as an explanatory factor, building on Welsch's theory of school climate, defined as *"...the unwritten beliefs, values and attitudes that become the style of interaction between students, teachers and administrators"* (Welsch, 2000:89). While school culture is brought forward as the single most important factor determining the level of violence, it is evident in this definition that educator understanding and acknowledgement of gender-based violence as a problem is a part of, and, to an extent, determines this culture. This is also recognised by Brookes and Higson-Smith who found that where sufficient numbers of educators in a school public acknowledge the problem, this leads to institutional acknowledgement. This in turn gives rise to prominent public discourse against gender-based violence and encourages reporting by children (Brookes and Higson-Smith, 2004:118-119). Specific anti-violence interventions can be significant in this context, but again, only if educators within the school environment acknowledge, and have an appropriate understanding of, gender-based violence as a problem.

The finding that levels of gender-based violence is largely a question of educator awareness and understanding of gender-based violence as a problem points a way forward. The next sections attempt to create a better understanding of what inadequacies have been identified in the awareness and understanding of gender-based violence among educators in violent school.

3.2.1 Knowledge of Legal and Policy Framework

Educator response to reports of gender-based violence from learners is dependent on their knowledge of the legal framework and of appropriate procedures for how to handle such cases. Human Rights Watch (2001:77-79) found widespread confusion and misconceptions among educators about what schools could and should do to prevent, investigate and punish gender-based violence. For instance, one educator was convinced that a perpetrator could not be touched unless the parents of the victim decided to prosecute.

Despite strong recommendations from the GETT in 1997 that a national policy be developed on sex- and gender-based harassment and violence (Wolpe, Quinlan and Martinez, 1997:227), such a policy is still not in place almost ten years later. Communication with the Department of Education[7] (DoE) reveals that a policy has been drafted but has yet to be adopted. On a provincial level, the Western Cape Education Department has published a policy document called *Abuse no more: Dealing Effectively with Child Abuse*, with guidelines on how to approach this problem as it occurs in schools (Western Cape Education Department, n.d.). Elsewhere, in the absence of a clear government policy, it is up each school to acknowledge the problem and investigate what is stipulated as appropriate action according to South African law.

The range of problems that have been associated with the lack of policy guidelines have already been noted (Human Rights Watch, 2001:77-79). National guidelines prescribing appropriate procedures in cases of gender-based violence would provide schools with a standard against which to measure their performance, and would thereby facilitate monitoring.

---

[7]William Tshabalala, (DoE representative) correspondence by e-mail 20 Feb. 2006, confirmed 20 March 2007

3.2.2 Acknowledgement of Gender-Based Violence as a Problem

Brookes and Richter (2001) found that while some educators, particularly females, were aware and very concerned about the level and nature of gender-based violence in their schools, others were reluctant to discuss the issue (Brookes and Richter, 2001). Except in former model C schools, male educators seemed to distance themselves from engaging with it, by claiming to be unaware of any such problems, directly denying that it existed or minimising the problem. In a study conducted on gender-based violence in Zimbabwean schools, the topic of sexual abuse brought out the reverse picture of male and female educators: while some male educators were willing to speak openly about the sexual behaviour of male educators in school, though only that of others, female educators were reluctant to acknowledge or talk about abuse perpetrated by their male colleagues (Leach, Machakanja and Mandonga, 2000).

When the Public Health Programme at University of the Western Cape (UWC) piloted an in-service training module for educators on the issue of gender-based violence, they found in a pre-test that only 30 % of the participants perceived schools to have an important role to play in addressing gender-based violence, relative to parents or the broader community (Dreyer, Kim and Schaay, 2001). None of the educators in this study acknowledged that sexual harassment among colleagues was a problem in their schools. However, when they were asked about personal experiences of sexual harassment after the training, 12 % of the women admitted to have experienced such harassment from a colleague.

As suggested by Brookes and Higson-Smith (2004), only with an institutional acknowledgement of gender-based violence as a problem will appropriate preventative measures, such as the drafting of a school policy, be made. The HSRC study led by Higson-Smith found that only 1 out of the 12 primary schools investigated in KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng had developed clear policies on how to handle cases of child abuse (Brookes and Higson-Smith, 2004). In both HSRC studies discussed in this report, the school policies that did exist were found to be inadequately developed, insufficiently specific in terms of guidelines or not implemented properly. This might suggest insufficient understanding of the problem among school staff, which will be discussed now.

3.2.3 Understanding of Gender-Based Violence

Brookes and Richter (2001) also investigated educator understanding of issues around gender-based violence, and found three key misunderstandings which predicted high levels of violence. First, there was confusion about whether physical and sexual violence against girls and women was completely illegitimate when it happened in a dating relationship. As in the studies conducted by Wood, Maforah and Jewkes (1996) and Wood and Jewkes (1998), intimate partner violence was seen as normal. A perception of intimate partner violence as normal might be related to educators' own experiences of abuse in intimate relationships. A questionnaire distributed among educators (Dreyer, Kim and Schaay, 2001) and student teachers (Rooth, 2002) participating in a training programme on gender-based violence in schools facilitated by the School of Public Health at UWC contained questions about personal experiences of abuse. As shown in Table 3.1, 47 % of female educators had experienced physical abuse, 31 % sexual abuse, and 69 % psychological abuse in an intimate relationship (Dreyer, Kim and Schaay, 2001).

Table 3.1 Experiences of different forms of abuse among educators and student teacher

Forms of abuse	Victims		Perpetrators	
	Female educators	Student teachers	Male educators	Student teachers
Physical abuse	47 %	26 %	25 %	17%
Sexual abuse	31 %	17 %	12 %	13 %
Psychological abuse	69 %	32 %	33 %	17 %

Source: Dreyer, Kim and Schaay, 2001; Rooth, 2002

The equivalent proportions of male educators experiencing abuse were not reported, but 25 % of them admitted to having been physically abusive, 12 % sexually abusive and 33 % emotionally abusive towards an intimate partner. The level of abuse and abusiveness experienced by student teachers was somewhat lower, probably due to difference in age, though it was still significant (Rooth, 2002). Similar experiences of abuse have been found among South African nurses (Kim and Motsei, 2002). These findings suggest that there is a need to address educators own lived experiences of being women and men, before they can contribute to addressing gender-based violence among learners. Educators who perceive violence to be normal in interpersonal relationships are likely to have higher thresholds for intervening when violence occurs.

The second point of confusion was on whether girls could be blamed for violence perpetrated against them (Brookes and Richter, 2001). Based on the common assumption that men cannot be held responsible for sexual acts because the male sexual drive is uncontrollable, women are seen to *provoke* sexual harassment and violence and are therefore to blame. In the pre-test to the pilot project conducted by Dreyer, Kim and Schaay (2001), 26 % of educators believed that women in abusive relationships often provoke their partners into beating them, for instance through disobedience, and 20 % believe that women provoke rape. Even in cases of child sexual abuse girls have been blamed for what adults are doing to them. Using Moskal's Sexual Abuse Myth Scale, Campbell and Collings (2000) examined the extent of sexual abuse myth acceptance among student teachers attending Edgewood Teacher Training College in Durban. One of the most frequently accepted myths (52.2 %) was the belief that children/adolescents should be able to stop abuse. This belief does not only ignore the impact of age and power differences between adults and children, but it leaves the brunt of responsibility to stop the abuse on the young person, rather than on the abuser. The same instrument was used among Canadian student teachers, and significantly lower levels of sexual abuse myth acceptance were found. While South African students had an average score of 15.28, the Canadian students had an average score of 6.00. Student teachers on all four levels of the Bachelor of Education (BEd) were part of the study, and no significant difference in scores was found. The study suggests that student teachers hold many myths about child sexual abuse that distorts their understanding of gender-based violence as it occurs in school. The belief that girls, and maybe also children, are to blame for their experiences of violence is among the myths that may lead to inadequate responses to cases of gender-based violence from educators.

The third point of confusion was over what could be considered socially unacceptable behaviour towards girls (Brookes and Richter, 2001). As described earlier, boys would describe as "joking' and 'playing' what girls described as 'harassment' or 'assault'. Both in the Human Rights Study (2001) and in the two HSRC studies (Brookes and Higson-Smith, 2004) educators were found to often interpret the situation as defined by boys, and would thereby accept verbal harassment, touching and beating of girls as normal play rather than harassment. Higson-Smith also found confusion about what is socially acceptable behaviour from educators towards female learners, such as the acceptability of relationships between educator and learners, and why such relationships would be unacceptable (Brookes and Higson-Smith, 2004: 115). Research suggests that gender-based violence in schools is a broader issue associated with constructions of gender and more specifically with violent masculine cultures.

3.2.4 Constructions of Gender and Gender Identities

As discussed above, Brookes and Higson-Smith (2004) found gender-based violence to be higher in schools where a subculture of male educators existed to the exclusion of female educators, in combination with a male culture of entitlement to leadership and a gendered work distribution. This indicates that the gender climate of the school might suffer when educators construct men and women as fundamentally different or opposite beings.

In a study conducted by UNICEF's Eastern and Southern African Regional Office (ESARO) in Kenya, Tanzania, Rwanda, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Botswana and South Africa (Pattman and Chege, 2003a; Pattman, 2005) the construction of boys and girls as essential opposites was an important theme that emerged in interviews with young people. Interaction between boys and girls could only signify a sexual relationship; cross gender friendships were seen as inconceivable (Pattman, 2005). Girls in particular had to be careful not to be perceived as 'too modern' through mixing with boys. Girls' feminine identities were typically constructed as non-sexual, while boys' masculine identities were constructed as hyper-sexual. Hence, girls who did not conform, by interacting with boys or wearing 'sexy clothes' (and thereby not respecting the power of the male sexual drive), were seen by girls as well as boys as inviting sexual harassment and even rape. These rigid and polarised constructions of girls' and boys' roles in interaction seem to contribute to the confusion about boundaries for socially acceptable behaviour discussed earlier. The line between coercion and consent is blurred since any expression of sexuality between boys and girls must be constructed as sexual harassment in order to preserve the girl's image. The sanctioning of interaction and communication between boys and girls, and the construction of them as opposites, creates an environment in which friendship and understanding between the sexes have limited space to develop. This acts as a barrier to the negotiation of sexual relationships and safe sexual practices, and facilitates gender-based violence.

Based on research in the UK, Francis and Skelton (2001) argue that there are qualities specific to the teaching profession that encourages male educators to construct their own masculinity as 'other' to the feminine and in line with hegemonic ideals. Firstly, the teaching profession, in Europe and increasingly in Africa, is perceived as a 'soft option' occupation for men, with female educators increasing in numbers compared to men (Francis and Skelton, 2001:12). Being aware of others attention to and scrutiny of their masculinity, male educators may seek

ways of reasserting their masculinity within a female dominated institution. One strategy has been to concentrate in the upper years, particularly in primary schools, or to seek managerial positions. Another strategy is evident in the concentration of male educators in what has traditionally been constructed as 'masculine' subjects, such as maths, science and technology, as documented by Dunne et al. in Botswana and Ghana (2005:17). This pattern is also reflected in the subject choices made by learners. In the classroom, educators can use their relations with pupils to confirm their own masculinity, by positioning themselves as 'one of the lads' and/or as 'other' to girls and all things feminine, often by displaying homophobic and misogynistic attitudes and behaviours (Francis and Skelton, 2001). Hence, the tendency of male educators to sexually harass and pursue female learners can also be seen as a way of constructing their own heterosexual masculine identity.

A second reason why male educators are particularly keen to construct themselves as 'masculine' is discipline (Francis and Skelton, 2001). In the school context men are often seen as 'natural' disciplinarians, an image that male educators may seek to live up to in order to better align themselves with hegemonic 'hard' masculinity. For instance, male educators have been found to sanction boys by questioning their masculinity, and thereby to reaffirm their own masculine identity. In many African countries, including South Africa, the use of corporal punishment has been described as highly gendered, with boys being punished more frequently and harsher than girls (Pattman and Chege, 2003a:171). While this is a severe problem for boys, the practice might also leave girls at a disadvantage. For instance, boys are punished if they do not live up to the expectation of outperforming girls, who are thereby implicitly, or even explicitly, constructed as inferior and less intelligent. Some boys have been found to derive a sense of superiority over girls from being beaten, believing the pain makes them stronger and more masculine men. In the act of beating and humiliating younger males, it is suggested that male teachers are constructing themselves as powerful males competing for the affection of female learners who are exempted from punishment (Chege, 2004). The leniency girls receive from male educators is perceived by many learners, both male and female, as a way of buying access to girls bodies, along the lines of giving high marks and leaking exam papers, as described earlier.

Brookes and Richter (2001) found most educators to be unaware of how the gendered nature of their own interaction and attitudes, such as the gendered distribution of roles and responsibilities among staff and students, impact on learners' attitudes and behaviours. Some female educators and learners were found to identify patriarchal social attitudes within communities as a key cause of violence, although not in rural communities. Particularly in township and rural schools, where corporal punishment is still largely used as a disciplinary tool, educators were found to be unaware of how the use of corporal punishment might contribute to the cycle of gender-based violence. Hence, a lack of awareness and understanding of the way in which gender constructions and practices forms the backdrop of gender-based violence is evident among educators.

Connell (1995) emphasised that gender identities are neither one-dimensional nor fixed. This is supported by evidence reported in Pattman and Chege (2003b) that girls and boys construct people of the opposite sex differently in different contexts. While boys would be misogynistic and callous when talking about girls in interviews, particularly group interviews, many were found to give romanticised and emotional accounts

of girlfriends or potential girlfriends when writing diaries. Some also idealised girls and female educators as friends who listened and gave sound advice, implicitly expressing dissatisfaction with popular ways of being boys. Girls, on the other hand, having a powerful interest in presenting themselves publicly as good girls actively resisting relations with boys, were better able to articulate sexual desire in their diaries. Similar findings were made in the UK by Frosh, Phoenix and Pattman (2002). This illustrates the multiple layers of gender identities, and suggests possibilities of moving away from rigid constructions of feminine and masculine identities as opposites, towards greater understanding and communication between the sexes, allowing less-violent forms of masculinity and more empowered forms of femininity to emerge.

3.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, the nature and level of gender-based violence in South African schools have been discussed, as well as the question of what differences exist between schools with high and those with low levels of violence. Research on gender-based violence suggests that certain schools have allowed a school environment where not only learners, but also educators themselves get away with acts of gender-based violence. As discussed in the previous chapter, this might not only diminish the development gains to education, but can give long term and even terminal health problems to those affected, and can further entrench a culture of violence in South Africa. Hence, gender-based violence in schools must be considered a significant development obstacle that must be dealt with effectively. Evidence presented here suggests that educators have a central role to play in shaping school culture, and more specifically the gender environment in schools. However, the ability of educators to create a gender-friendly school culture is dependent on whether they are aware of what legislation applies, whether they acknowledge gender-based violence to be a problem in school, their understanding of gender-based violence and whether they are aware of and understand the impact of their own gender constructions. Appropriate training during the preparation of educators is a possible intervention.

4   Methodology

The two previous chapters have explored research questions 1 and 2a by investigating the development implications of gender-based violence in schools and what research has found to be common misconceptions and knowledge gaps among educators in schools where gender-based violence is prevalent. The information collected and reviewed has been used to design the research approach for investigating research question 2b; the extent to which such misconceptions and knowledge gaps are prevalent among student teachers. This chapter will describe the research approach, and will discuss the type of data collected, the development of research instruments, the choice of sites and sample, the data collection and analysis, and some sample characteristics. It will also identify some of the limitations of the study.

4.1   Types of data

4.1.1 Development of Research Questions

The initial intention with this dissertation was first, to investigate the development implications of gender-based violence in schools, second, to investigate the attitudes, beliefs and knowledge about gender-based violence in schools among student teachers, as well as their suggested solutions to this problem, and third, to investigate the approach to addressing school-related gender-based violence used in teacher training. However, as field work and analysis progressed, questions of attitudes, beliefs and knowledge among student teachers appeared to require more attention than first assumed. Certain unforeseen changes in research design also required that the initial plan of an in-depth investigation of programme content be abandoned. Thus the research questions were refined to focus more specifically on attitudes, beliefs and knowledge. Relevant content of the teacher training programmes included in the study are discussed briefly in this chapter, and solutions suggested by student teachers that are not relevant to the teacher training context are listed in Appendix 2.

4.1.2 Interdisciplinary and Q-squared

This study draws on both quantitative and qualitative research methods by combining survey and focus group interviews. While quantitative and qualitative research methods were previously assumed to be competing answers to the same questions, the advantages of a research approach that combines both research methods have increasingly been recognised within the social sciences, and not least in the field of development studies (Carvalho and White, 1997; White, 2002; Hulme, 2007). Research on gender issues in development is characterised by, and benefit from, combining many disciplines (Jackson, 2002), and there is an emerging consensus that research of a higher quality will be generated by tapping "*…the breadth of the quantitative approach and the depth of the qualitative approach*" (Carvalho and White, 1997:16), rather than relying on one or the other method. The use of mixed methods have also increased significantly within educational research, including research on attitudes: "*…combining quantitative and qualitative methods in a single study can help elucidate various aspects of the phenomenon under investigation, providing a more holistic understanding of it, and resulting in better-informed education policies*" (Giannakaki, 2005:323). This study is building on these insights by combining survey methodology, reaching a

good sample of student teachers, and focus group interviews, allowing more in-depth responses.

4.2 Choice of Sites and Sample

4.2.1 The Survey

The original research design was to conduct all parts of this study with one student population attending one teacher training programme. This was meant to have been the 316 students attending the 4th and final year of the Bachelor of Education (BEd) on Edgewood campus, which is part of University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN). In addition to the survey and the focus groups, focusing on one programme would allow for an in-depth investigation of the approach used to prepare student teachers for the reality of gender-based violence in schools. However, miscommunication and a possible lack of commitment to the research project on the side of the BEd administration at Edgewood created difficulties in accessing the students admitted to this programme. A long period of teaching practice, with students being scattered all over the province and possibly beyond, was only informed of about a week beforehand, and efforts to conduct the study within the limited remaining time were obstructed. Therefore only a small proportion of the final year BEd students at Edgewood were able to participate, and in the survey only. These problems in access only became evident very close to the fieldwork period, and with the winter vacation coming up all over the country, the study had to be reorganised very quickly. The BEd programme at the University of Witwatersrand (or Wits University), holding a slightly smaller student population (157), was contacted and gave access to their students at very short notice. The Post Graduate Certificate in Education (PGCE[8]) at UKZN also allowed access to their students and formed part of the sample. Hence, the study had to expand in geographic scope, and possibly lost some of its depth and coherence, due to difficulties in accessing the students at Edgewood. The final sample is depicted in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Survey Sample

Teacher Training Programme	Sample count	Number of registered students	Sample as % of registered students	Sample distribution
BEd - Wits University	134	157	85.4%	55.1 %
BEd - UKZN	45	382	11.8 %	18.5 %
PGCE - UKZN	64	98	65.3 %	26.3 %
Total	243	637	38.2 %	100 %

4.2.2 The Focus Groups

Since the idea was to get innovative ideas for how to move forward in eliminating gender-based violence in schools from students keen to engage with the issue, sampling for the focus groups was done through self-selection. While completing the survey, student teachers were

---

[8] For students who have completed undergraduate studies in a specific field, for instance social studies, maths and science or physical education, and are preparing to enter the teaching profession through a one-year certification process

encouraged to sign up for participation in focus groups. They could volunteer by adding their contact details on a form attached to the questionnaire and submit the completed form detached from the questionnaire. An incentive to attend was provided to the students in the form of a meal before the focus group session. Those who volunteered were contacted shortly after the survey via SMS, and provided with details on time and place. They were asked to confirm their attendance by responding to the SMS or by sending a 'please call me' (which is free of charge in South Africa).

Again, the original idea was to organise focus groups with the 4th year BEd students at UKZN. However, since these students left university to start teaching practice, the plan had to be reorganised. A focus group was organised with the BEd students at Wits University during a three-day stay in Johannesburg. While quite a number of students signed up, only 6 students attended this focus group session, all of which were black[9] male students (See Table 4.2). Efforts were made to organise two focus groups with the PGCE students at UKZN, one with female students and one with a mixed group, to allow a diversity of perspectives to come through. However, because of exams, it was only possible to find time for one group discussion. For this session, 7 students confirmed their attendance, but 13 students actually turned up, 6 of whom were male and 7 female. This group was also more heterogeneous in terms of race, although Indian students were not represented.

