

Violent Boys: Masculinities among Primary School Boys in Pinetown, KwaZulu-Natal



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SUPERVISOR DECLARATION

As the candidate's Supervisor I agree to the submission of this dissertation

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Name: Professor Deevia Bhana

Date: December 2018

CANDIDATE DECLARATION

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DEDICATION

For Mama and Papa. This dissertation is dedicated to John Kgang and Vivian Kgang. For all your love and all your support, I dedicate this work to you.

For Khwezi, my daughter. All I do is for you.

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LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Map of Nagina and surrounding areas	52
Figure 2: Participants biographical information	56
Figure 3: locations and times of observations	58
Figure 4: Focus group participants	60
Figure 5: participants for individual interviews	61
Figure 6: Image of vandalism at Monroe primary school	95

TABLE OF CONTENTS

SUPERVISOR DECLARATION	i
DEDICATION	iii
NRF ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	iv
LIST OF FIGURES	vi
INTRODUCTION OF THE STUDY	13
1.1. Introduction	13
1.2 Definitions	15
1.3 Aims and Objectives.....	16
1.4 Research Questions	16
1.5 Context of the Study	16
1.6 Research Methodology	17
1.7. Rationale for the study	18
1.8. Overview of Chapters	20
1.9 Conclusion	21
LITERATURE REVIEW	23
2.1 Introduction	23
2.2 Theory	23
2.2.1 The structure of gender relations	23
2.2.2 Power in gender relations.....	24

2.2.3 Gender relations and masculinities	25
2.3. Boys, masculinities and violence	26
2.3 Gender violence as a global problem	30
2.4 Violence in schools.....	31
2.5 Boys, schooling and violence	34
2.7 Sex, sexuality and violence	37
2.8. Violence and sport	43
2.10. Conclusion	45
METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN.....	47
3.1 Introduction	47
3.2 Research design and methodology.....	47
3.3 Qualitative approach	48
3.4 Interpretive paradigm	49
3.5 Case study	50
3.6 Context of the study and research site.....	51
3.7 Sampling.....	53
3.9 Data collection	57
3.9.1 Observation.....	57
3.9.2 Focus groups	59
3.9.3 Individual interviews.....	60
3.10 Data Analysis	62

3.11 Validity and reliability (trustworthiness)	63
3. 12 Ethical issues	65
3.13 Limitations.....	66
3.14 Reflexivity: My experience of doing research at Monroe Primary School	67
3.15 Conclusion.....	68
DATA ANALYSIS	70
4.1 Introduction	70
4.2 My mother tells me everything about gender violence	70
4.3 <i>iStabane istabane</i> – if you’re gay, you’re gay	74
4.4. <i>Uyisikhokho</i> - you are the man.	77
4.5 The teachers call us stupid.....	81
4.6 I’m a big size.....	87
4.8 We don’t eat at the feeding scheme, we have money.....	92
4.9 Vandalism.....	94
4.10 A female researcher within a gendered world.	96
4.11 Conclusion	99
CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS	100
5.1 Introduction	100
5.2 Chapter summaries.....	100
5.3 Main findings.....	101
5.4 Recommendations	105

5.5 Conclusion	107
REFERENCES	108
APPENDIX A: ETHICAL CLEARANCE	128
APPENDIX B: INFORMED ASSENT LETTER TO LEARNERS	129
APPENDIX C: INFORMED CONSENT LETTER TO PARENTS/GUARDIANS	132
APPENDIX D: PRINCIPAL CONSENT LETTER	135
APPENDIX E: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE	138
APPENDIX F: TURN IT IN.....	140

ABSTRACT

This study is a case study of primary school boys, violence and masculinity in a Pinetown primary school. Gender violence is a cause for concern in society. School violence, which is a direct consequence of gender violence, is a serious problem. School violence can be described as physical, psychological, emotional and verbal acts perpetrated by learners to other learners, teachers to learners or even learners to teachers. This research explores the construction of violent masculinities at a primary school in Nagina, KwaZulu-Natal.

This study was conducted in Monroe primary school (pseudonym), which is situated in Nagina, Pinetown. This study uses qualitative methods and operates within the interpretive paradigm. In obtaining data, focus groups, individual interviews as well as observations were used. Twenty five boys from grade seven were the participants. The data generated has been analysed using thematic analysis.

The findings of the research revealed that grade seven boys construct and experience violence in ways that support hegemonic constructions of masculinity. Masculinity and the close association with violence was produced in families and in schools. The study also showed that young boys are highly aware of sexuality and often disparaged others who were seen as homosexual. It was found in the study that young boys are involved in multiple relationships. This was not simply for the pleasure of having many partners but also because of the enhanced masculine status it accords them. Teachers are often perpetrators of violence in the classrooms by means of corporal punishment and verbal insults, which reinforces violence. The study showed that boys who stand out because of their smaller physical size are often victims of bullying and boys who stand out in age and are older than their peers are often perpetrators of bullying and violence.

The study concludes by highlighting the problems of violence in the schools. Recommendations that involve facilitating teachers, parents and learners. The promotion of a non-violent culture in schools is vital as well as the promotion of a conducive teaching and learning environment.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION OF THE STUDY

1.1. Introduction

Gender violence is a major problem for all societies (Merry, 2009). According to Morrell, Jewkes and Lindegger (2012) the extend of gender violence is high in South Africa, with male violence against women a particular problem in the country. Pinheiro (2006) on violence against children recognized violence perpetrated on children inclusive of school settings, as a universal occurrence (UNESCO, 2006). Nevertheless, more than a decade later, the complete degree and bearing of gendered violence in schools is unknown. "Extensive research on violence against children in schools has ignored to explore the role of gender, yet most practices of school violence are profoundly entrenched in unequal gender relations, gendered social norms and discriminatory practices" (UNESCO, 2016, p. 2). In addition, Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Dunkle, Morrell (2015) have mentioned that often, gendered violence in South Africa is used as a way of disciplining women who are not adhering to the norm or expectations of society. Women are also committers of different types of violence both against other women and against men. However, gender violence impacts women because of the gendered nature of relations between men and women. The vast majority of domestic and interpersonal violence cases occur with men as the perpetrators and women as the victims. This is because gender is often seen as an indicator of a situation that determines social location in society, one that stereotypically accords women with less power, privilege, and resources than men and is based upon ascribed gender roles (Merry, 2005; Merry, 2009). Violence is about power and male expression of power over women and weaker men (Parkes, 2015; Jewkes et al., 2011; Bhana, 2009). South Africa is a unique case when it comes to school violence because of the many contributing factors such as its political history and economic situation (Jewkes et al., 2011). It is for that reason that gender violence is rife in schools as social, political, economic, cultural and historical forces shape gender relations as gender is shaped by these forces (Bhana, 2009). School violence

has occurred in buildings, on the school playgrounds and in and around the entrances of schools (Bhana, 2012; Mayeza, 2016a). Popular places for violence in schools include school toilets, in and out of the classrooms and halls, and occasionally in staff lodgings (Leach & Mitchell, 2006). Girls' housing in boarding accommodations also pose as places of sexual risk. The physical seclusion of amenities and the lack of supervision also aggravates the risk. Out of schools, children are susceptible to various types of violence such as physical, verbal and sexual violence when they travel to school and from school as well (Bhana, 2012). Gendered violence that happens within families and the community is witnessed by children and has effects for their well-being. Children learn very early that violence is about power and male power in particular, and such violence, is often carried out into the school environment (Bhana, 2009). It is not only in the homes and communities that gender violence is prevalent, but it is in schools that it has manifested into a great obstacle (Finkelhor, Vanderminden, Turner, Shattuck & Hamby, 2016). Peer to peer violence action is frequently linked with a variety of socio- economic, physical, psychological as well as relational factors (Bhana, 2012; Mayeza, 2016b). Gender violence in schools is a concern as it disrupts a conducive environment for teaching and learning. The brutal acts committed by antagonistic youth impact negatively on the spirit of the schooling context, compromising the wellbeing of learners and educators, as result, affects teaching as well as learning poorly in the classroom.

This research explores the construction of violent masculinities at a primary school in Nagina, KwaZulu-Natal. This chapter is a synopsis of the research study. This chapter will begin by giving definitions of terms. The chapter will continue to explain the research methodology, the background of the study and rational of the research study. This chapter will also give an overview of chapters to follow.

1.2 Definitions

The following terms are terms frequently used in this study because this study explores the cases of gender violence at Monroe Primary School in Nagina, Chatsworth Durban, and how boys construct their masculine behaviour.

Gender violence: Gender violence according to Dunne, Humphreys and Leach (2006) can be explicit and implicit. Explicit gender violence is blatantly sexual and includes acts such as sexual harassment, verbal abuse, intimidation and rape. The implicit acts of gender violence are less visible and come from everyday school activities, which emphasize gender differences (Leach & Mitchell, 2006).

School violence: School violence is a global problem that affects schools across different communities, across different ethnicities, and across different economic standing. School violence is inclusive of physical violence; which covers physical punishment, emotional violence; which covers verbal maltreatment and sexual violence; which covers rape as well as harassment and finally bullying; which covers cyber bullying (UNESCO, 2017). School violence is maintained by gender norms and stereotypes and upheld by unequal power dynamics in society (UNESCO, 2016).

Masculinity: Ratele (2008) describes masculinity as a set of ideas that are constructed socially and they are what shape the way in which children view themselves, others and the world around them. Connell (1998) describes multiple forms of masculinities, namely hegemonic, subordinate, marginal and complicit, and explains that one is considered masculine or to exhibit masculine qualities according to the definition of masculinity of their society. There is one form of masculinity that dominates in society and this is known as “hegemonic masculinity”. Hegemonic masculinity is a powerful term in South African research on gender because it provides an understanding of issues of gender inequalities.

1.3 Aims and Objectives

This study seeks to investigate primary school Grade 7 boys' experiences and meanings of school violence and further seeks to understand how this violence is related to the construction of masculine identities.

1.4 Research Questions

This study endeavours to answer the following research questions that are informed by its aims and objectives:

1. What meanings do primary school boys give to violence?
2. What are primary school boys' experiences of violence?
3. How is violence linked to conflicting notions of masculinities?
4. How does violence affect primary school boys and girls?

1.5 Context of the Study

The study took place at Monroe Primary School (pseudonym) in the township of Nagina, in Pinetown. Nagina is a developing area with many functional infrastructures such as a clinic, schools and a library. Residents of Nagina work in Pinetown and commute daily by taxi or car. The learners of the school predominantly reside in the townships surrounding Nagina and use public transport, lift clubs or walk to school.

The school has learners from grades R to 7. The fees payable at the school are R200 per year. Many of the learners come from poor backgrounds and they display this in many ways such as in their uniforms and the food they eat during break. Monroe Primary School has black and Indian learners from the township of Nagina and other surrounding areas.

Monroe Primary School is a public school. The school consists of 27 teachers, three office administrators and seven support staff members. The school's infrastructure, which includes playgrounds, classrooms, computer lab, staff room and office, are of a standard quality.

1.6 Research Methodology

This study is of a qualitative nature and studies issues at a deeper level and aims to get a better understanding of human lives and occurrences (Lichtman, 2010). Qualitative research also gives insight into events and gives reasons as to why these events occur. I have employed a qualitative approach to research as this will enable an in-depth exploration of the selected primary school boys and their experience of violence. I have used qualitative research because the study aims to understand the violence in schools and how primary school boys of Grade 7 understand and experience violence, as well as how they construct masculinities within the schools and what they understand about being boys. The study is qualitative in that it seeks to gain insight and understand violence from the perspective of the participants. The qualitative approach will enable me to explore the issue of violence among Grade 7 boys at a deeper level and understand their interpretation of the issue. In qualitative research, the researcher endeavours to explain and understand "people's emotional state and experiences in human terms" (Terre-Blanche, Painter & Durrheim, 2006, p. 272). This implies that qualitative researchers seek to understand and see things through the eyes of the research participants in ways that promote insight into the lived experiences of citizens in the milieu of their environment.

Case study research allows for the researcher to be involved in close interactions with people involved in the research and to build relationships with them (Rule & John, 2011). "One of the key characteristics of case study research is that it allows researchers to focus on complex situations while taking the context of the situation into account," (Casey & Houghton, 2010, p. 41). In quantitative sampling, sampling is directed at

representativeness, the variables of a sample are chosen to represent a certain population whereas in qualitative sampling, the sample is not meant to represent a population but rather it is chosen for a specific purpose (Punch and Oancea, 2014). I did not intend to represent the entire population through the sample I had chosen, but she rather aimed to study the experiences, opinions and interactions of boys in Monroe Primary School.

The convenience sampling method is only used because the elements of the study are easily and conveniently available. Gravetter and Forzano (2009) as well as Punch and Oancea, (2014) propose that convenience sampling is chosen because the case, events, situation is easily and more conveniently accessed. I used this method because the learners were chosen due to their availability. The research site, Monroe Primary, was convenient for me because it is in close to where I reside and the participants were chosen because they have indicated that they I selected 35 participants. The participants were all part of focus group discussions. In total, there were five focus group discussions. Out of the 35, 28 of the participants participated in individual interviews. This study used observations, five focus groups and 28 individual interviews as methods of data generation. This study operates within the interpretive paradigm because the aim is to get an understanding of the experiences of primary school boys, school violence and masculinity. I also used observations. In the observation, I was able to collect “live” data from the research site. Interviews allowed me to have one-on-one conversations with the participants and focus groups allowed for an interaction and discussion between the participants to take place (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011).

1.7. Rationale for the study

I found importance in this topic because I have been exposed to violence on many occasions. I grew up in Elandsfontein, Johannesburg, a community where alcohol and drug abuse is a culture, and violence often came as a result of such behaviour. On weekends the

streets are frequently filled with intoxicated people, taverns and bars are crowded with people eager to consume alcohol. Alcohol and drug abuse has become such a staple that is it no longer hidden. People drink in the streets and openly talk about the consumption of drugs. It is often in the early hours of the morning when these alcohol consumers are heading home that one hears and sees acts of violence. When intoxicated, people become aggressive and resort to verbal vulgar language during disputes and often this leads to physical violence and other acts of viciousness as result of alcohol. These include incidents such as fights between spouses, violent crimes such as theft and robbery and sexual violence against women.

I noted that violence which occurs in the community does impact and is carried into homes. Children often learn about it and do violence during play. I have seen this with my own siblings who often imitate adults. They also resort to violence to solve disputes because it is what they have seen in the community. Having had parents who are disciplinarians and who strongly believe that a child who misbehaves needs to be hit, I experienced a few incidents of violence at home myself. This is one of the reasons I was interested in finding out more about how violence is produced by and its effects on children.

My parents are divorced. Before the divorce, they had been at odds with each other for many years. It is in this setting and this difficult family situation that I learned that violence was not only physical but came also in the form of verbal and emotional violence. I realized this because my parents often argued and said hurtful things to each other. I also learned from my mother that one does not have to bear physical scars to be a victim of abuse. Rather the abuse can be subtle such as in the form of psychological and financial abuse. I am aware that violence observed in homes often impacts on children and their schooling and the way in which they conduct themselves. My father once said that if I came back home crying about being bullied or hit by someone at school, he would beat me. In so doing, my father encouraged violence because he believed that violence is an effective way of solving conflict.

In 2004 when I was in Grade 6, I personally experienced being a victim of a boy who was a notorious bully. I was asked by a teacher to write down the names of those who spoke in class. She wrote down names of those who spoke, but when one boy realised that his name had been written down he began to hit and punch me. I tried to fight back because that is what I had been told to do by my father but the boy was much stronger. The teacher ordered the boy to apologise and noted his bad behaviour in his homework book for his parents to see, but nothing further was done about it. This incident was followed by subsequent incidents of intimidation and verbal abuse. The memory of these experience of violence as a young girl have inspired me to understand primary schools and violence, with the specific focus being on boys, the violent acts they commit or experience and how these acts are linked with the way they perform masculinities.

1.8. Overview of Chapters

Chapter one provides an overview of the whole study. The current chapter explains the background of the research study. In addition it offers a rationale and the aims and objectives of conducting this particular study. The research questions and methodology are described, as well as the study context.

Chapter two provides the theoretical framework of this research and reviews literature which helps provide a wider understanding of the phenomenon. The chapter discusses gender relational theory which this study uses as an analytical tool for understanding the ways in which boys' violence is located within conflicting notions of masculinity. The theory is subsequently followed by the extant scholarship from which the following themes have emerged as significant to this literature review: Gender violence as a global problem; violence in schools; boys, masculinities and violence; boys, schooling and violence; sex, sexuality and violence; violence and sport; gender and bullying: masculinities and power.

Chapter three addresses the research design and the methodology used for this research study. It contains a discussion of the research approach, which is qualitative, the research paradigm, case study research as well as a discussion on the research site and sampling method. The chapter further discusses data collection, validity and reliability, limitations, data analysis, ethical issues and my own experience as a researcher.

Chapter four is an analysis of the information collected. The data is analysed using thematic analysis and the emerging themes discussed are: understandings of violence; teachers and violence; sexualities and violence; bullying; violence in sport; and sexual violence.

Chapter five is the conclusion to this study. The chapter describes what emerged from the study. It also gives feedback and suggestions on how the problem of violence in schools can further be addressed.

1.9 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter provided an outline of this study. The research methodology is also described. This chapter then affords a background to the study through its discussion of gender violence around the world, in South Africa and within schooling contexts. The rationale of this research study is provided, which explains the reasons for undertaking this research. Finally, this chapter concludes by providing a concise outline of each of the chapters that follow. The next chapter discusses the theoretical framework of this research and reviews the literature associated with schools, gender violence and masculinities. The chapter begins by offering explanations of words used most often in this study. This chapter provides the aims, research questions, objectives as well as context of the study. The chapter then discusses the research methodology utilised in the study, background of the study, rationale of the study which provides the motivation behind the study and finally a brief overview of chapters to follow.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, a review of local and international scholarship on boys, masculinities, schooling and violence will be undertaken. The chapter will start by discussing gender relational theory which this study will use as an analytical tool for understanding the ways in which boys' violence is located within conflicting notions of masculinity. The theory will subsequently be followed by the extant scholarship from which the following themes have emerged as significant to this literature review:

1. Gender violence as a global problem
2. Violence in schools
3. Boys, masculinities and violence
4. Boys, schooling and violence
5. Sex, sexuality and violence
6. Violence and sport
7. Gender and bullying: masculinities and power

2.2 Theory

2.2.1 The structure of gender relations

Masculine and feminine identities are socially produced and plays a big role in shaping gender relations. "Gender relational theory posits that there is an understanding that boys become boys by learning what it means not to be a girl and girls become girls by learning what it means not to be a boy." (Skelton, 2003, p.5). How boys construct their masculinity will be relevant to the study because the study seeks to understand how boys learn what it means to be a boy and what it means not to be a girl. Gender relations play a role in shaping young boys' identities. As scholars have suggested one important dimension of learning to be a boy is learning that violence is linked to the notions of power and the learning of

masculinity (Connell, 1987; Jewkes et al., 2011; Bhana, 2009; Bhana, 2012, Mayeza, 2016a). Connell (1987) suggests that the arrangement of gender relations consists of three main structures which are labour, power and cathexis. Gender relational theory posits that labour is divided according to sex and this division of labour affects other practices. The effects of labour division can be seen in areas such as educational institutes, corporate institutions and government where men are largely in charge (Koester, 2015). Cathexis is another element of Connell's argument which suggests that sexuality is socially constructed. "Sexuality is not enacted or conducted, it is expressed" (Connell, 1987, p.111). This theory further suggests that all relationships have an element of emotional connection (1987). Sexual practices and relationships are also controlled by structures. The structure that organizes one person's emotional attachment to another is what Connell refers to as the "structure of cathexis" (Connell, 1987, p.111). Most relevant to this research project would be the third aspect of Connell's theory which is power. He explains that power is a part of gender and that gender inequalities are a result of power relations (Connell, 1987).

