University students' understandings, experiences and exposure to Intimate Partner Violence in a university campus residence in KwaZulu-Natal Province.

A Dissertation submitted to the School of Education at the
University of KwaZulu-Natal (Edgewood Campus)

In fulfillment of the requirement
for the Degree of Master of Education

By

Simla Dipnarain
9302527

Supervisor: Dr Bronwynne Mardia Anderson

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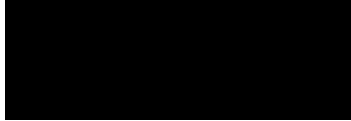
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As the candidate's supervisor I agree X/ do not agree to the submission of this dissertation.

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Name: Dr Bronwynne Anderson

Date: 25 January 2021

DEDICATION

THIS DISSERTATION IS THE RESULT OF HARD WORK AND PERSEVERANCE.

I would like to dedicate this Dissertation in memory of my late brother and campus buddy Mr. Vijay Sivakumoor; attorney, gender champion and humanitarian.
This dissertation is further dedicated to the victims and survivors of Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) locally and globally.

My parents who instilled the importance and value of education in their children from an early age.

My amazing sisters Sharita (Mo) and Simran for their calls, support, understanding and love. Thank you for your words of encouragement and kind assistance along the way.

My life partner, Satish Singh for being patient with me throughout this journey. This has been a team effort. Thank you for being a huge part of my accomplishments and for encouraging me to pursue my post-graduate studies. You saw potential for me to empower myself.

My children, all of them, Niki, Pooj, Tash, Kiea, Aryan and Rhys for their love, laughter and encouragement. I know that we missed some precious moments along the way, but you knew how much this dissertation meant to us and always displayed maturity in understanding this. Thank you all for your support and always remember that I love you.

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As the student who undertook this research, I would like to extend my heartfelt gratitude to the following people who were instrumental in helping me to realize fulfilling this educational journey.

- My Creator: For the strength and courage to see this study through to completion.
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- My editor: Carrin Martin for the feedback and assistance in improving the quality of this dissertation.

Simla Dipnarain

Signed: January 2021

ABSTRACT: English

This qualitative study within an interpretive paradigm explored undergraduate and postgraduate university students' understandings, experiences and exposure to Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) while living in a university campus residence in KwaZulu-Natal Province. Remote data collection methods such as telephone and Whatsapp voice calls were used to conduct individual, semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions in adherence to the research protocols of the COVID -19 pandemic. Gender Relational and Social Constructionism theories were used as analytical lenses to interpret the data. The themes that emerged from this study highlighted the key findings and found persistent patriarchal cultures, substance abuse, coercive sexual behaviours, transactional relationships, inadequately trained law enforcement officials and corrupt university student representatives to have contributed to the high levels of IPV in the university campus residence. Intergenerational violence, cultural and social norms hinging on unequal gender power relations also played a role in placing the well-being of heterosexual women and subordinate non-normative gender partners at risk. Although the high level of IPV against heterosexual females and students in non-normative gender relationships was of concern in this study, it would be worthy to note that there was an element of agency, albeit limited, in resisting this phenomenon. The first recommendation that emanated from the findings of this study was that the university should initiate educational awareness programmes to highlight the seriousness of IPV. The second recommendation was that university policy and practice should correlate for students who transgressed the rules and regulations of the institution.

Keywords: Intimate Partner Violence (IPV), KwaZulu-Natal, university, students, agency, gender power, campus residence

ABSTRACT: isiZulu translation

Lolucwaningo olwenziwe ngendlela ejulile, lubheka ukuqonda kwabafundi, ulwazi abanalo (experience), nokuthinteka (exposure) kwabo wubudlelwano babantu obuphathelene nezothando bube bunodlame (Intimate Partner Violence (IPV)) kuwona wonke amazinga okufunda kwenye yamagatsha (campus) enyuvesi eKwaZulu-Natal. Ulwazi luqoqwe ngokushayelana ucingo, nokusebenzisa ubuchwepheshe obubizwa nge-WhatsApp. Lapha kwakwenziwa udliwanondlebe, kukhulunywa nomuntu ngamunye; imibuzo yayivulelekile, inikeza owayephendula ithuba lokunaba (open-ended). Lendlela yokuqoqa ulwazi yayihambisana nemigomo ebekiwe yokuvikeleka ukuthelelana ngegciwane icorona, le esisabalale umhlaba wonke. Kwasetshenziswa ubuchule obuchaza kabanzi ngobudlelwano obususelwa ebulilini (Gender-based theories) ukuhlaziya kahle nokuqonda ulwazi. Lububuchule baziwa nge Gender Relational and Social Constructionism theories. Izingqikithi (themes) ezavela zaqhakambisa okwatholakala, kona okwaveza ukuqhubeka nenkolelo yokuthi izinto kufanele zenziwe ngendlela evuna abesilisa, (patriarchal cultures), nokusetshenziswa kwezidakamizwa, ukusetshenziswa kodlame uma kukhulunya ngezinto ezithinta ucansi, ubudlelwano obuthinta ubulili obubodwa, nobuthinta ubudlelwano nobulili ngendlela engajwayelekile, nokukhohlakala kwabaholi babafundi, konke lokhu kwaholela ezingeni eliphezulu le IPV.

Ucwaningo luphinde lwaveza ukuthi lelizinga laphinde lanyuswa ukungaqeqesheki ngokwanele kwabasebenzi abaphethe ezokuphepha nemthetho kuleligatsha. Kuphinde kwavela ukuthi imikhuba yasemphakathini, nesuselwa emasikweni, nesimo esenziwa ukungalingani ngokobulili okuholela ekungalinganini kwamandla, nodlame olususelwa ekungalinganini okususelwa eminyakeni abantu abanayo, konke lokhu kube nomthelela kululudlame olubizwa nge IPV kuleligatsha lapho ezempilo, ukuphepha kwabafundi besifazane, nalabo ubulili babo abusibona obejwayelekile, kujwayelekile ukuthi babe yizisulu zaloludlame. Izinga eliphezulu lalodlame olubhekiswe kwabesifazane abaziphathisa okwamadoda, kanye nabafundi abasobudlelwaneni nalabo bobulili obufana nobabo, kwaba izinto ezakhathaza lowo owayecwaninga. Kufanele futhi kwaziwe ukuthi kwakukhona labo ababelwisana naloludlame, noma imzamo yabo ingabanga nemiphumela engako. Isiphakamiso sokuqala esivela kulolucwaningo ukuthi inyuvesi kufanele ibe nezinhlelo zokufundisa ngobungozi baloludlame, Isiphakamiso sesibile ukuthi umugomo wenyuvesi, nokwenza kufanele kusebenzisane ukuze kunqandwe lababafundi abaphula imithetho yesikhungo.

Amagama abalulekile: Ubudlelwano babantu obuphathelene nezothando bube bunodlame; inyuvesi; abafundi, lowo olwisana naloludlame; amandla asuselwa ebulilini; ukuhlala ngaphakathi egatsheni

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

Like many other countries, South Africa experiences various forms of interpersonal or domestic violence, one being Intimate Partner Violence (IPV), where the victim is intimately connected to the perpetrator. This disturbing global phenomenon is a form of Gender Based Violence (GBV), which entails violence inflicted on victims, but not necessarily intimately. As part of the broader GBV conversation in South Africa, IPV has become a focus for investigation at various levels of society with this study being among university students residing in a campus residence in the province of KwaZulu-Natal. With little research having been done among these young adults, exploring their understanding, experiences and exposure to IPV could assist in providing insight into this phenomenon in the context of a university campus residence.