Table 4.2 Focus Group Participants

Focus groups	Female	Male	Total
Wits University	-	6	6
UKZN	7	6	13
Total	7	12	19

4.3 Development of Research Instruments

Research for this study was conducted using English as the language of communication. Obviously, the ideal would have been to provide the survey participants with questionnaires in their mother tongue. However, with English as the language of instruction both in their studies and largely in their profession, English-skills among the participants were assumed to be adequately good to proceed with only one language within a framework of limited time and resources.

4.3.1 Survey Questionnaire

A structured questionnaire was developed for the survey to assess attitudes, beliefs and knowledge on gender-based violence among student teachers (find questionnaire in Appendix 3). The questionnaire was developed specifically for the purpose of this study, on the basis of information collected from existing research on gender-based violence in schools in the Southern African region as described in the two previous

---

[9] In this study, race is discussed using terms from the apartheid era (black, white, Indian, coloured, other). There are two reasons for this. First, these categories cannot be ignored as they seem to be important identifying characteristics in the minds of South Africans. Second, the apartheid regime was fairly successful in segregating groups according to colour, creating a situation where different cultures might have evolved simultaneously within different "race groups".

chapters. It included questions related to the four areas of concern identified in the previous chapter: knowledge of legal and policy framework; acknowledgement of gender-based violence as a problem; understanding of gender-based violence; and gender constructions.

Questions on the legal and policy framework around school-related gender-based violence were concerned both with student *knowledge* of laws and policies, which impact on their ability to enforce them, as well as their *attitudes* towards the legal framework, which might impact on their willingness to enforce them. The knowledge questions were designed to assess whether the content of relevant laws is understood, or whether confusion is prevalent as described by Human Rights Watch (2001) and Brookes and Higson-Smith (2004).

In assessing the level of acknowledgement and understanding of school-related gender-based violence among student teachers, findings reported by Human Rights Watch (2001), Brookes and Richter (2001), and Brookes and Higson-Smith (2004) were used to identify and design relevant attitudinal statements for use in the survey. One tool that proved very useful was the Child Sexual Abuse (CSA) Myth Scale developed by Dr. Collings at the Department of Psychology, University of KwaZulu-Natal (Collings, 1997b). Many of the attitudinal statements measuring level of acknowledgement, as well as some of those measuring understanding, were borrowed from this scale. A number of other attitudinal scales were reviewed for ideas (e.g. Burt, 1980; Lonsway and Fitzgerald, 1994; Pulerwitz and Baker, under review; Thompson, Pleck and Ferrera, 1992; Thompson and Pleck, 1995), though not used directly in the survey. Also, a survey measuring attitudes on sexual violence among youth in South Johannesburg (Anderson et al, 2000) and a cross sectional study of views on sexual violence and risk of HIV infection among South African School pupils (Anderson et al, 2004) conducted by the Community Information, Empowerment and Transparency Foundation (CIET) Africa were useful in generating ideas about myths and attitudes on gender-based violence that are prevalent.

Understanding of gender-based violence is strongly associated with our constructions of gender and gender identities, and this area of concern was therefore to some extent covered in the questions discussed above. Some additional items on constructions of gender not directly related to violence were included in the survey in order to assess the extent to which polarised notions of gender are held by student teachers.

Respondents were asked to state their level of agreement with the attitudinal statements, as well as with some of the knowledge statements, by indicating their score on a 5-point Likert scale (strongly disagree to strongly agree). In addition to the attitudinal statements, possible scenarios of gender-based violence in schools were presented, and survey participants were asked to indicate their reaction or possible response. Questions were pre-coded, although the opportunity to give additional comments or explanations were provided and encouraged on some items. The survey also included questions on the extent to which gender and gender-based violence is covered in the teacher training programme and on experiences or observations of gender-based violence during periods of teaching practice. While information on personal experiences of gender-based violence in the life history of the student teachers would have been very useful, such questions were not included as the study would be subject to very different ethical dilemmas and requirements due to the sensitive nature of the information collected.

A pilot was conducted with a group of 49 students attending the 2nd year of the BEd at Edgewood. These students were asked to complete the questionnaire and to give feedback on the design afterwards. The data collected in the pilot questionnaire was entered in SPSS and was used, together with the feedback from the students, to identify possible misunderstandings and weaknesses in the design.

4.3.2 Focus Group Interview Schedule

The interview schedule (see Appendix 4) was designed to create a framework for discussion of solutions to the problem at hand. Since the participants were not expected to hold extensive knowledge on the subject matter, some information was provided and discussed before moving on to the discussion of a way forward. A clarification was provided on the legal questions they had already answered in the questionnaire, as this would have to be the framework for any solution. Further, some quotes from research reports documenting gender-based violence in South African schools were presented to give an idea of problems encountered by learners in schools and to set the stage for discussion. Students were asked to comment both on the legal framework and on the problem descriptions, and to share their own experiences from teaching practice. As the focus groups progressed, the attitudes and experiences that came through in discussions proved very informative with regards to many of the questions raised in the survey. This realisation contributed to the decision to refocus the research questions, as discussed above.

4.4   Data Collection and Analysis

4.4.1 The Survey

In the survey, 243 student teachers from three different programmes participated. Since the students at Wits University were inconvenienced when handing in a take home exam to their lecturer, they were offered an incentive in the form of an airtime voucher for participating in the survey in order to ensure high response rate. An incentive was not deemed necessary in the two groups at UKZN, since they completed the questionnaire during lecture time and the response rate was expected to be high regardless. The differential treatment is not likely to have influenced the responses of the different groups.

On questions of a socially sensitive nature, respondents might try to present themselves favourable with regards to social norms, often referred to as social desirability bias, and this might distort the responses given (Jo, Nelson and Kiecker, 1997). The so-called question-order effect, which is the effect of the order in which questions are asked, can contribute to the social desirability bias (Lasorsa, 2003; Abramson, Silver and Anderson, 1987). These problems are difficult to guard against in a questionnaire on gender-based violence, although much care was taken in making the questionnaire seem value-free, both through choice of words and through including complimentary items representing different value-positions. Research shows that social desirability bias is lower in self-administered than in-person surveys, suggesting that degree of anonymity is important (Leggett et al, 2003:574). The survey was answered anonymously, and the participants were informed beforehand and in writing that participation was voluntary, that they could refuse to answer any question and could withdraw at any time.

Due to problems in accessing the BEd students at UKZN, the response rate from this programme was only 11.8 %. Among the PGCE students at

UKZN, all those present during the chosen lecture agreed to complete the questionnaire. However, with a response rate of 65.3 %, one can only assume that some students were not attending class. While most of the BEd students handing in their exam at Wits agreed to complete the questionnaire, a few had to leave because of previous engagements. Also some students did not hand in the exam paper in person, but rather sent it with a friend even though this was not permitted, resulting in a response rate of 85.4 %. To my knowledge, none of those who agreed to participate did later decide to withdraw from the survey. However, some of the respondents during lectures were not able to complete the entire questionnaire due to time constraints. Also, some students had not answered particular questions for unknown reasons.

Each respondent was assigned a number and the data collected from the survey was coded and entered in SPSS. Reponses in the form of a 5-point Likert scale were entered in SPSS as they were, but were later recoded as a 3-point Likert scale (disagree, uncertain, agree) in order to facilitate analysis. Questions providing the opportunity to give additional open-ended responses or comments were recorded in Word, analysed for common themes, given a numerical label according to theme, and entered in SPSS. The SPSS data files were scanned for errors before the analysis, and errors identified were corrected or eliminated.

A few student characteristics - sex, race and location of home place - proved to be significantly related to a high number of items, and have therefore revealed some of the differences in responses between students[10]. These variables were also found to be significantly related to scores on the CSA Myth Scale, and were included in an Analysis for Covariance to identify main effects and interaction. Findings on these variables are discussed in Chapter 5.

4.4.2 The Focus Groups

As evident above, the two focus groups had very different compositions both in terms of race and gender, one being relatively homogenous and the other relatively heterogeneous. This resulted in very different dynamics and discussions emerging.

As a researcher, you try to limit the impact of your presence in the focus group context. Being a white foreign woman, I expected my presence to have a particularly strong and possibly constraining impact on the focus group at Wits, which consisted exclusively of black men. However, to the contrary, the discussion seemed to float most freely and unconstrained in this group. The small size and homogeneous characteristics of the group might seem to have outweighed the effect of my presence. In fact the range of attitudes and viewpoints expressed were narrower in the heterogeneous than in the supposedly more homogenous focus group. The higher number of participants in the PGCE focus group possibly raised barriers for participants to speak openly and honestly and required the researcher to take on a more active role in leading the discussion. Furthermore, the discussions revealed that the students came from very

---

[10] Efforts to measure differences in response between socioeconomic classes (using education level of father and mother as proxy) did not reveal equally clear patterns. This was related to the use of a two-pronged proxy, which opened for a wider range of interpretations. However, knowing that there is a large degree of overlap between race, as well as residential area, and socioeconomic class in South Africa, it is possible that the responses of people from different race groups and home places in fact also reflect differences between socioeconomic classes.

different socio-economic backgrounds. Some had personal experiences from well-resourced single-sex schools while others from poorer mixed township schools. A negotiation of the terms on which to base the discussion seemed to be taking place throughout the focus group, and this might have created a less open focus group atmosphere. Also, an interesting observation in this context was the low profile held by black female focus group participants, despite repeated attempts to include them in discussions.

The focus group discussions were tape recorded and subsequently transcribed. A content analysis of the transcribed discussions was conducted, with themes being generated from the data itself through hypothesis-based analysis. Of particular interest were solutions suggested by the student teachers, as well as assertions relevant to the themes identified in the conceptual framework; knowledge of and attitudes to the legal and policy framework around gender-based violence in schools, acknowledgement and understanding of gender-based violence as a problem, as well as constructions of gender. In the write up of findings, responses are referenced with focus group number (Gr.1 or 2), a random identifying letter for each participant, and the line number from the transcript.

4.5   Sample and Programme Characteristics

4.5.1 Sample Characteristics

In the sample of 243 student teachers there is a substantial gender bias, with 76.8 % women and 23.2 % men. Although there are differences in terms of gender composition between the three programmes, these are not significant (see Table 4.3). The distribution of students in terms of racial identity is also uneven, with almost 50 % of the sample being white, about 30 % black and 20 % Indian. Participants from the three programmes differ significantly in terms of race, with white students being a majority among those from the UKZN and Wits BEd programmes, and black students being the largest group in the UKZN PGCE programme. These numbers do not necessarily reflect the composition of the teacher training programmes, and is probably particularly unrepresentative of the UKZN BEd programme, which had a response rate of only 11.8 %.

Almost 50 % of the sample are from suburban areas, 23 % are from urban areas, 16 % are from rural areas and 14 % are from township areas. Participants from the three programmes differ significantly in terms of home place, with the PGCE having larger shares from rural areas (28.8 %) and smaller shares from suburban areas (39 %) than average, and the UKZN BEd having larger shares from suburban areas (54.5 %) and smaller shares from township areas (2.3 %) than average.

There is a concentration in the young age brackets, with 73 % of the sample being between 20 and 24 years of age, and a mean age of 24 years. There is a significant difference between the three programmes in terms of age pattern, with the PGCE having larger shares of students in the older age brackets and the two BEd programmes having larger shares of students in the lower age brackets. The low mean age among students attending the two BEd programmes is reflected in the large proportion of these students, 57 % at Wits University and 61 % at UKZN, entering the teacher training programme right after finishing high school. Among those attending the PGCE, the largest group of students (43.6 %) entered teacher training after attending a different study. Also, a larger share of

those in the PGCE are or have been married (26 %) and have children (39 %), than average in the sample (12 % and 18 % respectively).

Table 4.3 Sample Characteristics

Characteristics	Sample	Programme			Statistic	p<
		BEd Wits (n = 134)	BEd UKZN (n = 45)	PGCE UKZN (n = 64)		
Age (mean)	24.23	23.43	22.71	27.65		
Gender (n (%))					$Chi^2 = 3.2$	-
Male	54 (23.2)	30 (22.4)	7 (15.9)	17 (30.9)		
Female	79 (76.8)	104 (77.6)	37 (84.1)	38 (69.1)		
Race (n (%))[11]					$Chi^2 = 0.8$	.05
Black	66 (30.4)	38 (30.6)	6 (15)	22 (41.5)		
White	104 (47.9)	63 (50.8)	24 (60)	17 (32.1)		
Indian	47 (21.7)	23 (18.5)	10 (25)	14 (26.4)		
Home (n (%))					$Chi^2 = .87$	.05
Urban	53 (22.8)	30 (23.3)	13 (29.5)	10 (16.9)		
Township	32 (13.8)	22 (17.1)	1 (2.3)	9 (15.3)		
Suburb	110 (47.4)	63 (48.8)	24 (54.5)	23 (39)		
Rural	37 (15.9)	14 (10.9)	6 (13.6)	17 (28.8)		

4.5.2 Programmes - Relevant Curriculum Content

In order to get some background information about the extent to which topics relevant to the issue of gender-based violence is covered in the teacher training programmes, a questionnaire about curriculum content was sent to one key member of staff in each of the three programmes (Appendix 5). Even though efforts were made to design a short and structured questionnaire that would be easy to answer, and the selected staff members were first asked to confirm their willingness to assist in this matter, the questionnaire was completed and returned only by staff in the PGCE programme. Their responses reveal that issues around gender and gender inequality, as well as the South African Council for Educators (SACE) Code of Professional Ethics, are dealt with in compulsory modules as part of the PGCE programme. They are also looking at various barriers to learning, touching on as many issues as time allows. However, issues around gender-based violence or child sexual abuse, as well as sexuality in the classroom, are not specifically covered in this programme.

In the survey, student teachers were asked to indicate how often gender and gender-based violence had been discussed in their programme. In this context it is important to be aware of different situation of the BEd students, who were close to the end of a four year training process, compared to the PGCE students, who were not quite halfway through a one year certification process, at the time of the study. Hence, one can hardly make meaningful comparison between these qualitatively different forms of programmes. However, keeping this in mind, it is useful to look at the responses from the student teachers. First, they were asked to indicate how often gender was discussed during the programme; never, occasionally, frequently or very frequently. Responses from students

---

[11] In the student sample, 4.9 % identified as coloured and 1.2 % as other. Since these student groups are small, they were assigned status as missing values and were not included in the analysis.

attending the two BEd programmes revealed that a majority (51.5 %) of those at Wits University felt that gender was discussed frequently and a smaller group (24.6 %) that it was discussed occasionally, while a majority (57.8 %) of those at UKZN felt this subject was discussed occasionally and a smaller group (28.9 %) indicated that it was discussed frequently (see Table 4.4). Also, almost one in every four student teacher at Wits (23.1 %) felt that gender was discussed very frequently, while the same was true for only about 9 % at UKZN. Hence, the general impression among students of how often gender was discussed indicates that the frequency was higher in the BEd programme at Wits University than the same programme at UKZN.

Table 4.4 How often is subject discussed in teacher training programme?[12]

	GENDER				GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE			
	N	**O**	**F**	**VF**	**N**	**O**	**F**	**VF**
Wits BEd	0.7	24.6	51.5	23.1	7.5	48.9	38.3	5.3
UKZN BEd	4.4	57.8	28.9	8.9	29.5	56.8	6.8	6.8
UKZN PGCE	26.2	62.3	8.2	3.3	40	48.3	10	1.7
Total	7.9	40.4	36.3	15.4	19.8	50.2	25.3	4.6

When asked about how often gender-based violence was discussed, a similar pattern emerged. Both at Wits University and at UKZN the largest groups of students (48.9 % and 56.8 % respectively) felt the topic was discussed occasionally. However, at Wits University the second largest group of students (38.3 %) felt that gender-based violence was covered frequently, while at UKZN the second largest group (29.5 %) felt that this subject was never discussed during the programme. Hence, BEd students at UKZN report lower frequency of discussions around both gender and gender-based violence in their programme than BEd students at Wits University. This difference in response could be due to actual differences in the extent to which the programmes deal with these subjects, but could also be due to differences in the general attitudes or feelings towards the programmes among their student populations. The PGCE students at UKZN reported lower frequency of discussions of these two subjects than both BEd programmes, but part of the reason for this might be the short duration of the programme.

4.6 Other limitations

Are attitudes a good reflection of behaviour? Social psychologists have argued that attitudes have three components (Bernstein, Clarke-Stewart, Roy and Wickens, 1997:579). There is a cognitive component, which is a set of beliefs about the attributes of the attitude object. This is the part that is measurable in a questionnaire or survey. However, there is also an emotional or affective component that includes the feelings a person hold towards the object, and a behavioural component, which is how the person actually acts towards the attitude object. While these two components are measurable, using psychological indices such as heart rate and direct observations respectively, they are not measured in this

---

[12] N = Never, O = Occasionally, F = Frequently, VF = Very frequently

study. A range of different factors determines whether behaviour will be consistent with the cognitive and affective components of a person. Hence, while this study measures attitudes or beliefs among student teachers, it is important to be aware that it does not predict behaviour.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to outline the methodological approach and the particular research process of this dissertation. The research builds on the conceptual framework discussed in the previous two chapters, by using information on educator attitudes and knowledge collected in past studies as a basis for developing the research tools. Against this background, an assessment of attitudes and knowledge about gender-based violence among final-year student teachers in three different teacher training programmes has been developed and conducted. The assessment has benefited from both quantitative and qualitative research methodologies, as described above, and findings from both approaches will be presented in the next chapter.

5. Findings from Survey and Focus Groups

This chapter will discuss findings from the survey conducted among student teachers on the level of awareness, understanding and knowledge of issues around gender-based violence in schools. The focus group session with student teachers, which allowed a smaller group of students to elaborate on their perceptions of issues around gender-based violence in schools, also generated useful information that will be discussed here.

5.1 Knowledge of and Attitudes to Legal and Policy Framework

One aim with this survey was to establish the extent to which student teachers, soon to be in the teaching profession, are familiar with the existing legal and policy framework around gender-based violence in South African schools. Of interest were also the attitudes that student teachers hold towards the content of these laws and policies, as this might influence the level of law enforcement in their future professional lives.

5.1.1 Obligation to Report

According to the Child Care Act of 1983 (Government of South Africa, 1983), any person who is in frequent contact with children in a professional capacity is obliged to notify the Director-General immediately if there is reason to believe that a child has been ill-treated or injured in any way. In the survey, an item was included intended to assess whether student teachers are aware of their obligation to immediately report suspicion of abuse, or whether they believe they are required to discuss suspicion of abuse with the parents, wait for the learner to report or provide sufficient evidence, before reporting. Four different statements[13] were presented, one of which was true and three of which were false, and the student teachers were asked to indicate whether they believe these statements coincide with South African law or not. On this question, confusion seems to be widespread.

Figure 5.1 Knowledge of Educator Obligation to report

Legend:
- Accepted correct answer only
- Accepted correct and other answers
- Rejected correct answer
- Uncertain about correct answer

Pie chart values: 11,4 %; 56,1 %; 29,1 %; 3,4 %

---
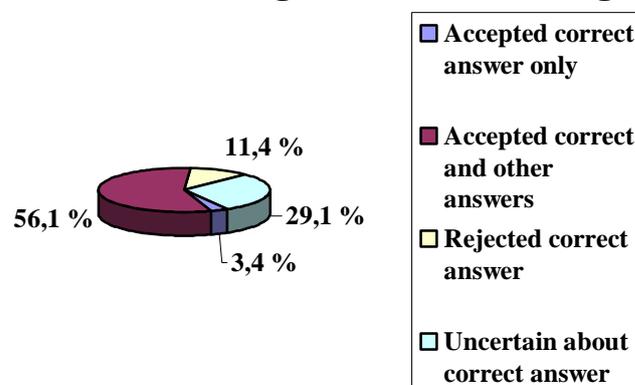
[13] For the exact phrasing of these statements see question 9 in Appendix 3.

While 59.5 % correctly indicated that educators are required to report suspicion of abuse to the Director-General immediately, some of those who accepted the correct statement incorrectly identified other statements as also being part of the law. Hence, as shown in Figure 5.1, only 3.4 % of the students answered correctly that suspicion of abuse should be reported immediately, 56.1 % correctly accepted the correct statement but also incorrectly accepted other statements, 11.4 % rejected the correct alternative and 29.1 % were uncertain about whether the correct statement coincides with South African law or not.