2.2.2 Power in gender relations

Gender identity is not just something people have, but rather a process of construction that comes as a result of development and interaction with the social world (Connell, 1987). According to Koester (2015) gender is one of the strongest grounds, consequences and expressions of power relations, but it is only one way of understanding class, ethnicity and social status. "Gender interacts with other hierarchical power relationships" (Koester, 2015). The emphasis on hegemony plays a significant role in social power (Connell, 1987). Hegemonic masculinity is not just an identity or role expectation, it includes the patterns of practice that permit the dominance of men over women to continue (Connell, 2005). Although hegemony is about dominance it does not necessarily mean violence but it can at times involve force; what it does mean is that dominance is achieved through cultural practices, institutions and through influence (Connell, 2005). According to Connell (1998) masculinities and femininities are created simultaneously and are represented by the gender order which presents patterns of power through all domains of society. Hegemonic masculinity, which is the dominant type of masculinity, is what allows male domination of

females to be legitimate and acceptable in society (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). Power is evident in all spheres of life and society as Foucault (1977) in Connell (2002, p.59) states: "Power is widely dispersed and operates diffusely and intimately, it operates through the way we talk, write, conceptualize." Gender, essentially, is an instrument and embedment of power (Koester, 2015). The power that is evident in the operating of institutes and the power that results in one group's oppression by another is a vital part of the construction of gender (Connell, 2002), because it does influence all gender relations at all levels of society. Men hold the power in society and as Kimmel and Messner, (1995, p.10) point out, "Men's social identity is defined by the power they have over women and the power they can compete for against other men." Gender, which is the socially constructed differences between male and female, is the most persistent reason behind the destruction of power inequalities between the sexes (Koester, 2015).

The set of roles, behaviours and attitudes that are predetermined by society as suitable for males and females can well be defined as the root and result of power relations (Koester, 2015). However, Connell (2002) suggests that, patriarchal power is not only about men's direct control over women but rather about how the state reinforces power and often does so indirectly. Rape for instance is a form of individual-to-individual violence that has its roots in power inequalities and the idea that males are superior to females and entitled to whatever it is they desire; this link of violence with ideology of male supremacy shows that social power holds multiple characters (Connell, 1987).

2.2.3 Gender relations and masculinities

Connell (2005) proposes that hegemonic masculinity is all about men honouring the most acceptable form of being a man, it necessitates that all men to adhere to it and its philosophy allows for the derivative of females to males. Some men do not adhere to hegemonic masculinity but nonetheless receive patriarchal benefits, these men can be said to be showing complicit masculinity and it is against this group and submission among heterosexual women that hegemonic masculinity is most powerful (Connell, 2005). The relation between hegemonic and homosexual masculinity often encompasses violence and

intimidation because homosexual men are seen to be a threat to hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1995).

Protest masculinity is a form of marginalized masculinity, which has some elements of hegemonic masculinity on a larger societal context but alters them in a more poverty-stricken context (Connell, 1995) whereas complicit masculinity is when men distance themselves from the structure of power but ultimately still accept the benefits of being male. (Connell, 1995). "Gender is conceptualized as something we do rather than have, and building on this idea, it has been suggested that there are multiple ways of 'doing' gender and different versions of masculinity which are influenced by race, class, age, sexuality and other variables. Such theories have questioned assumptions that gender identities are unitary and power is located in males rather than females, adults rather than children, and argued instead that gender (and age) power relations operate in complex and contingent ways " (Mayeza, 2015, p 7). Hegemonic masculinity is said to be hegemonic because it embodies the power of reason and symbolizes the interests of the whole society (Connell, 1995). Hegemonic masculinity is all about power. The theory of gender relations is encompassed by power structures.

2.3. Boys, masculinities and violence

"To be male one needs to possess the 'Y' chromosome or testicles, to be a man, one needs ideas" (Ratele, 2013). Ratele also says that masculinity is a set of ideas that are constructed socially and they are what shape the way in which children view themselves, others and the world around them. Schools are involved in the construction of masculinities, and it is progressively accepted that schools have a part to play in averting violence (Bhana et al., 2010).

Often, there is one form of masculinity that dominates in society and this is known as "hegemonic masculinity," (Esplen & Greig, 2007). The concept of hegemonic masculinity is greatly utilized in South African gender research because it provides an understanding of issues of gender inequalities. Morrell et al., (2013, p.3) assert that "The concept is multi-

dimensional and permits a consideration of male power over females, the multi and unequal location of men themselves, fluidity in power relations and the persistence of patriarchal trends". This concept is best described by Connell (1995, p.77) where he states that "Hegemonic masculinity can be described as the configuration of gender practices which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of legitimacy of patriarchy which guarantees the dominant position of men and the subordination of women." Unfortunately, boys' attempts at achieving hegemonic masculinities come with a detrimental result of aggression, physical domination, violence and violation of women (Keddie, 2006).

Connell's concept criticises essentialist notions of masculinity. The notion illustrates how males can take up a series of positionings, including being compliant, subordinate, or even resistance to hegemony, demonstrating discrepancies in access among males to power (over females and other males), as well as the interaction between male identities, ideals, relationships, power as well as patriarchy (Morrell et al., 2013). "Gender power relations are reproduced through dominant cultural definitions of femininity (fearfulness of men) and masculinity (male cultural entitlement)," (Bhana 2010, p.13). The relationship between masculinity, maleness and pleasure shows that in poorer contexts where violence against women is high, the sexuality of men is influenced by dominance motivation (Ratele, 2008).

The environment of the school and the practices carried out within the school contribute greatly to how young boys form masculinities (Swain, 2005a). Schools operate on a hierarchical system, which creates and perpetuates relations of domination and subordination, the power and prestige that dictate the hierarchy is determined by gender (Swain, 2005b). Epstein (1996) suggests that heterosexuality is the primary lens through which young children understand gender. Early childhood teachers' encouragement of hegemonic masculinity is a constraint upon the development of gender equality in education (Bhana, 2009).

According to Connell (2002), gender differences do not simply exist but happen, are adapted through social learning, and can therefore, be unlearned. Boys draw on different types of

masculinities in different social and cultural situations such as when they are at home with family, at school with peers or perhaps engaging in sports; and in each of these situations, boys will construct their masculinity in the expected manner (Swain, 2005b). Men and boys do not know where they fit in post-apartheid society, and with unemployment being so rife – as well as the focus of the Constitution being on women's rights – they assert themselves through violence and sexual violence (Pattman & Bhana, 2006).

Research shows that there are boys who do not want to be seen as clever in schools because for them, academic success will inevitably result in them not exhibiting the dominant form of masculinity since academic success is associated with femininity (Renold, 2003). According to Connolly (2004), masculinity plays a big role in the underachievement of boys in schools and it is important not to overlook this. It is important for society to maintain the hegemonic meaning of masculinities and when men do not meet these requirements of hegemonic masculinity they are often the victims of hostility, because they go against these important definitions of what it indicates to be a male (man).

Connell (1995, p. 156) "Hegemonic masculinity is also experienced in institutional and cultural form of practices; hegemonic masculinity has social authority and is not easy to challenge openly". Hegemonic masculinity is not only about physical aggression (Connell, 1995). In the appliance of Connell's belief in South Africa, hegemony is associated with sexual expertise along with assertiveness (Bhana, 2013). Hegemonic masculinity as a concept has had a reflective impact on gender activism, predominantly in health interventions (Morrell et al, 2013).

Men compete to be dominant and to have masculine honour and this is often a source of violence (Esplen & Greig, 2007). Although not all men are violent, certain constructions of masculinity make it seem acceptable to be violent (Morrell, 2005). Boys tend to use aggression to gain status, dominance, to achieve hegemonic masculinity as well as put down other boys with a lower status, and this gains them popularity among their peers (Woods, 2009). The shift from apartheid to democracy ensured that South Africa adopted the most democratic constitution in the world, one that would see to it the equality of all individuals

in all aspects. It was however, acknowledged that it would be a difficult task to attain justice and equity in a short period of time and this is evident in that now, after more than twenty years of democracy, inequalities in terms of race, class, gender and sexuality still exist (Jewkes et al., 2015)

The importance put on hegemonic masculinity is a critical part of social power (Connell, 1987). Boys who have bodies that are seen as desirable are more admired and popular as they fit into the mould of hegemonic masculinity (Allen, 2013). The boys' body is a resource and in some settings, it becomes a great value (Swain, 2006a). An important part of violent masculinity is strength, the body is utilized as a weapon, which measures the aptitude of violence (Ouzgane & Morrell, 2005).

"Masculinity only makes sense when it is placed in relation to femininity," (Swain, 2006, p.4). Society determines appropriate masculine and feminine behaviour according to gender roles and these gender roles lead to power relations (Koester, 2015). Even authoritarian figures in schools such as principals reinforce the assumption of boys being bad and being the culprits of misconduct by only monitoring the interactions of boys and by monitoring the spaces in which boys interact in order to find those who misbehave (Pattman & Bhana, 2006).

Morrell (2001) has noted that historically, the frequent and common use of pain in institutions by authorities in a prescribed and rationalized manner is what has promoted violent masculinities among different races as well as different classes of men. The violence that is exhibited in a school that is poverty-ridden, serves as a means of strengthening hegemonic masculinity (Bhana, 2005). Moreover Morrell (2001) states that male gender power historically in South Africa was developed via schools which consisted of boys only. Using violence had become a justifiable means of expressing masculinity in the aspects of sport, corporal punishment, and with social relations. Young boys are very concerned with maintaining their social power and as teachers' note; the boys maintain their social power and position by excluding girls from their activities and turn to highlighting their masculine status (Bhana, 2010). Research on boys, violence and masculinity is important. In efforts to

improve the lives and well-being of men and those significant in their lives then we have to understand how men and boys perceive their world and their place (Barker & Galisinski (2001).

2.3 Gender violence as a global problem

Gender violence and especially the role of education in combating gender violence has been a prominent feature in international news (Parks & Unterhalter in Parks, 2015). According to Ellsberg et al., (2015) gender violence is a worldwide human rights violation, is an extensive challenge to the development of communities, and affects everyone across the world, across cultures and across economic status. Gender violence is a serious problem, which is widespread in countless parts of the world and is disabling to the development of women (Jewkes, 2013).

It is often females (women and girls) who remain victims of gender violence throughout society. (Palermo, Bleck & Peterman, 2013). Additionally Jewkes, Dunkle, Nduna and Shai (2010) suggest that gender violence against women is mostly observed through intimate partner violence where there is unequal power. Reasons why men are violent within relationships is that violence is a part of patriarchal cultures and that masculinities allow for violence, aggression and power to be celebrated (Jewkes et al., 2013). According to Simister and Mehta (2010), Indian women in the 21st century are often well educated and financially independent, sometimes even more so than their male counterparts and this creates insecurities within men and results in conflict in their homes. In poorer communities such as Jamaica many incidents of gender-based violence go unreported because of fear of men and because gender violence is instilled within the social and cultural norms, even health-care professionals such as midwives and nurses who may be witnessing gender violence, do not report it (Pitter, 2016). Moreover Umubyeyi et al., (2016) suggests that, despite law and legislation against gender violence, women in Rwanda who are abused by their partners are found not to report violence or even seek medical attention for fear that when their partner finds out they will experience more abuse. It is difficult for women to escape relationships where they experience oppression from their partner and even when they do find the

courage, they still experience structural violence and many other challenges such as discrimination from the community (Fu, 2015).

According to Morrell, et al., (2012) the rate of gender violence is high in South Africa, particularly intimate crime perpetrated on women. Half of these female victims are killed by their intimate male partners, but unfortunately it is not only adults who experience or are involved in gender violence, but children too. A study done by Shamu et al., (2015) shows that school children also experience (girls) and perpetrate (boys) intimate partner violence. Although children can be engaged in sexual violence, it is not as common as it is in teenage years; in fact most adult men who have raped admit to first doing it as teenagers (Jewkes, Flood, Lang, 2014). Jewkes, et al. (2015) have mentioned that often gendered violence in South Africa is used as a means of disciplining women who are not adhering to the norm or expectations of society such as those who are overtly promiscuous, those who drink in public, those who reject sexual advances of men and who appear snobbish. Men feel they are entitled to treat women in this manner because of society's ideas of men being superior to women. The gender violence that happens within families and the community is witnessed and adopted by children then carried out into the school environment. It is not only in the homes and communities that gender violence is rife, but it is in schools that it has also manifested as a major obstacle (Finkelhor, Vanderminden, Turner, Shattuck & Hamby, 2016).

2.4 Violence in schools

School violence is described by Leach and Mitchell (2006) as physical, psychological, emotional and verbal acts carried out by learners to other learners, teachers to learners or learners to teachers. Violence and crime are rampant maladies in a large number of schools in and around South Africa. In line with Le Roux and Mokhele (2011, p.318) these maladies have, supposedly, incapacitating outcomes on the learning along with the teaching process. The actuality that violence and crime emerge as a way of life in South Africa has also been demonstrated by shootings and stabbings in addition to physical and emotional violence. There are emerging trends proposing that the necessary atmosphere for successful learning

and teaching is progressively destabilized by a mounting ethnicity of school gender violence and so, that is impacting harmfully on the educational sector (United Nations Children's Fund, 2001). Additionally, violent actions directly affect teaching as well as learning in addition to school-principals' and educators' organizational and instructional duties with the end result that the predicament of substandard education outputs are exacerbated (Netshitangani, 2014).

The problem of school violence has been identified as a serious crisis and is well documented in the media (eNCA, 2016, Mutumba, 2015, Evans, 2013). Netshitangani (2014) has noted that some schools have become environments filled with crime, violence and unruly behaviour, they have become places that lack control and discipline and ultimately defeat the aims of education. Often issues which occur in the school are seen to be solely the problem of the school to deal with, but according to Cowie and Jennifer (2007), school violence, which includes acts such as bullying, threats, sexual harassment, cyber and social intimidation as well as assault, are results of many influences on the behaviour of the individual.

Leach and Mitchell (2006) point out that violence is gender-based and gender violence in schools can be divided in two categories: explicit and implicit. Explicit gender violence is blatantly sexual and includes acts such as sexual harassment, verbal abuse, intimidation and rape. The latter refers to gender violence acts that are less visible and come from everyday school activities, which emphasize gender differences (Leach & Mitchell, 2006). Gender violence in schools is perpetuated by emphasized gender differences and this emerges in practices such as the wearing of school uniforms, lining up of boys and girls, separate toilets and so on (Connell, 2000).

It is imperative to comprehend that identities are developed, practiced and are actively shaped through engaging with others at a level that is organized and through peer networks in the school (Mahungazi, 2011). Students who are from violent neighbourhoods tend to find themselves in violent situations at school too because they have become accustomed to violence and view it as normal behaviour (Chaux & Castellanos, 2015). Those schools

located in communities that have a high rate of gangs, drug use and unemployment face higher incidents of violence because violence becomes a way of expressing everyday frustrations for the youth that face great difficulties (Pahad & Graham, 2012). Schools in low-income communities tend to have a wider variety of age differences in one classroom and this is viewed as one major risk factor for learner on learner violence (Pahad & Graham, 2012). Learners who are underachievers and grade repeaters become frustrated, lose interest and eventually become disruptive and aggressive (Singh & Steyn, 2014). Older classmates, who have usually repeated a grade, influence other classmates into disruptive behaviour (Lam, Marteleto & Ranchhod, 2013). Pahad and Graham (2012) have listed age as a major factor in school violence along with personal history, behaviour problems, lack of parental support or interest, domestic violence and poor school management as another causes of violence. Skelton (2001) notes that by deducing the heterosexual norm, dominant types of masculinity are continuously worked on.

Schools should be places where learning takes place and where children can learn about important issues such as sexual violence, values and gender inequality, but instead schools are responsible for perpetuating gender subordination (Bhana, 2011). Not only does school violence have negative consequences for the victims such as absenteeism, drug or alcohol abuse and poor academic performance, but it also contributes to a negative atmosphere and learning environment in the school which lowers the morale of teachers and in turn lowers classroom productivity (Singh & Steyn, 2014). Violence within schooling contexts remains as a multi-faceted dilemma which makes it really complex for researchers to pin down and describe its causes. In 2008, the South African Human Rights Commission Report on school violence moreover specifies the causative issues to school violence. Diverse social settings within which young individuals function such as the schooling environment, the family moreover the wider communities in which they reside in (Netshitangani, 2014).

The media has played a bulbous part in the reporting of violent incidents in schools across the world. Barbieri and Connell (2014) report that school shootings in particular generate extensive attention in the media and this is likely because of their multi-victim outcome. American incidents of school violence seem to receive great coverage and are even reported

on international news platforms such as CNN (Barbieri and Connell, 2014). School shootings in America have become a great concern and Zauzmer (2015) reports on the worst school shootings in America, naming the incident of Adam Lanza, a learner who shot 20 schoolchildren, six school employees, his mother and himself, as one of many horrifying examples.

Not only is school violence an epidemic in American schools, but in other countries as well such as Australia. Lester, Mander and Cross (2015) report that bullying in Australian schools has become a serious concern and they have noted that it is usually during the first year of secondary school that learners experience bullying or other forms of victimisation. The same can be said for schools in African countries where school violence is on the rise. The United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO, 2015) report that countries such as Zambia and Kenya have high levels of school violence, particularly sexual violence. In countries such as Uganda, not only is learner-to-learner violence a crisis but so is teacher-to-learner violence, despite the prohibition of corporal punishment (Devries et al, 2015). It is often the male teachers that resort to physical forms of punishment (UNESCO, 2015).

South Africa is well known for its high crime rate and in Cape Town for example, especially in the more disadvantaged areas, violence in the community is carried over into the schools and therefore young people are obliged to find ways to protect themselves such as carrying weapons to school (Parkes, 2007). Moreover, a great number of educators and majority of learners' accounted that they felt insecure at school (Burton, 2008) and so, this is of great concern because it is not conducive to learning if the teachers and learners are not in a safe, comfortable space.

2.5 Boys, schooling and violence

According to Bhana (2005), males most often perpetrate violence and boys use violence as a means to assert their power in society. Mills (2001) notes the main commonality of violence is that it is used as a concept of power over others. This is reiterated by Saltmarsh, Robinson

and Davies (2012) who state that gender violence is used as a way to uphold the privilege of males in relation to females and it is used to maintain the current gender order. Morrell (2002, p41) sees violence as “a choice available to men to demonstrate their masculinity”. He further says that young black and working-class men are more prone to resort to violent acts because of their economic situation and these violent acts of young black men are observed closely and become the subject of public discussion and criticism (Morrell, 2002).

Underwood et al., (2009, p358) suggest that “Boys engage in physical violence more than girls do and are likely to follow physical aggression trajectory”. The South African Council of Educators (SACE, 2011) reports that the family plays the biggest role in shaping who we become and most often boys are expected to adhere to social stereotypes of being strong and successful and these constructions of masculinities and expectations can be said to increase the likelihood of school-based gender violence. Men learn about masculinities through other men and through comparing themselves with others, they are always constructing their masculinities based on interactions with their peers (Ratele, 2013).