1.2. Background

Intimate partner violence (IPV) involves psychological, emotional, physical and sexual abuse, including coercive behaviour practices that are harmful for the health of the victim as well as their family members (World Health Organisation [WHO], 2012; Gordan, 2016; Spencer, Haffejee, Candy & Kaseke, 2016; Niolon, et al., 2017; Patra, Prakash, Patra & Khanna, 2018). IPV can be perpetrated by intimate partners from past, current or anticipated relationships within heterosexual and non-normative, married cohabiting or dating relationships (Mukamana, Machakanja & Adjei, 2020). IPV does not discriminate against race, class or social backgrounds, and on a global level it remains a discreet practice within heterosexual and non-normative gender (gay and lesbian) relationships in many communities (WHO, 2012). For Bhana & Pillay (2018), IPV extends beyond the domestic scene, spilling into other sectors of society and institutions, such as universities. The definition of IPV for the purposes of this study will be adopted from the policy document of the the university where this study was located. The university has a policy on GBV where IPV is included. The effective date of the policy was 1 October 2017 subject to a three-year review process. In this Gender Based Violence Policy, IPV

> *"means any act of violence committed between persons within a domestic relationship, including a) physical abuse; b) sexual abuse; c) emotional, verbal and psychological abuse; d) economic abuse; e) intimidation; f) harassment; g) stalking; h) damage to property i) entry into the complainant's residence without consent, where the parties do not share the same residence; or i) any other*

controlling or abusive behaviour towards the complainants where such conduct harms, or may cause imminent harm to, the safety, health or well-being of the complainant.” (UKZN: Gender Based Violence Policy, 2017, p2).

Intimate and romantic relationships are sensitive domains due to the high levels of social connectivity and the disclosure of personal or intimate details between partners (Bapat & Tracey, 2012; Bamiwuye & Odimegwu, 2014). These factors also contribute to the uniqueness of such alliances compared to other human relationships. Where violence and aggression enter an intimate relationship, the resulting discord and dissonance creates fertile grounds for harmful and abusive practices with far reaching consequences. This can translate to trauma for the victim and possible punishment for the perpetrator (Mathews, Jewkes & Abrahams, 2015).

1.2.1. Intimate Partner Violence as a global scourge

On a global level, the findings of The Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation [CSVR], (2016) show that victims tend to underreport IPV within a marriage. The studies of Stern, Buikema & Cooper (2016); Patra et al., (2018) & Mukamana et al., (2020), reveal underreporting of IPV within marriage to be rife in social contexts where patriarchal, cultural and/or religious systems undermine the equal treatment of women. In the study of Patra et al., (2018), IPV victims within marriage in India did not report their abuse for fear of being further victimised by extended family members or face honour killings to save the reputation of a family. In the Zimbabwean context, Mukamana et al., (2020) highlighted that IPV was more prevalent in cohabiting relationships compared to marriage due to the victim being financially dependent on the perpetrator. In the American context, Tsui & Santamaria (2015) concluded that jealous, insecure and controlling partners within both married and cohabiting intimate relationships served to demotivate and hinder the educational/career progress of female students living in the on-campus and off-campus residences. According to the WHO (2012) study, perpetrators of IPV maximised their control within intimate relationships where the victims and their child/children (if any) were financially dependent on them. While cultural and religious practices contribute to normalising the phenomenon of IPV, global trends and societal attitudes have invariably played a role in influencing attitude change towards the equal treatment of women and rights of children in an attempt to destabilise IPV through ongoing awareness programmes (Tsui & Santamaria, 2015).

1.2.2. Intimate Partner Violence in Africa and sub-Saharan Africa

The effects of IPV has far reaching consequences for the societies in which this phenomenon is prevalent. This also applies to the African and sub-Saharan context where this scourge is rife due to economic and cultural factors being intertwined. A study by Cools & Kotsadam (2017) carried out in thirty sub-Saharan countries, revealed that women abuse within lower income areas is normalised thereby increasing the prevalence of IPV in those contexts. For Cools & Kotsadam (2017), married women in their study were at a higher risk of experiencing IPV by their husbands, due to their economic dependency. While marriage can involve financial exchanges between both partners' families, it can result in a woman being treated as an object of ownership by the family she marries into. This translates to some women being forced to remain in abusive relationships due for financial reasons (Bamiwuye & Odimegwu, 2014). Hegemonic masculinities, cultural and social practices in sub-Sahara which entitles men to discipline their wife/wives as part of adhering to the norms of that society serve to limit a woman's ability to negotiate power such as sexual practices and family planning options in that relationship (Bamiwuye & Odimegwu, 2014; Ahinkorah, Dickson & Seidu, 2018). In addition to the physical injuries endured by victims of IPV, sexual assault contributes to the high HIV statistics in Africa compared to European and American transmission of HIV through violence (McCloskey, Boonzaier, Steinbrenner & Hunter, 2016).

Mukamana et al., (2020), argue that the rate of IPV in the African context is higher in rural areas than in urban areas. Low economic status combined with poor levels of education for the victim also play a role in how victims are positioned as vulnerable (Greene, Kane & Tol, 2017). The low education levels of victims contribute towards their lack of awareness of their basic human rights as well as their right to report their experiences of abuse (WHO, 2012). On the other hand, when women exercised their agency, incidents of IPV also increased as perpetrators strived to ensure that masculinities were not threatened (Cools & Kotsadam, 2017). The education levels of men also determine how they treat women in society. In Africa, men who were higher educated were less likely to engage in abusive practices due to them being in an informed position and realising the negative effects of IPV (Ahinkorah et al., 2018). Overall, in Ahinkorah et al.,'s (2018) study the low level of education was an area of concern for the prevalence of the high rate of IPV in various sub-Saharan countries. In a study carried in six sub-Saharan countries, Kenya and Zimbabwe reportedly had the highest IPV incidents in low income homes, while Nigeria and Cameroun recorded most cases in middle income contexts and Zambia and Mozambique had high victim statistics in rich households (Bamiwuye &

Odimegwu, 2014). Hence it is difficult to generalise on the prevalence of IPV in Africa and sub-Saharan Africa based on a sample of global studies as the contextual factors vary from country to country.

1.2.3. Intimate Partner Violence in South Africa

In South Africa a woman is murdered by her intimate partner every six hours with a femicide rate over six times higher than the global norm (Gordan & Collins, 2013) and keeping with the international phenomenon of females being predominantly victims (WHO, 2012). Access to weapons (Mathews et al., 2015), particularly firearms, contribute to the high levels of femicide amongst law enforcement officials who had the highest death rate of female partners recorded in 2015 (CSVR, 2016). South Africa also has one of the highest death rates involving serious acts of violence, including IPV (Mathews et al., 2015), despite having protective measures for victims enshrined in the South African Domestic Violence Act 116 (1998). In addition, not all cases of IPV are thoroughly investigated and brought to public knowledge, with selective attention being given to the socialite population. One of the most prominent cases being that of South African athlete, Oscar Pistorius, who was charged for the murder of his girlfriend on 14 February 2013 (Mathews et al., 2015). While HIV and AIDS is the leading reason for the high mortality rate in South Africa, IPV is ranked second as the cause of deaths amongst its citizens (Gordan, 2016).

In South Africa, one in four women is likely to experience IPV at some point in their lifetime (Gordan & Collins, 2013; Singh & Myende, 2017). The statistics for female homicide victims in the country indicate that over half the number succumb to fatal injuries related to IPV (Joyner, Rees & Honikman, 2015; Spencer et al., 2016). While the female population within heterosexual relationships face the greatest risk of experiencing IPV, non-normative gender (gay and lesbian) intimate partners are equally likely to experience violent encounters in intimate relationships (Rolle, Giardina, Caldarena, Gerino & Brustia, 2018). Rolle et al., (2018) posited that victims in non-normative gender relationships were just as likely to exhibit the side effects of IPV as victims in heterosexual relationships did. Furthermore, the statistics for the victims and perpetrators of IPV in a South African study showed intimate partners to be in a married relationship (Mathews et al., 2015).

South Africa is regarded as the 'Rainbow Nation' and is well known for its racial, social and cultural diversities. Many of its laws and social injustices were strongly influenced by previous

Apartheid practices of racism where hegemonic masculinities were constructed and supported by strong cultural and social patriarchal practices which regarded women as inferior beings. Historically, South African policies resulted in men of colour migrating from rural to urban areas for employment and in addition to the poor socio-economic, health and basic living conditions for people of colour, substance abuse, unemployment and feelings of oppression translated to violence on the next vulnerable rung of society and that being the women (Mathews et al., 2015). Past injustices still impose a vast range of challenges for women especially those of colour as well as for partners in non-normative gender relationships where they experience the triple bind of race, class and gender oppression (Singh & Myende, 2017).