Concern for the reputation of the school might be a reason why some schools try to create silence around cases of gender-based violence. In the survey, the student teachers were asked whether they think that school reputation should be protected when suspicion of gender-based violence is reported. Table 5.3 shows that about 30 % of the student teachers agreed that school reputation should be protected, 26 % were not sure, and about 43 % disagreed with this statement. A significant difference in response was detected between students identifying with different race groups. While almost one in two (47 %) black students would consider school reputation to be important, the same is true for less than one in four white (23.1 %) and Indian (23.9 %) students. Concern for school reputation also seems to be greater among student teachers from rural areas (54 %), than among those from suburbs (19.3 %), in particular, but also from urban (30.2 %) and township (37.5 %) areas[14].

The focus group participants were presented with the section in the Child Care Act of 1983 prescribing the obligation of educators to report. The content of this law provoked some discussion, particularly in Focus Group 2. The point of discussion was whether to report suspicion to the authorities immediately, or whether to first conduct personal investigations. Two major reasons were brought forward why suspicion should be substantiated before reporting: first, there seemed to be a lack of trust in the entity assumed to be in charge of further investigations, namely the police force, and second, there was worry that reporting without consulting with the child first would have a negative impact on the relationship with the learner. Reactions to the statements among survey respondents and to the Child Care Act of 1983 among focus group participants indicate that there is great confusion and need to clarify how to proceed when such cases occur. It also indicates that there is a need to improve the support systems available in cases of abuse in order to avoid secondary victimisation of learners and increase the rate of reporting among those who are in frequent contact with children.

5.1.2 The Accused and the Accuser

The amended Employment of Educators Act (Government of South Africa, 2000b) has defined sexual assault on a learner and having a sexual relationship with a learner of the school as cases of serious misconduct on the side of an educator, and has provided guidelines on how to proceed in such cases. It says for instance: "*In the case of serious misconduct in terms of section 17, the employer may suspend the educator on full pay for a maximum period of three months*" (Government of South Africa, 2000b: 24). If proceedings are not concluded within 90 days, the employer can decide that further suspension will be without pay. These are guidelines for how to proceed and not prescribed procedures, hence, the decision of whether to follow these guidelines is still left with the

---

[14] The current climate of HIV/AIDS, which is associated with stigma, is likely to impact on the decision to report

employer. A danger of biased decision-making might arise if the accused is a highly respected colleague with whom the employer has a close identification.

In an effort to assess what decision the student teachers would make in a situation like this, they were presented with a scenario where one of their colleagues was accused of abusing a learner, and investigations were pending (Table 5.1). The question was posed as to whether they would strive to protect the educator's or the learner's right to stay in school during the time between an accusation and a verdict. As this is a hypothetical situation, the effect of personal identification with the accused educator is not possible to capture. The findings from the survey indicate that about one out of five student teachers would prioritise the educator's rights, and four out of five would prioritise the rights of the learner.

Table 5.1 Whose rights take priority: Those of the Educator or the Learner?

SCENARIO	Response (%)		Pearson chi square test		
			sex	race	home
A learner in your school has reported being abused by one of your colleagues, and an investigation is underway. The learner has expressed fear of attending school with the educator present, and the question remains as to what to do up until a verdict is reached. Circle the number of the statement that you agree with most.	The legal rights of the **educator** must be prioritised. He/she is innocent until proven guilty, and should not be affected until a verdict is reached, even if it means the child stays at home	20.5			
	The safety and well-being of the **learner** must be prioritised, and steps must be taken for him/her to be able to continue in school, even if it means suspending the educator under investigation	79.5	-	-	-

**p<.01
*p<.05

In order to get a deeper understanding of how the student teachers think around such a decision, they were asked in a follow-up question to comment on whether there are situations when their decision would not apply. Most students chose not to comment any further. However, among those who would have prioritised the rights of the educator[15], the two most common reservations towards their decision were whether evidence of abuse was overwhelming or the educator had a record of misbehaviour towards children. On the other hand, for those who would prioritise the

---

[15] About 22 % of these commented.

rights of the learner[16] in such a case, the most common reservation was whether the learner had a history of lying.

5.1.3 Serious Misconduct

While rape and sexual assault by an educator would be recognised by most people as a criminal offence, less violent transgressions of professional boundaries are not always recognised as such, particularly when the question of consent and coercion is unclear. This is evident in the finding made by Brookes and Higson-Smith (2004:115) that confusion exists about the acceptability of relationships between educators and learners and about why such relationships would be unacceptable. Since the amended Employment of Educators Act (Government of South Africa, 2000b) defines such a relationship as a case of serious misconduct that requires dismissal of the educator, the lack of response in such cases (e.g. Human Rights Watch, 2001:47) might be due to insufficient knowledge of the law or a lack of will to enforce it among people in the South African school system. In the survey conducted among student teachers, both possibilities were tested.

In order to assess knowledge of the law, the student teachers were presented with a number of different statements, and were asked to indicate which ones they thought would coincide with South African law around sexual relationships between educators and learners. Seven statements were included all together, one of which was true and six of which were false. The false statements offered were based on perceptions about such relationships that have been identified as prevalent through research. Examples[17] would be perceptions to the effect that a sexual relationship between an educator and a learner is fine as long as it is consensual, as long as the learner is 16 years or older, or as long as the parents are informed and accept it. While 73.3 % of the student teachers agreed that a relationship between an educator and a learner would be illegal in all cases, some of those who accepted the correct statement incorrectly identified other statements as also being part of the law.

Figure 5.2 Knowledge of South African Law on Serious Misconduct
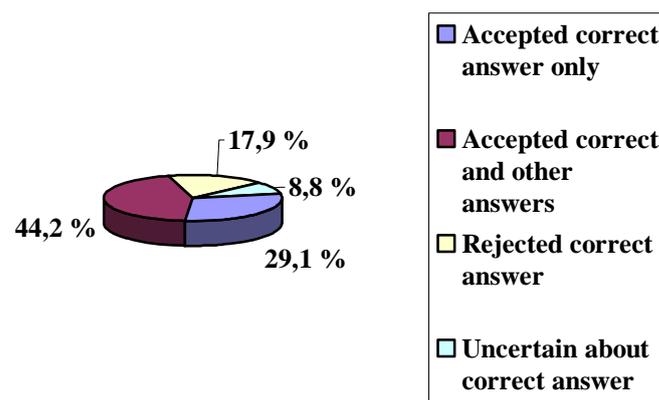
Hence, 29.1 % of the student teachers identified the correct statement only, 44.2 % correctly accepted the correct statement but also incorrectly accepted other statements, 17.9 % rejected the correct statement, and 8.8 % were uncertain about whether the correct statement coincides with South African law or not (see Figure 5.2).

---

[16] About 17 % of these commented.
[17] For the exact phrasing of these statements see question 11 in Appendix 3.

In order to assess attitudes towards this law, student teachers were asked whether they personally think that it is acceptable for an educator and a learner to have sexual relationship. A majority of over 95 % responded that they would not find such a relationship okay (see Table 5.2) and a slightly smaller majority of students (90.9 %) would regard it as unacceptable for an educator to make a learner pregnant, even if 'he agrees to marry her' (see Table 5.3). Also, 86.5 % agree that an educator having a sexual relationship with a learner is abusing his/her position of power. However, when asked whether an educator guilty of engaging in a sexual relationship with a learner should be dismissed, the level of support from the student teachers decreased to 77 %. A lower proportion of students from rural (56.8 %), township (65.6 %) and urban (69.8 %) areas than those from suburban areas (90.9 %), a lower proportion of black (60.6 %) than white (85.6 %) and Indian (87.2 %) students, and a lower proportion of male (69.5 %) than female (79.9 %) students, agree with the dismissal of educators engaging in sexual relationships with learners. Hence, while the overwhelming majority of student teachers would not accept sexual relationships between educators and learners, there is more reluctance to agree with the repercussions that the reporting of such a relationship would have for the educator.

Table 5.2 Would you condone an educator/learner relationship?

STATEMENTS	Response (%)		Pearson chi square test		
	Yes	No	sex	race	home
Do you think that it is okay for an educator and a learner to have a sexual relationship?	4.2	95.8	n/a[18] -	n/a -	n/a -

**p<.01
*p<.05

The focus group participants were presented with the definition of serious misconduct and its consequences in terms of the Employment of Educators Act of 1996, and were asked to give comments. Some participants were immediately positive to the way it was defined: "*it promotes professionalism, and because it's so straight and strict, there's no grey areas for people to say, 'well, I didn't quite know the law'*" (Gr2O:22-23). However, some objections to the law were also put forward, one of which was that an exception should be made in the case of love and marriage: "*You are 25 years old, you are teaching, you have a profession of teaching. Now you go out. You find a learner outside who is 20 years old. You are 25. You want to get married with that learner, but she is a learner. What are you going to do then?*" (Gr.1C:152-155). This objection was countered by the argument that love is not measurable, and that anyone can claim to be in love and thereby get away with misconduct. Other issues were also raised such as the problems a relationship would create in terms of discipline and the dangers of bias and favouritism. In Focus Group 2, a suggestion was put forward that the law should be defined in terms of the age of the learner; "*They should define this law in terms of age, because I know of the experience of a lady who was in a relationship with a teacher. They end up married, you know*" (Gr2E:32-34). A counter argument was launched that the power-relationship was more problematic than the age difference: "*The teacher has so much power, and*

---

[18] n/a = more than 20 % of cells have expected values of less than 5

the student doesn't. So I think it's wrong" (Gr2I:36-37). In Focus Group nr.1, the content of this law provoked intense discussion about who could be blamed for the existence of sexual relationships between educators and learners, and these arguments will be discussed in relation to blame diffusion in section 5.3.2.

5.1.4 Corporal Punishment

According to the South African Schools Act of 1996 (Government of South Africa, 1996b), corporal punishment is illegal in the South African school system. The ban on corporal punishment in schools has been discussed to such a length in South Africa, that a question on the familiarity with this law has not been included in the survey. Instead, the student teachers were asked whether they think corporal punishment in schools should be reintroduced in order to improve discipline. As shown in Table 5.3, this suggestion was supported by 44 % of the student teacher, and rejected by 35 %, while 22 % were uncertain what to think.

Table 5.3 Knowledge of and attitudes towards legal framework

STATEMENTS	Level of agreement (%)			Pearson chi square test		
	D[19]	U	A	sex	race	home
I think that the reputation of the school must be protected when suspected cases of gender-based violence are reported	43.4	26	30.6	-	*	**
I believe that it is okay for an educator to impregnate a learner as long as he agrees to marry her	90.9	5.4	3.7	n/a **	n/a **	n/a **
I think that an educator who is having a relationship with a learner is abusing their position of power[20]	12.4	1.2	86.4	-	*	n/a -
I think that an educator who is found to have a sexual relationship with a learner should be dismissed	13.2	9.5	77.4	*	**	n/a **
I believe that corporal punishment should be reintroduced in schools in order to improve discipline	34.7	21.5	43.8	-	-	-
I believe there are alternatives to corporal punishment that are more effective in creating discipline	11.6	21.6	66.8	*	-	-

**p<.01
*p<.05

While a high proportion of student teachers would like to reintroduce corporal punishment, a higher proportion of students (67 %) agreed with the statement arguing that there are alternatives to corporal punishment that are more effective in creating discipline. The inconsistent reactions from the student teachers to these two contradictory statements show rather ambivalent attitudes to the question of corporal punishment that indicates a need to go deeper into questions around discipline in teacher training.

---

[19] D=Disagree, U=Uncertain, A=Agree

[20] The few 'Uncertain' responses on this item were excluded from the chi square test to make it more accurate

5.1.5 Awareness of Missing Policy

Even though the need for a government policy on how to deal with gender-based violence in schools was identified by the Gender Equity Task Team (GETT) in 1997 (Wolpe, Quinlan and Martinez, 1997), such a policy is still missing ten years later. In the survey it was of interest to know whether the student teachers are aware of this gap in the policy framework or not. Hence, the survey participants were asked whether a government policy on how to deal with gender-based violence in schools is in place. The majority of students (77.4 %) responded that they are not aware of whether such a policy exists or not (see Table 5.4). About 9 % of the students answered correctly that no such policy has been adopted, while about 13 % were convinced that a government policy is in place.

When those who had confirmed the existence of a policy were asked for the name of it, a few suggested documents such as the Bill of Rights and the Constitution, but most had no suggestion at all. The two most relevant suggestions were the Gender Equity Policy, which is a document that at least brings up the problem of gender-based violence in school, and the South African Council of Educators (SACE), which is not a document but the entity responsible for, among other things, the code of professional conduct for educators in South Africa.

Table 5.4 Is there a government policy on gender-based violence in schools?

QUESTION	Response (%)		
	Yes	No	Don't know
Is there a government policy on how to deal with gender-based violence in South African schools?	13.4	9.2	77.4

**p<.01
*p<.05

Overall, the responses from student teachers indicate that substantial gaps in knowledge exist about the South African legal framework for cases of gender-based violence in schools. Many student teachers also disagree with the content of these laws or hold attitudes that might decrease the likelihood that they enforce them.

5.2 Acknowledgement of Gender-Based Violence as a Problem

Brookes and Richter (2001) found many, particularly male educators, to distance themselves from engaging with the issue of gender-based violence, by claiming to be unaware, denying that such episodes take place, and/or minimising the problem. Student teachers were asked to agree or disagree with the statement that gender-based violence is not a major problem in South African schools. As shown in Table 5.5, about 14 % believed that gender-based violence is not a major problem in schools, 20 % were uncertain, and 66 % disagreed with the statement.

A number of more specific statements were used to assess the extent to which gender-based violence towards children is acknowledged as a problem among student teachers, most of which were borrowed from Collings' Child Sexual Abuse Myth Scale.

Table 5.5 Responses to whether GBV is a major problem in SA schools

STATEMENT	Response (%)			Pearson chi square test		
	D	U	A	sex	race	home
I do not think that gender-based violence is a major problem in South African schools	66	20.3	13.7	-	-	-

5.2.1 Introducing the Child Sexual Abuse Myth Scale

Research within the field of psychology has identified a range of rape myths, defined as "*attitudes and beliefs that are generally false but are widely and persistently held, and that serve to deny and justify male sexual aggression against women*" (Lonsway and Fitzgerald, 1994:134). Acceptance of such rape myths has been found to be associated with restricted definitions of rape that serves to deny the reality and seriousness of many rape incidents, with increased attribution of blame to victims of rape, with a tendency towards sexual aggression, and with a history of sexually aggressive behaviour (Collings, 1997). The extent of rape myth acceptance has also been found to correlate closely and positively with scores on other attitudinal variables, such as acceptance of interpersonal violence and adversarial sexual beliefs, which in effect condone or excuse sexual assault. Recognising a gap in research on child sexual abuse myths and the absence of equivalent reliable and valid research instruments allowing the quantification of child sexual abuse myth acceptance, Collings (1997) developed a child sexual abuse (CSA) myth scale. This scale is of interest in the context of this study, particularly in relation to educator-perpetrated sexual violence in schools, which in most cases is a form of child sexual abuse. Of the 15 items in the original scale, 10 have been selected as relevant and included in the questionnaire used for this study[21] (see Appendix 3). Child sexual abuse myths are multidimensional, and serve a number of different functions. In the CSA myth scale, three factors have been identified; blame diffusion, denial of abusiveness and restrictive stereotypes. The two latter dimensions are measuring different aspects of abuse acknowledgement, and findings on these dimensions are discussed below. The former dimension, blame diffusion, will be discussed later when looking at understanding of gender-based violence among student teachers.

5.2.2 Restrictive Stereotypes

Restrictive abuse stereotypes are beliefs that serve to construct child sexual abuse as a rather limited problem by denying the reality of most abuse or by minimising the undesirable consequences of it (Collings, 1997). One way of restricting the reality of child sexual abuse is to define it as a problem found only in certain groups of people, with the effect of minimising the existence of abuse in the overall population. A common myth is that most children are sexually abused by strangers or by someone who is not well known to the child. This myth has empirically been shown to be false: while rape cases involving strangers are more likely to be reported to the police, children are in fact more likely to be abused by someone familiar and often well-known to them (Jewkes and Abrahams, 2002).

---

[21] Chronbach alpha =.79

Table 5.6 shows that more than one in every four student teacher (26.6 %) accepts this myth, and support is significantly higher in the Indian (38.3 %) and black (37.5 %) than in the white student population (13.7 %). Another restrictive stereotype is that child sexual abuse is caused by social problems such as unemployment, poverty and alcohol abuse. The assumption of a cause and effect relationship between social problems and child sexual abuse serves as one of many prejudices against weaker groups in society, and might blur the vision of what goes on within other groups of people. This belief was held by 28.3 % of students, while 51.9 % disagreed and 19.7 % were uncertain.

Table 5.6 Responses to Restrictive Stereotypes

STATEMENTS	Response (%)			Pearson chi square test		
	D	U	A	sex	race	home
Most children are sexually abused by strangers or by someone who is not well known to the child	59.1	14.3	26.6	-	**	-
Child sexual abuse is caused by social problems such as unemployment, poverty and alcohol abuse	51.9	19.7	28.3	-	-	-
Child sexual abuse takes place mainly in poor families	75.2	14.1	10.7	*	**	n/a **
Child sexual abuse takes place mainly in disorganised and unstable families	74.4	14.5	11.1	**	**	n/a -
I believe gender-based violence is an issue found mainly in poor schools	57.6	24.7	17.7	-	-	-
It is not sexual contact with adults that is harmful for children. What is really damaging for the child is the social stigma that develops after the "secret" is out	57.3	18.1	24.6	-	*	-
Boys are more likely than girls to enjoy sexual contact with adults and are therefore less likely to be emotionally traumatised by the experience	73.1	17.5	9.4	**	**	n/a -

**p<.01
*p<.05

A related myth borrowed from the CSA myth scale suggests that child sexual abuse takes place mainly in poor families[22]. In the sample of student teachers, about 11 % agree with this myth, 75 % disagree, and 14 % are uncertain of what to respond. A significantly larger proportion of male (20.8 %) than female (7.4 %) student teachers hold this belief.

---

[22] The original Child Sexual Abuse Myth Scale as designed by Collings (1997) asks whether CSA is more prevalent in poor, disorganised and unstable families. For the purpose of this study, the students where asked to respond separately to the statement that CSA takes place mainly in disorganised and unstable families, as these characteristics were not seen to directly overlap with poverty. The pattern of response to these two statements was fairly similar, however, as shown in Table 5.

However, there is an even greater difference in views on this issue between black students (26.6 %), and white (3.9 %) and Indian students (2.1 %). Those from rural areas are also more likely to accept the myth (28.6 %) than those from urban (11.3 %) and township (15.6 %) areas, and particularly those from suburban areas (3.7 %). In a different part of the questionnaire, a statement was put forward that gender-based violence is found mainly in poor schools. Although the content of these two statements are similar in that they both suggest that child abuse happens mainly in poor environments, the latter statement elicited a somewhat different response from the student teachers than the former statement. Table 5.6 shows that a higher percentage of student teachers agree with (17.7 %) or are uncertain about (24.7 %) the myth that gender-based violence is found mainly in poor schools, than the equivalent myth about poor families (agree; 10.7 %, uncertain; 14.1 %). While the reason for this is unknown, it might indicate that restrictive stereotypes concerning the school environment are stronger than those concerning the family among student teachers.