Many learners respond to taunting by engaging in physical fights and insults and this is partly because of the authoritarian regime they see in schools. They infer from the school regime, (which still uses corporal punishment) that it is acceptable to resort to violence when dealing with threats to one’s masculinity (Morrell and Epstein, 2012). The elimination of corporal punishment has been successfully implemented at former model-C, middle-class schools, but it is still very prevalent in township schools. This is because of the embedded notion that corporal punishment is needed for systematic education to commence, that there are no alternative methods of punishment and because of the norm of authoritarian education practices (Morrell, 2001).

The inequalities of race and class continue to fuel proneness to violence and HIV, more especially in the poor townships (Bhana, 2011). When race and class inequalities intersect, men are often vulnerable and show strength, power and domination through violence (De Vries et al., 2014).

Due to the prevalence of domestic violence in communities, teenagers seem to think that small acts of violence such as slapping and pushing between intimate partners might be deserved (Sundaram, 2013). Many children first witness intimate partner violence at home, where the female is being compromised (De Vries et al, 2014) and this behaviour is then carried into the school.

According to Burton and Leoschut (2013) a lot of the violence in schools does not involve physical violence, but rather threats of violence and intimidation, which makes the school environment a place filled with fear and hostility for the victims. School violence is aimed at intimidating and terrorising others and it also serves as an escape mechanism for the perpetrator who might be experiencing psychological distress (Langman, 2009).

Not only are learners who are victims of violence in the school fearful, but teachers as well and this is a significant restriction on the competence of the teachers. They are unable to do their jobs to the best of their ability and are unable to protect learners from fellow learners who exhibit violence.

In Lansford et al., (2012) they describe an occurrence labelled relational aggression, which are acts that are harmful to one's social relationships, such as gossiping or exclusion. The type of aggression that is more common varies from country to country and context to context, but generally speaking, boys show more physical aggression, however over a period of time there seems to be no significant differences in the genders (Lansford et al., 2012). Dunne and Ananga (2012) have identified it as a norm for girls to be less verbally and physically participatory in schools. Popularity comes as a result of aggression and dominance because boys use this power to include or exclude whom they desire in activities (Woods, 2009). Men's violence is generally perceived to be more physical and more damaging than women's violence (Sundaram, 2013). Sexual violence, among other forms of violence such as emotional and physical violence, is of great concern in schools (Dunne and Ananga, 2012).

2.7 Sex, sexuality and violence

School culture is highly sexualised (Epstein, 1996). Schools are meant to be safe spaces where conducive learning takes place, but instead they are filled with violence and abuse. Schools are common places for sexual abuse (Human Rights Watch, 2001). “The school as an institution of socialization plays a significant role in shaping boys’ and girls’ sexual identities and gender relations (Thorne 1993). Schools are highly sexualized locations where identities are developed, practiced, and vigorously produced through collective engagement operating at the level of the organizational setup and in peer networks (Mac an Ghaill, 1994, Muhanguzi, 2011)

Primary schools should be the major role players when it comes to preventing sexual violence but there is not enough research to hold primary schools accountable (Bhana, 2014). Teachers are responsible and expected to show and deliver care towards learners but the extent of their care work is mostly determined by the conditions of the school (Bhana, Morrell, Epstein and Moletsane, 2006).

According to Jewkes (2014) rape is a big part of violence among young people. Boys on average start sex earlier than girls, at age 14, which is the age of some Grade 7 boys (De Vries, 2014). Sexual coercion, HIV infection and inequalities within gender relations are blended together to contribute to the vulnerabilities of young women (Bhana, Nzimakwe and Nzimakwe, 2010). According to Anderson (2010a), boys use sex as a way to demonstrate sexual prowess and this is essential in the construction of masculinity among young people. In discovering their sexual identities, boys are influenced by societal factors and gender norms that arise through social interactions (Wallace et al., 2016). Boys’ constructions of masculinities that include ambition of power and the use of violence as well as multiple heterosexual partners, is what leads them to the extent of sexual violence (Bhana et al., 2010).

It is usually the older boys that abuse their power of seniority by taking sexual advantage of girls (UNESCO, 2015). It is the power relations along with social values and gender relations

that increase sexual abuse in girls (Bhana, 2011). However, in some instances, boys are conflicted because they are pressured by girls to participate in physical forms of affection whereas they do not desire to do so, but they conform because they do desire to uphold their masculine status (Renolds, 2003).

Although primary school children may not be sexually active and some may not even be sexually aware, they are however fully aware of heterosexuality and this is evident in their daily interactions such as games of “family” or teasing each other about girlfriend and boyfriend issues (Epstein, 1996). Romance, love and kissing are a big part of primary school culture but teachers choose to dismiss these acts as childish and harmless (Renold 2005 in Bhana et al.,2010). In schools, some subjects such as sex and sexuality are taboo. Morrell (2003) suggests that both learners and teachers are scared and cautious and are unable to talk about them, to engage and to reflect on personal experiences that can make the subjects more relatable and understandable. Young children sometimes see it as a bad thing to have sexual knowledge and knowledge about HIV/AIDS because they recognise that is something forbidden, it is knowledge they are not “supposed to know” (Bhana 2009). This culture of silence in schools is what hinders and undermines the efforts made by HIV/AIDS prevention initiatives and increases the likelihood of teachers and learners being exposed and at risk of sexually transmitted diseases and HIV/AIDS (Morrell 2003).

The notion of childhood innocence has been proven to be a myth through the study conducted by Bhana and Epstein (2007), in which boys and girls participated in playful sexuality, allowing each other into their sexual and gendered worlds. Adults choose to believe that childhood is filled within innocence yet studies (Bhana et al., 2010) have shown that sexuality was prevalent in the way that boys and girls relate to each other. “Even research which is informed by a concern for children’s rights often addresses children as relatively passive, de-sexualised beings without the capacity to formatively and constitutively engage with sexual matters,” (Bhana, 2006, p. 64).

Epstein (1996) has reported on the sexualised games that girls and boys are involved in at primary schools. Girls and boys use these games as a means of establishing their

heterosexuality within society and it is often by pretending to be adults who are dating or married that girls are able to affirm their femininity and boys their masculinity (Epstein, 1996). Heterosexuality is an affirmation of masculinity. Although in reality the boys and girls might not be engaging in any kind of sexualised relationship it is still considered cool for boys to be liked by girls and the more girls, the better (Renold , 2003). Sexuality is a forbidden area for children which is explorative and pleasurable but at the same time it is an area of danger (Bhana and Epstein, 2007). The power in an intimate relationship is an area of great struggle because it incorporates the negotiation, the struggle and the resistance of gender relations (Bhana, 2013).

Forde and Hardley (2011) point out that it is not only physical acts of sexual misconduct that is a great concern but also with the age of technological advancements, cyber bullying and sexting (sending of sexually explicit content from communication devices) has become an even bigger concern. The internet is an important communication tool for many young people but it has its negative and positive outcomes, the negative includes cyber bullying (Maher, 2008). Young people's daily interactions are consumed by new media practices such as instant messaging, creating and watching online videos, being active on social media and using cell phones in general (Zweig, Dank, Yahner and Lachman, 2013). Sexting between young people has become a big part of youth culture, a great topic of discussion in the media and a great concern for school, parents and policy makers (Lee, Crofts, McGovern and Milivojevic, 2015). Parents and teachers play a vital role in helping young people understand the consequences of making bad decisions on social networks and other digital media channels. Boys are most often identified as the cyber bullies and girls as the victims of cyber bullying (Wang, Lannotti and Nansel, 2009).

Unlike the girls in sub-Saharan Africa, young girls within South Africa have a much enhanced opportunities and access to education, but this is tainted by the high rates of sexual violence as well as sexual harassment prevalent in schools (Prinsloo, 2011). Young boys often torment girls by making sexual advances, by touching them inappropriately and harassing them in general. In some cases it's the teachers that sexually harass and abuse young girls and this has become a worrisome matter because then young girls have no trustworthy

authority figure to turn to and boys learn behaviour from their teachers that is undesirable. , Everyday across South Africa, girls from different backgrounds encounter sexual violence and harassment and this hinders their right to education (Human Rights Watch, 2001). Boys too experience sexual abuse and research shows that boys' experiences of sexual violence is more serious than that of girls, meaning that boys are subjected to actual intercourse whereas with girls it is often fondling and exhibitionism (J

In addition, sexual abuse of females is more frequently disclosed, whereas that of males is concealed and underreported (Lansford et al., 2012). Male sexual abuse is unusual and goes against social ideas of masculinity; males are ashamed and embarrassed to disclose their sexual abuse. When young boys experience sexual abuse they construct it as having their true identity of boyhood stripped from them and therefore, they do not tend to show their weakness and withhold the fact that they have been abused. However, young children often disclose their abuse accidentally such as through small suggestions in interactions or by showing inappropriate sexual knowledge for their age and inappropriate behaviour (Lansford et al., 2012) and in witnessing this, adults are able to take on investigations to find out if indeed the child has been a victim of sexual abuse. Parents of sexually abused boys do not often react the way in which parents of sexually abused girls do, by getting professional help and counselling, due to fear of psychological trauma instead they will be concerned about the possibility of boys developing homosexuality (Lansford et al., 2012). Parents ought to be more concerned with the emotional, psychological and physical health of their children; whether boy or girl, instead of being overly concerned that their sexual orientation might be altered by incidents of sexual abuse.

Girls' fear of rape is a testimony of the violence that occurs in schools and the gender inequalities that are embedded in the school culture (Bhana, 2011). The fear of men is embedded in the daily lives of township girls (Bhana, 2011). Girls and women are afraid to walk in the street because they fear they may be verbally, physically or sexually assaulted by men. There is a great fear of being alone because then one is vulnerable. Women and girls in the township are forced to have friendly relationships with the most feared men in the neighbourhoods because this provides a sense of protection from other perpetrators. The

lives of women and girls in townships in South Africa are overridden with the fear of being sexually abused. Teachers are expected to be the protectors of children in terms of sex and gender violence however, male teachers have been found to be the perpetrators of rape and gender inequality (Bhana, 2014).

The information that children get from television and radio about HIV/AIDS has proved to be coupled with racialised assumptions as children seem to associate HIV/AIDS with poor and mainly black communities (Bhana & Epstein, 2007) which is an indication that schools need to play a more significant role in providing children with correct information concerning HIV/AIDS. It is the duty of parents to explain the meaning of HIV/AIDS to their children in an age-appropriate manner in order for children to have a clear understanding and to prevent misinformation. Schools also needs to play a significant role in educating learners on matters of HIV/AIDS. The most effective way that the HIV/AIDS pandemic can be decreased is through education and information. Children construct their meaning of HIV/AIDS through social structures such as race, class and gender (Bhana & Epstein, 2007); this needs to be corrected by teachers and parents alike.

Scholarship in Africa has had difficulty in addressing the ever-increasing pandemic of violence and the gendered vulnerability of women and at the same time fully recognizing the range of sexuality that also establishes an emphasis on affection, emotional attachment and love (Bhana, 2013). Girls are critical of the ways in which boys conduct themselves sexually and they attempt to challenge this, but they nonetheless accept certain gender norms and ultimately give in to gender inequality (Bhana & Anderson, 2013).

Primary schools should be the key role players in providing information about sexuality and HIV/AIDS to children. Children should feel safe and comfortable to explore the topic and should be able to receive information on all aspects of sexuality and HIV/AIDS (Bhana, 2009). It is often oppression and violence that are carefully considered when addressing issues of sexual risk and terror but feelings of love, practices of love, affection, as well as power relations, cannot be put aside (Bhana, 2013).

At times girls resist the domination of boys in schools. Often it is the girls who are seen as assertive and arrogant, such as student leaders or girls who perform well academically, that are the targets of sexual violence or sexual assault. It is because boys see them as threats and therefore use violence as a means to control girls, to scare them into submission (Human Rights Watch, 2001). It is common for boys to dominate and control playground areas but Swain (2006a) has found that in some instances girls resist the control of boys and this is also evident in Bhana (2005b) where young girls use gestures such as lifting dresses and showing panties to embarrass boys and to gain control and power on the playground. Girls strategize against boys and contest their power and domination on the playground and thus challenge the normative view of patriarchal power in which men dominate females (Mayeza, 2015). Bhana (2008) argues that in spite of the effort to keep girls in their acceptable manner, which excludes violence, girls do in fact exhibit acts of violence. Girls who challenge gender norms and show sexual freedom are perceived as promiscuous, called derogatory names and looked down on in the community, whereas boys who have the same behaviour are praised and celebrated (Anderson, 2010a).

Sexualities within schools are lived out through dynamics of control and resistance (Epstein & Johnson, 1998), patterned by a particular gender code as a mode of transmission of gender relations (Arnot, 2002; Thorne, 1993). This gender code is manifested through constant gender classification and attribution through which a range of sexual messages are transmitted and a number of views of what it means to be a boy or a girl are demonstrated (Connell 1987). Also

Mncube and Harber (2013) note that boys are not the sole perpetrators of violence, but that violence among girls is increasing and often involve verbal violence including insults and competition about boys. Young boys see girls as different rather than opposites, but in fact there are not two separate worlds in which boys and girls exist. However, there are two co-existing gendered cultures within one school world (Swain, 2006a).

2.8. Violence and sport

Sport is another area, which greatly emphasises gender differences and perpetuates violence. It is an important part of the curriculum and often praises the strong, tough, aggressive, competitive and consequently, violent boy (Mills, 2001). Boys are not taught to care for their appearance as much as girls, rather, they are taught the significance of appearing hard and dominant and the school and media plays a part in persuading boys to partake in competitive sport and pressured by peers to show strength and toughness (Connell 2002).

Mayeza's (2015) research among primary school children shows that boys who do not conform to typical roles of playing sports such as football become targets for bullying and are often labelled as gay. By not conforming to normative male behaviours, boys open themselves up to bullying and social exclusion (Mayeza, 2015). For instance, a boy from a less privileged background was pushed by his parents to put in more hours into his studying and to excel academically in order to secure a better life. As a result, his sporting abilities suffered and because he was in a sport-dominated school, he was isolated due to his inability to participate in sports (Connell, 1995).

Schrock and Schwalbe (2009) propose that one of the most important lessons that are taught about manhood includes aggression and violence. Violent play between boys is often accepted and even encouraged by parents and is especially reinforced in sports by coaches and teammates. According to Swain (2005a), sports in schools contributes greatly to violence and often sports embodies violent practices and the language and behaviour associated resembles that of war.

Children will often use games/sports as symbolism for gender identification (Mayeza, 2015) and it appears that it is not all boys that receive praise for having a girlfriend or being pursued by girls. It is the sporty, tough boys who gain more praise and reward for their hegemonic masculinity while the non-sporty, soft boys are teased and ridiculed for being pursued by girls (Renold, 2003).

Boys who participate in sports, who are seen as tough, rough and appealing by their peers create a hierarchy of heterosexuality, which in turn fosters the culture of hegemonic masculinity, heterosexuality and sports (Renold, 2003). Moreover Swain (2005) suggests that boys compete to be the best in sport because they know that if they succeed in certain sports they hold a position of power. Not being involved in sports results in boys being victims of bullying, insults and being labelled as homosexual and consequently losing power in society (Renold, 2010).

2.9. Gender and bullying: Masculinities and power

Williams et al. (2005) report that girls and boys between Grades 6 and 8 have admitted to bullying learners in their school and that the bullying was not once off, but had rather occurred over a period of time. According to Chaux and Castellanos (2015), money is a source of power among students and bullying others who do not have money adds to that power.

Bullies get motivation from those in their group (reinforcers), they continue to bully in order to impress their friends, to increase their popularity and to show their power within the classroom or school (Huitsing & Veenstra, 2012). In line with this, Langman (2009) suggests that learners who are more assertive, have outgoing personalities and are popular among their peers are typically those that bully less assertive more introverted, timid learners because they do not retaliate and stand up to them. Huitsing and Veenstra (2012) note that bullies do not target peers who appear to be popular or who have status in the classroom or school because doing that they will risk losing their own status, instead they target weak peers who do not have popular standing and who cannot be a major risk but will instead increase the bully's own status.

Many studies on bullying downplay the influence that homophobia, sexism and relationships of dominance and power have in peer groups and the influence thereof on bullying and school violence in general (Meyer and Brown, 2009). Allen (2013) indicates that homophobia plays a role in bullying in that boys who show physical forms of affection such

as hugging or touching can be quickly judged and seen as a homosexual unless they do so in a joking and mocking manner. Power plays a major role in school violence. Behaviours associated with hegemonic masculinity are most often aggressive and authoritarian and this masculinity is valued greatly and is invested with power (Ouzgane & Morrell, 2005).

School violence has many consequences for victims, it results in them avoiding school and not participating in school activities, and it also affects their academic performance, their psychological health and relationships with other learners (Chabangu, 2014). Shilubane et al.(2013) indicate that violence has grave consequences, including suicide, which has become a serious problem among South African youth and often comes as a result of violence in school especially among boys. Young boys associate body strength with masculinity, to them, being strong means you are able to do more things such as defeat others in physical competitions and subsequently increase one's masculine status (Drummond, 2012). Aggressive acts play a major role when it comes to deciding who is included or excluded in playground activities and those who are able to act aggressively are seen as popular and cool and are thus the ones who decide on who to include or exclude (Woods, 2009).

2.10. Conclusion

In efforts to better understand boys, violence and masculinities, Connell's gender relational theory is used as a lens in this study. According to Connell (1987), power exists within gender and gender inequalities emerge as a result of power relations. Gender relational theory suggests that males learn to be male by observing females and subsequently learning what females are not, and the same is said for females, they learn to be female by observing males and learning what they are not (Skelton, 2003). Certain masculinities become dominant by the realization of oppressing others (Connell, 2005) and this is evident in school violence. All violence is gender-based and the main perpetrators of school violence are boys (Leach and Mitchell, 2006). Violence is a way in which men and boys uphold their domination over women and girls (Saltmarsh, et al., 2012). Violence in schools is not just a South African problem but rather an international crisis (Ellsberg et al., 2015). School

violence, particularly in South Africa, is on the rise and stakeholders need to work together to combat the epidemic (Burton, 2008). This chapter has discussed the relevant literature that speaks about boys, violence and masculinities. This chapter has also discussed the theory of gender relations, which is used in this study as a framework for understanding boys and violence. The next chapter will explain the research design and methodology employed.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

3.1 Introduction

This study seeks to investigate primary school Grade 7 boys' experiences and opinions of school violence and further seeks to understand how this violence affects the construction of their masculinities. The previous chapter was a review of relevant literature to this study. This chapter will discuss the methodology and research design. It will contain a discussion of the qualitative research approach, the research paradigm using a case study research method. The chapter will also contain a discussion on the research site and sampling method. The chapter will further discuss data collection, validity and reliability, limitations ethical issues, data analysis and the experience I had. This chapter will end with a summarisation of the discussed content.

3.2 Research design and methodology

According to Terre-Blanche and Durrheim (2006) research designs mean planned outlines for the action that provides a link between the research questions and actually carrying out or applying the research. Research design is a simple outline for a research project, and includes: the strategy, the conceptual framework, the research subject and the tools and procedures to be used for collecting and analysing (Punch & Oancea, 2014). In contrast, methods are the procedures as well as actions taken to undertake research, and are established by the methodology such as the sampling procedure, data collection methods, data analysis techniques and results reporting, in addition to theoretical frameworks and conceptual frameworks adopted (McGregor & Murnane, 2010).