According to the CSVR (2016) report approximately one third of children in South Africa are raised in homes where the fathers are absent. While this may have an adverse effect on the development and behaviour of some children, one cannot generalise that children who are raised in violent homes grow up to be violent adults. However, in the (CSVR, 2016) study, men who committed IPV were 3.5 times more likely to have been a victim of violence and 4 times more likely to have witnessed violence in their childhood. Statistics for female perpetrators were slightly lower standing at 3% more likely to having been either a victim of or a witness to IPV in their childhood (CSVR, 2016). Mathews et al., (2015) as well as Tsui & Santamaria (2015), concur that traumatic childhood experiences affect and define their role as intimate partners for male perpetrators. In comparison to first world countries, South African databases does not show updated statistics and investigations for mortalities related to IPV (Abrahams et al., 2009). According to Mathews et al., (2015), South African women are socialised into internalising and normalising partner violence as a measure of love, often overlooking episodes of IPV while focussing on the bigger picture of a settled family and a guaranteed source of income from her intimate partner. Hence normalising hegemonic masculinities and coercive behaviour affects the victims' decision to exercise their agency, thus repeating the cycle of IPV (Stern, Buikema & Cooper, 2016).

During the Covid-19 South African lockdown Levels 5 and 4 during March 2020, the increase in GBV and domestic violence rates saw the president imposing a ban on alcohol and cigarettes to reduce hospital trauma admissions, some of which included cases of violence against women and children. Alcohol consumption in South Africa added to the healthcare burdens experienced by hospitals during the pandemic where people infected with the COVID-19 virus could not access medical attention due to GBV and IPV trauma related cases occupying much

needed hospital space (Movendi International, 2020). South African studies show that alcohol and substance abuse at a time when IPV manifests, contributes to heightened serious injuries for its victims. The studies of Abrahams et al., (2009), found that over two thirds of perpetrators were under the influence of alcohol while perpetrating incidents of IPV. Furthermore, women in heterosexual intimate relationships with alcoholic partners were five times more at risk of facing IPV than women whose partners did not consume alcohol (CSVR, 2016). Ongoing research shows that there is a relationship between IPV and alcohol or substance abuse in South Africa (Peltzer & Pengpid, 2013) where increased alcohol consumption also heightens the prevalence of IPV (Greene et al., 2017).

1.2.4.   Intimate Partner Violence: An issue for university students

On a global level, IPV is a concern for the well-being of society at large, with a study by Libertin (2017) concluding that university students at some point during their studies face the likelihood of being affected by intimate violence, with female students being the target group. Unfortunately, incidents of IPV have also filtered further into university campus residences, with increased incidents in recent years across the different provinces in South Africa resulting in students fearing for their personal safety (Masike & Mofokeng, 2014; Singh, Mudaly & Singh-Pillay, 2015). This type of violence contributes to dysfunctional or unsafe campus residence communities, traumatic experiences for the victims and overall affects the successful completion of students' university studies (Singh & Myende, 2017). A study conducted by the WHO (2012) in South Africa revealed that almost half of females aged 13-23 years had experienced IPV within a dating relationship. This is a serious concern, given that the sample group comprised of participants ranging from the Intermediate Phase of primary school to tertiary education level, and during a period when they are navigating personality, sexuality and career path complexities. Controlling behaviours and coercive practices within intimate relationships impact negatively on the education and career paths of victims, relegating them to positions of financial dependency in future relationships (Tsui & Santamaria, 2015) and repeating the cycle of dominant hegemonic masculinities.

Issues of jealousy and controlling partners serve to stagnate the development and full potential for victims of IPV (Tsui & Santamaria, 2015; Spencer et al., 2016), thus perpetuating the cycle of gender inequality and violent societies. Dating back to 2008, media reports and studies showed that IPV surfaced in an incident at the University of the Western Cape (Clowes, Shefer, Fouten, Vergnani, & Jacobs, 2009), where a female student was stabbed in her university

campus residence room by her boyfriend who was also a student on that campus. Almost a decade later, media reports indicated that IPV was still prevalent at universities, with two fatal IPV incidents that took place in university campuses in 2018. Therefore, policies and strategies are essential to strengthen the code of conduct for all stakeholders within university property. Although the abovementioned incidents of IPV took place in different provinces and campus residences, Black African female students as victims were common for both cases. While many studies have focussed on IPV as a form of GBV in tertiary residences, this phenomenon is still prevalent despite attempts to reduce this scourge of violence in universities (Singh et al., 2015).

Studies have shown that the prevalence of IPV in different sectors of South African society, including universities, where incidents of femicide have been recorded, are rife, despite the country having one of the most progressive constitutions (Gordan & Collins, 2013; Spencer et al., 2016; Singh & Myende, 2017). While universities are perceived to be places where education is the primary purpose and students can be assured of their personal safety in the presence of peers and colleagues, these spaces have also become a haven for violent tendencies (Jagmohan & Nene, 2018) where students face the risk of becoming victims of the bourgeoning statistics of GBV including IPV (Singh & Myende, 2017). The prevalence of IPV has serious repercussions for students' welfare and careers, as those who are exposed to or experience IPV are prone to heightened stress levels that contribute to their poor attendance of lectures, an increased risk of acquiring sexually transmitted diseases, infections and unwanted pregnancies (Spencer et al., 2016; Bhana & Pillay, 2018).

According to Spencer et al., (2016), victims of IPV living in a university campus residence were at a higher risk of experiencing abuse on an ongoing basis as they lived on the site of violence compared to day students who could escape violence and the presence of their perpetrator by returning to their own homes at the end of the day. Xolile Nxumalo, a Mangosuthu University Technikon (MUT) student, who was shot by her boyfriend, an ex-student, in the campus residence in 2018 (Jagmohan & Nene, 2018), while Khensani Maseko, a student at Rhodes University who was raped in 2018 by her boyfriend (a fellow student) committed suicide when she did not receive retributive justice after reporting the incident to the university management (Ebrahim, 2018) are some examples of fatal incidents of IPV within the context of universities.

It is apparent from the above femicide and suicide incidents that university students are not immune to being victims of IPV as a form of Gender Based Violence (GBV). According to Mukamana et al., (2020), intimate partners between the ages of 25 and 29 years were most likely to experience IPV, with physical and sexual assault being the most common forms of abusive behaviours. These cases illustrate how South African society and universities are tasked with the protection of victims and student safety through GBV policies. The South African government has prioritised addressing poverty and unemployment issues through the National Development Plan (NDP) 2030, where necessary skills and training have been identified as drivers for achieving social equality (Zarenda, 2013). Limited finances also contribute to IPV where students from disadvantaged backgrounds are unable to access universities due to the high costs of a tertiary education thereby forcing them to consider alternate ways of acquiring funds through transactional relationships (Bhana & Pillay, 2018). Relationships forged with *Blessers*/*Sugar-Daddies* secure financial security, but at the price of normalising coercive behaviour, including forced sexual practices, disease transmission unwanted pregnancies and abortions (Gordan & Collins, 2013; Singh & Myende, 2017, Bhana & Pillay, 2018).

1.3. Intimate Partner Violence and female agency: Destabilising the passive victim position

Research findings of Gordan & Collins (2013), carried out at a South African university campus residence showed gendered roles to be a contributing factor for the incidents of IPV against female students within that institution. Despite the literature that shows females as passive recipients of IPV (Simister, 2012), there are emerging studies where women exercise their agency and display an effort to shatter the social norm of being the docile victim. Studies by Singh & Myende (2017) and Bhana & Pillay (2018) revealed that although social and cultural practices are often responsible for creating gender norms, female students in universities showed evidence of being in an informed position and understood the value of exercising their agency in intimate relationships. In the studies of Singh & Myende (2018) and Bhana & Pillay (2018), female students displayed characteristics of resilience towards IPV by asserting their position of negotiating power within an intimate relationship thus exercising their female agency. It was evident that not all female students were accepting of IPV, although some had prior experience of IPV as a cultural norm (Singh & Myende, 2017). Through progressive thinking and transition within the different social contexts and awareness programmes that highlight the damaging effects of IPV, women are drawn to empowering

themselves and breaking the culture of female subordination (Singh & Myende, 2017). This is not to mean that male intimate partners do not contribute to the statistics of being victims of IPV, but studies show that a high percentage of domestic violence victims are women and girls (CSVR, 2016; Hines, 2009; McDowell, 2014).