In focus group discussions, stereotypes linking gender-based violence to poverty appeared quite frequently as a theme. In Focus Group 1 it was agreed on as a fact that gender-based violence is more prevalent in poorer rather than in wealthier schools, and in public rather than in private schools: "*…because sometimes we have to look where does this violence take place. Most of the time it happens in the public schools not in private schools*" (Gr1C:765-767). The question of race was also raised, but it was concluded that the real issue was poverty: "*…it's not necessarily the race thing. If you go all over the world, you find that it's the poorer communities that have the problem. So in South Africa the poorer community is generally, you know, black people. It's not necessarily a race thing*" (Gr1S:829-831). Some students also referred to poverty as a major reason why learners are vulnerable to abuse in schools, arguing for instance: "*…the parents can say to a child, 'go and get some money somewhere, I don't know, because I don't have money for school'. Where does that girl going to be. She will end up sleeping with the teacher, because she wants money, because she was led by the parents*" (Gr1C:345-348). Human Rights Watch (2001:36) argues that gender-based violence is a problem that is not restricted to poor school environments, but permeates all parts of society. However, even if based on a small sample, research conducted in South African schools by Brookes and Richter (2001: 27) might indicate that the levels of gender-based violence are higher in poorer than in better-resourced model C schools. This is not to say that violence is unlikely to take place in well-resourced schools, which is the claim made in the myth used for the questionnaire, but that these schools are in a better position to manage such problems. Brookes and Richter found that educators in poorer schools have lower levels of acknowledgement and understanding of gender-based violence as a problem in school than educators in better-resourced schools. The background reasons for these findings are complex, and are not the subject of this study, but could be linked to differences in the educators own school experiences.

The restrictive stereotypes discussed above serves to create the impression that child sexual abuse is a limited problem relevant only to certain groups of people. Another form of restrictive stereotype serves to minimise the undesirable consequences of child sexual abuse (Collings, 1997). A myth that serves this purpose is the belief that sexual contact with adults is not harmful for children in and of itself, but is only really damaging due to the social stigma that develops once the "secret" is out. A possible result of this misconception could be that cases of abuse are neglected to the assumed benefit of the victim. About one in every four

student teacher (24.6 %) accepts this myth, one in every five (18.1 %) is unsure what to answer and about 57 % of the students reject it (see Table 5.6). A higher proportion of black (35.5 %) than Indian (21.7 %) and white (15.5 %) students agree that social stigma due to abuse is more damaging than the experience of abuse in itself.

As discussed in chapter 2, gender-based violence towards boys in schools is not well-researched in Southern Africa. The myth that boys are more likely to enjoy sexual contact with adults and are therefore less likely to be emotionally traumatised by the experience, could be a reason for this trend. This myth was presented in the survey, and was accepted by about one in every ten student teachers (9.4 %). An additional 17.5 % of the sample was uncertain about what how to respond to this statement, hence, more than one quarter of the student teachers are reluctant to reject the possibility that child sexual abuse has less of an impact on boys. A higher proportion of male (20.8 %) than female (5.1 %) students, and a higher proportion of black (18.8 %) than Indian (10.9 %) and white (1 %) students, accepted this myth.

5.2.3 Denial of abusiveness

A second factor identified in Collings' (1997) CSA myth scale is denial of abusiveness, which also demonstrates low levels of acknowledgement and awareness of the problem. Those scoring high on this dimension hold beliefs that serve to minimise the abusive nature of child sexual abuse. These beliefs attempt to define abuse as a benign and potentially positive experience for the child or define the child as an equal, consensual sexual partner. A myth suggesting limited consequences of child sexual abuse that does not involve force or coercion and actual or attempted sexual intercourse was included in the questionnaire. About two out of five student teachers (38 %) agree or are reluctant to disagree with this statement (as shown in Table 5.7). Significant gender and race differences in responses were identified in the student population, with a higher proportion of male (32.1 %) than female (15.7 %) students, and a higher proportion of black (33.3 %) than Indian (19.6 %) and white (11 %) students, holding this belief.

Table 5.7 Responses to Denial of Abusiveness

STATEMENTS	Response (%)			Pearson chi square test		
	D	U	A	sex	race	home
Sexual contact between an adult and a child that does not involve force or coercion and that does not involve actual or attempted sexual intercourse is unlikely to have serious consequences for the child	61.9	19	19	**	**	-
It is the responsibility of older children, who have a better understanding of sexual matters, to actively resist sexual advances made by adults	44.9	20.1	35	**	**	-

**p<.01
*p<.05

The view that older children are responsible for resisting sexual advances made by adults, under the assumption that they have a better understanding of sexual matters, serves to question the abusive nature of child sexual abuse by portraying an older child as an equal, consensual

sexual partner (Collings, 1997). Girls attending high schools, where the highest levels of gender-based violence towards girls have been found (Brookes and Richter, 2001:26), are particularly vulnerable to the consequences of this attitude. Among the student teachers 35 % agree with this statement.

An additional 20 % of the student teachers are uncertain about what to respond. A higher proportion of male (52.8 %) than female (28.4 %) students agree with this statement, as does a higher proportion of black (51.6 %) than Indian (37 %) and white (24.3 %) student teachers. This is the myth accepted by most student teachers overall, which might help explain why levels of gender-based violence experienced by older learners appear to be particularly high and points to an area that needs to be dealt with more in depth by teacher training programmes, i.e. adolescent sexuality.

To sum up, the majority of student teachers disagree with myths that restrict or deny the abusiveness of child sexual abuse. However, each of the statements have some degree of support from the student teachers, which can contribute to lower levels of institutional acknowledgement of gender-based violence in the schools were these students get employment.

5.3   Understanding of gender-based violence

Three major areas of confusion around gender-based violence prevalent among educators as well as learners have been identified, and these findings were built into the questionnaire (Brookes and Richter, 2001). Some of these items were developed specifically for this survey, while others were borrowed from Collings' CSA myth scale (1997).

5.3.1 Confusion 1: Is violence against girls illegitimate in all situations?

In the survey, a scenario was presented for the student teachers, portraying a female learner revealing to the student teacher that her boyfriend, who is a fellow learner in school, has forced sex on her against her will. The student teachers were asked to decide on whether the school, in consultation with the girl, should report this incident to the police as a case of rape. Table 5.8 shows that while the majority of student teachers would report this case to the police as rape about one in five would not.

Table 5.8 Responses to scenario of Confusion 1

STATEMENTS	Response (%)		Pearson chi square test		
	Yes	No	sex	race	home
Two learners in your school, a boy and a girl, have a dating relationship over a few months. One day the girl asks for a word with you after class and tells you that her boyfriend has forced sex on her against her will. Should the school, in consultation with the girl, report this to the police as a case of rape?	78.7	21.3	*	**	**

**p<.01
*p<.05

There was significantly greater reluctance to report this incident as rape among those from rural areas (50 %), relative to those from townships (19.4 %), urban (18 %) and suburban areas (12.4 %). Also, a larger proportion of male (32.7 %) than female (16.4 %) students, and a larger proportion of black (35.9 %) than white (12.4 %) and Indian (17.8 %) students were arguing against reporting the incident as a rape case.

The students were asked to comment on their own response to this question. Among those who would have reported the case to the police, 51 % simply concluded that the scenario described a case of rape that should be reported, 13 % argued that the educator and the school had an obligation to help the child, while 11 % pointed to the need for action in order to prevent future incidents. The remaining 25 % did not comment. A number of different reasons were given why some students would not report forced sex between learners as a case of rape. About 26 % commented that they would investigate the case within the school first and 16 % did not see it as a school matter but would leave the reporting up to the girl. In both cases, many justified reluctance to report by suggesting that the learner might be lying, evident in comments such as "*Maybe the learner is lying to the educator. It must be investigation taken first*" (respondent nr. 79) and "*The girl could be lying. She must report it*" (respondent nr.18). The fear of taking seriously a learner who is lying was also raised earlier in relation to the question of whether to prioritise educator's or learner's rights in an abuse case, and seems to be quite prevalent. About 14 % argued that the two learners were in a relationship and it could therefore not be considered rape. One response that stood out was as follows: "*Even the oldest days the girls didn't ask to have sex. They only did as forced but at the end they enjoy unless if it is girl who reports this to police, but although it is not really rape because she is fall in love with him*" (respondent nr.221). About 12 % thought others should be informed first, such as parents, or that others should be consulted, for instance psychologists or social workers. The remaining 31 % did not comment.

Research in South Africa has found that many not only assume that a dating relationship inevitably involves sex, but also that gift giving somehow entitles one partner physical and sexual access to the other's body (Stavrou and Kaufman, 2002). In the school context, this form of negotiation through gift giving is evident when educators negotiate sexual favours from learners by offering better marks and/or financial support (Human Rights Watch, 2001: 46). In the survey, students where asked to indicate whether they agree that if a girl accepts many gifts from a man, he can expect sexual favours in return. Table 5.9 shows that close to 10 % of the student teachers agree with this perception and about 7 % are not sure, while the majority of more than 80 % disagree.

Table 5.9 Responses to statement of Confusion 1

STATEMENTS	Response (%)			Pearson chi square test		
	D	U	A	sex	race	home
I think that if a girl accepts many gifts from a man, he can expect sexual favours in return	82.6	7.4	9.9	n/a **	n/a **	n/a **

**p<.01
*p<.05

Male students were more likely (22.2 %) than female students (3.4 %), and Indian (15.2 %) and black (13.6 %) students were more likely than white students (1.9 %), to agree that girls implicitly agree to sex by accepting gifts from a man. Also, a larger proportion of students from rural areas (32.4 %), than those from urban (9.6 %), from township (6.3 %) and from suburban (2.7 %) areas, were found to hold this perception.

The student teachers participating in the focus groups recognised that the perception of violence and abuse as normal in interpersonal relationships is prevalent and can act as a barrier to reporting among learners: "*…some of the children they don't report abuse simply because the way they grew up, they have been abused from their early ages, so only to find that abusive behaviour towards me is a normal behaviour, it's a way of living*" (Gr1H: 582-585). The need to teach learners about their rights and about the need to set boundaries for their own bodies was voiced in both focus groups.

One student teacher suggested that what is defined as 'kidnapping' and 'rape' today was not so long ago considered a legitimate way of getting married in traditional African culture, and argued that the loss of 'culture' or 'tradition' was an underlying reason for the current confusion around these issues. The student teacher argued that when a man was ready to get married within traditional African culture:

> "*…they will just come to this family, and they will just grab a girl, maybe at night. Or maybe it could be during the day, a girl was coming from school, and grab her from the road (…) But then it was not regarded as rape because it was part of culture, it was part of how a man should get married in an African tradition (…) …the following day they go to girls home, they pay all those things, I mean everything is just okay. That's how they used to get married those people, but today it has changed. The confusion, we are now confused. These things, actually, we inherited these things. So I can't say 'people, don't misbehave', because I've inherited. But I think it's the inferiority that children feel of what they inherited*" (Gr1H:624-644)

While culture was used as an explanatory framework for a number of different practices during the focus group sessions, a direct reference to culture as a way of legitimising violent practices was only made this one time. Nevertheless, the introduction of this argument points to the need for reflections around the concepts of 'culture' and 'tradition' and how these impact on understanding of gender-based violence[23].

5.3.2 Confusion 2: Can girls be blamed for violence?

The statements above is not without relevance to the second area of confusion identified by Brookes and Richter (2001) in schools, as there is an element of blame diffusion in the assumption that a girl implicitly relinquish control of her own body by entering a relationship or by accepting gifts from a man. Blame diffusion is the third dimension in Collings' CSA myth scale, and serves to construct the perception that persons other than the offender are at least partly to blame for the abuse (Collings, 1997). According to some of these myths, the victim, who in this case is a child, might be seen as partly responsible for being abused.

---

[23] There is much evidence of 'cultural arguments' being used to legitimise gender oppressive practices e.g. Zechenter, 1997

Other involved parties could also be blamed, such as the non-offending parent in cases of incest. It is possible that educators scoring high on this dimension are less likely to respond decisively to cases of gender-based violence in school, as it shows a willingness to defend perpetrators of abuse by portraying them as victims of circumstances.

In the survey, student teachers were presented with the child sexual abuse myth that children who act in a seductive manner must be seen as at least partly to blame if an adult responds in a sexual manner. As shown in Table 5.10, around two thirds (67 %) of the students disagree with this statement. Of the remaining third, one half (17.6 %) of the students are unsure of what to answer and the other half (15.3 %) agree with the view that children are at least partly to blame in these situations. A larger share of male (28.3 %) than female (11.3 %) students agree with this statement, as does a larger share of Indian (23.4 %) and black (20.3 %) compared to white (8.7 %) students. Those coming from townships (28.1 %) are also more likely than those from urban (18.9 %), rural (11.8 %) and suburban (10 %) areas to allocate blame in this way.

The student teachers were also asked to indicate whether they agree with the statement borrowed from Collings (1997) that adolescent girls wearing revealing clothes are asking to be sexually abused. Almost three out of four (73.4 %) student teachers reject this statement and the remaining fourth are uncertain about what to answer (12.9 %) or agree with it (13.9 %). An underlying assumption in these myths is the belief that men are victims of a powerful and uncontrollable sexual drive that can be provoked by women who act or dress 'seductively'. To test the prevalence of this assumption, the student teachers were asked whether they believe that it is unhealthy for a man to control his sexual urges, which elicited a similar level of support among the students as the previous statement. This perception was significantly more prevalent among male (28 %) than female (8 %) student teachers, and was also better received among those from township (28.1 %) than those from urban (17.6 %), rural (10.8 %) and suburban (6.5 %) areas.

Table 5.10 Responses to statements of Confusion 2

STATEMENTS	Response (%)			Pearson chi square test		
	D	U	A	sex	race	home
Children who act in a seductive manner must be seen as being at least partly to blame if an adult responds to them in a sexual way	67.4	17.4	15.3	*	*	**
Adolescent girls who wear revealing clothing are asking to be sexually abused	73.4	12.9	13.9	-	-	n/a -
I believe it is unhealthy for a man to control his sexual urges	72.0	15.9	12.1	**	-	*
Children who do not report ongoing sexual abuse must want the sexual contact to continue	84.5	9.5	6.0	n/a -	n/a **	n/a *

**p<.01
*p<.05

A somewhat different version of blame diffusion myth in Collings' (1997) CSA myth scale argues that children who do not report ongoing sexual abuse must want the sexual contact to continue. This belief shows

inadequate understanding of the power dynamics and manipulation that sexual abuse often involves, resulting in an interpretation of the situation that might partly relieve the offender from responsibility for the abuse. Close to 85 % of the student teachers rejected this belief, while 6 % agreed and nearly 10 % were uncertain.

The question of whether or not girls can be blamed, and men relieved of blame, for sexual abuse and violence, became an issue of heated debate particularly in the all male focus groups. The construction of males as having uncontrollable sexual drives that could be triggered and even controlled by females emerged as a strong theme: "*...we should understand that we cannot at some stages dispute the fact that females they have more power to control the emotions and the feelings of the opposite sex*" (Gr1J:287-289). More especially, it was argued that females are controlling the mind and behaviour of males through the way they dress: "*...the learners, they are going to school with miniskirts, and teachers are there, especially ...teacher who is 25 years old. And you meet teachers who are human beings, they have a mind*" (Gr1F:403-406). Learners were not only constructed by some student teachers as seductive in the way they dress, but also in the way they act in relation to educators. The potential danger of educators being 'seduced' by learners through no fault of their own was described in this way by one focus group participant:

> "*...we cannot say that you should take responsibility, because even teachers are human beings. They've got feelings, they've got everything. So, what if a learner comes to you and tries to persuade or seduce you as a teacher outside of the school. What initiative are you going to take, huh? You can protect yourself by saying, 'I'm a teacher, I cannot fall in love with you because you are a kid'. The kids has got many persuasions, she can say 'no, you are the teacher at school, not outside of the school'*" (Gr1C: 123-129)

The educator is here constructed as a victim of seduction who cannot be held responsible for the passing of events. A more moderate version of blame diffusion was expressed by some students arguing that learners and educators are both equally responsible for keeping professional boundaries:

> "*If the relationship is a result of something that happened outside the school, either they meet in a mall, or like you say, in a place where you wouldn't normally find a teacher and a learner at the same time, if it happened in a situation like that, then the responsibility is on each of them. 'Cause they should both of them know what the law is, and in this case it's to not get into a relationship* (Gr1S: 103-108)

In this quote, the educator and the learner are constructed as equal parties entering a relationship and the unequal power relationship between them is ignored.

The blaming of females for their experiences of violence and abuse was rejected by some of the focus group participants, as was the idea that revealing clothes could justify rape: "*Listen, what you are doing is giving the rapist the power. They're dictating what we can dress in and what we can't dress in. They're telling us what to do*" (Gr1S:1162-1163). Some student teachers were also arguing that the main responsibility for upholding professional boundaries in schools is or should be on the

educator: "*…you see, as an educator, you should really, really fully be in knowledge of what your position is, or responsibility is. Because if you look at the teacher, the teacher is regarded as a second parent, apart from the first parents, the parents at home*" (Gr1N:131-134). Hence, many facets of attitudes came through in this discussion.

5.3.3 Confusion 3: What is socially unacceptable behaviour?

Where to draw the line for what can be considered socially acceptable and unacceptable behaviour is a third area of confusion that has been identified in schools (Brookes and Richter, 2001). The question posed here is how behaviour on the school ground, from learners as well as educators, is interpreted and responded to. The focus is on behaviours that might not be harmful in their own right, but could become harmful if not attended to.

Educators often have to make quick judgements on when to react and intervene in the interaction between learners. The response from educators, however, depends on what they perceive to be socially acceptable or 'normal' behaviour. For instance, many educators interpret boys' harassment of girls merely as playfulness or even as a natural part of boyhood (Brookes and Higson-Smith, 2004:117). In the survey, student teachers were asked to indicate whether they believe that bullying is a natural part of being a boy. While close to four out of five student teachers (78.1 %) reject this belief, about one in ten (11.8 %) agree and one in ten (10.1 %) are uncertain (see Table 5.11). A significantly larger proportion of male (19.2 %) than female (9.1 %) students see bullying as a natural part of being boy. The student teachers were also asked to indicate whether derogatory name-calling between learners most often could be interpreted as harmless fun. About 85 % of the respondents disagree with this interpretation, while about 7 % agree and 9 % are uncertain.

Table 5.11 Responses to statements of Confusion 3: Learners

STATEMENTS	Response (%)			Pearson chi square test		
	D	U	A	sex	race	home
I believe that bullying is a natural part of being a boy	78.1	10.1	11.8	*	-	n/a -
When learners call each other names (isfebe, stabani, moffie, slut whore etc.) it is most often just harmless fun	84.5	8.8	6.7	n/a -	n/a -	n/a -
I think that when a boy touches a girls buttocks or breasts he shows disrespect for the girl	10.4	7.1	82.6	-	n/a -	n/a -
I believe that if a boy is touching a girls breast or buttocks the educator must always intervene	7.8	5.8	86.4	n/a -	n/a -	n/a -

**p<.01
*p<.05

Both Human Rights Watch (2001) and HSRC (Brookes and Richter, 2001; Brookes and Higson-Smith, 2004) found learners to be trespassing other learners' private zones by touching their private parts. In the survey,

questions were asked to assess perception among student teachers of such incidents. In the student population, 83 % agree that a boy shows disrespect when touching a girl's breast or buttocks. Interestingly, a slightly higher proportion of student teachers (86.4%) agree that educators should always intervene if a boy is touching a girl's breasts or buttocks. While differences in responses between groups of students were not significant on these two questions, it is interesting to observe that a lower proportion of men (71.7 %) than women (86 %) agree with the first statement, but a higher proportion of men (90.7 %) than women (86 %) agree with the second statement. Hence, while women seem to answer consistently on these questions, men are less willing to acknowledge these behaviours as disrespectful, but more willing to intervene.

The level of support for inviting a learner home was fairly similar among male students whether the learner was invited for a visit (25.9 %) or for a private lesson (26.9%), while the level of support was significantly lower than this among female students in the case of a visit (8.4 %), but not significantly so in the case of a private lesson (15.8 %). The level of support for inviting a learner home was relatively high among black student teachers whether the learner was invited for a visit (27.3 %) or for a private lesson (25.4 %), while among Indian and white students the level of support was lower in the case of a visit (8.7 % and 4.8 % respectively) than in the case of a private lesson (19.6 % and 14.4 % respectively). To invite a learner home for a visit also received less support than to invite a learner home for a private lesson among those from urban (17.3 % and 25% respectively) and suburban (5.5 % and 14.5 % respectively) areas, while those from rural (18.9 % and 20 % respectively) and township (22.6 % and 25% respectively) areas reacted quite similarly to the two forms of invitations.