3.3 Qualitative approach

It is suggested by Lichtman (2010) that qualitative research studies issues at a deeper level and aims to get a better understanding of human lives and occurrences, whereas quantitative research aims to test a hypothesis, it looks at cause and effect and aims to make predictions. Maree (2010) agrees by saying that qualitative research gives insight into events and gives reasons as to why these events occur. Due to qualitative researchers generally accepting that social authenticity is a human creation, they understand and contextualise meanings from individuals' principles and practices (Baškarada, 2014). One strength that qualitative research holds is that it is able to give multifaceted written accounts of how people experience a certain phenomenon (Mack, Woodsong, MacQueen, Guest & Namey, 2005). A trait of qualitative research studies is that its finding cannot always be generalised outside of the context of the research site (Stake, 2010). In addition, McGregor and Murnane, (2010) explained that qualitative research attempts to reveal the conscious as well as unconscious reasons individuals have for what they carry out or believe in. A key element of qualitative research is that the researcher becomes the main instrument of data collection (Atieno, 2009). This means that the scholar is obligated to go out into the field to collect data, rather than use large amounts of questionnaires and machines to collect information at his or her workplace. Thus, the scholar is dynamically implicated in the research procedure and is, most of the time, in direct contact with participants. "The qualitative 'objective' researcher would not answer the research question as successfully if s/he took the participants out of context and put them in his or her own, as the participants' behavior would alter drastically" (Rizvi, 2017, p. 39).

The researcher employed a qualitative approach to research as this enabled an in-depth exploration of the selected primary school boys and their experience of violence. The researcher used qualitative research because the study aimed to understand the violence in schools and how primary school boys of Grade 7 understand and experience violence as well as how they construct masculinities within the schools and what they understand about

being boys. The study is qualitative in that it sought to gain insight and understand violence from the viewpoint of the research participants. This qualitative approach enabled an exploration of the issue of violence among Grade 7 boys at a deeper level and understands their interpretation of the issue. This research design was suitable for this research study because the researcher did not aim to generalise the findings beyond the research site.

3.4 Interpretive paradigm

The interpretive paradigm is focused on people's experiences and making sense of them; the paradigm interacts with the participants and engages them in the research (Terre Blanche, Durrheim, Painter, 2006). King and Horrocks (2010) suggest that interpretive research is ideographic, meaning it describes features of the social world by giving detailed explanations of social settings, processes and relationships. According to Maree and Westhuizen (2007), p.3, "Interpretive researchers start out with assumption that access to reality (given or socially constructed) is only through social constructions such as language, consciousness and shared meanings". Therefore the researcher began with a set of vague assumptions about the research question then made sense of the phenomenon by observing the field and interacting with the participants, focusing on an inductive approach, (Terre-Blanche et al, 2006).

This study operates within the interpretive paradigm because the endeavour was to get a perception of the experiences of primary school boys, school violence and masculinity. The researcher interacted with the research through observing the behaviours of the participants and engaged with participants in focus group discussions as well as individual interviews. This research aimed to depict what is occurring in the societal setting of the schooling context and thus gave an in-depth explanation of the dynamics of the relationships and social settings of the research context. The researcher began by assuming what was to occur in the research field, but through observation and interactions, the

researcher was able to make sense of the research environment thus making the research paradigm interpretative.

3.5 Case study

In any given case study research, the case is an occurrence that is constrained by the period, the event and the place. It ought to be precise and may comprise of community elements, individuals, societal groups, or institutions and events (Casey and Houghton, 2010). Case studies are in-depth as they allow the researcher to examine in great detail, they are flexible meaning they can be applied to a large number or small number of participants, they are versatile in that they can be combined with other approaches and they are manageable because they pay attention to a specific focus (Rule & John, 2011). Baškarada (2014) suggests that case studies offer an occasion for the researcher to expand a deep complete analysis of the research problem and may enable re-counting, understanding and clarifying a research predicament or condition.

Case study research allowed for the researcher to be involved in close interactions with people involved in the research and to build relationships with them (Rule and John, 2011). Importantly it was noted that, “One of the key characteristics of case study research is that it allows researchers to focus on complex situations while taking the context of the situation into account” (Casey & Houghton, 2010, p. 41).

Rule and John (2011) define an in-depth case study that uses observations supported by interviews as an ethnographic case study with the exception that an ethnographic study would be over a prolonged period of time (Stark and Torrance, 2005). The use of numerous data gathering sources provides a more conclusive and precise case study (Houghton, Casey, Shaw, Murphy, 2013). The aim of a case study is its particular description (Flick, 2006) and therefore, “It is not the main intention of such a study to generalise but rather to

understand this case and its complexity and its entirety as well as in its context” (Punch and Oancea, 2014, p. 151).

This study is a case study of school boys, violence and masculinity in a Pinetown primary school. The school is situated in Nagina Township. The residents in this working-class and middle-class township are mostly Indian and black. Many of the learners do not reside in Nagina Township but rather come from surrounding areas and travel to school in taxis or buses. Case study research allowed for in detail exploration of the case, which is suitable for this research because the researcher aimed to explore the case of schoolboys and violence at a deep holistic level. The researcher chose to embark on a case study because case studies allow for close interactions. The researcher chose case study research because it allowed for flexibility (it can be applied to the number of participants), versatile and manageable (in that they pay attention to a specific focus). Case study was most suitable for this research because the researcher aimed to build close relationships with the participants and gain valuable knowledge as Rule and John (2011) suggest.

The researcher used observations, individual interviews and focus groups because various data collecting tools provide more accuracy (Houghton, Casey, Shaw, Murphy, 2013). The researcher did not aim to oversimplify findings but moderately to comprehend the specific case in detail and thus opted for case study research.

3.6 Context of the study and research site

The study was conducted at a primary school in the Pinetown township of Nagina. Nagina is a township that covers a radius of 0.66km² with a population of 1288 constituting of a majority of black Africans (70%) followed by Indians (27%) (South African Statistics, 2012). Nagina residents are mostly working-class citizens who work in Pinetown and Durban but a large number are unemployed. Many unemployed people turn to small business as a means for income, such as tuckshops, hair salons or selling snacks to the children at school. The

surrounding areas of Nagina are developing townships that have high numbers of violence, drug and alcohol use. These areas are within walking distance of Nagina, and therefore, a lot of the crime and violence is carried over. Residents of Nagina have expressed concern about the alarming rate of the increase in crime. At the time the researcher was conducting interviews at the school, there was an armed robbery incident that took place in a house near the school. Many of the learners also reported there was an armed robbery incident at the school during the registration period a few years prior and that was why security was increased. Also, I was warned by many teachers and the security guard not to walk alone in the neighbourhood when school was still in session as it is quiet in the streets and is the time that many incidents of crime occur.

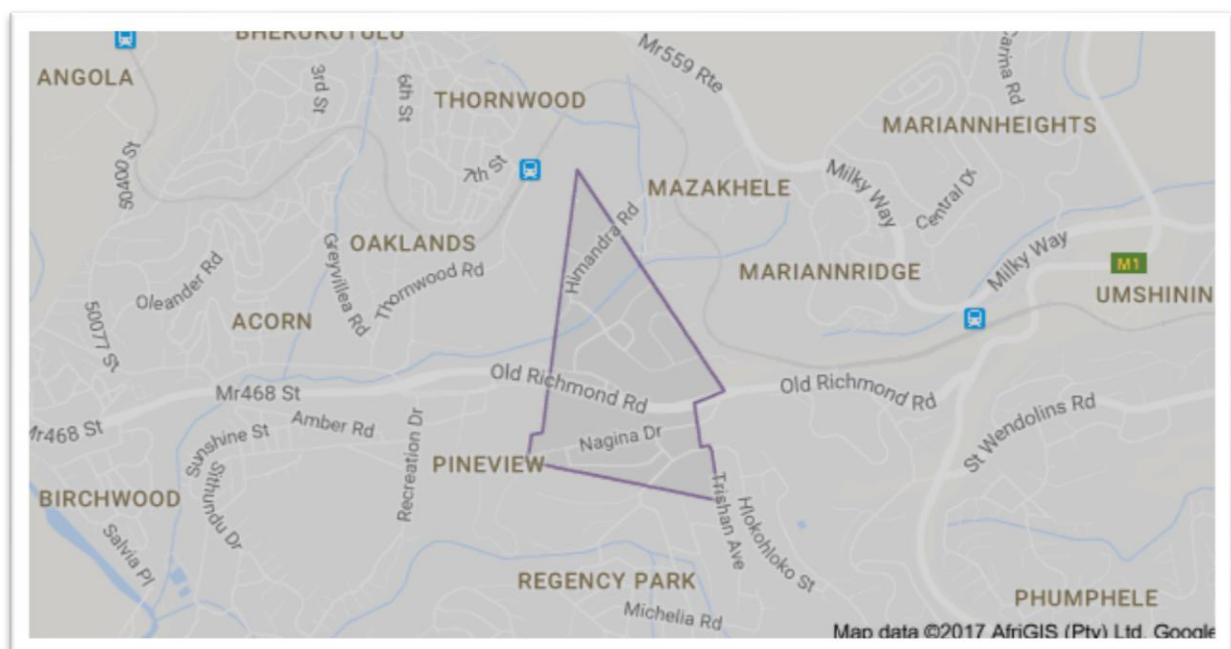


Figure 1: Map of Nagina and surrounding areas

The study was conducted at Monroe Primary School (pseudonym) in the township of Nagina. The school consists of Grades R to 7. Majority of the learners in the school are from working-class families but there are quite a few from poor backgrounds. This is noted in the condition of the learner's uniforms, the condition of their appearance and the type of food they eat during break times. On many occasions the researcher noted during breaks times

many learners did not eat or they consumed cheap snacks that cost R1 or R2 which they purchased from the tuckshop. Learners who had a good home-made lunch or could afford to buy a pie were often surrounded by many others asking to have a portion of their food. Monroe Primary School has predominantly black and Indian learners from the township of Nagina and surrounding areas. Nagina is fairly developed in terms of infrastructure. It houses a primary school and many of the surrounding areas have high schools, it has a clinic, library and adequate roads. Many of the residents are working professionals who commute to Pinetown by taxi or car, a number of them work in surrounding areas such as Kwa-Ndengezi and are able to walk. The learners of the school predominantly reside in the townships surrounding Nagina and use public transport to commute to and from school, many of them use lift clubs and a small number walk to school.

Monroe (pseudonym) Primary school is a public school. The school consists of 27 teachers, 3 office administrators and 7 support staff members. The school has adequate infrastructure which consists of furnished classrooms, a computer centre, a school hall, well-equipped staff room and office. The school has a small courtyard behind the office and junior grade classes where all the learners from Grade 1-7 play during break and congregate during assembly. Although not permitted, some learners remain in the classroom areas during break times and a large number of Grade 7 boys stand behind the toilets or car park during break. The school also has a large grass sports field that is used for soccer, volley ball and netball but is closed off during break times. The field is also used by members of the community who wish to exercise or play sport, and it is also used as a shortcut by those living in houses behind the school. Many incidents of school fights and of smoking activity have been said to have taken place on this field.

3.7 Sampling

Sampling is the process of selecting participants that will be observed, interviewed, researched or examined during a study (Creswell, 2013). In this research project

convenience sampling was chosen to select 25 Grade 7 boys and 2 Grade 6 boys to complete the sample.

I opted for convenience sampling because as Maree and Westhuizen (2007) draw attention to how this sampling means is widely used for access is effortlessly and expediently obtainable. Gravetter and Forzano (2009) as well as Punch and Oancea, (2014) propose that convenience sampling is chosen because the case, events and situation is easily and more conveniently accessed. The researcher uses this method because the learners were chosen due to easy access in terms availability. The research site Monroe Primary was convenient for the researcher because it is close to where she resides and the participants were chosen because they indicated they were interested and their parents signed the consent forms.

In quantitative sampling, sampling is directed at representativeness, the variables of a sample are chosen to represent a certain population whereas in qualitative sampling, the sample is not meant to represent a population but rather it is chosen for a specific purpose (Punch & Oancea, 2014). Rizvi (2017, p.47) reiterates “on the other hand, with qualitative research, the main aim is to understand an issue, therefore there is little need to apply the findings to an entire population. Instead, even one individual can be studied and this will reap a wealth of information, without compromising on the validity of the study. Therefore, in qualitative research, it is important to reach saturation point, by probing for information until nothing new can be acquired (Kumar, 2005; O’Reilly & Parker, 2012). Transferability is significant in qualitative research, as the researcher can compare the findings to other similar contexts (Fox & Bayat, 2007)”. I did not intend to represent the entire population through the sample I had chosen but rather aimed to study the experiences, opinions and interactions of boys in Monroe Primary School.

Those boys who indicated that they were willing and available were given parental consent and assent forms for them to read and sign. The participants were chosen because they are at a developmental stage where they are very much concerned with peer relationships, where schooling plays a major role in their lives and where they begin to have a sense of self

(Donald, Lazarus & Lolwana, 2010).It was of great interest to observe and understand how these boys, who are at this stage of development, construct their masculine identities and how they give meaning to violence in school.

Table of participant's biographical information

No	Name (pseudonym)	Age	Race	Grade
1	Abonga	12	African	7
2	Mase	12	African	7
3	Mbu	13	African	7
4	Nzimande	12	African	7
5	Wandile	14	African	6
6	Tumi	13	African	7
7	Lihle	13	African	7
8	Hlongi	12	African	7
9	Tau	13	African	7
10	Koki	12	African	7
11	Happiness	15	African	6
12	Sma	12	African	7
13	Yandi	12	African	7
14	Kani	13	African	7
15	Bongani	12	African	7
16	Simon	13	Indian	7
17	Khula	13	African	7
18	Sipho	13	African	7
19	Thula	13	African	7
20	Zakele	12	African	7
21	Pono	12	African	7

22	Nkosi	13	African	7
23	Mpumulo	13	African	7
24	Jacky	13	Indian	7
25	Spha	13	African	7
26	Mtho	12	African	7
27	Themba	13	African	7
28	Mqhele	13	African	7
29	Mqoqi	13	African	7
30	Slhangu	13	African	7
31	Nqobi	13	African	7
32	Hlomi	13	African	7
33	Langa	13	African	7
34	Owethu	13	African	7
35	Kutlo	13	African	7

Figure 2: Participants biographical information

I selected 35 participants. The participants were all part of focus group discussions. In total, there were five focus group discussions. Out of the 35, 28 of the participants were called for individual interviews. The sample consisted of 33 African boys and 2 Indian boys because the school has a majority of Africans and in Grade 7 there are only three Indian boys. The participants are from different economic backgrounds; some live in the Nagina area and most live in neighbouring townships. During the interviews, the participants were asked questions about their backgrounds and family, they were asked questions about their communities and school and they were also asked a lot about their relationships with their peers and teachers and their overall school life. This enabled me to gain insight into the participants' personalities, their home life and their experiences as young boys in primary school.

3.9 Data collection

Qualitative studies are able to use observations, questionnaires, and interviews as some of the methods of collecting data. In an observation, the researcher is able to collect “live” data from the research site, interviews allow the researcher to have one on one conversation with the participants and focus groups allow for an interaction and discussion between the participants to take place (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011). This study used observations, focus groups and individual interviews as methods of data generation.

3.9.1 Observation

According to Struwig and Stead (2013) observations allow the researcher to be immersed in the daily interaction of the participants and be a part of their world thus allowing for rich data. Not only did observations require the researcher to be a part of the data, but also it required creating a good relationship with the participants and descriptively recording their interactions as they take place (Kumar, 2011). “Observation is an appropriate method of collecting data, especially when the researcher wants to learn about the behaviour of people and the reasons behind it. This method presumes that all human behaviour reflects the innate beliefs and values that people possess” (Marshall & Rossman, 2006). Observation can be subjective, as the researcher can select what s/he wants to include or exclude in their description of events, as well as how they interpret these events (Jones & Somekh, 2005).

In this research project Grade 7 boys have been observed in the classroom throughout the day and on the playgrounds (senior boys have their own segregated playground) during break and during extra mural activities. They have also been observed before and after school, during assembly and as they interact in the hallways. The interactions of Grade 7 boys with their teachers, with girls and with each other have been observed. The researcher observed the language that the boys used when communicating, their behaviour was noted as well. The presence of violence, in all forms, was observed and noted. The researcher

observed the interactions of the teachers with the learners in the class, the language which the teachers used as well as their discipline methods. During breaks and assembly, the researcher observed the behaviour of the learners and their interactions with each other. The researcher observed how the learners were dressed, what they ate and how they played during break times. Observations were done because in this way information that was not given in the interviews or focus groups might have surfaced. Below is a table that shows when and where the researcher observed the Grade 7 learners.

<u>Activity</u>	<u>Time</u>
Morning arrivals	07:00- 07:30
Assembly	07:30- 08:00
Classes	08:00- 10:15
First break	10:15- 10:30
Classes	10:30- 12:30
Second break	12:30- 12:45
Classes	12:45- 14:00
After school activities	14:00 -

Figure 3: locations and times of observations

This method is advantageous because the researcher will be able to gain deeper, richer, more accurate information (Kumar, 2011). The researcher has engaged in non-participatory observations which did not involve being a part of the daily activities of the group being researched but rather involved watching and following the chosen group and recording this information (Kumar, 2011). The researcher recorded the observations in a journal.

Interesting events and interactions that the researcher observed were noted in the journal and used during analysis of data.

3.9.2 Focus groups

“Focus groups are a form of strategy in qualitative research in which attitudes, opinions or perceptions towards an issue, product, service or programme are explored through a free and open discussion between members of a group and the researcher” (Kumar, 2011, p. 124). I chose focus group discussions as one of her data collection methods. I used focus group discussions because as Flick, (2014) advocates, an advantage of focus groups is that they permit the participants to talk freely and share as well as dispute each other’s ideas and this allows for an interesting interaction and data.

In a focus group, the group discussion is facilitated and I raises topics that will spark interest and discussion (Kumar, 2011). I had a set of guiding questions prepared and allowed the participants to express themselves freely. I used the focus group discussions to ignite and stimulate discussion among and with the participants (Remler & Van Ryzin, 2011). This made it possible to uncover important issues and fill in the gaps in the information collected by means of the other data collection methods. A focus group is usually made up of 4-12 participants who participate voluntarily (Struwig & Stead, 2013). (Moma, 2015, p. 56).

The focus group discussion was semi-structured, in order for the participants to engage in discussions and express their opinions freely and these took place in the school premises and occurred after school with the permission of participants, parents and the principal.

I had five focus group discussions ranging from a low of four to a maximum of up to seven participants in each discussion. The table below shows the participants of each focus group.

Focus Groups

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 | Koki; Mpumulo; Spha; Sbo; Themba; Mqhele |
| 2 | Abonga; Mase; Nzima; Yandi; Mqoqi; Slhangu; Tumi |
| 3 | Tau; Bongani; Khula; Simon; Pono; Nkosi |

- | | |
|---|---|
| 4 | Wandile; Hlongi; Happiness; Kani; Zakhele; Nqobi; Hlomi |
| 5 | Jacky; Langa; Owethu; Kutlo |

Figure 4: Focus group participants

3.9.3 Individual interviews

The main focus of the interpretive paradigm is to discover how people understand the environment they exist in and to look at things from their particular standpoint and interviews do this best because by conversing with people one can learn of their experiences and understanding (King and Horrocks, 2010). The use of open-ended questions and probing is advantageous in qualitative research as it makes it possible for participants to respond using their own words (Mack et al., 2005). In light of this I opted for a semi-structured interview in which the structured component being the list of interview questions (research instrument) allows for uniform information that will assure comparability of data. The unstructured element, being the open-ended nature of my questions and improvisation, allows for more in-depth, real, uncensored responses from the participants (Kumar, 2011).