1.4. Motivation

IPV within GBV is not novel to universities in South Africa, as the mobilisation of protesting students has highlighted the need to focus on their safety, especially female students, who are usually the victims of violence (Gordan & Collins, 2013; Masike & Mofokeng, 2014; Bhana & Pillay, 2018). This study focussed on the lived experiences of university students where I examined male and female students' understandings, experiences and exposure to IPV in a university campus residence. The study aimed to explore IPV pertaining to university students, the complexity of this type of violence and challenges faced by those exposed to incidents of IPV. Despite recent studies in the South African context related to IPV, one would expect the research results of Gordan & Collins (2013); Spencer et al., (2016); Singh & Myende (2017) as well as Bhana & Pillay (2018) to propel universities to act swiftly by dealing with reported incidents promptly, yet IPV in universities persist. The intention of this study was to draw attention to the ways in which victims of IPV accommodated or resisted this type violence.

The intention of this study was also to gain a deeper insight into the phenomenon of IPV, as my Bachelor of Honours degree focused on female university students' understandings and experiences of GBV in a university campus residence. The data in that small-scale study revealed that IPV was one of the forms of GBV that was prevalent amongst undergraduate and postgraduate students living in the university campus residence. My honours study focused on the understandings and experiences of female students within heterosexual relationships, where they could reflect on and narrate their understandings and experiences of GBV whilst living in a university campus residence. According to the participants of my previous research, the university in which the study was located had acceptable security mechanisms in place, guards to patrol the campus and counsellors whom students could approach if they required any assistance, yet IPV was prevalent despite these security and student support measures being in place. While building on my previous study, I would like to focus on a more holistic view of university students' understandings, experiences and exposure to IPV including male students in this study. I was also interested in finding out how students approached the issue of seeking

assistance had there been a need for it from the relevant university and law enforcement authorities.

As a researcher, what piqued my interest in this area of study was firstly the high South African crime statistics involving physical and sexual assault suffered by women and young girls. Secondly, my concern was that the perpetrators of these crimes were either intimate partners or familiar with their victims. This study focused on prospective and practising educators to enable me to understand how this cohort could be positive role models in schools while being victims of IPV, and how students who perpetrate IPV in an institution, such as a university campus residence, can be responsible for the safety of vulnerable children in schools. Furthermore, as an educator, I have personally observed incidents of stalking and physical violence on female students in schools, where these atrocities remain undocumented and unattended, thus protecting the perpetrators, who were mainly male educators. My interest in exploring IPV within a university campus residence in this dissertation allowed me to gain insight into both male and female heterosexual and non-normative gender students' experiences, exposure, perceptions and observations regarding their understandings of IPV, and to what extent it is pervasive in the university campus residence. I was also interested in the catalysts of IPV and the personal safety of victims while living in the university campus residences, given the dynamics of the lack of parental guidance, support and adult supervision.

1.5. Problem statement

Whilst there is a plethora of research conducted around the issue of GBV in university campuses including the residences, there is a limited number of studies that focus on IPV within campus residences in South Africa. Previous studies conducted in South African universities show that IPV in university campuses is rife (Gordan & Collins, 2013; Singh & Myende, 2017; Bhana & Pillay, 2018). It has been illustrated in scholarship that there are social, health and implications for the further development of careers for the perpetrators and victims of IPV (Spencer et al., 2016). Considering the alarming statistics of IPV rates in South Africa (WHO, 2012; Spencer et al., 2016, CSVR, 2016; Libertin, 2017) the progressively decreasing ages of the victims and national scourge of IPV is an area of concern. In addition, little research has been conducted with male students with this study intending to explore the phenomenon of IPV as experiences by male students', which may introduce new and interesting research findings. Universities are supposed to be safe spaces where all students, regardless of their

gender or socio-economic backgrounds, can study in a secure environment without the fear of facing harm or abuse (Singh & Myende, 2017).

My reason for focussing on this university is because I have previous research experience in this context where the results show gaps for further studies. Furthermore, as a student in this institution, my access to the university campus residence is easier than if I had to conduct this study in another university. This study explores students' understandings, experiences and exposure to IPV in a university campus residence and how their participation may serve to contribute towards unpacking the dynamics of IPV within a university setting where I may have the opportunity to witness transformation regarding the review of university policy focussing on domestic violence. In the absence of this information, it is not possible to locate IPV and its prevalence amongst the youth.

1.6.   Objectives and Research Questions

This study aimed to explore students' perspectives regarding Intimate Partner Violence in a university campus residence in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal Province.

1.6.1.   Objectives

- To explore university students' understandings of IPV in a university campus residence
- To gain a deeper insight into students' experiences and exposure to IPV in a university campus residence.
- To explore how the victims of IPV (if any) in the university campus residence protect themselves or seek assistance from the relevant authorities.

1.6.2.   Research questions

1. What are university students' understandings of IPV in a university campus residence?
2. What are university students' experiences and exposure to IPV in a university campus residence?
3. How do the victims of IPV (if any) access assistance from the relevant authorities to address IPV in a university campus residence?

1.7. The study context

This study took place in a selected teaching and learning university in KwaZulu-Natal Province, South Africa, located in Pinetown, a well-developed urban area inland of Durban. It is surrounded by a residential area, with access to amenities via public and private transport with communication services, including internet access. The campus residence buildings are situated on the premises which has a fenced periphery and where Risk Management Services (RMS) are responsible for monitoring entrance into the campus and ensuring the safety of everyone at the university. The campus consists of a diverse population of day students as well as those who reside in the university campus residence, which is located away from the main academic building. The students living in the campus residences hail from different racial, social and economic backgrounds. The campuses are divided into three categories, namely: female only, male only and the mixed gender residence where some students cohabit as couples. The students share communal facilities such as the entertainment (TV) room, dining hall and kitchen. While some students utilize the residence kitchen in each building, others cook in their rooms.

This is a qualitative study located within an interpretivist paradigm. The study sample consisted of fourteen female students and ten male students, where twenty-two students are originally from KwaZulu-Natal and the remaining two students are from other provinces in South Africa. The research was conducted using purposive sampling where my initial participant was a resident student who worked in the university library and in conjunction with the snowballing technique I was able to identify and recruit students who were keen in participating in this study (Dowling & Brown, 2010). As this study took place during the Covid-19 pandemic, the research guidelines from the university prohibited close contact or face-to-face interviews, hence the need for telephonic interviews. Electronic mail (e-mail) was used to send students the consent forms, while telephone and WhatsApp voice-calls were used for interviewing purposes. The individual interviews were conducted at a time that was convenient for the participants using a semi-structured interview schedule with open-ended and probing questions where necessary. Participants used a pseudonym to protect their identity and were at liberty to withdraw from the study at any point without fear of victimization (Bertram & Christiansen, 2014) if they were uncomfortable with the nature of this study. In the informed consent, as a preliminary caution tool, participants were offered the support of the university psychological services in the event of a need for trauma counselling. The interview was recorded, stored on an electronic device and transcribed verbatim for data analysis after the verification process.

The transcripts were returned to the participants via e-mail for verification and possible changes to utterances made in the interview. Thereafter, the data was coded according to themes drawn from recurring statements in the participants' statements and by reading through the transcripts several times. The data was finally analyzed thematically using the literature review in chapter two to support or negate the statements in conjunction with the theoretical frameworks that formed the basis for arguments. Drawing from the data, I used the findings to address the study objectives, with suggestions for interventions strategies and a way forward regarding the phenomenon of IPV in a university campus residence.

1.8. Theoretical Frameworks: Gender Relational theory and Social Constructionism

A theoretical framework is important to underpin any research, as it provides an analytical lens to either guide the study direction or interpret the responses of the participants in a study. In this research, two theoretical frameworks were used to gain an in-depth understanding of IPV as a phenomenon and guide the data analysis in Chapter 4. Firstly, Connell's Gender Relations theory (2012) interrogates gender roles that are largely constructed on unequal gender power relations. Gendered roles masqueraded as culture and religion become institutionalised through tertiary education or form part of political dynamics where they become socially acceptable norms for men and women and their treatment in society (Ngabaza, Daniels, Franck, & Maluleke, 2013). The second theoretical framework is rooted in Burr's (2003) Social Constructionism theory, which focusses on the influences of social norms through education, culture and behavioural practices that are reinforced by parents or caregivers, and how it affects gender relations in different societies. In this theory, Burr (2003) posits that socialisation is not natural, rather it is influenced through structures in society that normalise gendered patterns to justify unequal power relations for men and women. These theoretical frameworks are explained in greater detail in the literature review which is the next chapter of this study.