Table 5.12 Responses to statements of Confusion 3: Educators

STATEMENTS	Response (%)			Pearson chi square test		
	D	U	A	sex	race	home
I believe that it is okay for an educator to invite a learner home to give private lessons	59.4	22.2	18.4	-	-	-
I believe that it is okay for an educator to invite a learner home for a visit	69.8	17.7	12.3	**	**	**
I believe that it is okay for an educator to propose love to a learner	89.6	5.4	5.0	n/a -	n/a -	n/a -
I believe that it is okay for an educator to ask a learner out on a date	90.9	6.2	2.9	n/a *	n/a **	n/a **

**p<.01
*p<.05

Around 90 % of the student sample would react negatively if an educator asked a learner out on a date or proposed love to him/her. While few would have accepted these behaviours, the fact remains that around one out of ten student teachers are okay with them or unsure what to answer.

For many, particularly male focus group participants, confusion around boundaries for acceptable behaviour seemed to be a well-known problem. Two specific problems were identified in the interaction between educators and learners. First, it was argued that the discourse around harassment and abuse has made educators very vulnerable to accusations. There was a feeling that everything could be interpreted as abuse: *"It's just difficult. The teachers, they seem to not know what to say to the children, what to do to the children, because just one touch..."* (Gr1H:1029-1031) and *"I think that suspicion* [of abuse] *is very tricky, especially if you look at what is defined as harassment and abuse nowadays. Just two words, two words, could put you away forever"* (Gr1S:235-237). Second, while there was a feeling that educators have too many rules for how to behave, there was also a sense that learners are unaware of their rights and do not recognise abuse as such, partly due to the normalisation of violence and abuse in their lives discussed earlier. Some learners were seen as largely incapable of determining their own boundaries, also in relation to their educator: *"...some students are not aware that they are being abused or being harassed. Some take it as a privilege to have an affair with a teacher"* (Gr2E:288-290).

Some focus group participants expressed frustration with the difficulty of judging in cases of gender-based violence, as the situation tends to be interpreted differently by the accuser and the accused: *"I think what happens in a situation like that is that you find that the one person is genuinely hurt, and the other person is genuinely not trying to hurt the other person, was not being funny, was not intending to hurt the person"* (Gr1S:270-273). Judging in cases of gender-based violence was also perceived to be a difficult task because some girls who report abuse have seemed to enjoy attention from the accused at an earlier stage. In relation to harassment it was argued that: *"Boys do it mainly because they think girls enjoy this, unless it comes to a critical stage, when the girl don't like it. Then the girl begins to report the case"* (Gr2K:395-396). Girls might even be found to defend the boys against educator intervention up until this 'critical stage' is reached: *"...the girls would be saying; 'no, you see he's my neighbour, we're just playing'. 'We are just playing'. You see, so this is really a very, very... I don't know when to begin to challenge that. Because girls seem to be in favour"* (Gr2K:428-430). This analysis of events could very well have been used to describe the scenario presented earlier, of a female learner accusing her boyfriend of forcing sex on her, and is a good illustration of how the girl in this scenario might be perceived. The analysis seems to express the view that if a girl flirts with a boy or appears to enjoy the attention from him, she has lost her right to complain, and might even be seen to have encouraged it, if things get out of hand. These attitudes are related to common constructions of gender that will be discussed below.

To sum up, the survey indicates that many myths and misconceptions about gender-based violence found to be prevalent among educators are rejected by a majority of student teachers in this sample. However, misconceptions about gender-based violence seem to be more prevalent among male than among female student teachers. Misconceptions also seem to be more prevalent among black, in particular, but also Indian student teachers, than among white student teachers. A lower prevalence of misconceptions is consistently found among those from suburbs compared to those from other living areas. The three areas of confusion discussed here are strongly related to each other, not least because of their association with common constructions of gender and gender interaction.

5.4 Constructions of gender

As discussed in chapter 2 and 3, gender-based violence should not simply be seen as a deviance or deficiency in the personality of the perpetrator or victim, but as symptomatic of certain forms of masculinity emerging within a complex gender order (Connell, 1995). In an effort to assess gender constructions among the student teachers, the participants in the survey were asked to respond to a number of statements expressing or contradicting gender stereotypes concerning ambitions, abilities and interaction.

5.4.1 Gender and Ambitions

School is considered an important part of the process of preparing for and choosing a line of work. However, culturally derived constructions of gender tend to define certain trades as masculine and others as feminine, and schools often contribute to the reproduction of these stereotypes (Connell, 1996:216). As part of the assessment of gender constructions, the student teachers were asked to respond to whether boys and girls should be able to make choices about their lives without being restricted by their gender. Close to 90 % of the students teachers agreed that boys and girls should have an equal range of options to choose from as evident in Table 5.13. A lower share of male (85.2 %) than female (94.3 %) students, and a lower share of black (83.1 %) than white (96 %) and Indian (97.8 %) students agreed with this statement. Interestingly, 100 % of students coming from urban areas agreed with the statement, while only 75 % of those from rural areas did the same.

The students were asked more specifically whether it is all right for boys and girls to have career ambitions that do not fit neatly into traditional gender division of labour. Similar proportions of students would oppose girls aspiring to enter the police force (7.9 %) and boys aspiring for careers as nurses (7.5 %), but a slightly smaller share of student teachers would support boys dreaming of becoming nurses (79.5 %) than girls wanting to be police officers (84.7 %). There are significant differences between the sexes in how they respond to these statements, with male students being less open for transgressions of traditional occupational gender boundaries than female students. Among female students, around 4 % would restrict both boys' and girls' career choices, while among male students the same is true for 18.5 % in relation to boys and 16.7 % in relation to girls career choices. Differences in responses were also found between race groups, and significantly so in relation to girls career choices. More black students (15.2 %) would oppose girls aspiring for a career in the police force than would Indian (4.3 %) and white (1.9 %) students. Students coming from rural areas are the group most opposed to occupational gender transgressions, with 21.6 % disapproving of both boys and girls venturing into untraditional areas of work.

5.4.2 Gender and Abilities

The students were asked not only about their ideas of appropriate career paths for men and women, but also about their gender constructions of abilities. As discussed in chapter 3, subjects taught in school have to a large extent been defined on a scale from masculine to feminine, with subjects like Maths and Science at one end of the scale, and Life Orientation and, previously, Home Economics at the other end (Dunne et al, 2005). To assess the strength of such polarised gender constructions, student teachers were presented with two statements expressing stereotypes about gender and ability. Firstly, it was alleged that women are better suited to teach the Life Orientation module than men. This

statement was accepted by about 15 % of the student teachers, and rejected by about 70 %. However, acceptance of this stereotype was significantly higher among male (25.9 %) than female (9 %) students. Only about half the male students (53.7 %) disagreed with this gender construction, while the same was true for more than three out of four female students (77.5 %).

Table 5.13 Constructions of Gender

STATEMENTS	Response (%)			Pearson chi square test		
	D	U	A	sex	race	home
I believe boys and girls should be able to make choices about their lives without being restricted by their gender	8.7	1.7	89.7	n/a *	n/a **	n/a **
I think that it is all right for a girl to dream of becoming a police officer	7.9	7.4	84.7	n/a **	n/a **	n/a **
I think that it is all right for a boy to dream of becoming a nurse	7.5	12.9	79.5	**	n/a -	n/a **
I think that women are better suited to teach the Life Orientation module than men	70.7	14.5	14.9	**	-	-
I believe that boys are better able to succeed in maths and science than girls	76.4	12.4	11.2	**	-	n/a *
I believe that it is natural for a boy to take the lead in a dating relationship	40.4	14.5	44.8	-	**	-

**p<.01
*p<.05

Secondly, the students were presented with the statement that boys are better able to succeed in Maths and Science than girls. This statement was well received by 11.2 % of the student population, and rejected by 76.4 %. Again, the polarised notion of gender was accepted by a larger proportion of male (22.2 %) than female (7.3 %) students. Significant differences between students coming from different home environments was also found, with greater support for the gender stereotype among those from urban areas (23.1 %), followed by those from rural areas (18.9 %), township areas (9.4 %) and finally suburban areas (3.6 %). In light of the fact that 100 % of student teachers from urban areas supported the liberal statement that boys and girls should be able to make life choices without being restricted by their gender, it is interesting to find that these students show more polarised gender constructions of abilities than the overall student population.

5.4.3 Gender Interaction

Research has found polarised norms for gender interaction, with men being constructed as active with strong sexual drives and females as passive without sexual desires, to be a central obstacle to the communication between the sexes and the negotiation of sexual relationships. One expression of these differences in expectations from and stereotypes about girls and boys were observed by a female focus group participant: "*Guys can have so many relationships and girls can't because there's a lot of stigma attached to them*" (Gr2P:366-367).

In order to assess the prevalence of such stereotypes around female passivity and male assertiveness, the students were asked to respond to

whether they see it as natural for a boy to take the lead in a dating relationship. While other statements about gender interaction received relatively low levels of support, this gender stereotype was well received among the students. As evident in Table 5.13, 45 % agreed that it would be natural for a boy to take the lead in a dating relationship, while about 40 % disagreed. The gender difference found in responses to other gender stereotypes is not replicated for this statement. However, significant differences in the responses from different racial groups were evident, with a higher proportion of white (52.4 %) students accepting this stereotype of gender interaction than Indian (45.7 %) and black (36.4 %) students. Since the white student group has consistently shown a lower level of myth acceptance and gender stereotyping than overall levels in this survey, their relatively strong support for this gender stereotype is surprising. As this seems to be a relatively prevalent and socially accepted norm compared to many other statements in the survey, it might be exempted from social desirability response.

The gender stereotypes used in the survey were accepted to a varying degree by different groups of students. As in the other parts of the survey, male and black students, as well as students from rural areas, showed greater willingness to accept the stereotypes and reject the more liberal statements presented than other student groups.

5.5   Results from the Child Sexual Abuse Myth Scale

Results from the different dimensions of the CSA myth scale have so far been discussed item-by-item. This analysis has revealed certain trends in the responses from different groups of students. Some of these trends are confirmed when analysing the CSA myth scale as a whole. As evident in Table 5.14, 88.1 % of the student teachers report some degree of child sexual abuse myth acceptance. A higher proportion of male (98.1 %) than female (85.5 %) students have some degree of myth acceptance. Black (95.5 %) students are also more accepting of child sexual abuse myths than Indian (89.4 %) and white (83.7 %) students, and students from rural areas (97.3 %) are more accepting of child sexual abuse myths than those from townships (93.7 %), urban (90.6 %) and, in particular, suburban (83.6 %) areas.

An analysis of covariance (ANCOVA)[24] reveals significant main effects for gender and race, but not for home place (Table 5.15). Significant interaction effects between these three factors are not found. As the analysis above has indicated, mean CSA myth scale scores for males (29.88) are significantly higher than mean scores for females (26.80) in the student population. Also, mean scores for the myth scale are highest for black (30.00) and lowest for white (26.02) student teachers, with mean scores for Indian student teachers (27.45) falling between these two extremes.

Even though the interaction effects between the variables were not found to be significant, it is important to note that the black student group has a significantly (p<.01) higher proportion of male students (52.3 %) than the white (12.5 %) and Indian (8.7 %) student groups, which might be one reason for the racial difference in responses. However, the male student group also has a significantly (p<.01) higher proportion of black students

---

[24] A two-tailed Pearson's correlation suggests that scores on the CSA myth scale are not correlated with the age of the respondents (r (219) = .013, p = .857), hence, there was no need to control for age in the ANCOVA.

(66.7 %) than the female student group (18.9 %). Hence, while interaction effects are not significant, it is possible that sample differences in terms of race and gender have some impact on the results.

Table 5.14 Degree of Child Sexual Abuse Myth Acceptance

| Characteristics | No myth acceptance (%) | Some degree of myth acceptance[1] | | df | Chi[2] |
		1-5 items (%)	6-11 items (%)		
Gender				2	8.57*
Male	1.9	64.8	33.3		
Female	14.5	64.8	20.7		
Race/Ethnicity				4	11.93*
Black	4.5	60.6	34.8		
Indian	10.6	66.0	23.4		
White	16.3	68.3	15.4		
Home				6	11.35
Rural	2.7	59.5	37.8		
Township	6.3	68.8	25.0		
Urban	9.4	64.2	26.4		
Suburb	16.4	66.4	17.3		
Total	11.9	64.6	23.5		

[1]Some degree of myth acceptance = a score of 3 or higher for an item on the CSA Myth Scale
*p<.05

Table 5.15 Analysis of main effects and interaction between factors (N =195)

| Factors | CSA myth scale scores | | Analysis of covariance | | |
	Mean	(SD)	df	MS	F
Gender (A)			1	129.685	6.98**
Male	29.88	(5.44)			
Female	26.80	(4.18)			
Race/Ethnicity (B)			2	58.605	3.10*
Black	30.00	(5.23)			
Indian	27.45	(4.16)			
White	26.02	(3.74)			
Home (C)			3	7.091	.382
Rural	29.84	(4.82)			
Township	28.83	(4.87)			
Urban	27.86	(5.27)			
Suburban	26.40	(4.04)			
A x B			2	17.751	0.96
A x C			3	37.818	2.04
B x C			4	29.848	1.61
A x B x C			2	50.432	2.71
Error			177	18.580	

R^2 for the full model = .212 (Adjusted R^2 =.136)
**p<.01, *p<.05

5.6 Conclusion

Existing research in South African schools suggests that some educators in the current education system are not dealing adequately with the problem of gender-based violence, and points too certain attitudes, beliefs and knowledge-gaps prevalent among these educators as important explanatory factors (Human Rights Watch, 2001; Brookes and Richter, 2001; Brookes and Higson-Smith, 2004). Data collected for this study indicates that many of these attitudes, beliefs and knowledge-gaps are also common in the next generation of educators. Much confusion exists about the legal framework for how to handle cases of gender-based violence, and attitudes towards these laws are variable. Problematic attitudes and beliefs about gender-based violence are also present in the student teacher population. About nine out of ten student teachers have some degree of CSA myth acceptance, and some level of support is also found for a range of other misconceptions about gender-based violence assessed in the survey. Evidence to the existence of polarised constructions of gender has also been provided. While most students seem to have somewhat liberal views on what career route people of opposite sexes can aim for, many seem to hold traditional constructions of gender roles in sexual relationships and to believe in fundamental differences in the abilities of men and women.

Consistent with previous findings, male student teachers are showing a greater tendency than female student teachers to accept CSA myths and other misconceptions (Brookes and Richter, 2001). This is an alarming finding, particularly as male educators are disproportionately represented in higher administrative positions in the South African education system (Department of Education, 2006:9).

The survey also revealed significant differences between race groups, with higher levels of myth acceptance and misconceptions about gender-based violence in the black student population. Connell (1995) and Kenway and Fitzclarence (1997) have observed that relations between the race and class groups in a society are significant in the construction of gender identities, and could contribute to generate the differences in results. Since a large degree of correlation between race and class persists in post-apartheid South Africa, it is likely that socioeconomic background is an important explanatory factor. Brookes and Richter (2001) found that level of violence was lower in well-resourced schools. Hence, the student teachers' personal experiences of violence from their own school background are likely to be related to their socioeconomic class. Differences in the level of violence in the students' own school background has implications for the social construction of attitudes towards violence and might be important in explaining the race differences found. The finding that students coming from suburban areas consistently display higher levels of acknowledgement and understanding of gender-based violence supports this assumption.

The focus groups allowed some of the student teachers to reflect on and express their own understanding of gender-based violence. There seemed to be great interest and willingness to discuss these questions, in fact, participants in both focus groups expressed a wish to continue the discussions once the sessions came to an end. More information and discussion on the problem of gender-based violence in the education sector were requested by the student teachers: "*The whole thinking needs to start with teacher education, because there are confusion about these issues, and there really need to be proper clarification about what is right and what's wrong…*" (Gr2G: 197-199)

6   Conclusion and Recommendations

In the development theory of Amartya Sen (1999), education is brought forward as a central condition for improving human capability, or freedom, to lead the lives they have reason to value. Education is perceived to directly influence the freedom people enjoy through improved ability to communicate ideas and acquire knowledge, but also to impact indirectly on freedom and well-being through increased income and improved skills and productivity. In addition, education is expected to have a substantial health dividend, not least with regards to reproductive health and in the fight against HIV/AIDS (Haregreaves and Boler, 2006). However, research suggests that gender-based violence is a major problem in South African schools (Brookes and Higson-Smith, 2004; Human Rights Watch, 2001), and evidence has been provided that this can jeopardise the development benefits that schooling is assumed to have in terms of education and health.

The level of violence in South African society is high and schools are perceived to be an important arena for anti-violence interventions (Matthews, Griggs and Caine, 1999). Since gender-based violence is an important contributing factor to the spread of HIV/AIDS, anti-violence interventions often intersect with those fighting the spread of the epidemic (Mirsky, 2003). Educators are expected to play a central role in these campaigns. However, research conducted in South African schools indicates that many educators cannot live up to these expectations. Not only are episodes of gender-based violence between students neglected by staff in many schools, but some educators have been found to be responsible for acts of gender-based violence themselves while working in a professional capacity with learners (Human Rights Watch, 2001; Brookes and Higson-Smith, 2004).

In this context, Brookes and Higson-Smith (2004) have recommended to focus on general school culture or climate, rather than specific anti-violence interventions, as the most critical important determinant of school violence. In turn, the attitudes and behaviours of educators are significant in shaping school culture. A review of the literature on gender-based violence in schools has revealed a number of inadequacies in the knowledge, awareness and understanding of the problem among educators in violent schools. First, there seems to be confusion among educators about the legal and policy framework as it applies to cases of gender-based violence, and therefore also about how to respond when incidents occur (Human Rights Watch, 2001). Second, there is a lack of institutional acknowledgement of gender-based violence as a problem in certain schools (Brookes and Richter, 2001). Third, misconceptions and confusion about how to understand the problem of gender-based violence is prevalent. And fourth, many of these misconceptions are rooted in polarised constructions of masculine and feminine gender identities.

Recognising the importance of education for development and the detrimental effects gender-based violence has in this context, the primary research conducted for this dissertation has been concerned with an assessment of the attitudes, awareness and knowledge of gender-based violence among student teachers - the future teaching force of South Africa.

The data revealed a great deal of confusion about the content of South African laws with regards to gender-based violence in schools and a variety of attitudes towards the laws prescribed. Understanding of gender-based violence, and the extent to which it was acknowledged as a problem by the student teachers, was also found to be variable. And while most student teacher seems to support the principle of gender equality, traditional gender stereotypes regarding the nature of gender and gender interaction were found to persist, particularly in certain groups of students. Implications of the findings and some suggested avenues for improvement are discussed below.

6.1 Legal and Policy Framework

The findings suggest that new educators entering the teaching profession are likely to vary substantially in their capacity to respond when cases of gender-based violence occur in schools. There is a clear need for improved preparation of educators in training and to develop clear and unambiguous guidelines for use in practice. In South Africa, the professional development of educators takes place in two complementary subsystems; Initial Professional Development of Educators (IPET), which is the sector investigated in this study, and Continuing Professional Teacher Development (CPTD), often called in-service training. The new *National Policy Framework for Teacher Education and Training* (Department of Education, 2006) stipulates that Higher Education under the Ministry of Education is responsible for the IPET, while SACE is responsible for the registration of qualified educators when pre-service training is completed and for the implementation and management of the CPTD. However, as the educators' own professional body, SACE is also entrusted with the overall responsibility to develop and promote the image of the teaching profession (SACE, nd, b). This includes a mandate to compile and maintain a Code of Professional Ethics, to investigate alleged breaches of this code and to deregister educators found guilty of breaches (SACE, nd, a). SACE therefore has a particular interest in and responsibility for ensuring educator awareness of and adherence to appropriate conduct, even among those in IPET.

PGCE students and staff indicated that the SACE code of professional ethics is an important source of guidance on ethical questions in their programme curriculum. However, the students found their own knowledge of the Code to be unsatisfactory, and argued that this document should not only be listed as a reading, but should be dealt with in lectures[25], as part of training on gender-based violence: "*we've got the code of conduct, and a lot is left to... okay, we should be reading this, but I think that these things need to be dealt with in a lecture, so that people can't escape*" (Gr2O:572-574). There is a need for improved information on what rules apply in schools and it would be a small but important step in the right direction for teacher training programmes to deal more comprehensively with the Code of Professional Ethics. Knowing that SACE gives ethical and legal training (SACE, nd, b), it might also be possible to include trainers from SACE as lecturers on this topic. The fact that these training programmes have recently been inactive (SACE, nd, b), as well as the seeming lack of consistency in the enforcement of sanctions for breaching the Code of Professional Ethics (Human Rights Watch, 2001),

---

[25] The PGCE students were only halfway through their on-year study when the focus group was held, hence, it is possible that the Code of Professional Ethics was dealt with more in-depth at a later stage. The SACE Handbook of Professional Ethics is used in two modules of the PGCE curriculum: Core Education Studies 610 and Education and Professional Development 630.

indicates a need to strengthen the capacity of SACE to fulfil their mandate.