The individual interviews were also conducted in the school premises after school with prior arrangements made with the participants and their parents as well as the principal.

Not all the participants were individually interviewed and not all of them were a part of a focus group discussion and this is because some of them were reluctant to be interviewed a second time or some of them were not available the second time around. The table below shows the names of the participants who were individually interviewed.

Individual interviews		
<i>Number</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Grade</i>
1	Abonga	7
2	Mase	7

3	Owethu	7
4	Tumi	7
5	Lihle	7
6	Hlongi	7
7	Tau	7
8	Koki	7
9	Happiness	7
10	Kani	7
11	Bongani	7
12	Simon	7
13	Sipho	7
14	Thula	7
15	Zakhele	7
16	Pono	7
17	Nkosi	7
18	Spha	7
19	Sbo	7
20	Themba	7
21	Jacky	7
22	Mqhele	7
23	Mqoqi	7
24	Slhangu	7
25	Nqobi	7
26	Hlomi	7
27	Happiness	6
28	Wandile	6

Figure 5: participants for individual interviews

3.10 Data Analysis

Thematic analysis looks for patterns or themes in the data and summarises the themes or discusses each theme in more detail, the themes may be from a particular existing theory or could be emerging from the data itself (Wilson and MacLean, 2011). This study relied on thematic analysis to analyse data. "Thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data; it minimally organises and describes your data set in (rich) detail. However, frequently it goes further than this, and interprets various aspects of the research topic" (Braun & Clarke, 2008, p.4). I aimed to make sense of the participants' realities by noting patterns in the data and making themes because as Cohen, Manion, and Morrison, (2011, p461) have stated, qualitative data analysis aims to "make sense of data in terms of the participants' definitions of the situation, noting patterns, themes, categories and regularities".

Braun and Clark, (2008) indicate that themes are used to capture vital data related to the research questions, and signifies an altitude of structured response or meanings from the data emerged.

Braun and Clark (2008) advocate that thematic analysis could be considered as an essentialist technique that takes into account the experiences, meanings and the participants reality. It could also be constructed as a constructionist technique, which considers how events, realities, meanings and other discourses operate within a given society (Braun & Clark, 2008). I aimed to use the thematic analysis as both a construct and a realist method in which she interpreted data to find the experiences and meanings that boys attach to violence as well as to examine in what ways do the realities of these boys' impact on their masculinity.

I used the six-step given by Braun and Clark (2008) as a means of making the data analysis process systematic and clear. Braun and Clark (2008) advise that the following steps be followed in order to make the process of data analysis easier and more coherent. Firstly,

one has to familiarise oneself with the data which means, transcribing, understanding and making notes of initial ideas. The second step would be to generate primary codes and code interesting aspects of the data and organise them. The third step would be to identify themes from the codes. In the fourth step one must review the themes by inspecting if the themes work with regards to the coded abstracts and the collected data. The fifth step is defining and naming themes where each theme is redefined further to tell an overall story and give the themes clear definitions. In the final step one needs to produce the report from the ultimate scrutiny of selected extracts and relate it to support the analysis of the research. In thematic analysis all the themes are interlinked.

3.11 Validity and reliability (trustworthiness)

In quantitative studies, validity and reliability are used to describe quality whereas in qualitative research, these two concepts are combined and credibility and trustworthiness are used to describe the combination (Golafshani, 2003).

Trustworthiness is used in qualitative research to ensure credibility, transferability, confirmability as well as dependability. In this study, I ensured credibility by using triangulation. "Credibility refers to the extent to which a case study has recorded the fullness and essence of the case reality," (Rule & John, 2011, p107). Credibility can be ensured by employing many different methods of collecting data and this is called triangulation (Terre-Blanche, Durrheim and Painter, 2006). Cohen, Manion, and Morrison (2011) further state that credibility can be ensured by peer debriefing as well as member checking over transcripts. Most importantly, credibility in qualitative research depends on how much effort the researcher invests (Golafshani, 2003).

Credibility is when the researcher is able to link the research findings to reality in order to demonstrate truth and this is done through triangulation and member checking which I have ensured that I did.

Trustworthiness can be achieved by maintaining field journals, by being aware of bias and rectifying misrepresentations as well as by triangulation (Struwig & Stead, 2013), all of which I have done.

I used different methods of collecting data and those methods are interviews, focus groups and observations. I increased the credibility of the research by going back to the participants with the transcripts and allowing them to check if what they said had been captured correctly.

Confirmability is guaranteed by being open about the research process, the limitation and the ethical requirements (Rule and John, 2011) and in this research the researcher has been completely open, has stated what the expected limitations are and has paid careful attention to ethics and stated all the ethical precautions to be taken. Dependability refers to the extent that the research could be replicated and still yields the same results (Golafshani, 2003). In this study the dependability was ensured by having an outside person evaluate the research and analysis and confirm its dependability. Transferability refers to how the research finding can be applied to other situations and contexts and this is ensured in the thick description of research finding (Rule and John, 2011), and this has been done by the researcher in this study. A thick description has been given in the research findings.

It is suggested by Rule and John (2011) that trustworthiness of qualitative research is reached by ensuring the studies' transferability, credibility, dependability and confirmability, and this is also reiterated by Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011) when they say that trustworthiness is addressed through credibility, fittingness, audibility and confirmability of data. This research will meet all the requirements of credible research. Audibility, according to Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011) refers to the manner in which the research allows the reader to follow the research process. This research is audible in that the researchers' thoughts are able to be accurately followed from the research questions to the data collection, analysis and findings. Rule and John (2011) refer to fittingness as the meaningfulness that the research holds for everyday reality. This research is fitting in that it

can be applied to reality and it described in enough details that one may be able to relate it to their own reality.

3. 12 Ethical issues

It is unethical for any researcher to begin collecting information without the consent of the participants and where the participants are minors, without the consent of the guardians (Kumar, 2011). In light of this, the parents/guardians of the participants receive information about the study as well as a consent form to sign; they have been encouraged to explain to their children what the study is about and what it entailed. The participants also received assent forms to sign and the researcher explained to them in detail and to a level of their understanding what the research is about and what is required of them. I have also stressed to them that should they wish to leave from the study at any given point they will be allowed to without any consequences.

It is vital to make sure that participants are aware of confidentiality (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011). The researcher let the participants know that all their details will be kept confidential and pseudonyms will be used, but has also let them know that if they share any information that is believed might bring harm to them or anyone else, the researcher will be liable to inform the appropriate people.

The study is on violence and violence can be an uncomfortable issue to discuss. If the participant is a victim of violence they may be scared to answer certain questions or may be stressed at the memory of the event. If the participant is a perpetrator they may feel shame and guilt for what they have done. With the nature of the study, participants will possibly be exposed to uncomfortable questions or questions that may cause stress or upset them. Before the research commenced, the researcher had informed the participants of their right to autonomy. The researcher had also let them know that they are allowed to refuse to answer a question and they are also allowed to withdraw from the study. If participants

appear upset or stressed by questions asked, they were kindly notified that they are not obliged to answer. Should they have continued to answer and the researcher found that they were in need of professional help in dealing with the issue at hand; she would have consulted the school counsellor or guidance teacher and let them know of the participant's situation in hope of assisting the participant.

The confidentiality of participants has been protected by using pseudonyms and by not providing distinguishing details of the participants in the research.

I have acquainted myself and upheld all ethical requirements stipulated by the University of Kwazulu-Natal's ethics policy as Kumar (2011) has indicated that it is vital to do so.

3.13 Limitations

One problem that was experienced was that of the timetable of the learners and interview times. To deal with the problem I had requested the school timetable from the principal and worked with the learners during their free time, when a teacher is absent, and negotiated to work with them during breaks and provide them with snacks. It was noted by the researcher that the provision of snacks to the learners could have affected the study in that the learners were only interested in participating because of the snacks they would receive.

One of the first limitations or challenges that I faced during my data collection is that teachers would use my presence as a threat towards learners. Teachers would warn learners that I am an official who is there to monitor and report on their bad behaviour and that they should behave well. This intimidated learners and gave them a sense that I could not be trusted. I tried to overcome this challenge by remaining as casual as possible in both my behaviour and dress code. I sat among the learners during class when observing and interacted with them during breaks. In the interviews I assured them that what they said was to remain confidential and that their real identity would not be revealed at any stage.

The venue for interviewing posed a challenge at times. The venue that I used for interviews was also a venue used for aftercare of Grade R-3 learners. These learners adjourned from school at 13:00, meaning that after 13:00 I could not do any interviews even if the Grade 7 learners were available. Fortunately, this limitation was overcome by one of the teachers taking leave for a week. During her periods when the learners were free, I was able to do most interviews. Other interviews were done during break and after school.

Another limitation was that learners were open and free during focus group. They showed confidence and spoke freely, but when later called for individual interviews they did not speak, they were shy and gave short answers. It is possible that due to the presence of their peers, the participants felt more confident and bold in focus group discussions than in individual interviews. I tried to overcome this by bringing up discussions that happened during the focus group and asked them to elaborate.

3.14 Reflexivity: My experience of doing research at Monroe Primary School

Reflexivity refers to the researcher's influence on the research and the position (Berger, 2013) meaning the characteristics of the researcher, their personal beliefs and ideas that might have an influence on the research. It is important that a researcher be aware of her position in order to minimise the research process as little as possible and she can do this by being introspective as she begins research and by being aware of her own ideas and biases and not letting this influence the research (Tracy, 2010).

Going into this research, I was aware of my position as researcher and that I being an older female seeking to conduct research with young boys might influence the research in terms of their responses to questions asked or their behaviour around me. I tried to minimize this effect by being as approachable as possible. The learners of the school were very unsettled with my position at first but later began to feel more comfortable around me. What did help the situation was my ability to relate to the learners and my dress code, as one learner mentioned that I sure don't look like a researcher or someone important because I'm very

casually dressed. Some boys were reluctant to participate because they assumed they would get into trouble but after my reassurance of complete anonymity, they began to feel more free.

The experience overall was an interesting and challenging one. It was challenging because I had not done this kind of data collection before and was apprehensive about my performance as a researcher. It was interesting because I had been anticipating what it would be like to be in the research field and to interact with participants and to collect the data for my research project.

The principal and teachers at the school were very accommodating and friendly. They were interested in the research that I was doing and asked me many questions. Some teachers would give me information about certain learners, they would tell me stories about violence in the school as well. The only problem came when teachers viewed me and made the learners view me as an authoritative person who was there to ensure discipline.

During the interviews many learners trusted me with sensitive information and others sought advice as they saw me as an adult with much knowledge and information. As I am not competent in counselling or giving advice to young children, I often encouraged them to talk to a teacher they might trust or an adult at home who could further help them. I assured the learners that they were in a safe space and that they could speak openly, this helped in me obtain the rich data that I required.

3.15 Conclusion

This chapter explained the methodology and research design utilized in detail. Qualitative research has been explained. The paradigm has been discussed as well as the use of case study research. I have described the context of the study and research site. Convenience sampling was discussed. I explained my methods of data collection which were observations,

focus group discussions as well as individual interviews. The data analysis procedure which is thematic analysis was described. I further discussed validity and reliability, ethical issues, limitations and her experience. The following chapter is on data analysis.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter outlined the research design along with the methodology used to conduct this study. This chapter analyses the data that was collected using Connell's (1987) gender relational theory. "Gender-relational theory posits that there is an understanding that boys become boys by learning what it means not to be a girl and girls become girls by learning what it means not to be a boy," (Skelton, 2003, p5). Socially learned behaviour plays a big role in shaping masculine and feminine identities. How boys construct their masculinity will be relevant to the study because the study seeks to understand how boys learn to be boys, how gender relations take part in a role in shaping young boys' identities and how violence is linked to the notions of power and the learning of masculinity. This study utilized thematic analysis to analyse the data. "Thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data; it minimally organises and describes your data set in (rich) detail. However, frequently it goes further than this, and interprets various aspects of the research topic," (Braun and Clarke, 2008, p4). The themes that have emerged from the data which will be analysed are: My mother tells me everything about gender violence; *Isitabane, isitabane* – if you're a gay you're a gay; *uYisikhokho*, you are the man; the teacher calls us stupid; I'm a big size; we don't eat at the feeding scheme; Vandalism; A female research in a gendered world.

4.2 My mother tells me everything about gender violence

Children are exposed to a wide range of violent deeds on a daily basis ranging from subtle violence such as acts that favour one gender over the other to acts that are explicitly violent such as rape and assault (Leach and Mitchell, 2006). In trying to establish exactly what Grade 7 boys understand and consider being violent, the boys of Monroe Primary were asked to explain what violence is and the following extracts highlight their understanding:

Interviewer: What do you guys understand about violence?

Akwele: I understand violence starts from – like the family – then from there on it grows and it starts to be an addiction and then it feeds on other people’s pain and yeah.

Ntuli: I’d say violence is not the answer of everything. (Akwele 13, Ntuli 13, Grade 7.)

In this focus group discussion, Akwele and Ntuli show that they have a refined understanding of violence. Akwele shows that he understands that violence stems from deeper issues such as family dynamics and he also exhibits an understanding that violence has an effect on the psychological well-being of an individual by referring to it as an “addiction”. This extract is an example of how some young boys are not oblivious to the social issues surrounding them and how they are able to shape and influence one’s decisions and behaviour. Akwele in particular has given mature answers to the question and he has shown that he clearly understands not only what violence is, but how it develops and this is shown in the following extract of his individual interview:

Interviewer: So what is your understanding of violence?

Akwele: My understanding is that it starts with small things. Maybe playing rough games and it gets to bigger things like robbing people and like stabbing people and stuff. Yes. That’s my understanding of violence. (Akwele, 13, Grade 7).

Although a number of Grade 7 boys were able to articulate their understanding of violence in a more refined manner, some boys showed a basic understanding of the concept of violence. These boys in the extract to follow simply described violence as “hitting”. They spoke about hitting in different scenarios such as being hit by “people” and being hit by “teachers”. They equated violence as more of a personal attack towards them in saying

“...people don’t like you...” whereas Akwele in the previous extracts, saw violence as a consequence of social problems and psychological instability.

Interviewer: Okay, so what is violence? What do you understand about violence?

Sindile: It’s when people hit you.

Lungisani : When people that don’t like you hurt you.

Mpumulo: When people bother you.

Lungisani: Or when teachers who don’t like you hit you.

Sindile: When teachers have a problem with you. (Sindile 12, Lungisani 13, Mpumulo 13, Grade 7).

Below is an extract from an individual interview with Lwandile. He has shown that is also possible for young boys to have some understanding of gender violence and what it entails:

Interviewer: How do you know so much about gender violence?

Lwandile: My mother tells me everything about gender violence every day. (Lwandile, 13, Grade 7).

Young boys are capable of understanding complex social issues that affect our communities. Lwandile shows this ability in the way he articulates his understanding of gender equality, he simply says, “people must be treated the same like other people”. Although he may not have a sophisticated answer for the question, “What do you understand about gender violence?,” Lwandile is still able to show understanding of the social issue by pairing it with another, racism. Parents are key role players when it comes to children and the knowledge they have on social issues that affect the community. Lwandile’s mother has taken it upon herself to educate her son on gender violence and gender equality. Lwandile has shown an

in-depth understanding of violence, contrary to other boys who have a very limited understanding as the extract to follow will exhibit.

Interviewer: What do you understand about violence?

Thollo: Uh – I'm not sure. Is it about abuse?

Interviewer: Yes. What do you know about violence?

Thollo: I don't know. Can you tell me?

Interviewer: Okay. Violence is like fighting, teasing, bullying, there is also verbal violence and sexual violence. So do you think there is violence in this school?

Thollo: Yes....You see, sometimes they teasing me. They make fun.

Thollo has indeed been a victim of violence through acts of teasing. Thompson et al. (2015) has shown that at times, children are not able to articulate through words if they have witnessed or been a part of violence and therefore it is important as teachers, parents and guardians to be aware of behaviour or language that might indicate that children have been victims or perpetrators of violent acts.

Nthuli: They just fight for nothing – and they – people who are drunk, you know. Drunk, yes they scream at each other...Everyone now is taking drugs and having guns. You know a person who takes drugs is always violence. They always violent.

When asked what he understood about violence in his individual interview, Nthuli described a range of violent acts as well as a variety of situations where violence could erupt. He described violence with connection to money and fighting, to alcohol abuse, to drug abuse and weapons. It is clear that Nthuli understands what violence is because he is able describe it in many different situations. In his interview, Nthuli shares that he has often witnessed

violence in his community. Parkes (2007) suggests that children often learn of violence by witnessing it between adults. This proves to be true because Nthuli is able to have a great understanding of violence due to his exposure. This extract shows that young boys of Nthuli's age are able to connect acts such as drinking and drug abuse to violence and they are able to recognise that substance abuse leads to violence.

4.3 iStabane istabane – if you're gay, you're gay

According to Epstein (1996), children who are in primary schools are not likely to be sexually active and some may not even be sexually aware, they are however, fully aware sexuality and the following diarised observation provides evidence of this:

Today a group of university student teachers came to the school for observations. It is break time and as I walk to the play area I walk past a group of Grade 6 and Grade 7 learners. The learners are talking about the student teachers, a boy points to one of the student teachers and says: "Hayi! iStabane isitabane. Uyasibona nje" [no way! a gay is a gay, you can just see it.] (17/08/2016).

The above diary entry done by me describes a situation where a group of students were gathered, having a conversation and I happened to overhear this conversation. The learners were talking about and asking each other about the possible sexuality of one of the university students that was visiting the school that particular day. They were going back and forth about whether the student in question was heterosexual or homosexual. One of learners concluded and drove across the point that there is no more need to further question his sexuality because 'a gay is a gay'.

When children are in the ages of puberty, they tend to become more curious and aware of sexuality (Sexton, 2017). This above scenario points to the fact that children will indeed question the sexuality of those around them. It also highlights that people can be easily presumed to be heterosexual or homosexual based on their appearance. This scenario also points to the fact that children in Grade 6 and 7 might not have a refined understanding of

sexuality and that one is not presumed to be of a particular sexual orientation based on their appearance or mannerisms.

See that young children can display in-group detrimental attitudes towards marginalized groups, it is expected that they may also have chauvinistic attitudes towards the more sexual alternative groupings (Farr et al., 2018). Children are dynamic agents in the process of creating prejudices and are especially prone to developing prejudiced attitudes toward groups that are more leading and/or proportionally different (Bigler & Liben, 2007, Bigler & Write, 2014)

Based on the gender relational theory (Connell, 1987) boys learn to become boys by learning what it means to be a girl and by not being girls. It is therefore confusing to boys when they come across a boy that exhibits some qualities that may “belong” to girls such as gestures or dress code. The children that are gathered in this group have noted the subtle gestures of the gentleman in question as well as his dress code and because he defies what it means to be a boy by exhibiting feminine behaviour, He is labelled as gay. homosexuality is viewed by many as a negative thing (Msibi, 2012) and as they adopt from societal norms, the young boys in this study have seen it in a negative light too as illustrated in the extract to follow:

Mthembu: ...Maybe I think she’s a lesbian because like now in our school, I think this thing is a style to be a lesbian.

Interviewer: Really?

Akwele: And gays! (Mthembu, 13, Akwele, 13)

In this focus group discussion, the boys were asked if they had ever been rejected by a girl they had proposed a romantic relationship too. Many said they had not and those that admitted that they had, had various explanations as to why. As seen above, Mthembu thinks the reason why he may have been rejected is because the girl is a lesbian. He then

goes on to suggest that this lesbian “thing” is a style, is popular. Akwele agrees with him and adds on that being gay has also become popular.