1.9. Organisation of this study

This study consists of five chapters with a summary of each chapter offered below:

Chapter 1. Introduction. This chapter introduced the reader to the research topic. In this chapter, the statement of the problem was established with the researcher's justification for why there was a need to conduct this study related to the phenomenon of IPV in a university campus residence while I alluded to my previous study and current position as a professional educator. Here I offered a glimpse of IPV from a global, African/Sub-

Saharan, South African and finally from a local tertiary institution perspective. The background and motivation, purpose of the study, objectives, research questions and rationale for undertaking the study were clearly outlined. The outlay of the study per chapter was explained briefly here.

Chapter 2. Literature Review. This chapter focussed on literature based on previous research related to IPV in various contexts. Information is reviewed about IPV from a global to a local context and serves to identify gaps and weak areas from previous studies related to IPV. In addition, the two theoretical frameworks from a gender perspective are presented, these being Connell's (2012) Gender Relational theory and Burr's (2003) Social Constructionism theory, as they form the basis for the analysis of the data in Chapter 4.

Chapter 3. Methodology. The research methods and design are outlined, including the research processes offered, sampling methods, data collection strategies, ethical considerations and limitations pertaining to qualitative research within an interpretive paradigm. In this chapter the data collection during the COVD-19 pandemic according to the university's guidelines is discussed in detail. This chapter describes how the data was transcribed, verified and alterations made where indicated by the students. This chapter also allowed me as a researcher to engage in reflexivity and reflect on the events leading up to the conclusion of the study while taking into consideration the contextual factors and my own fears and frustrations amongst other emotions.

Chapter 4. Data analysis. This chapter presents the participants' details, their profiles being constructed for a better understanding of them and their relationship to the data. The data which was thematically coded according to the frequency of the participants' responses were discussed using the theoretical frameworks as a gender lens and where the three study Objectives were substantiated using relevant quotes from the interviews with participants. Where necessary, some themes were further discussed as sub-themes to offer the reader a better understanding of how the data was analysed. This chapter prepares the reader for the findings in the next and last chapter.

Chapter 5. Discussion and Conclusion. This chapter addressed the extent to which each research question was addressed by detailing the findings of each objective. These are substantiated with the findings of other studies, and suggestions made for addressing IPV in a university campus residence and the possible benefits of such for the health and safety of students. The study concludes by outlining the limitations that may have affected the findings, the significance of the results and possible areas for future research.

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1.10. Conclusion

As the social and contextual factors are always in a state of flux (Kimmel, Hearn & Connell, 2005), the constructions of gender relations must be reviewed on a continuous basis through research. University students in South Africa, as well as elsewhere in the world, often explore their independence and intimate relationships for the first time (Bhana & Pillay, 2018), with studies showing that females are more vulnerable and at risk of violence and abuse due to unequal gender norms, where their positions of subordination and financial dependence can be attributed to their limited economic power (Bhana & Anderson, 2013; Singh & Myende, 2017). The lack of family and institutional support for victims of IPV in university campus residences also increase the statistics for victims (Cooke, 2018; Spencer et al., 2016) where intervention from the relevant authorities comes when unfortunately, fatalities are involved. Universities are primarily institutions where the culture of learning should foster the professional growth of individuals and nurture the development of their career paths. However, these very tertiary institutions have become spaces where personal safety is a major concern due to violence (Gordan & Collins, 2013). There is limited literature regarding IPV in tertiary institutions, specifically in South Africa, making it important for institutions, and society at large, to understand what students face in an environment that, while focusing on their academic instruction, also need to provide opportunities to learn life lessons, and how to address their associated challenges.

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

2.1. Introduction

This chapter is a literature review based on extant scholarship that focuses on Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) in the global, sub-Saharan, South African and more specifically university contexts. The literature details IPV as it occurs in university campus residences, where violence in intimate relationships serve to the detriment of students within those communities. IPV does not exist in isolation from other types of Gender Based Violence (GBV). It is important to understand this phenomenon in conjunction with social constructions of gendered roles, male dominance, homophobia and unequal power relations, which give rise to violent activities in university campus residences (Masike & Mofokeng, 2014). Young people, including those studying in universities, experience independence and the freedom to exercise their human rights, sometimes for the first time in their lives, and here rights are closely associated with social responsibilities. While some adolescents have the necessary life skills to fend for themselves and ensure their personal safety, communal living in a university campus residence involves coping with the social behaviour of other students. Some students showed a tendency to experiment with new ways of socialising amongst peers and other stakeholders within the institution (Bhana & Pillay, 2018). The focus on university campus residences seeks to draw from scholars and their studies to understand IPV in university campus residences. This chapter is an extension of the previous chapter where the theoretical frameworks of Connell's Gender Relational (2012) and Burr's (2003) social constructionism theories serve as analytical tools to interpret the generated data presented in chapter 4.

The literature reviews the phenomenon of IPV with a focus on various components, such as a working definition, the types and associated gendered roles, context and role of race, class and gender, as well as its occurrence on university residences. It addresses issues related to under reporting, student safety, alcohol and substance abuse, transactional relationships and female agency, risky behaviour and the effects of IPV.

2.2. Intimate Partner Violence: A working definition for this study

While there are many definitions of IPV, the most suitable working definition for the purposes of this study is the University of KwaZulu-Natal [UKZN]: Gender Based Violence [GBV], (2017) policy. This is a more contemporary definition of IPV and best suited for this study context. The UKZN policy regarding GBV includes IPV and takes into consideration intimate relationships that are not restricted to the domestic scene of a household where people may or

may not be intimate partners. The definition of IPV for this study henceforth *"means any act of violence committed between persons within a domestic relationship, including a) physical abuse; b) sexual abuse; c) emotional, verbal and psychological abuse; d) economic abuse; e) intimidation; f) harassment; g) stalking; h) damage to property i) entry into the complainant's residence without consent, where the parties do not share the same residence; or i) any other controlling or abusive behaviours towards the complainants where such conduct harms, or may cause imminent harm to, the safety, health or well-being of the complainant."* (UKZN: Gender Based Violence Policy, 2017, p2). For the purpose of my study, the definition of IPV, according to the UKZN: GBV (2017) policy is most relevant, as it lends itself to identifying the dynamics of intimate relationships and partners which will contribute to understanding this phenomenon in the context of my study. The next heading examines the various types of IPV, where the different forms indicated in the literature are detailed.

2.3. Types of Intimate Partner Violence

The UKZN: GBV (2017) policy recognises the various forms of IPV and here I allude to physical violence, coerced sexual practices, emotional and psychological as well as economic abuse under the different sub-headings.

2.3.1. Physical violence

Physical violence within IPV is one of the most common types, including sexual assault and a variety of violent acts, such as beating, slapping, pushing, shoving, hitting, kicking, stabbing and choking, the use of a blunt object, firearm or other weapons, punching resulting in victims suffering fractures or broken bones, as well as and being burnt intentionally (World Health Organisation [WHO], 2012). While victims are hospitalised for injuries resulting from physical violence, others succumb to their injuries (The Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation [CSVR], 2016), resulting in the escalated statistics for femicide in South Africa (Gordan, 2016). In one of their South African studies, Abrahams et al., (2009) identified a high prevalence of physical violence injuries caused by a blunt force, while strangulation and asphyxiation were other forms of violent tactics used by perpetrators. According to Isaacs (2016), South Africa has one of the highest rates of IPV, where physical violence is the most likely contributing factor for the injuries sustained by victims. According to Kheswa (2015) and Magudulela (2017), perpetrators of IPV are most likely to have witnessed or experienced IPV in their own homes, where men serve as poor role models and wield power over their victims due to social norms that consider men as being the dominant force within intimate

relationships. The following sub-heading examines how women and vulnerable groups within society are forced into sexual intimacy.