While the Code gives guidelines on ethical behaviours in the teaching profession, it does not provide guidelines on how to proceed when cases of gender-based violence occur in school.
One obstacle in efforts to adequately prepare student teachers for how to deal with such situations is the existing inadequacies in education laws and policy framework. When the Gender Equity Task Team (GETT) reviewed conditions for gender equity in education ten years ago, a key recommendation was the introduction of vicarious liability in laws around discrimination and harassment in educational environments (Wolpe, Quinlan and Martinez, 1997:221). They emphasised that legislation should be developed that would give educational managers, including those with delegated responsibility such as educators, responsibility for ensuring a learning environment free of discrimination and harassment. The intention would not so much be to generate fear of liability, but rather to ensure that the responsibility for taking preventative and pro-active steps to create a harassment and violence free school environment would be clearly allocated. While certain amendments in education-specific legislation have been made since the GETT report in 1997, the principle of vicarious liability has so far not been adopted. There is a need to critically review whether the existing legal framework provides enough clarity on who is responsible for promoting a school environment free of gender-based violence.

Another important step that would facilitate greater clarity among educators about their rights and responsibilities would be the development and adoption of a national policy on gender-based violence in schools. Requests for such a policy have been reiterated on several occasions since the GETT investigations in 1997 (Wolpe, Quinlan and Martinez, 1997; Human Right Watch, 2001; Mlamleli et al, 2000).The Department of Education[26] (DoE) has assured that the process of developing and adopting such a policy is in progress, but have not given a specific timeframe for its finalisation. An adequate legal and policy framework would make it easier to prepare student teachers to address the problem of violence in schools.

6.2 Acknowledgement and Understanding of Gender-Based Violence as a Problem

Restrictive stereotypes about child sexual abuse and myths that serve to deny the existence and abusiveness of such practices found some degree of resonance in the survey population, as did myths and misconceptions that serve to distort understanding. Unsatisfactory acknowledgement and understanding of gender-based violence are related problems that might usefully be addressed together.

In one focus group, the high proportion of male educators in certain schools was identified as a problem requiring attention. It was argued that a male dominated staff could stop learners from reporting crimes, as male educators were perceived as not taking gender-based violence seriously. A solution suggested was to increase the recruitment of female educators: "*I think the government also should encourage the training of female teachers to be involved in everything. And then that would maybe minimise the chances*" (Gr1J: 1020-1022). A possible objection to this

---

[26]William Tshabalala, (DoE representative) correspondence by e-mail 20 Feb. 2006, confirmed 20 March 2007

suggestion is that rather than addressing the inadequate acknowledgement and understanding of gender-based violence among some male educators this strategy would simply serve to dilute or hide the problem by outnumbering male with female educators. Furthermore, this solution would not provide learners with much needed healthy male role models. While it is reasonable to argue for a balance in the number of male and female educators, there must simultaneously be efforts to sensitise and inform both male and female educators, and thereby prepare them for the problem.

In South Africa, two existing initiatives have been identified that aim to address gender-based violence in schools by raising awareness and understanding about the issue among educators. The first programme is a module for educators developed by the DoE in partnership with McGill University and CIDA[27] entitled «Opening our Eyes: addressing gender-based violence in South African schools – a module for educators» (Mitchell, 2001). The module is a professional development tool intended for use at school and district level with educators, school managers and school governing bodies, but has also been recommended for use among teacher trainers and trainees. Through eight interactive workshops the module is meant to increase awareness and knowledge of gender-based violence, to provide tools and strategies for addressing this problem in schools, to highlight the link between gender violence and HIV/AIDS, and to promote a culture of learning and teaching through whole school strategies. In 2001, a nationwide roll-out was signalled to be under way (Mitchell, 2001). More recent information on the progress of this roll-out has not been found. Personal communication with Claudia Mitchell[28] reveals that the DoE, who now have the module at their disposal, have recently reiterated the plan of a nationwide roll out of the module, but more specifically for the training of gender focal persons in the provincial DoEs.

The second initiative started as a pilot project developed by researchers in the School of Public Health at the UWC, aiming to train educators to incorporate issues of gender-based violence in the primary school curriculum (Dreyer, Kim and Schaay, 2001). Educators from five primary schools in the Mitchells Plain district of Cape Town attended a training programme over 8 two-hour sessions. The training sought to identify and challenge the knowledge and attitudes of educators regarding gender and gender-based violence, to reflect on the messages they conveyed to learners, and to identify strategies for addressing gender-based violence in schools. In addition to the training workshops, the educators were provided with teaching material for use in the classroom context. Results from pre- and post-training questionnaires on attitudes and knowledge suggested that the programme had an impact on the beliefs, perceptions and perceived knowledge of the educators involved. However, a later reassessment of the programme found that only 6 out of 33 participants actually implemented the lessons provided in their classes, indicating a very limited influence on classroom practice (Schaay, 2002).

Further investigations were made into what obstacles the educators had encountered that prevented successful implementation, and findings suggested that these included inadequate links to and support from the DoE, inadequate contextualisation within current educational practice, as well as what participants described as 'inherently sexist organisational

---

[27] the Canadian International Development Agency
[28] Claudia Mitchell (Professor of Education, McGill University) correspondence by e-mail 5 June 2007

cultures in schools' (Schaay, 2002:52-55). The suggestion of including student teachers in the programme as a way of reaching educators not yet entrenched in these cultures was launched, a suggestion that was acted upon shortly thereafter when the module was offered for student teachers at University of the Western Cape (UWC) and University of Cape Town (UCT) (Rooth, 2002). Whether the programme has continued, and links to IPET have been developed further, is not clear. Personal communication with Schaay[29] suggests that the major developments within the project happened up until 2002 and that those involved have since moved on to other projects.

These two programmes were developed as part of the CPTD, and have both been recommended for use in the IPET. The questionnaire sent out to staff in the three teacher training programmes included a question on their familiarity with these two modules. The PGCE staff member at UKZN, as the only respondent to this questionnaire, was not familiar with either of them, indicating that recommendations to extend the programmes to the IPET have not been successful. Hence, resources developed for improving the acknowledgement and understanding of gender-based violence among educators are available for further development and use in both the CPTD and the IPET. There is a need to investigate what bottlenecks are preventing their roll out. One necessary evaluation of these modules is the extent to which they address culturally based constructions of gender among student teachers.

6.3 Constructions of Gender

As discussed in chapter 3, our understanding of gender-based violence, and our will to acknowledge this as a problem, is strongly associated with our constructions of gender and gender identities. While student teachers seems to hold relatively liberal views with regards to career choice, the survey revealed more polarised and essentialist constructions of what abilities or qualities men and women naturally inhabit. There is a need to improve understanding of and communication between the sexes, which requires a move away from rigid constructions of gender.

In the focus groups, the construction of gender and gender identities was only brought up briefly, and none of the solutions suggested were concerned with this aspect. However, Life Orientation was identified as an important subject in dealing with gender-based violence and one participant suggested making it mandatory for student teachers:

> "…I think it should be the norm that each and every teacher in training should have life orientation experience, they should be taught how to teach life orientation. I think it would make it much better because it's not every teacher who's approachable, you see, so if a learner wants to come, they should be able to approach any teacher that they want, and that teacher has to have experience to deal with it" (Gr2B: 520-524)

Hence, it is argued that all educators should be trained in life orientation in order to become more approachable and better able to handle cases of gender-based violence. This is an interesting suggestion considering that about 30 % of the student teachers were open for the possibility that women as a group are better suited to teach life orientation than men.

---

[29] Nikki Schaay (Researcher, School of Public Health, UWC) correspondence by e-mail 2 November 2006

However, the importance of this suggestion is not necessarily the need for a compulsory life orientation module, but the implicit recognition that all educators, male as well as female, need to acquire the sensitivity, empathy, insights and experience assumed to characterise life orientation educators for dealing with gender-based violence. It implies a need to bridge perceived gender differences and to acknowledge that gender-based violence in school is a problem that affects and must be addressed by the whole school community, not just a small group of life orientation educators or women[30]. This requires that polarised constructions of gender and gender identities are challenged.

In Chapter 3, a way forward was suggested by pointing to the multiple layers of gender identities and the possibility of developing alternative and less dichotomised constructions of gender. A range of approaches have been suggested for how to address gender-based violence through deconstructing stereotypes about gender, gender identities and gender relations. While many of these strategies have been developed for use among children and young people, similar principles could be used when targeting student teachers. These approaches have in common that rather than to individualise and pathologise violence they seek to target violent masculine cultures, and, as emphasised by Morrell (1998), nurture alternative and less violent masculinities. Kenway and Fitzclarence (1997:129) have suggested a form of narrative therapy in which individuals and groups engage in a process of remaking the dominant story-lines that have governed their lives and search for alternative stories that contradict or resist dominant narratives. Pattman and Chege (2003b:106) suggest that young people be addressed as experts about their own lives in a holistic and non-judgemental setting, using multiple channels for expression such as diaries, personal interviews, and group interviews, to enable them to speak out and reflect on their constructions of gender and sexuality. Connell (1995:239-240) focuses on the enactment of gender identities as the route for change and requests a greater diversity of gender positions, advantaged and less advantaged, to be explored through classroom-activity in a form of gender-inclusive curriculum. This requires educators to have made similar kinds of learning experiences while in training. The strategies discussed here are examples of how constructions of gender among student teachers could be approached in teacher training, perhaps as part of the modules discussed above.

In his discussion of how to fight gender injustice, Connell (1995) creates a bridge to struggles against other forms of social injustice, e.g. based on ethnicity and class. This link is also made by Kumashiro (2000) who suggests strategies for an anti-oppressive education rather than focusing exclusively on one form of oppression. Cultural awareness and understanding among educators is important in the context of gender-based violence for two reasons; first, gender politics intersect with and is strongly related to politics around cultural identities, and second, constructions of gender are culturally defined and must therefore be deconstruction in conjunction with reflections on culture. The survey revealed significant differences in attitudes and understanding of gender and gender-based violence between student teachers from different race groups. Perceptions of culture and tradition also emerged as factors influencing constructions of gender and gender interaction among the focus group participants. There is a need to provide student teachers with

---

[30] The importance of a whole school approach, rather than targeting a few selected educators in each school, have been confirmed through research by Dreyer, Kim and Schaay (2001)

the opportunity to reflect on how perceptions of culture influence their own constructions of gender and understanding of gender-based violence. There is also a need to provide the opportunity to reflect on 'culture' as a construct in itself and on the role cultural arguments can play in justifying and defending practices that are fundamentally harmful to the people affected.

The survey found highly ambiguous attitudes among student teachers towards corporal punishment as a disciplinary tool in schools. Knowing that previous research have found disciplinary measures, in the form of corporal and other punishments, to be highly gendered (Chege, 2004), there seems to be a need for teacher training programmes to deal more comprehensively with questions around discipline. This training would need to create better understanding of reasons why corporal punishment must be abandoned, of the dangers in using gendered messages to create discipline, and of alternative non-violent and non-gendered approaches to discipline.

6.4   Further Research and Information Needs

The process of conducting research on gender-based violence in schools revealed significant gaps in current knowledge about many aspects of this problem. For instance, research on the prevalence of school-related gender-based violence in Southern Africa has focused almost exclusively on female learners as victims. Hence, little is known about the prevalence of male victims of gender-based violence in schools, particularly in terms of sexual violence and violence motivated by homophobia. Understanding violence on male and female learners as part of the same problem is an important step forward, and future research should use this approach and thereby provide more balanced information.

Focusing narrowly on stakeholders within the school system is clearly inadequate when dealing with a problem that demands cooperation with other entities. More research on the quality of cooperation with support systems surrounding schools in such cases, including the police, the health care units, the legal system, the DoE, as well as the school community would be very useful. In this context it would also be interesting to look at ways of ensuring the accountability and transparency of schools in terms of violence.

The focus groups conducted with student teachers for this study was a possible starting-point for a process of engaging educators in discussions about the problem of gender-based violence in schools. Being a study of limited scope and size it was not possible to explore further the potential benefits gained from continuing this process. However, many student teachers expressed deep concerns about the problem, which was familiar both from their own school background and from teaching practice, and wanted to go further in conversations about solutions. The positive feedback on the focus group situation from the student teachers indicates that there might be great interest from student teachers to engage in conversation about strategies for eradicating this problem, and future research should make use of this potential.

References

ABRAHAMS, N., R. JEWKES and R. LAUBSHER (1999) '*I do not believe in democracy in the home': Men's relationships with and abuse of women*, Tygerberg: Medical Research Council

ABRAHAMS, N., S. MATHEWS AND P. RAMELA (2006) 'Intersection of 'sanitation, sexual coercion and girls' safety in schools'', *Tropical Medicine and International Health*, 11(5), 751-756

ABRAMSON, P.R., B.D. SILVER AND B.A. ANDRESON (1987) 'The effects of question order in attitude surveys: The case of the SRC/CPS citizen duty items', *American journal of Political Science*, 31(4), 900-908

ADAMS, S. (2006) SA's child rape shame, *The Independent*, 11 March 2006, p.1

AFENYADU, D. AND L. GOPARAJU (2003) *Adolescent sexual and reproductive health behaviour in Dodowa, Ghana*, Washington DC: CEDPA

AIKMAN, S., E. UNTERHALTER AND C. CHALLENDER (2005) 'The education MDGs: Achieving gender equality through curriculum and pedagogy change', *Gender and Development*, 13(1), 44-55

ALIBER, M. (2001) *Study of the incidence and nature of chronic poverty and development policy in South Africa: An overview*, Cape Town: Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies (PLAAS), University of the Western Cape

ANDERSON, K., A. CASE AND D. LAM (2001) *Causes and consequences of schooling outcomes in South Africa: Evidence from survey data*, Michigan: PSC Publications.

ANDERSSON, N., A. HO-FOSTER, J. MATTHIS, N. MAROKOANE, V. MASHIANE, S. MHATRE, S. MITCHELL, T. MOKOENA, L. MONASTA, N. NGXOWA, M.P. SALCEDO AND H. SONNEKUS (2004) 'National cross sectional study of views on sexual violence and risk of HIV infection and AIDS among South African school pupils', *BMJ*, 329, 952-954

ANDERSON, N., S. MHATRE, S. NAIDOO, N. MAYET, N. MQOTSI, M. PENDERIS, J. ONISHI, M. MYBURG AND S. MERHI (2000) *Beyond victims and villains: The culture of sexual violence in South Johannesburg*, Johannesburg: CIETafrica

ANDREW, M. (2007) Pupils dive for cover in Chats drive-by shooting, *Daily News*, 8 March 2007

BENNELL, P., K. HYDE AND N. SWAINSON (2002) *The impact of the HIV/AIDS epidemic on the education sector in Sub-Saharan Africa: A synthesis of the findings and recommendations from three country studies*, Brighton: Centre for International Education, University of Sussex

BERNSTEIN, D.A., A. CLARKE-STEWART, E.J. ROY AND C.D. WICKENS (1997) *Psychology*, Boston/New York; Houghton Mifflin Company

BOOTH, A. (1999) 'Initial conditions and miraculous growth: Why is South East Asia different from Taiwan and South Korea?' *World Development*, 27(2), 301-321

BOTT, S., A. MORRISON AND M. ELLSBERG (2005) 'Preventing and responding to gender-based violence in middle and low-income countries: A global review and analysis', Policy Research Working Paper 3618, Washington DC: World Bank

BOYLE, S., A. BROCK, J. MACE AND M. SIBBONS (2002) *Reaching the poor: The 'costs' of sending children to school – a six country comparative study*, London: DFID

BROOKES, H. AND C. HIGSON-SMITH (2004) 'Responses to gender-based violence in schools' in Richter, L., A. Dawes and C. Higson-Smith

(eds), *Sexual Abuse of Young Children in Southern Africa*. Cape Town: HSRC

BROOKES, H. AND L. RICHTER (2001) *A study of school responses to violence and harassment of girls*, Pretoria: HSRC

BROOKES, H., O. SHISANA AND L. RICHTER (2004) *The national household HIV prevalence and risk survey of South African children*, Cape Town: HSRC Press

BURNETT, C. (1998) 'School violence in an impoverished South African community', *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 22(8), 789–795

BURT, M.R. (1980) 'Cultural myths and supports for rape' *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 38(2), 217-230

CAMPBELL, L.K. AND S. COLLINGS (2000) 'Sexual abuse myths held by student teachers', *Child Abuse Research in South Africa,* 1(1), 1-5

CARVALHO, S. AND H. WHITE (1997) *Combining the quantitative and qualitative approaches to poverty measurement and analysis; The practice and the potential*, Technical Paper no.366, Washington DC: World Bank

CHEGE, F. (2004) *Teachers' gendered lives, HIV/AIDS and pedagogy*, Beyond Access Seminar 2, Nairobi: Kenyatta University http://www.ioe.ac.uk/schools/efps/GenderEducDev/Chege%20paper.pdf

CHISHOLM, L. AND S. VALLY (1996) *The culture of learning and teaching in Gauteng schools*, Johannesburg: Wits Education Policy Unit

CHRISTIE, P. AND M. POTTERTON (1997) *School development in South Africa: A research project to investigate strategic interventions for quality improvement in South African schools*, Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand

COLLINGS, S.J. (1997a) 'Child sexual abuse in a sample of South African women students: Prevalence, characteristics, and long-term effects', *South African Journal of Psychology* 27(1), 37-42

COLLINGS, S.J. (1997b) 'Development, reliability, and validity of the Child Sexual Abuse Myth Scale', *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 12 (5), 665-674

CONNELL, R.W. (1995) *Masculinities*, Cambridge: Polity Press

CONNELL, R.W. (1996) 'Teaching the boys: New research on masculinity, and gender strategies for schools', *Teacher College Record*, 98(2), 206-23

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION (2006) *The national policy framework for teacher education and development in South Africa*, Pretoria: Department of Education

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND MEDICAL RESEARCH COUNCIL (2002) *South Africa demographic and health survey – 1998,* Full report, Pretoria: Department of Health. http://www.doh.gov.za/facts/1998/sadhs98/

DOLLEY, C. (2006) Cape Flats schools empty as gang war looms, *Cape Times*, April 12

DREYER, A., J. KIM AND N. SCHAAY (2001) *What do we want to tell our children about violence against women? Evaluation report for the project developing a model 'gender and conflict' component for the primary school curriculum*, Cape Town: University of the Western Cape

DUNNE, M., S. HUMPHREYS AND F. LEACH (2003) *Gender and violence in schools*, Paper commissioned for the EFA Global Monitoring Report 2003/4, The Leap to Equality, Paris: UNESCO, http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0014/001467/146763e.pdf

DUNNE, M., F. LEACH, B. CHILISA, T. MAUNDENI, R. TABULAWA, N. KUTOR, F. DZAMA AND A. ASSAMOAH (2005) *Gendered School Experiences: The impact on retention and achievement in Botswana and Ghana*. London: DIFD

DUVVURY, N., C. GROWN AND J. REDNER (2004) *Costs of intimate partner violence at the household and community levels: An operational framework for developing countries*, Washington DC: International Center for Research on Women (ICRW)

EDUCATION RIGHTS PROJECT (2005) *Sexual violence in schools: The rights of learners and educators*, ERP Booklet series. Johannesburg: Education Right Project

FISKE, E. B. AND H.F. LADD (2004) *Elusive equity: Education reform in post-apartheid South Africa*, Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press http://www.hsrcpress.ac.za/full_title_info.asp?id=2090

FRANCIS, B. AND C. SKELTON (2001) 'Men teachers and the construction of heterosexual masculinities in the classroom', *Sex Education*, 1(1), 9-21

FROSH, S., A. PHOENIX AND R. PATTMAN (2002) *Young masculinities: Understanding of boys in contemporary society*, London: Palgrave