Heterosexuality strengthens masculinity (Renold, 2003) and therefore boys aim to prove their heterosexuality by attaining girlfriends, but when that heterosexuality is challenged by a rejection from a potential girlfriend, boys tend to want to defend their sexuality by ridiculing or aiming to ridicule the girl who has rejected them as Mthembu has done. Heterosexual boys often turn to bullying those who are, or are assumed to be homosexual, and this is a way of exerting power and dominance (Bhana and Mayeza, 2016).

Hegemonic masculinity will often reject those who exhibit homosexuality and are considered to be marginalised masculinity (Manninen et al., 2011), likewise, those who are hegemonic do not accept rejection and will strive to remain hegemony (Connell 1998). Masculinities are shaped by an exploration of the cultural capitals and strategies accessible in a certain context (Connell, 1998). This behaviour is clearly showcased in the above extract as Mthembu, a heterosexual boy who may exhibit hegemonic masculinity, aims to amount his rejection to the homosexuality of the girl who rejected him. He does not accept that he may have been rejected because of an element within himself, he instead faults his rejection to the sexuality of the girl he approached.

Muzu: Uh- because here when you sit with a girl at break they call you gay.

Interviewer: Oh! Why?

Muzu: I don't know. They very judgmental like that.

Interviewer: And what do you think when you see another boy with a girl?

Muzu: I don't know. I see nothing wrong with it. I don't say they are gay or things like that.

Interviewer: So do you think about being gay?

Muzu: I don't know but my grandmother said that people that are gay are like the devil and stuff but how can human be the devil? So uh- I'm really not sure. (Muzu, 13, Grade 7).

On the topic of friendships it was not possible to speak about boy and girl friendships devoid of invoking essential heterosexualized notions and it was boys in particular who articulated concerns about their relations with girls (Bhana, 2013).

4.4. Uyisikhokho- you are the man.

Boys are often admired for their heterosexual relationships and the more of those relationships they have, the more affirmation they get from their peers (Renold, 2004). Heterosexuality has been seen as a means of upholding masculine power. In the extract to follow, it is illustrated how boys construct their masculinity through multiple relationships:

Interviewer: The other day you said you have many girlfriends. How many are they?

Azile: Four...

Interviewer: Why do you have more than one girlfriend?

Azile: [Laughs] ...eish! when I get to a place, I feel like having a girlfriend because it gets boring when you are single.

Interviewer: What do you think about girls with many boyfriends?

Azile: They are "isifebe"

Interviewer: Why?

Azile: It doesn't look nice- a boy is better. A girl- It's not something you can get used to.

Interviewer: And a boy, can he be isifebe with many girlfriends?

Azile: No

Interviewer: Why not?

Azile: A boy, it's understandable because as a boy "ngeke ume ngonyawo olulodwa"(you can't stand on one leg).

In an individual interview, Azile is asked about the many girlfriends he said he had during a focus group discussion. When asked why he had many girlfriends, Azile reasoned that it is to entertain himself because without a girlfriend, one gets bored. Azile is further questioned about what he thinks of girls who have many boyfriends and he expresses that they are considered "*isifebe*" a Zulu word meaning a woman who has more than one partner (Buthelezi, 2004). Azile does not think that boys are suitably described as "*isifebe*" should they have many girlfriends because boys need to have a balance "they cannot stand on one leg".

The above extract shows how different genders are expected to behave in different ways and this is because of the stereotypes perpetuated by society (Ratele, 2013). Azile points out how one gender can be expected to act in a completely different manner than the other. He describes a girl with many boyfriends as "*isifebe*" meaning someone who is involved in multiple relationships. Azile does not think that boys can be called "*isifebe*"; this points out different expectations that society places on gender as well as the inequality that is formed thereof. In his reasoning, Azile expresses that a boy cannot stand on one leg, implying that with only one partner, a boy is unbalanced and therefore is required to have two or more partners. Historically, the wealth and status of African men was determined by the number of wives he had. It was believed that if a man is able to house many wives and many children then that is an indication of his ability to provide, his wealth status (Fenske, 2015) and consequently grant him power and superiority. Although in present times the number of partners a man has is not used as an indication of wealth, it is however used as an indication of power (Jewkes and Flood, 2015) and this is consistent with hegemonic

masculinity. According to Connell (1998), one of the characteristics of hegemonic masculinity is that power and status which is attained through heterosexual relationships and by gaining the admiration of other men. Azile adopts a hegemonic masculinity. His many relationships have earned him the approval and respect of his peers and that is expressed in the extract to follow:

Interviewer: Do your friends know?(about your girlfriends)

Azile: Yes they do.

Interviewer: And what do they say?

Azile: Ah! Not much. They just say “uyisikhokho” and they go on about how I have many girlfriends.

In an earlier conversation Azile has been very vocal and proud of his many girlfriends. Azile is asked if his friends know about his multi-relationship status and he proudly confirms that they do. Azile's multi-relationships have earned him admiration among his peers. His friends use the word “*skhokho*” to describe him and his ability to have many girlfriends. The word “*skhokho*” is a South African slang word to describe someone who is good at something or someone who is powerful (Gunnink, 2014). Azile conforms to the notion of hegemonic masculinity that is heterosexual, adventurous and brave (Bhana, 2015; Connell, 2005).

Being described as a “*skhokho*” has given Azile power among his friends. He now occupies the most popular form of masculinity which is hegemony. Hegemonic masculinity typically associates with and thrives on the ability of one to have and maintain heterosexual relationships. Scholars (Jewkes, 2014; Jewkes, Flood and Lang, 2015) have identified that having multiple partners for men is not so much about the actual relationships but it is rather a form of self-actualisation and that it upholds their masculine power within society.

When people try to conform to gender norms such as boys maintaining multiple relationships, they are inclined to base their self-esteem on the endorsement of others (Sanchez, Crocker and Boike, 2005). As mentioned before, society holds men and women at

different degrees and it is even expressed in the language. Some words can be used to describe a behaviour exhibited by women but cannot be used to describe the same behaviour when exhibited by men and that is illustrated in the extract to follow:

Interviewer: Why so many?

Bandile: Ah ma'am! (laughs)

Nthuli: You're a boy "isifebe"

Bandile: No! A playboy.

Interviewer: What's a playboy?

All: A person that plays girls.

Koki: Has a girlfriend here, has a girlfriend here, has a girlfriend there.

Interviewer: Is it a good thing being a playboy?

Bandile: But ma'am you see, you can be a playboy but there will be one girl that you say "this one, this one I really love".

Interviewer: So why don't you just be with that one girl?

Bandile: But ma'am, eish. Indoda ayimi nge nyawu olulodwa (a man cannot stand on one leg).

All: Yes! yes!

Sbuh: I have two girlfriends, but I don't know what the other is doing when she's at her home, that why I must have two.

Koki: Exactly!

In this focus group discussion above, Bandile is asked why he chooses to have many girlfriends. Nthuli interjects and calls him “a girl *isifebe*” but Bandile rejects his description and rather calls himself a play boy, a person that “plays” girls as described by the boys meaning a boy with multiple partners. When probed further about the notion of playboys, Bandile mentions that one may be “playing” many girls but there will be one for whom the feeling of love is genuine. When asked why one relationship cannot suffice, Bandile explains that “a man cannot stand on one leg” and the others agree. Sbuh says he has two girlfriends because he simply does not know what either of them are doing when they are not with him.

Women who have multiple relationships are often frowned upon while men who have multiple relationships are given praise (Smith, 2007). The extract above is a perfect example to support this statement. The boys have proven to have been influenced by societal expectations and norms. In a previous interview, Azile explained that only girls could be described as “*isifebe*”. By describing Bandile as “a boy *isifebe*” Nthuli indicates that the word “*isifebe*” is not a word used to describe males and that is why he points out that he is a boy version of *isifebe* instead of just saying that he is *isifebe*. Bandile rejects Nthuli’s statement because the word is seen as an insult to men and boys and he rather describes himself as a “playboy”. As explained by the learners, a play boy is a boy that “plays” girls, meaning one that is able to deceive girls. Boys often earn praise from other boys for being able to hold multiple relationships and this is consistent with hegemonic masculinity. Possessing gendered postulations based on patriarchal norms have dire effects for how men and women relate to each other and their expectations about love. In South Africa, “The ideas of masculinity are linked to entitlement legitimate power within relationship dynamics” (Bhana, 2013, p. 7).

4.5 The teachers call us stupid

The use of corporal punishment is illegal in South Africa however it is still widely practised in schools. Teachers proclaim that it is the most effective discipline measure, but in actual fact it is damaging to children and the schooling environment (Morrell, 2001). The use of

corporal punishment is linked to toxic patterns of masculinity as Morrell (2001) notes. The use of corporal punishment affirms physical violence in school and has different effects for boys and girls as well as teachers (Humphreys, 2006). For instance Humphreys (2006) suggests that the use of corporal punishment on girls can be seen as ensuring that girls are obedient whilst boys can be toughened up through the violent expression of corporal punishment. Not only is teacher-on-learner physical violence prevalent at Monroe Primary but the learners have similarly experienced verbal abuse. The following extracts are an illustration of the challenges learners face in terms of classroom violence by teachers.

Interviewer: What did you do?

Bayanda: I didn't do anything

Interviewer: What did he hit you with?

Bayanda: Pipe.

Not only is corporal punishment prevalent in this school but a more severe form of corporal punishment that includes the use of objects. Many learners such as Bayanda have expressed being punished by way of being hit with a pipe. These teachers cause physical damage to the learners because they hit them with objects and as one learner explained, he bled and had damaged hands.

Koki: We are scared to tell our parents ma'am. If you tell your parents then they will come to school and all the teachers will hate you.

Nthuli: Honestly ma'am we don't tell our parents because some of them will ask you what you did to bother the teacher, they will ask you why you are causing trouble and they will tell you to stop causing trouble. Ma'am our parents don't take our side and they should stand up for us but they don't.

Bandile: That's true. They will ask you what you did for the teacher to hit you.

The boys shared with the researcher that they had received hidings and been hit by the teachers on many occasions. They were asked whether they tell their parents about these incidents and they shared that they do not. The boys reason that they do not share this information with their parents because the teachers will hate them. This indicates that the learners are aware that the teachers will be reprimanded and will consequently resent the learners. They are scared to tell their parents because they would rather deal with hidings than deal with the hatred of their teachers. This is not a good aspect because it instils in the learners that misbehaviour can be solved by violence and it teaches them to keep quiet about things when they should not. Children are often scared to communicate with their parents about incidents of abuse and this only increases the incidents because nothing is done about them. The boys also expressed reluctance to tell their parents because they feel their parents will take the side of the teachers and blame them for the hidings they have received.

Not only has it been proved on many occasions, parents are most likely to advocate the punishment children have received at school, but they are also likely to themselves hit their children on the basis that they have misbehaved and caused trouble at school. Children are afraid of their parents' reactions as much as they are afraid of their teacher's punishments but they would rather endure punishment from their teachers. Nthuli shares the sentiment that parents need to change their ways and be on the sides of their children instead of the sides of the teachers who hit them and indeed this needs to be readdressed because children need to trust their parents with sensitive information. The parents are the protectors of the child and if the child is unable to share sensitive information of abuse and ill-treatment then children are in even more danger than perceived.

Interviewer: They call you names?

Koki: Hawu hawu!

Bandile: They call you idiot! And they call you rubbish and stupid.

Nthuli: Mrs Slabber likes calling us dumb.

Sbuh: You see ma'am, I told them and I always tell them that my mother has money and she can give me money if I want and I can do anything with it. I say that because they always say we are going to be taxi drivers and things like that.

Nthuli: They say we are stupid and we will drive taxi.

People often have misjudged racial expectations when it comes to academic achievements as seen in the extract above. Emotional abuse means the abuse amid the association flanked by a child and a caregiver, which is characterized by an unswerving mould of damaging expressive interactions for the child, not including acts of a physical or sexual nature (Nearchou, 2018). During a group interview some of the learners shared that they have often been called names, and judgments as well as assumptions have been passed to them on the basis of their race, academic standing and behaviour. The boys state how some teachers have called them offensive names such as rubbish and stupid, they share that Mrs Slabber calls them stupid and this has indeed I this. In Mrs Slabber's maths class, she often asks learners for answers, as they do classwork collectively, and should a learner give an incorrect answer she will often comment that they are stupid and idiots. Sbuh explained to me that teachers often tell them that they will amount to nothing but taxi drivers, a career that is considered to be for uneducated individuals that have no other options as careers and as the above extract points out, one that Mrs Slabber considers to be for stupid people.

He further expresses how his mother has money and would be able to afford him an education and career of his choice. By using the example of a taxi driver, the teachers aim to exhibit to the learners that should they continue with their ill-behaviour and bad academic standing, they will have little to no career options and will therefore become taxi drivers.

Sbuh expresses that his mother has money and he can become anything he chooses to become. In many societies, money holds great power, because of the money his mother has, Sbuh believes he will have the power to become anything. The teachers aim to prove to the learners that without an education, you will have no lucrative career and therefore lack power in society, but Sbuh resists this notion by expressing that the money his mother has will award him the ability, the power to become whatever he chooses. Emotional abuse meted out by teachers may have similar detrimental outcomes on children's well-being as does emotional abuse occurring within a child's home. Research suggests that emotional abuse by teachers is associated with emotional and behavioural problems and that it may diminish a child's self-worth and confidence (Nearchou, 2018). In order to be an effective teacher, one needs to be aware of their bias and be wary of making judgment on children based on racial stereotypes. It is however, not the case of only one particular teacher at Monroe Primary who has passed on racial stereotypes to black learners, as the follow extract will exhibit:

Koki: ...The other teacher once said that us black people only know how to make children. That all we know. How to make children.

Bandile: Yes.

Interviewer: Said what? Who?

Koki: P G Naidoo. said we only make children.

Nthuli: He said that blacks like children and only make babies.

Sbuh: They said we don't learn, we don't work, we only make children and a lot of children.

Themba: And they said we will also end up like that. That we will not be anything but just have many childrens' .

In the above extract, the learners describe a racial comment that was made by one of their teachers. There is a racial stereotype that black uneducated, poor people have many children. It is based on some facts that people residing in the poorest townships have the most children and it is partly because of a limited access to contraceptive healthcare and general education about family planning. The teacher uses this information to bring down the learners, he uses it to demotivate them and insult them. What the teacher has done is an act of discrimination based on race. It could be argued that during the course of the conversation the teacher might have been enraged but as an adult, and as a teacher, racial comments, stereotypes and discrimination should not be passed. Daunting, bullying, separating or/and embarrassing are some teacher behaviours associated with the emotional mistreatment meted out to learners. Such type of behaviours do not only destabilize the trust that student-teacher relationships should be founded upon, but also debase the connection that learners have with their school (Nearchou, 2018, Thomason, 2018). Teachers need to be advocates of racial integration and need to be a positive example to learners.

Sbuh. If a teacher slaps me, I won't call my mother, won't call my father, I won't do any of that.

Interviewer: What will you do?

Koki: Slash their tyres!

Those people that have power in certain situations and certain spaces might not have that same power in other spheres of society. In the extract above, the learners talk about what they would do if a teacher were to slap them. Sbuh explains that he will not resort to the usual methods of calling his parents and when asked what will he do by the researcher, Koki interjects and says he would slash the teacher's tyres as an act of revenge. In the classroom, the teacher holds the power, they discipline in any way they see fit which could include corporal punishment such as slaps. The learners have been victims of corporal punishment before and strongly dislike being slapped, as read in previous abstracts. In this particular

scenario that they describe, the teacher would hold the power in the classroom and they would not be able to do anything about it then, but they would resist and reject the decisions the teacher has made by opposing and breaking down their power by means of slashing their tyres. Not only is slashing the teacher's tyres a means of "revenge" but it is also a means of gaining back the power lost in the classroom. This act of slashing tyres is however, considered to be violence in that it vandalizes the property of another, it is meant as a threat and a warning, in that it shows that these boys have been conditioned to fight violence with violence, and that violence is an effective way to get one's message across.

Sbuh: Yes but some are still in school. You see with me, my mother is a teacher, she's a teacher and she does hit sometimes but I was told that no teacher is allowed to slap a learner. It's not allowed.

Koki: I was also thought that.

Nthuli: Me too. It's illegal.

The above extract illustrates that learners are indeed aware of the illegality of corporal punishment. Although they perceive it as wrong and as harmful, there is very little that the learners are able to do about corporal punishment which points to the degree of power the teachers hold. Learners are intimidated by teachers and they fear that should they speak of the issue of corporal punishment, they will be resented and receive harsher treatment from teachers at school and so they resort to not speaking about it to authorities.

4.6 I'ma big size

Young boys associate body strength with masculinity, to them, being strong means you are able to do more things, such as defeat others in physical competitions and subsequently increasing one's masculine status (Drummond 2012). Bias in relation to the weight of obese youth is frequently associated with the understanding of emotional tension. Consequently, so the fear of being laughed at known as gelotophobia, in obese children and teenagers

may be rather serious (Kohlmann et al, 2018, Griffiths et al., 2010) The extracts to follow will illustrate how the boys' physical bodies act as a contributing factor to the power they may pose in school and how this affects their masculine status. Certain masculinities become dominant by the realisation of oppressing others (Connell, 2005) but the oppressed cannot on occasion, fight back reclaiming their power.

Sbo: They always call me names. they say I'm thin and they say I'm stupid and they swear me and that's how we start fighting and they know that they scared of me but they still do the wrong thing and me, I'm a boy, it's like I just have that thing that say "hit him because he's here now". You see. It's like just go to him and punch him in the face. (Sbo, 12 years old).

In an individual interview, Sbo shares with the interviewer that he is "always" called names and criticised for being thin. He says that he often starts fighting with other boys when they have called him names and "swore" at him. Sbo proclaims that he is a boy and because of that, he has something within him that emboldens him to hit other boys when in a trying situation.

From the above extract, it can be determined that Sbo is bullied and taunted due to the size of his body. Unlike many others, Sbo does not allow the teasing and naming calling to go unchallenged and retaliates by fighting. Sbo attempts to rationalise his action of hitting by drawing from the socially accepted stance that boys and men are internally and naturally violent.

Although he has been a victim of verbal abuse and bullying, Sbo does not allow his tormentors to maintain power over him. Sbo reclaims his power by physically fighting back and by doing so he inevitably reclaims his masculinity status. Sbo asserts himself in this situation as a strong boy who fights back, occupying the hegemonic form of masculinity (Connell, 1987)

Simon: ...You see yesterday you were in our class right and there was two girls and a boy and they start talking about me because you see I'm a big size and I ask them "why you talking about me?" And they say "you not the only Simon in the world, there are much thinner Simons in the world".

In an individual interview, Simon is asked if he has experienced any violence at school and he talks of an incident that started when two girls in his class had been talking about him and calling him names. When Simon tries to find out what the girls are saying about him he is ridiculed for the size of his body.

Being of a bigger weight than that of the average child in that particular age is often an objective for teasing and name-calling. Obesity is associated with impaired well-being and mental health in children and adolescents (Griffiths et al., 2010). Most bullying incidents are a result of body shaming (Birbeck and Drummond, 2006; Allen, 2013). In this extract Simon is criticised for the size of his body. Simon shares with the researcher that the teasing, bullying and name-calling happens often.

Interviewer: Do they pick on you a lot?

Simon: Yes they do?