2.3.2.   Coerced sexual practices

South Africa has been cited as being one of the countries with the highest levels of violence internationally (Gordan & Collins, 2013), with one of the leading rape statistics on a global level (Human Rights Watch, 2010; Gordan, 2016). According to Suffla, van Niekerk, Duncan and Atkins (2004), coerced sexual practices involves forcing a victim to engage in sexual intercourse against their will and performing sexual acts regarded as degrading to the victim. In a study by Hust, Rodger & Bayly (2017), the different forms of media and cultural norms influence the behaviour of the perpetrators of coercive practices. According to Fair & Vanyur (2011) and Singh, Mabaso, Mudaly & Singh-Pillay (2016), students who experienced IPV as a result of sexual coercion were most likely to face health risks, such as disease transmission and unplanned or unwanted pregnancies. For Bhana & Anderson (2013), girls aged 17-19 years acceded to coerced sexual intimacy due to their fear of their boyfriends leaving them for girls who were willing to engage in sexual relations. Hence the fear of being abandoned by an intimate partner can force women to participate in forced behaviour although they are aware of the health and safety risks involved. According to Coker (2007) and Libertin (2017), female students who experienced sexual coercion were more likely to face a decision regarding having an abortion or going through the process of an abortion. Given the high prevalence of HIV transmissions in South Africa, coercive sexual practices serve to compound the control of HIV, AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases, in which the state invests a large portion of its health budget (Gordan, 2016). Given the risks involved with coercive sexual practices and the pressure to make decisions within intimate relationships, the next sub-heading looks at emotional and psychological abuse as types of IPV.

2.3.3.   Emotional and psychological abuse

This sub-heading explores how emotional and psychological abuse can take the forms of verbally degrading the victim constantly and humiliating them, either privately or in public. The type of abuse within intimate relationships can take place over an extended period of time (WHO, 2012; CSVR, 2016), and where alcohol or substance abuse is prevalent, either before or after such incidents, verbal aggression was more likely to increase amongst university students (Fair & Vayur, 2011). Victims, regardless of age, do not disclose experiences of emotional or psychological abuse (Abrahams et al., 2009), either out of denial that the problem

exists, an allegiance towards the perpetrator or the belief that the perpetrator will work towards improving their communication skills and refrain from violent behaviour in future. Recent research by Stark (2019) revealed a new finding referred to as *gaslighting,* where the perpetrator convinces the victim that he/she is experiencing mental challenges, and on an ongoing basis this tends to affect the victim's self-confidence and interaction with other people. For Stark (2019), the trust invested by the victim in an intimate relationship leads them to believe that they have a medical concern indeed and accede to the demands of their perpetrator. For Bhana & Anderson (2013) emotional/ psychological abuse IPV does not discriminate against age where adolescent girls are also vulnerable to this abuse. When they experience peer pressure and forced sexual intimacy at a young age, these girls are unprepared for the responsibilities of pregnancies and HIV infection. From the studies of Stark (2019) and Bhana & Pillay (2018), it is evident that IPV affects adults and the youth and whose future intimate relationships are shaped around their experiences of having violent partners at an early age. Gender power relations give rise to the constructions of masculinities, and how men control the decisions and dominate over women and non-normative gender persons in an intimate relationship (Brady & Hayes, 2018) where emotional abuse through stalking equally affects the psychological wellbeing of the victim. The following sub-heading focusses on economic abuse as a form of IPV.

2.3.4. Economic abuse

In this type of abuse, the victim of IPV is denied access to finances, including their own earnings (Patra et al., 2018). The ability to adequately provide for family members and their needs elevates the status of male breadwinners, giving them a powerful position within the household domain (Bamiwuye & Odimegwu, 2014). Men feel either emasculated or vulnerable when they are threatened by limited finances, which makes them feel that there are limits to the power they can wield over women and other family members (Bamiwuye & Odimegwu, 2014). In cases where female intimate partners have limited access to finances or the opportunity to make economic decisions in an intimate relationship, incidents of IPV are more likely to be perpetrated by men who perceive themselves as the head of a household based on social constructions of men as providers for their family members (Ngabaza et al., 2013). In cases of teenage pregnancies, women who depend on their partners for financial support face a higher risk of IPV compared to women who have spending power in an intimate relationship (Chege, 2005; Bhana & Pillay, 2018). A South African study by Bhana (2013) revealed that

not all victims of IPV where economic abuse was perpetrated saw themselves as being violated, which demonstrates how economic abuse is normalised as acceptable in certain societies.

This section reviewed the various forms of IPV, and while some are explicitly evident, others assume intangible forms, where the poor rate of reporting abuse renders it difficult to assist the victims with medical assistance and the perpetrators with counselling. The next heading focusses on one of the main drivers for perpetrating IPV, that being the gendered roles of partners within an intimate relationship.

2.4. Gendered roles in an intimate relationship

The literature suggests the need to understand the role that gender plays in intimate relationships, with issues such as gender and power, the construction of masculinities and femininities and their connection to IPV, and non-normative gender relationships and IPV being explored.

2.4.1. Gender and power

Where men cannot exercise control over women, incidents of violence increase, which can be attributed to the former trying to keep the latter in positions of subservience and subordinating (Kheswa, 2015). Hence, violence against women becomes a means to demonstrate male dominance and positions of authority while maintaining the social norm of male privilege (Jewkes, 2002). This sub-heading focusses on gender and power within intimate relationships, and how roles of domination and influence the prevalence of IPV. Singh & Myende (2017), in a South African based university study, and Voth Schrag (2017), in an American based college report, found that race was a contributing factor for IPV experienced, especially for female students. Despite conducting research in different parts of the world, both sets of authors deduced from their respective data that women of colour experienced a higher risk of experiencing IPV, where, from a young age, girls are socialised to be subservient, docile and mindful of their duties in terms of household chores and childcare. The social norms of gender regimes relegate women to positions of inferiority in the workplace and their homes, with a relative powerlessness in the questioning of male dominance (Connell, 1995). While men and women are equally social beings, patriarchal hierarchies within certain cultures limit female agency, where self-embodiment subject women to being treated as objects for sexual pleasure and reproduction (Connell, 2012). For Ngabaza et al., (2013), women who initiate love in heterosexual relationships are regarded as transgressing the social order of male dominance.

The authors contend that cultural norms in the African context entitle men to the bodies of women, which has an impact on their health and social well-being. Cultural differences, poverty and substance abuse have long been argued as factors contributing to IPV, where men resort to IPV to overcome their own inadequacies and manage their stress levels (Bhana, 2013).

According to Shepherd (2008), women are aware that they are constantly vulnerable to different types of violence perpetrated by men, hence they adjust their behaviour and lifestyle to ensure their personal safety as well as the safety of other family members. This inevitably constructs women as vulnerable and portrays them as easy targets for IPV (Singh & Myende, 2017). For Ngabaza et al., (2013), the gendered position of educated women in universities reflects their treatment in broader society. Although social and cultural practices are often responsible for creating unequal gender norms for men and women, recent studies demonstrate a trend towards female students exercising agency and displaying resilience towards the violent tendencies of their intimate partners (Singh & Myende, 2017; Magudulela, 2017, Bhana & Pillay, 2018). These studies indicate that not all female students position themselves as vulnerable, despite some having previously experienced IPV as a cultural and/or social norm in their broader society (Singh & Myende, 2017). While great strides have been made in terms of democracy in South Africa, with evidence of gender equality in the representation of women in politics, the disparity in the statistics for men as victims of IPV shows the gaps in gender power relations, with the assumption that men cannot be victims of IPV (CSVR, 2016). The next sub-heading examines the construction of masculinities and its role in perpetrating IPV.