GIANNAKAKI, M.-S. (2005) 'Using mixed-methods to examine teachers' attitudes to educational change: The case of the *Skills for Life* strategy for improving adult literacy and numeracy skills in England' *Educational Research and Evaluation*, 11(4), 323-348

GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA (1983) T*he Child Care Act No 74 of 1983*, State President's Office: Cape Town/ Pretoria

GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA (1996a) *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa No. 108 of 1996*, State President's Office: Cape Town/Pretoria

GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA (1996b) *The South African Schools Act No.84 of 1996*, State President's Office: Cape Town/Pretoria

GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA (1998) *The Employment of Educators Act No.76 of 1998*, State President's Office: Cape Town/Pretoria

GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA (2000a) *The South African Council of Educators Act 31 of 2000*, State President's Office: Cape Town/Pretoria

GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA (2000b) *The Education Laws Amendment Act No.13 of 2000*, State President's Office: Cape Town/Pretoria

HALLAM, S. (1994) *Crimes without punishment: Sexual harassment and violence against female students in schools and universities in Africa.* Discussion Paper No.4, London: African Rights

HAREGREAVES, J. AND T. BOLER (2006) *Girl power: The impact of girls' education on HIV and sexual behaviour*, Johannesburg: ActionAid International

HEISE, L., A. RAIKES, C.H. WATTS AND A.B. ZWI (1994) 'Violence against women: A neglected public health issue in less developed countries', *Social Science & Medicine,* 39(9), 1165-1179

HILL, M.A. AND E.M. KING (1995) 'Women's education and economic well-being', *Feminist Economics*, 1(2), 21-46

HIRSCHOWITZ, R., S. WORKU AND M. ORKIN (2000) *Quantitative research findings on rape in South Africa*, Pretoria: Statistics South Africa

HULME, D. (2007) *Integrating quantitative and qualitative research for country case studies of development*, Manchester: ESRC Global Poverty Research Group

HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH (2001) *Scared at school: Sexual violence against girls in South African schools*, New York: Human Rights Watch

HUNTER, M. (2002) 'The Materiality of Everyday Sex: Thinking beyond 'prostitution'', *African Studies,* 61(1), 99-120

HUNTER, N. AND J. MAY (2002) 'Poverty, shocks and school disruption episodes among adolescents in South Africa', Working Paper No 35, Durban: Centre for Social and Development Studies (CSDS), University of KwaZulu-Natal

JACKSON, C. (2002) 'Disciplining gender?' *World Development*, 30(3), 497-509

JEWKES, R., L. PENN-KEKANA, J. LEVIN, M. RATSAKA AND M. SCHRIEBER (1999) *"He must give me money, he mustn't beat me": Violence against women in three South African provinces,* Pretoria: Medical Research Council

JEWKES, R. AND N. ABRAHAMS (2002) 'The epidemiology of rape and sexual coercion in South Africa: An overview', *Social Science & Medicine,* 55(7), 1231-1244

JO, M.-S., J.E. NELSON AND P. KIECKER (1997) 'A model for controlling social desirability bias by direct and indirect questioning', *Marketing Letters*, 8(4), 429-437

KENWAY, J. AND J. FITZCLARENCE (1997) ' Masculinity, violence and schooling: Challenging 'poisonous pedagogies'', *Gender and Education*, 9(1), 117-133

KIM, J. AND M. MOTSEI (2002) '"Women enjoy punishment": attitudes and experiences of gender violence among PHC nurses in rural South Africa', *Social Sciences and Medicine*, 54 (8), 1243 – 1254.

KLASEN, S. (1997) 'Poverty, inequality and deprivation in South Africa: An analysis of the 1993 SALDRU survey' *Social Indicators Research,* 41, 51-94

KUMASHIRO, K.K. (2000) 'Towards a theory of anti-oppressive education', *Review of Educational Research*, 70(1), 25-53

LASORSA, D.L. (2003) 'Question-order effects in surveys: The case of political interest, news attention, and knowledge', *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, 80(3), 499-512

LEACH, F. (2003) 'Learning to be violent: The role of the school in developing adolescent gendered behaviour', *Compare*, 33(3), 385-400

LEACH, F., P. MACHAKANJA, AND J. MANDONGA (2000) *Preliminary investigation of the abuse of girls in Zimbabwean junior secondary schools*, Education Research Paper No. 39, London: DFID

LEACH, F., V. FISCIAN, E. KADZAMIRA, E. LEMANI, AND P. MACHAKANJA (2003) *An investigative study into the abuse of girls in African schools,* London: DFID.

LEE, V. E., R. G. CRONINGER, E. LINN, AND X. CHEN (1996) 'The culture of sexual harassment in secondary schools', *American Educational Research Journal*, 33(2), 383-417

LEGGETT, C.G., N.S. KLECKNER, K.J. BOYLE, J.W. DUFFIELD AND R.C. MITCHELL (2003) 'Social desirability bias in contingent valuation surveys administered through in-person interviews', *Land Economics*, 79(4), 561-575

LEWIS, S. (1997) 'A cry that no one hears' *ChildrenFIRST,* Vol 2 (16): 24-26, cited in Matthews, I., R. Griggs and G. Caine (1999) *The experience review of interventions and programmes dealing with youth violence in urban schools in South Africa*, Durban: Independent Projects Trust

LLOYD C.B. AND B.S. MENSCH (2006) 'Marriage and childbirth as factors in school exit: An analysis of DHS data from sub-Saharan Africa', Policy Research Division Working Paper No. 219, New York: Population Council

LONSWAY, K.A. AND L.F. FITZGERALD (1994) 'Rape myths: in review', *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 18, 133-164

MATTHEWS, I., R. GRIGGS AND G. CAINE (1999) *The experience review of interventions and programmes dealing with youth violence in urban schools in South Africa*, Durban: Independent Projects Trust

MCILWAINE, C. (1999) 'Geography and development: Violence and crime as development issues', *Progress in Human Geography*, 23(3), 453-463

MENSCH, B.S. AND C.B. LLOYD (1998) 'Gender differences in the schooling experiences of adolescents in low-income countries: The case of Kenya', *Studies in Family Planning*, 29(2), 167-184

MENSCH, B.S., W.H. CLARK, C.B. LLOYD AND A.S. ERULKAR (1999) 'Premarital sex and school dropout in Kenya: Can schools make a difference?', Policy Research Division Working Paper No.124, New York: Population Council

MIREMBE, R. AND L. DAVIES (2001) 'Is schooling a risk? Gender, power relations, and school culture in Uganda', *Gender and Education*, 13(4), 401-416

MIRSKY J. (2003) *Beyond victims and villains: Addressing sexual violence in the education sector*. London: Panos

MITCHELL, C. (2001) 'Safe havens for girls: can teachers challenge gender violence?', *id21 insights*, Gender Violence Special Issue. http://www.id21.org/insights/insights-gv-special/insights-gv-special-mitchell.html

MLAMLELI, O., P. MABELANE, V. NAPO, N. SIBIYA AND V. FREE (2000) 'Creating programs for safe schools: Opportunities and challenges in relation to gender-based violence in South Africa', *McGill Journal of Education*, 35(3), 261-277

MOKWENA, S. (1991) *The era of the jackrollers: Contextualising the rise of youth gangs in Soweto,* Project for the Study of Violence Seminar Paper, Johannesburg: Centre for Violence and Reconciliation

MORRELL, R. (1998) 'Gender and education: The place of masculinity in South African schools', *South African Journal of Education* 18(4), 218-225

MORRELL, R. (2002) 'A calm after the storm? Beyond schooling as violence' *Educational Review*, 54(1), 37-46

MORRISON, A., M. BUVINIC AND M. SHIFTER (2003) 'The violent Americas: Risk factors, consequences, and policy implications of social and domestic violence', in Frühling, H., J.S. Tulchin and H. Golding (eds) *Crime and violence in Latin America*, Washington DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, quoted in Heinemann, A. and D. Verner (2006) 'Crime and violence in development: A literature review of Latin America and the Caribbean', Policy Research Working Paper 4041, Washington DC: World Bank

MORRISON, A.R AND M. B. ORLANDO (2004) 'The cost and impacts of gender-based violence in developing countries: Methodological considerations and new evidence', Working Paper Series, Washington DC: World Bank

MOSER, C. (1996) *Confronting crisis: A summary of household responses to poverty and vulnerability in four poor urban communities*, Environmentally Sustainable Development Studies and Monographs Series No. 7, Washington DC: World Bank

MOSER, C. AND B. VAN BRONKHORST (1999) 'Youth violence in Latin America and the Caribbean: Costs, causes and interventions', LCR Sustainable Development Working Paper No. 3, Washington DC: World Bank

NIEHAUS, I (2000) 'Towards a dubious liberation: Masculinity, sexuality and power in South African Lowveld schools, 1953–1999', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 26(3) 387-407

OMALE, J. (2000) 'Tested to their limit: Sexual harassment in schools and educational institutions in Kenya', in Mirsky, J. and M. Radlett (eds) *No paradise yet: The world's women face the new century*. London: The Panos Institute and Zed Books

OSHAKO, T. (1997) 'Tackling school violence worldwide: A comparative perspective of basic issues and challenges', in Oshako, T. (ed) *Violence at school: Global issues and interventions*, Paris: UNESCO/IBE

ØYEN, E. (2002) *Poverty production: A different approach to poverty understanding*, Bergen: Comparative Research Programme on Poverty, http://www.cefe.net/forum/Poverty_production.pdf

PATTMAN, R. (2005) "Boys and Girls should not be too close': Sexuality, the identities of African boys and girls and HIV/AIDS education', *Sexualities*, 8(4), 501-520

PATTMAN, R. AND F. CHEGE (2003a) *Finding our voices: Gendered and sexual identities and HIV/AIDS in education*, Nairobi: UNICEF

PATTMAN, R. AND F. CHEGE (2003b) "Dear diary I saw an angel, she looked like heaven on earth': Sex talk and sex education' *African Journal of AIDS Research*, 2(2), 99-108

POTGIETER, R. (2000) 'The internal trauma of the sexually abused child', *Child Abuse Research in South Africa*, 1(1), 33-39

PULERWITZ, J. AND G. BARKER (Under review) 'Measuring equitable gender norms for HIV/STI and violence prevention with young men: Development of the GEM Scale', Unpublished document

RAMPA, S.H. (2004) 'The relationship between total quality management and school improvement', Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pretoria

ROOTH, E. (2002) *Report: Gender based violence training programme*, Cape Town: University of the Western Cape

ROSSETTI, S. (2001) *Children in school: A safe place?* Botswana: UNESCO

SCHAAY, N.R. (2002) 'How ought we to inform our teachers about gender-based violence? Identifying the challenges faced in integrating content around gender-based violence into classroom teaching in five primary schools in the Mitchells Plain district, Western Cape Province, South Africa', Masters Dissertation, School of Public Health, University of Western Cape

SEN, A. (1999) *Development as freedom*, Oxford: University Press

SERRAO, A. (2007) Fed-up matrics pupils versus thugs, *Star*, 20 April

SHAKESHAFT, C. AND A. COHAN (1995) 'Sexual abuse of students by school personnel', *Phi Delta Kappan*, 76(7), 512-520

SHUMBA, A. (2001) "Who Guards the Guards in Schools?' A Study of Reported Cases of Child Abuse by Teachers in Zimbabwean Secondary Schools', *Sex Education*, 1(1), 77-86

SHUMBA, A. (2004) 'Male Sexual Abuse by Female and Male Perpetrators in Zimbabwean Schools', *Child Abuse Review*, 13, 353–359

SIMPSON, G. (1992) *Jack-asses and jackrollers: Rediscovering gender in understanding violence*, Johannesburg: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR)

SOUTH AFRICAN COUNCIL FOR EDUCATORS (SACE) (nd, a) *Legal affairs and ethics*, http://www.sace.org.za/pages.php?parent=7

SOUTH AFRICAN COUNCIL FOR EDUCATORS (SACE) (nd, b) *Professional development*, http://www.sace.org.za/pages.php?parent=8

SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE SERVICE (SAPS) (2006) *Rape in the RSA for the period April to March 2001/2002 to 2004/2005*, SAPS: Crime Information Analysis Centre. http://www.saps.gov.za/statistics/reports/crimestats/2005/_pdf/crimes/rape.pdf

SPRINGER, K.W., J SHERIDAN, D. KUO AND M. CARNES (2003) 'The long-term health outcomes of childhood abuse: An overview and call to action', *Journal of General Internal Medicine*, 18, 864-870

STAVROU, S.E. AND C.E. KAUFMAN (2002) "Bus fare, please': The economics of sex and gifts among adolescents in urban South Africa', Policy Research Division Working Paper no.166, New York: Population Council, http://www.popcouncil.org/pdfs/wp/166.pdf

SUNNARI, V., M. HEIKKINEN AND J. KANGASVUO (2003) ' Introduction' in Sunnari, V., J. Kangasvuo and M. Heikkinen (eds), *Gendered and sexualised violence in educational environments*. Oulu: Oulu University Press

SWAINSON, N. (1995) *Redressing gender inequalities in education: A review of constraints and priorities in Malawi, Zambia, and Zimbabwe*, London: Overseas Development Administration (ODA)

TEREFE, D. AND D. MENGISTU (1997) 'Violence in Ethiopian schools: A study of some schools in Addis Ababa', in Oshako, T. (ed) *Violence at school: Global issues and interventions*, Paris: UNESCO/IBE

THOMPSON, E.H. AND J.H. PLECK (1995) 'Masculinity ideologies: A review of research instrumentation on men and masculinities', in Levant R.F. and W.S. Pollack (eds), *A New Psychology of Men*, New York: Basic Books

THOMPSON, E.H., J.H. PLECK AND D.L. FERRERA (1992) 'Men and masculinities: Scales for masculinity ideology and masculinity-related constructs', *Sex Roles*, 27(11/12), 573-607

TIMMERMAN, G. (2002) 'A comparison between unwanted sexual behavior by teachers and by peers in secondary schools', *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 31(5), 397–404

UNESCO (2000) *The Dakar framework for action, education for all: Meeting our collective commitments*, World Education Forum, Dakar, Senegal, 26–28 April 2000. Paris: UNESCO

UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY (1948) *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, adopted and proclaimed by the General Assembly of the United Nations on Dec. 10, 1948. United Nations: New York.

UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY (1993) *Declaration on the Elimination of all Forms of Violence against Women*, A/RES/48/104, Geneva: UN Special Assembly

UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY (2000) *The United Nations Millennium Declaration*, resolution (55/2) adopted by the General Assembly, 8 September 2000. New York: United Nations.

UNTERHALTER, E. (2003) 'The capabilities approach and gendered education: An examination of South African complexities' *Theories and Research in Education*, 1(1), 7-22

USAID (2003) *Unsafe schools: A literature review of school-related gender-based violence in developing countries*, Washington DC: The Office of Women in Development, USAID

VETTEN, L. AND K. BHANA (2001) *Violence, vengeance and gender: A preliminary investigation into the links between violence against women and HIV/AIDS in South Africa*, Johannesburg: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR)

WALKERDINE, V. (1991) *Schoolgirl fictions*, London: Verso

WELSCH, W. N. (2000) 'The effects of school climate on school disorder', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 567, 88-107

WESTERN CAPE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT (n.d.) *Abuse no more: Dealing effectively with child abuse*, Cape Town: Western Cape Education Department. http://wced.wcape.gov.za/documents/abuse_no_more/abuse_contents.html (Accessed July 2007)

WHITE, H. (2002) 'Combining quantitative and qualitative approaches in poverty analysis' *World Development*, 30(3), 511-522

WOLPE, A., O. QUINLAN AND L. MARTINEZ (1997) *Gender equity in education: A report of the Gender Equity Task Team*, Pretoria: Department of Education

WOOD, K., F. MAFORAH AND R. JEWKES (1996) *Sex, violence and constructions of love among Xhosa adolescents: Putting violence on the sexuality education agenda*, Tyberg: Medical Research Council

WOOD, K. AND R. JEWKES (1998) *'Love is a dangerous thing': Micro-dynamics of violence in sexual relationships of young people in Umtata*, Pretoria: Medical Research Council

ZECHENTER, E.M. (1997) 'In the name of culture: Cultural relativism and the abuse of the individual', *Journal of Anthropological Research,* 53(3), 319-34

APPENDIX 1

South African Laws Relevant to Gender-Based Violence in Schools

ACT	FUNCTION
The Constitution of the Repblic of South Africa No 108 of 1996	Provides for instance that: ■ Everyone has the right to freedom and security of the person, which includes the right to be free from all forms of violence whether from public or private sources. ■ The state or any person may not discriminate against anyone on the basis of gender, sex or sexual orientation ■ All children has the right to be protected from maltreatment, neglect, abuse and degradation ■ Everyone has the right to a basic education.
The South African Schools Act, No 84 of 1996	■ Provides for the suspension of learners for no longer than one week as a correctional measure if guilty of serious misconduct ■ Prohibits the use of corporal punishment on learners in schools
The Employment of Educators Act, No 76 of 1998	The Education Laws Amendment Act, No 53 of 2000 provides that an educator must be dismissed if found guilty of: ■ committing an act of sexual assault on a learner, student or other employee ■ having a sexual relationship with a learner where he or she is employed Also stipulates formal procedures to follow in such cases, including the possibility of suspending the accused educator pending investigation
The Child Care Act, No 74 1983	Ensures: ■ the obligation of every dentist, medical practitioner, nurse, social worker, _educator_ and person employed by or managing a children's home, place of care or shelter, to notify the Director-General or any officer designated by him or her if there is any suspicion that a child has been ill-treated. ■ that not to report suspicion is an offence ■ that no one is held liable for reporting in good faith
The South African Council of Educators (SACE) Act, No 31 2000	Ensures that the council: ■ promotes educator professionalism ■ compile, maintain and review a code of professional ethics for educators who are registered or provisionally registered ■ investigates any alleged breach of the code of professional ethics, ensure fair hearings, and takes disciplinary action if found guilty

Sources: Government of South Africa, 1983, 1996a, 1996b, 1998, 2000a, 2000b

APPENDIX 2 - Suggestions from student teachers

Facilitate reporting of gender-based violence among learners:

- Student teachers should be taught in-depth about the laws that apply in cases of gender-based violence and about the Code of Professional Conduct, preferably in actual focused lectures (e.g. Gr2O:570-577)

- The life orientation module should train student teachers how to handle cases of gender-based violence (Gr2D:533-534), and this module should be compulsory for all student teachers (Gr2B:519-524)

- The training of more female educators should be encouraged in order to balance the gender distribution of educators in all schools (Gr1J:1015-1022)

- A log-book with counted and stamped pages in which learners can report their grievances anonymously should be available in every school. This book should be collected by the police for review every Friday and returned again Monday morning (Gr1J:733-745).

- The Ministry of Education should employ psychologists that are available for the learners. These should be independent of, or not connected to, the schools (Gr2B:202-214)

- If the employment of school psychologists is too expensive, it should be compulsory for schools to invite a social worker (Gr2O:216-230) or police officer (Gr1N:902-924) to give a motivational and informative speech to learners about how to handle tough situations that might occur.

Drafting of school policies:

- Clear school policies on the problem of gender-based violence should be drafted in each and every school, and that these would have to be strictly upheld by all.

- The process of drafting a school policy should be initiated by the school governing bodies (Gr1N: 398-400), and school staff, learner representatives and parents should be involved in the process in order to create a sense of ownership (Gr1H:937-967).

- The school policy should be based on South African laws: "*...then, after I get all the knowledge about the law, then draft the code of conduct*" (Gr1S:973-974).

- The school policy should be strictly enforced among educators as well as learners: "*...if the code of conduct is still there, it must be practiced according to the way which is in the book, or in the document. If it is not practised, if some of the teachers abuses the code of conduct in the school, everyone is going to do that...*" (Gr1C: 785-788).

- A suggestion was put forward that a discussion forum should be created including all parts of the school community, aiming to clarify points of confusion and to create a framework for acceptable behaviour. The student who launched this idea was particularly concerned that both victims and perpetrators should be heard in this process: "*So we need him to sit down with us and tell us why is he doing that, and we need to sit down with the girls and say 'what is it that you find acceptable from that guy'. Let me come up with some form of document, and then we are all sure what is right and what is wrong, and what the law is*" (Gr1S:449-452). Hence, the idea would be to have a form of interactive process towards the making of a school policy or code of conduct.