Interviewer: Why?

Simon: Big size.

Masculinity is often identified through how boys' bodies are built and by what they do with their bodies. The most dominant form of masculinity strives on a physique that is admired by others, that is strong and can be beneficial in sports or other spheres, because Simon is not of the socially exalted body size, he takes on a more subordinate form of masculinity.

Ngobi: That walk like this (stretches arms to imitate a muscular person)...Like “ighora” (body builder) they are scary. Those that look mean...

Interviewer: So those that are like this (imitates action done by Ngobi) Hit?

Ngobi: Yes, those hit.

When asked the question “who are the most violent people in school”, Nqobi responded by saying it is those boys that are muscular, strong and have the appearance of body builders. He further states that they are scary and he expresses that they are the ones who hit.

According to Swain (2006), the boy’s body is a resource and in some settings, it becomes a great value. An important part of violent masculinity is strength, the body is utilized as a weapon, which measures the aptitude of violence (Bhana in Ouzgane and Morrell, 2005). Often, boys express their masculinity through action and in a study conducted by Swain (2003), boys proved to gain recognition, and masculine status, through their physicality which is intimately linked to strength and power. It can be reasoned that from Nqobi’s assertion, boys who have strong physiques are more likely to occupy a violent form of masculinity.

4.7 Fathers of the class

According to Graham and Pahad (2012), there are many contributing factors when it comes to school violence such as the poor management of the school or the personal history of the learners but they highlight age as a major contributing factor. Learners who have failed previously or encountered problems that may have caused them to repeat a grade and are older than the average age of the learners in the class tend to have behavioural problems (Singh and Steyn, 2014). The following extracts illustrate how age can be a significant factor in school violence.

Lwandile: Yes, some Grade 6 boys and Grade 7 too who are older than me.

Interviewer: Why are you scared of them?

Lwandile: They are too violent. (Lwandile, 12, Grade 7)

Interviewer: Why are you scared of them?

Nkonyana: Because they hit ma'am. They are older and so they can hit.

Interviewer: How old are they?

Nkonyana: Like- 15. (Nkonyana, 13, Grade 7)

When met with the question of who they were most scared of in the school and why, Lwandile and Nkonyana both shared that the learners who were older were most feared. They reasoned that their age made these learners more violent and that it advantaged them in fights.

Due to many social problems, schools that are located in poorer communities tend to have a wide variety of ages in one classroom and this is a major problem and one of the reasons for learner on learner violence (Pahad and Graham, 2012).

In Monroe Primary, many learners in Grade 6 and 7 were identified to be older than the average age of 12 and 13. These learners were often said to be violent. Boys such as Nkonyana and Lwandile confessed that they were scared of these boys. They described these boys to be violent, to be bullies and to have the ability to fight well. It can be said that these older boys who might have failed previous grades or who might have encountered personal problems that caused them to be left behind are frustrated and have lost interest in schooling and therefore become aggressive and result to violence and bullying (Singh and Steyn, 2014).

The boys described have used their age as a weapon for bullying and violence. They have gained dominance by being able to exhibit their strength and ability to those younger than them and possibly less physically developed. The older learners have used their age to

dominate others. The young learners occupy a more unassuming form of masculinity. Power has been attained and maintained by means of being older, more aggressive and violent. Being older than your classmates may confer certain benefits among peers but it turns around and becomes a negative attribute when it comes to teacher-learner relations as seen in the extract below:

Max: Misbehave- yes. I just talk in class, sometimes it's not me who starts the talking and then she blames me because I'm older. And then she blames me for, some teachers blame me because I'm older in the class they expect me to make the class to behave...and some of them say...we are the fathers of the class which is not comforting at all. (Max, 14, grade 6).

In this extract, Max describes a situation in the classroom with regard to his age. He admits to misbehaving but mentions that often he is wrongfully blamed for disruption because of his age. Max describes how teachers call him and other old children, the fathers of the class.

Although he does admit to misbehaviour, Max only accounts his misbehaviour to talking in class contrary to what has been shared about him by other learners. Max brings to light that he is often blamed by teachers for the misbehaviour of other because he is the older one. They expect him to know better and do better because of his age and he is expected to be an example to the class.

4.8 We don't eat at the feeding scheme, we have money.

The violence that is exhibited in a school that is poverty ridden, serves as a means of strengthening hegemonic masculinity (Bhana 2005 in Morrell et al., 2013). Through violent acts such as bullying and stealing, older children assert their masculinity in Monroe Primary.

Ronaldo: Children are being bullied.

Interviewer: In what way, how are children being bullied?

Ronaldo: The older children's take their lunch. The grade seven take from the smaller children. (Ronaldo, 13, grade 7).

In his response to the question of what types of violence he has witnessed, Ronaldo reveals that older children in Grade 7 take the lunch of younger children. Bhana (2005, p100) states that "widespread unemployment and poverty exacerbates the severity of food insecurity. Social and economic disadvantage increases children's vulnerability to violence." Children in Monroe Primary come from poor homes. Due to a lack of food on their part, Grade 7 boys resort to violent acts of bullying Grade 2 learners and taking their food. Power comes as a by-product of socially constructed masculinity, the older Grade 7 boys aim to assert their power over younger children in the school by means of taking their lunch.

Interviewer: Do you also eat at the feeding scheme?

All: No!

Sbo: We bring money.

Sipho: Some of us have money. (Sipho, 13, Sbo, 13 Grade 7)

The above extract stems from a group interview. The boys in the interview had revealed that there is a feeding scheme in their school and when asked whether they too eat from the feeding scheme they said no. They reasoned that they bring money to school and therefore do not need to eat at the feeding scheme.

Feeding schemes in schools have been developed as a means of providing nutrients to poor children who might not be able to receive it at home. The purpose of feeding schemes is to improve the lives of citizens (Bhana, 2005). Feeding schemes are aimed at aiding the poor and it can be said it is for this reason that the boys have distanced themselves from the feeding scheme. Not only do they inform the researcher that they do not eat at the feeding scheme, but they add they have money.

It is second break and I am standing on the playground watching children run around and play. I have noticed that many children, both young and old are wearing torn uniforms, pants and skirts that are a few sizes too small. Many of them wear jackets and jerseys that are not part of the school uniform. (10/08/2016).

It is second break and today I have decided to stand near the Grade 7 boys. They are standing around talking, making jokes and laughing happily. One of them takes out his lunch and it is fish and chips. All of them are interested in his lunch and ask him to share. He runs away from the crowd and three others follow him. A similar thing happens when one of the boys comes with a pie from the tuck shop. He gives a few of his friends a bite each from his tiny pie. (17/08/2016).

Monroe Primary is a school that is within a poor community and is surrounded by many other townships that are of lower economic standing. The school has many children who come from poor backgrounds. There are many social problems that are faced in the township of Nagina. Children who are from families that are not financially stable can be identified by their torn uniforms and unkempt appearance. It is not only the appearance that is an indication of economic difficulty but the behaviour of these learners as well. Those that are well-off are able to bring lunch to school or have been given money and are able to buy something from the tuck shop. The learners who do not have any lunch often beg those who have lunch for a portion. It is within situations such as these that violence erupts. Socio- economic issues are a driving force behind many violent acts.

4.9 Vandalism

According to Vilalta and Fondevila (2017, p1). "School vandalism is a serious youth problem, since it has been shown to be associated with other antisocial behaviours and crime in schools (Plank, Bradshaw and Young, 2008). Moreover, vandalism has a negative impact on

education levels and causes problems for the family and the neighbourhood.” The following image is of vandalism at Monroe primary school.

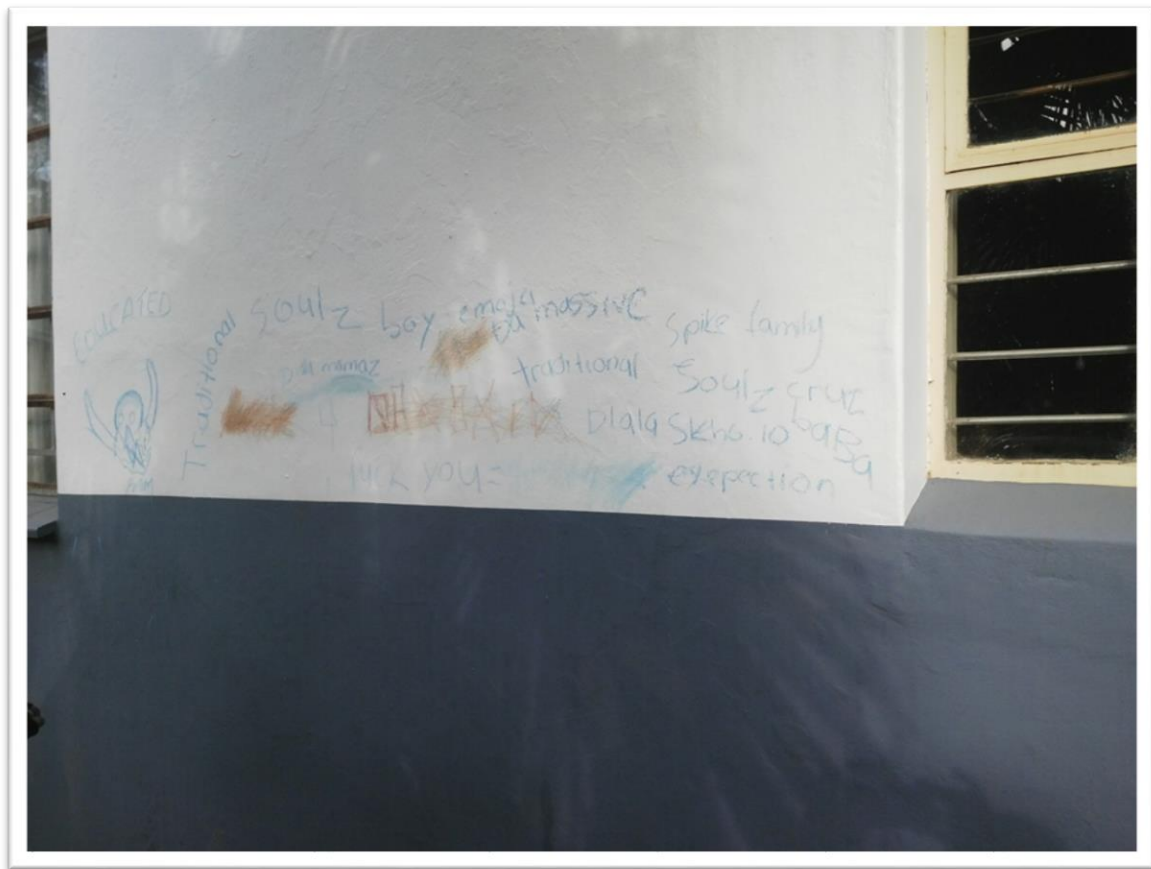


Figure 6: Image of vandalism at Monroe primary school

The above picture shows graffiti/vandalism on one of the school walls. At the time that the picture was taken, there was a group of learners gathered around the wall discussing who might be responsible for the damage. Many pointed to a group of grade seven learners and they were identified as responsible for vandalising the school property. The writing on the wall was explained to be the names or rather, nicknames of individuals. Nicknames are often used to give a sense of unity in a group (Black et al. 2013). It was also explained that some of the words on the wall are actually the names of gangs within the school. Gangs are most often associated with criminal behaviours but Pinnock (2016) argues that gangs can take many forms. He further speaks of ‘proto gangs’ or gang-like formations where youth come together with a common purpose, be it social or criminal and they do this for identity

purposes, to defend their turf or for other gains such as status. In this school, the grade seven learners and particularly the boys used their gender, age, power and status to consolidate masculine power as seen in the graffiti and the vandalization of the school property.

Graffiti is a way in which many gangs mark their territory. It is a way in which they achieve recognition and a way to achieve admiration. In many instances gang behaviour such as vandalism or graffiti are a result of peer influences or are a result of one wanting to prove their dominance and being within the group. Belonging is very important to young boys. School children are susceptible to joining gangs because membership confers identity, suggests a sense of belonging and ultimately, power. Many learners desire such experiences because of their feelings of inadequacy resulting from compromised family or school environments. (Le Roux and Mokhele, 2011).

When analysed, the picture depicts that young children in primary schools are exposed to violence in the form of gangs. It also shows that they are negatively influenced by what they may experience as they now begin to idealise gang behaviour. Young children grow up idolizing gangs and show this by writing the names of school walls. They also adopt gang behaviour and form their own cliques and give themselves nick names. Research points to negative family, school and neighbourhood contexts as a reason for vandal behaviour in children (Mncube and Madikizela-Madiya, 2014).

The South African Council of Educators (SACE, 2011) reports that the family plays the biggest role in shaping who we become and most often boys are expected to adhere to social stereotypes of being strong and successful and these constructions of masculinities and expectations can be said to increase the likelihood of school-based gender violence.

4.10 A female researcher within a gendered world.

It is my first day of data collection here at Monroe Primary. It is early morning and the school day has just begun. I sit outside the office of the principal on a bench waiting for him to introduce me to the Grade 7

teachers in whose classes I will be observing. As I sit and wait an Indian female teacher, whom I later came to know as Mrs Slabber angrily walks passed me with two boys carelessly walking behind her. She stops outside the office and demands that they stand and wait for her. She shouts at them to stand up straight and stop eating and they half-heartedly obey, putting away their snacks in their pockets. Mrs Slabber then walks into the principal's office. While Mrs Slabber is gone the two boys, whom I now identify as Boitumelo and Olwethu, continue to eat. They laugh and play around while waiting. A few minutes later the principal walks out with Mrs Slabber. Olwethu and Boitumelo immediately hide away what they are eating, stand up straight and keep quiet. Mrs Slabber says "it's these two Mr Jordan. They busy running around during class and walking out without permission." The principal then reprimands the two boys, warns them that he will inform their parents and threatens them with expulsion. While he does this Olwethu and Boitumelo keep their heads bowed and nod in obedience to what is being said. The principal reminds Boitumelo that he has already been in trouble many times and he is getting tired of him. The boy looks down at the ground, tears filling his eyes. (02/08/2016).

The above diary entry clearly illustrates the manner in which female and male authority are held at different degrees. The two boys have disregarded Mrs Slabber's authority, showing that they do not fear or respect her and they are brave in misbehaving when around her. An immediate change is notable when the principal arrives. They discontinue eating, they stand up straight, they do not look at him directly and one even has teary eyes when addressed. This behaviour is a clear indication that these boys do not fear Mrs Slabber and her authority as much as they fear Mr Jordan, the principal.

Being the principal of the school, it is expected that the learners would fear him more and would be more respectful to him, but he has somewhat of an added advantage as a male as children are more likely to obey to male authoritative figures. It is society that has continually perpetuated the notion that males ought to be more feared, more respected

and obeyed more through actions such as threatening children by telling them their fathers, grandfathers or brothers will be informed of their misbehaviour (Stattin and Kerr, 2000).

Gender relational theory (Connell, 1987) posits that labour is divided according to sex and this division of labour affects other practices. The effects of labour division can be seen in areas such as educational institutes, corporate institutions and government where men are largely in charge (Koester, 2015).

*It is after break and the learners are in line waiting for their teachers to come open the class. A group of boys go around pushing and shoving girls out of the line. The girls scream and shout and attempt to fight back. One boy approaches a girl, she is wearing a blazer which is an indication that she is a prefect, he has the intention to push her out of line but she steps out of the line before he gets to her, she folds her arms and looks at him. The boy then lifts his arms in a manner indicating that he is not going to do anything. He then walks past her and laughs. He meets with other boys and they continue to bother other girls in the line. It's the same girl, later on in the day, that is asked by the teacher to show me to the other Grade 7 classrooms. Her name is *Khosi. (2 August 2016).*

In this observation, there is a typical behaviour between boys and girls observed. The boys exhibit violent masculine behaviour by pushing and shoving the girls, the girls construct themselves as victims. They scream, shout and chase around the boys. Although this is “play”, this is what is typically associated with violence between men and women or boys and girls. There is however an incident that takes place that is not usually associated with violence in primary school. Khosi* stands up for herself, she asserts herself and lets the boy who has intentions of pushing her know that she will not allow it. She does not fight back physically, but simply asserts herself through strong body language. The boy retreats and “surrenders”; he moves, walks passed her and moves on to what is presumably weaker prey.

It is researchers such as Bhana (2008) who point out that girls in primary schools are not always victims, but can assume a role of resistance and sometimes do show the ability to resist violence and harassment. Girls are most often reported as weak and fragile and as victims of gender violence. Even though women and girls are most often the victims, many times they do take charge and turn the tables. There is not much research on girls assuming the role of violent perpetrator in primary schools (Bhana 2008), but it is quite clear that these incidents do occur.

4.11 Conclusion

According to Connell (1987), power exists within gender and gender inequalities emerge as a result of power relations. Gender relational theory suggests that males learn to be male by observing females and subsequently learning what females are not and the same is said for females; they learn to be female by observing males and learning what they are not (Skelton, 2003).

Certain masculinities become dominant by the realisation of oppressing others (Connell, 2005) and this is evident in school violence. All violence is gender-based and the main perpetrators of school violence are boys (Leach and Mitchell, 2006). Violence is a way in which men and boys uphold their domination over women and girls (Saltmarsh, et al., 2012). Violence in schools is not only a South African problem but rather an international crisis (Ellsberg et al, 2015). School violence particularly in South Africa is on the rise and stakeholders need to work together to combat the epidemic (Burton, 2008).

This chapter uncovered the analysis of the collected data. The following themes emerged from the data and have been discussed: My mother tells me everything about gender violence; *Isitabane, isitabane* - if you're a gay you're a gay; *uYisikhokho*, you are the man; the teacher calls us stupid; I'm a big size; we don't eat at the feeding scheme; females in a gendered world.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will provide an overview of the study. This chapter will also present the findings of the study based on the data as well as recommendations and will provide a conclusion to the study. This study is a qualitative case study examining the understanding of violence and construction of masculinity among Grade 7 boys at a primary school in Pinetown, KwaZulu-Natal through interviews and observations. The study has drawn upon Connell's gender relational theory (1987) to better understand how violence is linked to conflicting notions of masculinity.

The study explores the understanding of violence and the construction of masculinity among Grade 7 primary school boys and seeks to answer the following research questions that are informed by its aims and objectives:

1. What meanings do primary school boys give to violence?
2. What are primary school boys' experiences of violence?
3. How is violence linked to conflicting notions of masculinities?
4. How does violence affect primary school boys and girls?

5.2 Chapter summaries

Chapter one presented an introduction to the study. The chapter began by giving definitions of terms that were frequently used in the study; this was followed by the aims and objectives as well as the research questions of the study. The chapter then discussed the context of the study as well as the research site. Following this was a discussion of the methodologies that were used in the study, a discussion of the background of the study as

well as a rationale which informed the study. To conclude, the chapter gave an overview of subsequent chapters.

Chapter two provides the theoretical framework of this research and reviews literature which helps provide a wider understanding of the phenomenon. The chapter discussed gender relational theory which this study employed as an analytical tool for understanding the ways in which boys' violence is located within conflicting notions of masculinity. The theory was subsequently followed by extensive scholarship from which the following themes have emerged as significant to the literature review: Gender violence as a global problem; violence in schools; boys, masculinities and violence; boys, schooling and violence; sex, sexuality and violence; violence and sport; gender and bullying: masculinities and power.

Chapter three addressed the research design and methodology used for this study. This chapter discussed the research design and methodology, which contains a discussion of the research approach, which is qualitative, the research paradigm, case study research as well as a discussion on the research site and sampling method. The chapter further discusses data collection, data analysis, validity and reliability, limitations ethical issues and the experience of the researcher.