2.4.2. Construction of masculinities and its connection to Intimate Partner Violence

This section shows the findings of studies where social norms within certain South African cultures construct men as pursuers of romance, aggressive, emotionally strong and able to demonstrate their sexual prowess without inhibitions. (Ngabaza et al., 2013; Kheswa, 2015). Men are depicted as dominating, with little regard for obtaining consent for sexual intimacy, with the perception that violence is masculine contributing to the social constructions of male authority and abusive practices being intertwined (Hust et al., 2017). As indicated earlier in this chapter, while both men and women can be perpetrators of IP, the proportion of women as victims far exceed the that of men (CSVR, 2016), and the social perception that violence is masculine contributes to the fear of questioning male authority. Violence in various forms can be replicated through the constant reinforcement of hegemonic masculinities and stereotypical gender roles, where men are regarded as superior beings and entitled to control relationships

(Bowker, 1998; Wedgewood, 2009; Bhana & Pillay, 2018). The findings of Bowker (1998), Wedgewood (2009) and Bhana & Pillay (2018) show a consistency in how men perceive themselves as dominant and superior in society, including in intimate relationships. This privilege experienced by men is demonstrated in the findings of the Human Rights Watch (2010) study, where school boys feel the same entitlement as adult men do over women, and where spaces intended for education are feared for the perpetration of physical and sexual assault by known males. The further lack of punishment for such acts of violence, including sexual assault, can be regarded as responsible for its transfer from schools to tertiary institutions (Zavala, Spohn & Alarid, 2019). Zavala et al., (2019) posit that social and cultural gender norms are responsible for the subservient positions relegated to women, in that when a man has multiple intimate sexual encounters within heterosexual relationships his behaviour is considered masculine and a socially accepted form of demonstrating his sexuality (Ngabaza et al., 2013; Kheswa, 2015; CSVR, 2016).

The challenge in addressing IPV is whether society is ready to deconstruct masculinities, negotiate equal gender power relations and revolutionise social norms (Connell, 2012; Singh & Myende, 2017), thereby truly aligning itself with the South African constitution, where equal opportunities for men and women are enshrined. University campus residences are not immune to the effects of patriarchal practices due to the communal environment that recreate the cycle of unequal power positions (Clowes, Shefer, Fouten, Vergnani, & Jacobs, 2009; Voth Schrag, 2017). Where men experience IPV, they tend to report their physical assault where their injury/ injuries require medical attention thus highlighting the male fear of feeling emasculated in an intimate relationship (McDowell, 2014). Where social norms regarding masculinities and patriarchal ideologies are threatened, men feel the need to preserve violent behaviour as a means of exerting their authority over women, regardless of how detrimental this ideology can be (Kheswa, 2015). Having dealt with masculinities, the next sub-heading examines the construction of femininities in relation to IPV.

2.4.3. Construction of femininities and its connection to Intimate Partner Violence

While the social constructions of masculinities in the previous sub-heading demonstrated patriarchal dominance, this one explores the constructions of femininities and their role regarding IPV in a university campus residence. IPV and other forms of GBV constantly threaten the welfare and productivity of its victims especially where they must recuperate from physical and emotional/ psychological abuse (WHO, 2012; CSVR, 2016). This was no different

for female university students, who had to adjust their movements in order to ensure their personal safety or face becoming a statistic for sexual assault (Singh, Mudaly & Singh-Pillay, 2015). While South Africa is known for its high crime and violence rates (Gordan & Collins, 2013), IPV is especially rife in societies where systems of hegemonic masculinities are preserved. It is here that children learn that IPV is not a form of GBV but rather the male authoritative figure maintaining control as head of a household (Kheswa, 2015). Within these contexts, women are perceived as self-sacrificing and expected to remain in abusive or toxic relationships for altruistic purposes. In turn, women consider having an intimate partner to be more important than being stigmatised as a single person within their society (Bhana, 2013).

Although there is an inclination for a victim of IPV to self-blame for the abuse that is experienced, Singh & Myende's (2017) study showed that despite it being rife in a campus residence, not all female students positioned themselves as weak and unable to assert authority in an intimate relationship. These roles and relationship dynamics impact on both partners' lives. Physical assault is a result of patriarchal practices where violence towards women is normalised as an acceptable means of conflict resolution by observing fathers or other male figures in the family beating women (Kheswa, 2015). Gordan & Collins (2013) noted that unequal gender roles contributed to IPV being rife in university campus residences, which is unfortunate, given that South Africa has one of the most progressive constitutions. While studies indicate how the construction of femininities contribute towards IPV, non-normative gender relationships cannot be overemphasised with regards to the perpetration of IPV (Connell, 2012), with a need for further research regarding gay and lesbian relationships which will be discussed in the next sub-heading.

2.4.4. Non-normative gender relationships and Intimate Partner Violence

In South Africa as well as elsewhere, there is limited literature related to IPV perpetrated within non-normative gender relationships in the context of university campus residences. According to Rolle, Giardina, Caldarena, Gerino & Brustia (2018), intimate partners in non-normative gender relationships are just as likely to experience IPV as heterosexual couples. For Rolle et al., (2018) certain contextual factors hinging on unequal gender power relationships render non-normative gender relationships as a social taboo. Despite limited literature, the findings of studies that have been conducted thus far indicate that IPV is prevalent in non-normative gender relationships. However, due to social constructions of heteronormative intimate relationships, the abuse within gay and lesbian relationships is elusive to public knowledge

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compared to other forms of violence, for example GBV. In South Africa gay and lesbian relationships are given equal recognition as heterosexual relationships and IPV within non-normative gender relationships is accorded equal attention as IPV within heterosexual relationships within the Domestic Violence Act 116 of 1998. For Sorenson & Thomson (2009), the term IPV for most countries is used specifically in its definition to include violence perpetrated within non-normative gender relationships in most countries.

For Edwards & Sylaska (2013), the social stigmas and taboos associated with youth self-identifying as Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, and Intersex (LGBTQI) results in the concealment of their gender identities. Whilst gay and lesbian couples face similar consequences of IPV as heterosexual victims, bisexual women experience a greater possibility of being a victim of IPV due to their relationships with violent men and women (Rolle et al., 2018). For Rolle et al., (2018), bisexual women who experienced violence within heterosexual relationships normalised aggression displayed within lesbian relationships as well. For Sorenson & Thomas (2009), lesbian relationships were twice as likely to be violent, with children of partners in non-normative gender relationships requiring more counselling for IPV related incidents than those whose parents were in a heterosexual relationship. Sorenson & Thomas contend that IPV within non-normative gender relationships can be a challenge, as the perpetrator may threaten to expose the relationship in societies where LGBTQI genders or non-normative intimate relationships are taboo, and where access to counsellors for IPV within non-normative gender relationships is limited or insufficiently trained to cope with such partnerships. Due to their overwhelming fear for societies' reaction towards homophobia, victims accede to the controlling behaviours of their perpetrators, who capitalise on their vulnerabilities and exploit them based on the lack of family and peer support systems (Sorenson & Thomas, 2009). In addition, Sorenson & Thomas (2009) posit that where employment and career paths hinge on a person's gender, non-normative gender victims of IPV display a tendency to hesitate in divulging their abuse for fear that this can impact on their career and employment. The literature suggests that non-normative gender couples face the same risks as heterosexual couples, which this study will explore. The following heading focusses on the various contexts of IPV focussing on the global and challenges.

2.5. Contexts of Intimate Partner Violence

On an international level IPV has been identified as a social scourge with devastating effects for the victims, their families and the perpetrating party (CSVR, 2016). This heading examines

the various contexts and factors influencing IPV on a global scale, in the African and South African scenes thereby offering an insight to how this phenomenon mutates and prevails in different societies.

2.5.1. Intimate Partner Violence: A global phenomenon

Globally, IPV is a gross transgression of a person's basic human rights (Cools & Kotsadam, 2017), and while men as victims cannot be overlooked, the majority of studies related to the prevalence of IPV in various contexts show women to be the main victims (Abramsky et al., 2011; World Health Organisation, 2012; Tsui & Santamaria, 2014; Singh, Mabaso, Mudaly & Singh-Pillay, 2015; Libertin, 2017; Patra et al., 2018, Bhana & Pillay, 2018). According to the WHO (2012) report, IPV affects women of various ages globally, and is most rife in cohabiting relationships or where women marry at a young age. In a WHO (2012) study, the findings show that victims of IPV tend to weigh their options carefully, often considering the welfare of children and other dependents before prioritising their personal safety, and while economic factors play a role in determining the perpetrators and victims of this social scourge, education and access to healthcare in different societies are reflected as contributors for IPV to prevail in different contexts. In a global study by Abramsky et al., (2011) conducted in Bangladesh, Brazil, Ethiopia, Japan, Namibia, Peru, Samoa, Thailand, Union State of Serbia and Montenegro, South Africa and Tanzania in both urban and rural areas, the results reveal that IPV is grossly underreported, despite its burdening effect on the health sector.