Enforcement of school policies:

- Learners should be informed of school rules before being admitted to the school and/or the school policy should be read during the first assembly of the school (Gr2M:490-496).

- School staff would be responsible for monitoring behaviour among learners, but the principal have a particular responsibility for the

enforcement of the school policy (Gr1N:781-793).

- Improved teacher supervision, and restrictions on alone-time with learners, was suggested as one way to limit the risk of abuse (Gr2G:413-417).

- One focus group participant suggested some form of self-reflection among educators around their own behaviour in school would be a more successful approach than to encourage supervision of others: "*...when I tell you something and you don't want to hear it, if you don't want to listen to it, you are never going to have it. But if you yourself tell you that very same thing, it's easier for you to get it*" (Gr1S:997-999). The idea would be that "*...each teacher at the end of every month or week would look at, would reflect on what they did in the school. If there is anything bad they did or didn't do*" (Gr1S:974-976). And the standard against which to evaluate their behaviour would be the school policy: "*...teachers look at themselves, and look at whether or not their behaviour is what they wrote in the code of conduct*" (Gr1S:982-983). The student teacher who launched this idea was worried about whether this would work in practice, however, and recognised that the idea would need to be develop further.

Improvement of school curriculum:

- A greater variety of people should be able to comment on the curriculum content (Gr1C:339-345)

- More emphasis on religious/moral education (Gr1H:363-34)

- The life orientation module should address gender-based violence between learners (Gr1C:930-935)

- Learners should be taught what constitutes harassment and abuse (Gr2E:290-292)

- The blaming of girls was identified as a problem. It was suggested that this should be dealt with as a matter among girls: "*I think in a lot of cases they feel the girl is to blame, like she's dressed too*

seductively or she's done this, she's done that. So I think a lot of the girls feel that they can't say anything because they're gone be laughed at, and say '...well, you actually encouraged it when you did that'. So I think that in schools you need to make sure that girls are aware that it's actually not their fault" (Gr2P:270-274). A strategy for how to address this form of blame diffusion in the overall school population was not given.

- The need to teach learners, and girls in particular, to decide on and be clear about the boundaries or rules for their own bodies was voiced: "*You need to decide your boundaries, I'm talking sexual/physical boundaries, when you are coolheaded and everything, and that you are taught to decide your boundaries, and then they'll be taught that you state what your boundaries are*" (Gr2O:438-440). The idea would be that if girls are sufficiently clear about what they do and do not want, some misunderstandings could be avoided: "*if the guy starts touching her, she says 'no, these are my boundaries', then they can blame the guy. If she doesn't say anything, then it is a two way thing. It is a two way thing, and he is only left to assume that she's okay with it, unless she looks uncomfortable, obviously, and she's trying to move away*" (Gr2O:444-448).

Survey of attitudes and knowledge on gender-based violence in schools – May 2006

My name is Elise Bjåstad (student number 204514662), and I am doing research on a project entitled 'Responses to gender-based violence in schools: a survey of knowledge, attitudes and suggested solutions among teacher training students at the University of KwaZulu-Natal'. This project is supervised by Prof. Julian May at the School of Development Studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal. I am managing the project and should you have any questions my contact details are:

School of Development Studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban.
Cell: 0722865852. Email: 204514662@ukzn.ac.za.

Before we start I would like to emphasize that:
➢ your participation is entirely voluntary;
➢ you are free to refuse to answer any question;
➢ you are free to withdraw at any time.

This questionnaire is focusing on gender and gender-based violence as it relates to the school context, and is interested in your attitudes, beliefs and knowledge.

In order to obtain reliable, scientific information it is crucial that you answer as honestly as possible. You are not asked to provide name, student number, or other identifying details, hence your answers are anonymous. The information you provide will be treated as confidential.

A few notes before you start:

Child is defined as a person who is younger than 18 years of age.
Adult is older than 18 years.

Educator is defined as any person who teaches, educates or trains other persons or who provides therapy at any school
Learner is defined as someone (especially a child) who learns (as from an educator) or takes up knowledge or beliefs

Gender is defined as the differential social roles that define women and men in a specific cultural context (as opposed to sex which refers to the biological differences between women and men)

1. Below you find a list of possible areas of improvement that the Department of Education has to prioritise between. Please rank them from 1 up to 8, 1 being of highest priority.

	Prioritise
1. School buildings	
2. Stationary	
3. Teaching material	
4. Learners safety in school	
5. Teacher education	
6. Improving educator/learner ratio	
7. School feeding programme	
8. Curriculum development	

2. a) How often would you say gender was discussed during the BEd? Please circle the number next to your answer

Never	1
Occasionally	2
Frequently	3
Very frequently	4

b) Do you think enough time was spent on gender in the BEd?

Yes	1
No	2

3. a) How often would you say gender-based violence was discussed during the BEd?

Never	1
Occasionally	2
Frequently	3
Very frequently	4

b) Do you think enough time was spent on gender-based violence in the BEd?

Yes	1
No	2

4. a) Have you had any training on gender outside the BEd?

Yes	1
No	2

If yes, where?_____

b) Have you had any training on gender-based violence outside the BEd?

Yes	1
No	2

If yes, where?_____

5. Below you find a list of statements about gender. For each of the statements, please indicate how much you disagree or agree by circling the number that best reflect your opinion.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. I believe boys and girls should be able to make choices about their lives without being restricted by their gender	1	2	3	4	5
2. I believe that it is natural for a boy to take the lead in a dating relationship	1	2	3	4	5
3. I think that it is all right for a girl to dream of becoming a police officer	1	2	3	4	5
4. I believe that bullying is a natural part of being a boy	1	2	3	4	5
5. I think that it is all right for a boy to dream of becoming a nurse.	1	2	3	4	5
6. I believe that women are better suited to teach the Life Orientation module than men	1	2	3	4	5
7. I believe that it is unhealthy for a man to control his sexual urges	1	2	3	4	5
8. I believe that boys are better able to succeed in maths and science than girls	1	2	3	4	5
9. I think that if a girl accepts many gifts from a man, he can expect sexual favours in return	1	2	3	4	5

6. Below you find a list of statements about attitudes and behaviours in schools. For each of the statements, please indicate how much you disagree or agree by circling the number that best reflect your opinion

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. When learners call each other names (isfebe, stabani, moffie, slut, whore etc.) it is most often just harmless fun	1	2	3	4	5
2. I think that when a boy touches a girls buttocks or breasts he shows disrespect for the girl	1	2	3	4	5
3. I believe that it is okay for an educator to invite a learner home to give private lessons.	1	2	3	4	5
4. I believe that it is okay for an educator to propose love to a learner	1	2	3	4	5
5. I believe that if a boy is touching a girls breast or buttocks the educator must always intervene	1	2	3	4	5
6. I think that an educator who is having a sexual relationship with a learner is abusing their position of power.	1	2	3	4	5
7. I believe that it is okay for an educator to invite a learner home for a visit	1	2	3	4	5
8. I believe that it is okay for an educator to ask a learner out on a date	1	2	3	4	5
9. I believe it is okay for an educator to impregnate a learner as long as he agrees to marry her	1	2	3	4	5

7. Below you find a list of statements about gender-based violence and the safety
   of learners in schools. For each of the statements, please indicate how much
   you disagree or agree by circling the number that best reflect your opinion

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. I believe that corporal punishment should be reintroduced in schools in order to improve discipline	1	2	3	4	5
2. I think that learners should be searched for weapons before entering school every day	1	2	3	4	5
3. I believe gender-based violence is an issue found mainly in poor schools	1	2	3	4	5
4. I think that the reputation of the school must be protected when suspected cases of gender-based violence are reported	1	2	3	4	5
5. I think that if a learner reports abuse in school, he/she should expect his/her name to be kept confidential	1	2	3	4	5
6. I think that an educator who is found to have a sexual relationship with a learner should be dismissed	1	2	3	4	5
7. I believe that it is unhealthy for a man to control his sexual urges	1	2	3	4	5
8. I do not think that gender-based violence is a major problem in South African schools	1	2	3	4	5
9. I believe that school staff are responsible for ensuring the safety of learners in school	1	2	3	4	5
10. I believe that any improvement in the safety of learners in schools must be initiated by the government	1	2	3	4	5

8. a) Is there a government policy on how to deal with gender-based violence in South African schools?

Yes	1
No	2
Don't know	3

b) If yes, do you know the name of this policy?

9. The statements below concerns an educators legal obligation when he/she suspects a learner in their care is abused. Please indicate whether you disagree or agree that these statements are **part of South African law**.

	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree
1. An educator is required to discuss suspicion of abuse with the parents of the learner before a report can be made to the Director-General or any officer designated by him/her	1	2	3
2. An educator cannot act on a suspicion of abuse until a report is made by the learner him/her self	1	2	3
3. An educator is required to report suspicion of abuse to the Director-General or any officer designated by him/her without delay	1	2	3
4. An educator can only report suspicion of abuse to the Director-General or any officer designated by him/her once evidence is available.	1	2	3

10. Do **you** think it is okay for an educator and a learner to have a sexual relationship?

Yes	1
No	2

Please justify your answer:

11. Indicate what statements you think **coincides with South African law** when it comes to sexual relationships between educators and leaners, by circling the number that best reflects this.

	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree
1. A sexual relationship between educator and learner is illegal unless the learner is 16 years and older	1	2	3
2. A sexual relationship between educator and learner is illegal unless the relationship is agreed on by the learner	1	2	3
3. A sexual relationship between educator and learner is illegal unless the parents of the learner are informed and accept it	1	2	3
4. A sexual relationship between educator and learner is **legal** as long as the learner is not given preferential treatment in the classroom	1	2	3
5. A sexual relationship between educator and learner is illegal unless the learner is already sexually active	1	2	3
6. A sexual relationship between educator and learner is illegal unless the relationship is initiated by the learner	1	2	3
7. A sexual relationship between educator and learner is illegal in all cases	1	2	3

12. A learner in your school has reported being abused by one of your colleagues, and an investigation is underway. The learner has expressed fear of attending school with the educator present, and the question remains as to what to do up until a verdict is reached. Circle the number of the statement that you agree with most.

1. The legal rights of the educator must be prioritised. He/she is innocent until proven guilty, and should not be affected until a verdict is reached, even if it means the child stays at home.	1
2. The safety and well-being of the learner must be prioritised, and steps must be taken for him/her to be able to continue in school, even if it means suspending the educator under investigation.	2

Are there any situations when this statement would not apply?

13. Two learners in your school, a boy and a girl, have a dating relationship over a few months. One day the girl asks for a word with you after class and tells you that her boyfriend has forced sex on her against her will.

Should the school, in consultation with the girl, report this to the police as a case of rape? Please circle your answer and explain why.

	Because…
1. Yes	
2. No	

14. Indicate what behaviours you consider abusive by circling Yes or No

	Yes	No	Uncertain
1. An adult showing pornographic photos or films to a child	1	2	3
2. An adult telling a child sexual jokes	1	2	3
3. A stranger forcing sex on a child	1	2	3
4. Unwanted touching of a child by an adult	1	2	3
5. An adult hugging a child	1	2	3
6. An adult having sexually suggestive conversation with a child	1	2	3
7. An adult wolfwhistling/calling after a child	1	2	3
8. Adults having sex in the presence of a child	1	2	3
9. A familiar adult forcing sex on a child	1	2	3
10. Teaching children about HIV/AIDS	1	2	3
11. An adult disciplining a child using corporal punishment			

	1	2	3
12. A child forcing sex on another child	1	2	3
13. An adult gaining power over a child through threats of physical violence	1	2	3
14. Teaching children about sexuality	1	2	3
15. An adult having consensual sex with a child	1	2	3
16. An adult calling a child names (isfebe, stabani, moffie, slut, whore etc.)	1	2	3
17. An adult having a boy/girlfriend who is a child	1	2	3
18. Consensual sex between children	1	2	3
19. A child showing pornographic photos or films to another child	1	2	3
20. An adult disciplining a child through calling him/her names (isfebe, stabani, moffie, slut, whore etc.)	1	2	3

15. Below is a list of statements about child sexual abuse. Please indicate whether you disagree or agree by circling the number that best reflects your opinion.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. Most children are sexually abused by strangers or by someone who is not well known to the child.	1	2	3	4	5
2. Children who act in a seductive manner must be seen as being at least partly to blame if an adult responds to them in a sexual way.	1	2	3	4	5
3. Sexual contact between an adult and a child that does not involve force or coercion and that does not involve actual or attempted sexual intercourse is unlikely to have serious consequences for the child.	1	2	3	4	5
4. Child sexual abuse takes place mainly in poor families.	1	2	3	4	5
5. It is not sexual contact with adults that is harmful for children. What is really damaging for the child is the	1	2	3	4	5

	1	2	3	4	5
social stigma that develops after the "secret" is out.					
6. Adolescent girls who wear very revealing clothing are asking to be sexually abused.	1	2	3	4	5

7. Boys are more likely than girls to enjoy sexual contact
   with adults and are therefore less likely to be
   emotionally traumatized by the experience.
	1	2	3	4	5

8. Child sexual abuse is caused by social problems such as unemployment, poverty, and alcohol abuse.	1	2	3	4	5
9. Children who do not report ongoing sexual abuse must want the sexual contact to continue.	1	2	3	4	5

10. It is the responsibility of older children, who
   have a better understanding of sexual matters,
   to actively resist sexual advances made by
   adults
	1	2	3	4	5

11. Child sexual abuse takes place mainly in disorganised and unstable families.	1	2	3	4	5

16. During your practicals as a teacher student, did you experience episodes or see signs of gender-based violence?

Yes	1
No	2

If yes, please elaborate

17. During your practicals as a teacher student, were cases of gender-based violence discussed by educators?

Yes	1
No	2

If yes, please elaborate

Socio-economic background

18. Please provide information about your sex, age, race, marital status and whether you have children or young siblings by circling the right alternatives or fill in where alternatives are not provided.

Sex	Male	**Age**		_____
	Female	**Race**	Black	
Marital status	Never married		White	
	Married		Indian	
	Divorced		Coloured	
	Widowed		Other	
Do you have children of your own?	Yes	No	**Do you have siblings who are still children?**	Yes	No

19. Please indicate what you where doing before starting your BEd by ticking off in the list below.

	High school
	Teaching
	Other study: _____
	Other profession: _____
	Unemlopyed
	Other _____

20. Please indicate how you would characterise the place you grew up by ticking off on the list below.

Urban

Township

Informal settlement

Suburb

Rural

Other_____

21. Please indicate the highest level of education completed by your mother and your father by ticking of in the table below

Mother				Father
		No schooling		
		Primary school		
		High school		
		Tertiary education		
		Don't know		

Thank you very much for your participation in this survey.

A focus group will be held in a few days to discuss potential strategies to deal with gender-based violence in schools, and to look at the role of teachers in this process. If you would like to take part in this discussion, please fill in your details on the next page and tear it off from the questionnaire before you hand it in. Those who are interested will be contacted via email within a few days

For focus group participants

I would like to take part in the focus group about potential strategies to deal with gender-based violence in schools and the role teachers can play in this process.

First name:

Last Name:

Gender:

Age:

Mobilephone number:

Other Phone number:

Email address:

(Please detach this form from the questionnaire)
.

APPENDIX 4

Focus Group – Interview Guide

Section 1: INTRODUCTION

Introduction to purpose of focus group

Section 2: LEGAL ASPECTS (ideal)

Transparency:

The Employment of Educators Act, 1998

17. (1) An educator must be dismissed if he or she is found guilty of –
….
b) committing an act of sexual assault on a learner, student or other employee;
c) having a sexual relationship with a learner of the school where he or she is employed;

Question: Do you have any comments?

Transparency:

Child Care Act, 1983

"Notwithstanding the provisions of any other law every dentist, medical practitioner, nurse, or social worker or teacher, or any person employed by or managing a children's home, place of care or shelter, who examines, attends or deals with any child in circumstances giving rise to the suspicion that that child has been ill-treated, or suffers from any injury, single or multiple, the cause of which probably might have been deliberate, or suffers from nutritional deficiency disease, shall immediately notify the Director-General or any officer designated by him or her for the purpose of this section, of those circumstances."

Question: Do you have any comments?

Section 3: RESEARCH FINDINGS (reality)

Transparency:

Brookes and Higson-Smith (2004:117) found:

1. Confusion about whether certain forms of sexual abuse, including rape, were completely illegitimate violations of females
2. Confusion over what is socially acceptable behaviour towards girls
3. Blaming female victims for violence against them

Question: Do you have any comments?

Question: What do you think are the consequences of this confusion?

Question: What are the consequences in terms of reporting?

Transparency:

Human Rights Watch (2001:71) found:

"Girls described a persistent response pattern whereby schools discounted their reports of sexual violence and harassment or failed to respond with any degree of seriousness. Girls were discouraged from reporting abuse to school officials for a variety of reasons, not the least of which was the hostile and indifferent responses they received from their school communities. Sometimes school officials appear to have failed to respond adequately because they simply did not know what to do; other times they ignored the problem; still other times they appear to have been afraid to assist. In many instances, schools actively discouraged victims of school-based gender violence from alerting anyone outside the school or accessing the justice system. In the worst cases, school officials concealed the existence of violence at their schools and failed to cooperate fully with authorities outside the school system."

Question: Do you have any comments?

Question: What can be done to improve the response among educators?

Question: What can be done to create greater awareness among educators about how to act in these situations?

Question: What can be done to make it easier for learners to report cases of gender-based violence in schools?

Section 4: TEACHER TRAINING

Question: How have these issues been dealt with in the teacher training programme? In which modules has it been dealt with?

APPENDIX 5 – Questionnaire for Academic Staff

Questions about programme

1. Below is a list of topics which are of relevance to the topic of gender-based violence in schools. In the curriculum of the BEd/PGCE, are these topics covered?

		Yes	No
1	Gender-based violence in school		
2	Gender-based violence (general)		
3	Child sexual abuse		
4	Gender and identity		
5	Gender equity or equality		
6	Sexuality in the classroom		
7	Teacher code of conduct		
8			
9			

If you think there are other topics that should be covered in relation to gender-based violence in schools, please add in row number 8 and 9.

2. For each of the topics above that you have confirmed are part of the BEd/PGCE curriculum, please answer the following questions in the matrix below (use as much space as you need):

5. In what module/modules is this topic discussed (use more than one matrix if topic is covered in more than one module)?
6. Can you indicate some of the main literary sources used on the topic in this module?
7. Approximately how much time is spent on the topic in this module? Please tick off
8. Is this module compulsory or elective? Please tick off

Topic No.	1. First module in which topic is discussed	2. Main literary sources used on topic in this module	3. Time Spent on Topic				4. Module is	
			Less than 45 min.	45 – 90 min.	90 – 180 min.	More than 180 min.	Compulsory	Elective
1								

Topic No.	1. First module in which topic is discussed	2. Main literary sources used on topic in this module	3. Time Spent on Topic				4. Module is	
			Less than 45 min.	45 – 90 min.	90 – 180 min.	More than 180 min.	Compulsory	Elective
2								
3								
4								
5								
6								
7								
8								
9								

If the topic is discussed in more than one module, please provide this information in the matrix below

Topic No.	1. Second module in which topic is discussed	2. Main literary sources used on topic	3. Time Spent on Topic				4. Module	
			Less than 45 min.	45 – 90 min.	90 – 180 min.	More than 180 min.	Compulsory	Elective
1								
2								
3								
4								
5								
6								
7								
8								

Topic No.	1. Second module in which topic is discussed	2. Main literary sources used on topic	3. Time Spent on Topic				4. Module	
			Less than 45 min.	45 – 90 min.	90 – 180 min.	More than 180 min.	Compulsory	Elective
9								

NB! If the topics are discussed in additional modules, please provide details (copy in matrix if you want):

9. Do you have additional comments to information provided in the matrix?

3. a) Are you familiar with the training manual «Opening our Eyes: Addressing gender-based violence in South African schools – a module for educators» developed by the South African National Department of Education, in co-operation with McGill University and CIDA?

If you are familiar with it;

b) Have this material been used in the BEd/PGCE?

c) Why/why not?

4. a) Are you familiar with the 'Gender and Conflict' module developed by Ms Abigail Dreyer at the School of Public Health, University of Western Cape, for use among educators and student teachers?

If you are familiar with it;

b) Have this material been used in the BEd/PGCE?

c) Why/why not?