Chapter four presents an analysis of the data collected. The data is analysed using thematic analysis. The following themes have emerged from the data collected during the study and are discussed in detail in the chapter: My mother tells me everything about gender violence; *Isitabane, isitabane* - if you're a gay you're a gay; *uYisikhokho*, you are the man; the teacher calls us stupid; I'm a big size; we don't eat at the feeding scheme; females in a gendered world.

5.3 Main findings

In its investigation of the degree of understanding that Grade 7 boys have on violence, the study found the following: Grade 7 boys do in fact have an understanding of violence even

though the degree of understanding may vary. Some boys showed a more superficial understanding when asked what they knew about violence, they were however able to describe some basic forms of violence. A limited number of boys in this study presented a deeper more sophisticated understanding of violence and its varied forms. These boys were able to describe violence not only as a harmful act, but they were able to understand that it individually is a psychological concern and that on a greater level it is interlinked with gender inequality.

This is an indication that young boys in Grade 7 are capable of understanding complex issues such as gender violence. The boys that were able to present a greater understanding of violence voiced that they had been taught about violence from their families, more especially their mothers. Most parents believe that acquisition of knowledge only occurs in the school and the classroom when in fact that is not the case; learning starts in the home, within the family. The findings in this study have shown that the knowledge that parents share with their children about social issues can have a positive impact. They become more enlightened. Even though the majority of the boys understood what violence is and were able to name violent acts, there were exceptions who could not decipher what violence is and what it means. These learners were not able to recognise violent acts that occurred in the school, which is a concern as they might be unable to report incidents of violence they experience.

This study found that young boys are highly aware of sexualities. The boys in this study have often assumed one's sexual orientation based on the mannerisms they exhibit. Feminine attributes are often associated with homosexuality (Renold, 2007), and in this study the boys presumed other boys and even teachers to be homosexual, based on their mannerisms as well as on the company they keep, activities they partake in and on their academic standing. The boys often debated and contemplated whether a particular person was gay or not and their debates often ended in the conclusion that the person in question is undoubtedly gay; hence they would say "*iSitabane isitabane*". Being homosexual was a very undesirable thing for the boys in this study, they greatly expressed their dislike and discontentment with homosexuality or rather, who they thought might be homosexual. The

boys judged girls who were not interested in them or who rejected their relationship proposals as lesbian. This is an indication that the hegemonic masculinity the boys exhibit does not cope well with rejection and when rejected, it seeks to discredit others. They often insulted girls who rejected their advances as well as girls who were 'brave' enough to make their own advances and approach boys with relationship proposals.

Young boys who do not fit in to the classic ideal of masculinity subscribe to subordinate masculinity. These boys are easily targeted by more masculine boys who identify with hegemonic masculinity and they often experience harsh criticism, name-calling as well as bullying as seen in this study. Hegemonic masculinity thrives on the approval of others and especially of women, when rejected, boys who are hegemonic result to labelling girls as lesbian in order to justify their rejection. They are unable to handle their masculinity being diminished and instead justify the behaviour of girls.

This study has brought to light that young boys in Grade 7 are involved in multiple relationships at one time. Heterosexual relationships are a source of admiration and are an aid in the production of masculinity (Renold, 2007). It has previously been found that heterosexual relationships that boys hold are more about the negotiation, performance and consolidation of heterosexual masculinity (Renold, 2007) and less about the enjoyment of the relationship. Similarly, this study has found that boys hold several relationships, not only because they enjoy it but also because it is more of a means to uphold masculinity. This was revealed when they reasoned by saying "*ngeke ume ngonyawo olulodwa*" meaning, a man cannot be with only one woman because then he is not well-balanced. Being involved in multiple heterosexual relationships has proven to be beneficial for the boys in this study for it has earned them acclamation among their peers. One boy in particular, Azile revealed that he is called "*iSikhokho*" by his friends. *iSikhokho* is a Zulu word used to describe a powerful person or one who excels, and in this instant it is used because Azile excels in holding multiple relationships. Men have often been praised for being able to gain and maintain multiple relationships and this is the kind of socialization that young boys are exposed to from a young age. Society holds men and women in different degrees and expects them to behave in gender appropriate manner. The boys in this study believed that a girl with more

than one partner is an “*isifebe*”, a derogatory word used to describe females who are involved with more than one man. Contradictorily, they did not believe that boys who occupy more than one relationship can be *isifebe*; rather, they are playboys – boys who deceive girls and therefore are held in high esteem. They are praised for their multiple relationships unlike girls who are judged.

According to Morrell (2001), corporal punishment is used because of the norm of authoritarian education practices and because teachers feel there is no alternative. This study has discovered that teachers use corporal punishment as a means of discipline. The participants of the study have shared that the teachers often resort to violence to reprimand. They use slaps, pipes and other objects. The participants are well aware that corporal punishment is illegal and they detest it, but they have chosen not to share with their parents that they are hit by teachers because they believe their parents will be unsympathetic. They share the belief that their parents will either blame them for receiving the punishment or they will administer their own physical punishment. The study has found that not only do boys receive physical punishment in the classroom but that they are also victims of verbal abuse and violence.

The body is a site for the intersection of masculinity and sexuality at school (Allen, 2001). The study has found that boys who are a “big size” receive much criticism and are prone to being teased and bullied thus emasculating them. The body is also a source of strength and power (Swain, 2006) and is a great advantage in the context of the school. Boys who were described as “*ighora*”, who had the physique of a body builder, were also said to be the most violent and to be bullies.

Many of the participants claimed to be scared of the children that were older (14 and 15). The older children are more developed and hence have more strength. They are not afraid to start fights and often “win” and that causes other learners to be afraid of them. The body and age of the 14- and 15-year-olds serves as a weapon and advantages them. Their bodies allow them to exert dominance over others. They are able to exert power over others by means of their age and physical structure. When asked whether they indeed did bully and

cause disruption, Max, who is 14 and in Grade 6, admitted that he often does cause disruption in class, but he added that many times, he is blamed for disruption in the classroom, and because of his age, he is expected by teachers to lead by example and to be a disciplinarian to his fellow classmates. Max revealed that teachers refer to him as the father of the class, which causes embarrassment and shame to him.

5.4 Recommendations

The study has shown how gendered violence is interlinked within the schooling environment. The findings of this study could be beneficial for future practices within the school, for parents and for learners.

On occasion corporal punishment is administered because teachers lack knowledge on alternate disciplinary measures. Morrell (2001) suggests that teachers lack alternative measures of punishment and therefore the school needs to establish an effective disciplinary measure that can be put in place and that does not contravene the laws of the country. It has been found that children in higher grades bully younger children and take their lunch. This is of great concern as food is a source of energy and nutrition and it negatively affects children's concentration when they do not eat during break. The school needs to put in place a programme whereby children in younger grades are given an earlier break or whereby they are given a certain venue in which they can have their lunch without the interference of older learners who can intimidate and torment them.

Findings revealed that homosexuality was a starting point of many incidents of verbal violence and intimidation. Sexuality and its surrounding issues need to be addressed in an explicit way that also looks at the involvement of values, beliefs and sexual practices. Sexuality is a difficult problem to talk about especially to young children, but it is a big part of everyday life and does need to be discussed. Educators need to find suitable ways in which they can address and discuss the issue of sexuality.

Findings of the study indicate that weight and body size is often grounds for teasing and bullying. Recent research by Zuba and Warschburger (2017) suggests that the experience of

weight teasing causes harm. Children who may be a target because of their weight must be given coping skills that will enable them to deal with teasing and insult from their peers. School programs that aim at providing children who are vulnerable to teasing with skills to deal with the teasing is important. Doepke and Zilibotti (2017) suggest that fat shaming can be a serious risk to children's well-being. Creating awareness around weight-based victimization for children is also vital. As Lee et al. (2018) indicate teachers could improve their initiatives in identifying children who are shamed because of their weight and could intervene to prevent bullying.

Another important finding of my study refers to the ways in which vandalism in the school is linked to age, status and masculine power. Boys in grade seven use their status and age to consolidate their power based on a form of 'gang culture'. This must be addressed as this kind of conduct reproduces masculine violence and affirms gangs and violence as key to masculinity-making in the school.

Findings of the study have shown that corporal punishment is prevalent in the school. Learners are however not comfortable sharing this information with their parents because they fear they will be blamed or even receive more punishment. Parents need to be more supportive and reassuring to their children because children who receive support from parents and those close to them have a better coping mechanism for stressful situations (Spies, 2006). Verbal abuse has detrimental effects on development of those children and adults that experience verbal abuse. Children need to be comfortable enough to share information with their parents in order for parental intervention to occur. Parents need to be informed of the negative effects of being an authoritative parent, they need to be informed that their parenting styles prohibits their children from coming to them with serious issues such as verbal and physical violence that they experience at school from their teachers and from their peers. If children and parents can have a trustworthy relationship that is clear on communication then there will be less fear and more understanding on both parts.

The findings have also shown that there are learners who are clear about what violence is and that have a deep understanding, however, there are a number of learners that do not know what violence is and this poses a risk to the well-being of the children. Parents need to teach their children what violence is and inform them of ways to report it should it occur. Parents and teachers need to work together in educating children about the different form of violence.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter has concluded the study by providing summaries of all chapters, main findings as well as recommendations. Gender violence is an ongoing problem in society. Gender violence comes as a result of gender inequalities that arise from power relations. The school plays a vital position in shaping the identities of young boys. As dominant forms of masculinity thrive on power and often resort to violence as a means of attaining and retaining power, this study has engaged with young boys to discover how violence in around the school influences their masculine identity. By understanding the ways in which violence influences young boys and who they become, measures can be put in place to ensure that violence is not a criterion for their masculine identity and that schools become environments where conducive learning can occur and each child can reach their optimal level.

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APPENDIX A: ETHICAL CLEARANCE



26 July 2016

Ms Maggie Mmatshapo Kgang 215056528
School of Education
Edgewood Campus

Dear Ms Kgang

Protocol reference number: HSS/0915/016M linked to HSS/1197/013
Project title: Violent Boys: Masculinities amongst Primary School Boys in Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal.

Expedited Approval

In response to your application dated 22 June 2016, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol have been granted **FULL APPROVAL**.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number. Please note: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

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

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

Yours faithfully

Dr Shmuka Singh (Chair)

/px

cc Supervisor: Prof Deevia Bhana
cc Academic Leader Research: Dr SB Khoza
cc School Administrator: Mrs B Bhengu-Mnguni, Mbalenhle Ngcobo, Philisiwe Ncayiyana, Tyzer Khumalo

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

Dr Shmuka Singh (Chair)

Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building

Postal Address: Private Bag 304001, Durban 4006

Telephone: +27 (0) 31 260 3587/3550/4557 Facsimile: +27 (0) 31 260 4808 Email: simbap@ukzn.ac.za / svemac@ukzn.ac.za / mehung@ukzn.ac.za

Website: www.ukzn.ac.za



100 YEARS OF ACADEMIC EXCELLENCE

Focusing Centres: Edgewood Howard College Medical School Pietermaritzburg Westville

APPENDIX B: INFORMED ASSENT LETTER TO LEARNERS

I

Date:

Dear _____



This is a formal invitation to you to participate in the research project titled: **Violent Boys: Masculinities amongst primary school boys in Pinetown, KwaZulu-Natal**

This project also forms part of a larger project entitled “stop the violence” with the principal supervisor being Professor Deevia Bhana.

Every day newspaper reports show us that violence and in particular, gender violence is a problem in some schools and has negative effects for learners, with both boys and girls suffering from the effects of violence.

This project aims to examine how learners experience, witness and observe gender violence in schools and what schools can do to stop it. The project will involve establishing what boys perceive to be gender violence as well as their understandings and experiences of gender violence. The study aims to analyse how school learners, such as yourself, experience, if at all, gender violence, what drives the violence and how this differs for boys and girls.

The project will involve interviews with you. Each interview will last for about one hour. With your permission, the interviews will be audio-taped and transcribed. The tapes and transcripts will be locked in file cabinets. These will be kept for a period of five years thereafter will be destroyed.

Your identity will remain anonymous throughout the study. Your real name or the name of your school will not be used. Pseudonyms will be used in place of your name and the name of your school. In addition, your participation in the study is voluntary and you may decide not to participate without any penalty. You are also free to withdraw from the project at any

time during or after data collection, without penalty. Whilst every precaution will be taken to maintain the confidentiality of the participants in every group, there will be limits of confidentiality. Should there be a disclosure/s which indicate that your or someone else's well-being is at risk, as the researcher I am obliged to I seek your/their consent to address the matter.

Thank you for your willingness to participate. I may also be contacted at:

Researcher:

Maggie Mmatshupo Kgang

Email: 215056528@stu.ukzn.ac.za

Tel: 078 444 1320

My project supervisor details are as follows:

Professor Bhana, PhD

DST/NRF South African Research Chair (SARCHI):

Gender and Childhood sexuality

School of Education

University Of KwaZulu-Natal

Private Bag X03

Ashwood

3605

South Africa

Email: bhanad1@ukzn.ac.za

Tel: 0832881383

You may also contact the research office through:

Mariette Snyman

HSSREC Research Office

Tel: 031 260 3587

Email: snymanm@ukzn.ac.za

APPENDIX C: INFORMED CONSENT LETTER TO PARENTS/GUARDIANS



Dear Parent/Guardian of _____

I, Maggie Mmatshapo Kgang (215056528), request your permission to allow your child/ward to participate in a study examining the shape and form of gender violence (GV) in and around schools. The research project is titled: Violent Boys: Masculinities amongst primary school boys in Pinetown, KwaZulu-Natal. The Project is part of a bigger project entitled "Stop the Violence" with the principal researcher being Professor Deevia Bhana. . The project aims examine how learners experience, witness and observe GV in schools. Every day newspaper reports show us that GV is a problem in some schools and has negative effects for some learners. The project will involve establishing whether and how boys experience GV. This project will involve interviews with your child/ward. If permitted, the interviews will be audio-taped and these tapes will be transcribed. The recording and transcriptions will only be viewed by me.

Your son's/wards' identity will remain anonymous throughout the study and in the various publications we will produce from it nor will the name of the school be used. In place of their names pseudonyms (different names) will be used in order to protect their rights to privacy. In addition, his participation in the study is voluntary and if he decides not to participate, he has the right not to. He is also free to withdraw from the project at any time during or after data collection, without penalty. Whilst every precaution will be taken to maintain the confidentiality of the participants in every group, there will be limits of confidentiality. Participants will be informed that should there be a disclosure/s which indicate that his or any other person's well-being is being compromised or at risk, as the researcher I will seek their consent to address the matter.

This study does not intend to harm your son/ward in any way. It also does not intend to create a stress or anxiety for your son/ ward. However, you are free to contact a psychologist, Ms.Linda Ngubane should the need arise. She is based at the UKZN Edgewood

campus, Cnr Richmond and Mariannhill road, Pinetown. Ms.Linda Ngubane. Tel: 031 260 3653. Email: ngubane@ukzn.ac.za

Thank you for your co-operation. If there are any concerns you may contact me at:

Maggie Mmatshupo Kgang

Email: 215056528@stu.ukzn.ac.za

Tel: 078 444 1320

My project supervisor details are as follows:

Professor Bhana, PhD

DST/NRF South African Research Chair (SARCHI):

Gender and Childhood sexuality

School of Education

University Of KwaZulu-Natal

Private Bag X03

Ashwood

3605

South Africa

Email: bhanad1@ukzn.ac.za

Tel: 0832881383

You may also contact the research office through:

Mariette Snyman

HSSREC Research Office

Tel: 031 260 3587

Email: snymanm@ukzn.ac.za

DECLARATION

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

I understand that he is at liberty to withdraw from the project at any time, should he so desire and he is not forced to answer any questions if he is not comfortable to do so.

Additional consent, where applicable

I hereby provide consent to:

Audio-record the interview / focus group discussion YES /NO

Video-record the interview / focus group discussion YES/ NO

Use of my son / wards photographs for research purposes YES /NO

.....

SIGNATURE OF PARENT/GUARDIAN DATE

APPENDIX D: PRINCIPAL CONSENT LETTER

Date:



The Principal

Name of School

Dear Mr/Mrs/Dr.....

Re: Permission to conduct a research study in the school

I am writing to request your permission to conduct a study of the experiences, meanings and understandings of gender-based violence (GBV). The research project is titled: **Stop the violence: girls and boys in and around schools. My supervisor's name is Deevia Bhana.** The project aims to examine how learners experience, witness and observe GBV in schools. Every day newspaper reports show us that GBV is a problem in some schools and has negative effects for some learners. The project will involve establishing whether and how girls and boys experience GBV. The study aims to analyse how school learners, experience, witness and observe and talk about GBV and how this differs for boys and girls. The project will involve interviews with learners, teachers and school managers, as well as observations of learners' interactions in schools, including in classrooms and playground.

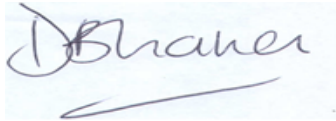
My study will fall under this project but will focus on boys and the main question that this study asks is: Violent boys: Masculinities amongst Primary School Boys in Pinetown, KwaZulu-Natal

All participants in the schools and the names of schools will be anonymized. In the various publications that will result from this study I will not use participants' real names or the names of their school. They are also free to withdraw from the project at any time during or after data collection, without penalty.

Whilst every precaution will be taken to maintain the confidentiality of the participants in every group, there will be limits of confidentiality. Participants will be informed that should there be a disclosure/s which indicate that their well-being/other learners' is being compromised or at risk, the researcher will seek their consent in addressing the matter.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely



Project Leader

Prof. Deevia Bhana

Tel: (031) 260 2603

Email: bhanad1@ukzn.ac.za

Student:

Maggie Mmatshupo Kgang

Student number: 215056528

078 444 1320

4 Michelia Road Nagina 3610

DECLARATION

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

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

Additional consent, where applicable

I hereby provide consent to:

Audio-record my interview / focus group discussion YES /NO

Video-record my interview / focus group discussion YES/ NO

Use of my photographs for research purposes YES /NO

Permission Form

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

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

.....

SIGNATURE OF PRINCIPAL

DATE

APPENDIX E: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Individual interview questions

1. What is your understanding of violence?
2. Is there violence in your school?
3. Who is mostly involved and why?
4. What types of violence is there in your school?
5. Are you violent? Why or why not?
6. Have you ever been involved in violence? Please explain?
7. Where in the school does violence usually take place?
8. How often is there violence in the school?
9. Is your school safe?
10. How does violence make you feel?
11. Is violence a good thing? Who or why not?
12. Who is the most violent in your school?
13. Is there violence in your home?
14. How does it make you feel when you see violence outside of the school?
15. Tell me how the grade 7 boys in your school behave? This question is rather vague.
16. Tell me about your community?
17. What are your experiences of violence?
18. How does violence usually start in the school?
19. Who deals with learners who are violent in the school?
20. What is done to the violent learners?
21. Would you say you are “scared” of anyone in the school and why?
22. Do you think anyone is scared of you?

How do the teachers punish learners who misbehave in the school Focus group discussion questions is there violence in the school?

How do the grade 7 boys in this school behave?

What is done to learners who are violent in the school?

What types of violence is there in the school?

Where does the violence in the school usually happen?

Have any of you experienced violence?

Are any of you violent?

How does violence make you feel?

APPENDIX F: TURN IT IN

Turnitin Originality Report

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