The above study by Abramsky et al., (2011) used random sampling, with the research instrument being a standardised questionnaire translated into 14 languages to accommodate language barriers for communicating with participants. Ethical clearance was granted by the WHO and the participants' race groups ranged from African, American and Asian from various educational backgrounds, depending on the context of each country. The results for the American and South African contexts showed IPV to be at its lowest at either end of the spectrum, that being when women were either highly educated or had limited access to education. Where education levels were low, victims of IPV did not contest their abuse, but when partners had equal access to higher education, they responded more favourably to programmes targeted at curbing IPV (Abramsky et al., 2011). For Libertin (2017), studies conducted in the USA showed IPV in universities to be an extension of the limited support learners receive in high school dating relationships where abusive experiences of dating relationships as adolescents affect future intimate relationships in adulthood. A study by Tsui

& Santamaria (2015) showed that despite being on the higher rung of an educated society, female university students in married and cohabiting relationships experience IPV, with their focus on achieving a career goal being compromised. Globally, despite economic and social factors contributing to IPV, education is also a driver for determining the prevalence of IPV, while the following sub-heading examines IPV in the African context.

2.5.2. Intimate Partner Violence: The African context

Although domestic violence is a global issue, a study by Bamiwuye & Odimegwu (2014; Mukamana, Machakanja & Adjei, 2020) found this social challenge to have a high prevalence in the African context, where at least 1 in 3 Zimbabwean women experience IPV at some time in their lives. IPV has been found to be related to the high levels of femicide in Zimbabwe with perpetrators of femicide being intimate partners in most cases (Bamiwuye & Odimegwu, 2014). Within sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), cultural norms that overlook spousal violence allow men to physically assault their wives, thus ensuring that unequal gender norms for men and women are reproduced on an inter-generational level (Mukamana et al., 2020). This in turn gives the wife limited abilities to negotiate power in the relationship, including safe sexual practices with the use of condoms and family planning options (Bhana, 2013; Bamiwuye & Odimegwu, 2014; Ahinkorah, Dickson & Seidu, 2018). In a study by Bamiwuye & Odimegwu (2014) carried out in six countries, Zimbabwe and Kenya reportedly had the highest incidents of IPV in low-income homes, Nigeria and Cameroon recorded most IPV cases in middle-income contexts, whilst Zambia and Mozambique had high victim statistics in rich households. Hence, context plays an important role in determining the prevalence of this phenomenon. Mukamana et al., (2020) argue that the rate of IPV in their study was higher in rural areas than urban areas, where low economic statuses and limited education for women contributed to their poor self-esteem, thus making them more vulnerable to ongoing experiences of IPV. For Mukamana et al., (2020), when victims were unaware of their human rights, they accepted social norms of patriarchy, and perceived reporting abuse as a transgression of the social order for the context in which they lived. According to Cools & Kotsadam (2017), although women in SSA could make household decisions that affected other family members, this did not offer them immunity from being victims of IPV themselves, as violence was a means to ensure that they adhered to their domestic responsibilities. Relating IPV to the youth, and keeping with the objectives of this study, the literature from Libertin (2017), Kheswa (2015) and Bhana & Pillay (2018) show that peer pressure and the need to conform to the behaviour of popular adolescents creates fertile grounds for deviant behaviour, where the youth are most likely to engage in

behaviour that is forbidden in their own homes. Where men had access to higher education, they were less likely to engage in abusive practices due to them being informed of the negative effects of IPV (Ahinkorah et al., 2018). Overall, low education levels are presently a concern for the prevalence of the high rate of IPV in various African and SSA countries. The next sub-heading focuses on IPV in the localised South African context.

2.5.3.   Intimate Partner Violence: The South African context

In South Africa, at least one quarter of the female population face the risk of experiencing abuse at some time in their intimate relationship (Singh & Myende, 2017). Although the issue of IPV has been studied over decades and in various fields of research with recommendations for reducing this phenomenon, IPV continues to prevail in South Africa, in addition to a high rate of femicide (Bhana, 2013; Gordan, 2016; Spencer, Haffejee, Candy & Kaseke, 2016; Gordan, 2016; Singh & Myende, 2017; Bhana & Pillay, 2018). Despite having one of the most progressive constitutions globally, South Africa has been rated as having the highest levels of violent crimes, including sexual assault (WHO, 2012; Gordan & Collins, 2013). IPV in South Africa is almost twice as high as the international rate (Mathews, Jewkes & Abrahams, 2015), with local patriarchal norms and unequal gender power relations being reinforced through culture, which purposely undermines the equal treatment of women and vulnerable groups in society (Singh, Mudaly & Singh-Pillay, 2015).

Regardless of the advent of democracy in 1994, gender inequality is still condoned in South African through cultural practices that promote masculinities, such as traditional male initiation programmes and circumcision processes (Kheswa, 2015). Here, boys gain the identity of becoming men, also referred to as an *"indoda",* which is a symbol of masculinity and a man's readiness to assume the duty as the head of his own household (Kheswa, 2015; CSVR, 2016). While culture differs from one context to another, the gender power dynamics that come with certain cultural practices create a challenge for reconciling policy and practices (Fagan & Maxwell, 2006) because, while cultural tolerance must be recognised, it should not infringe on the human rights of other individuals (CSVR, 2016). For Kheswa (2015), transiting to the status of an *"indoda"* also means that the social constructions of masculinities cause women to suffer the consequences of male dominance. This also results in situations where women have limited agency for safe sex practices, which include requesting their intimate male partner to use condoms and opting for female contraceptives, as the constructions of being an *"indoda"* (CSVR, 2016) allow men to make the final decisions regarding sexual practices (Bhana, 2013).

The alarmingly high rates for both intentional and accidental injuries are evident in South African crime statistics (Rodriguez, Kramer & Sherriff, 2013), with nearly half the victims affected by IPV being women (Abrahams et al., 2009). IPV not only affects the victimised partner in an intimate relationship, but has far reaching consequences for other members of the family, including children and parents of the victim who depend on them financially and in their role as caregivers (CSVR, 2016), placing a heavy responsibility for the treatment and rehabilitation of victims and perpetrators on the health care system. The next heading addresses the issues of race, class and gender and their possible role in the perpetration of IPV.

2.6. Race, class, gender and the prevalence of Intimate Partner Violence

Internationally, IPV places females as at risk of becoming victims, especially women of colour locally and globally (Mathews et al., 2015; Voth Schrag, 2017). A study by Jewkes, Martin, Mathews, Vetten & Lombard (2009) revealed that most victims of IPV were female, of colour and under forty years of age which translates to South Africa losing out on a valuable section of the workforce due to the loss of people in their most productive and healthy years (Abrahams et al., 2009). In addition to race, other factors such as class, low income, alcohol abuse (Greene & Kane, 2017), childhood trauma (Magudulela, 2017) and ethnicity play important determining roles in the prevalence of IPV (Kheswa, 2015; Cools & Kotsadam, 2017). In a study by Tsui & Santamaria (2015), American female university students from lower income backgrounds faced a higher risk of experiencing IPV due to their partners' insecurity issues. While female students in Tsui & Santamaria's (2015) study saw education as a means of escaping inter-generational poverty, their male counterparts, not necessarily students, viewed education as a threat, where new job opportunities and geographically relocating could cause the women to abandon their intimate relationship and find new partners. Furthermore, the findings of a study by Niolon et al., (2017) demonstrate that nearly half the number of homicide victims are women in intimate relationships. Patra et al., (2018) posited that women from poor backgrounds in India readily accepted IPV within heterosexual relationships due to their heavy economic dependence on their partners to provide for them. A study by Mukamana, Machakanja & Adjei (2020) revealed African and Asian women to be at a higher risk of facing IPV compared to the US and Europe, largely due to social, cultural, ethnic and economic practices that support patriarchal dominance. In a study by Ngabaza et al., (2013), the social and cultural construction of Black African men as superior in an intimate relationship contribute to why women, regardless of the levels of their education, are subjected to IPV. Similarly, Patra et al., (2018) show class, religion, culture and the construction of hegemonic

masculinities to be reasons why women experience IPV as victims in India. Women from wealthy homes were found to be at a lower risk of experiencing IPV (Patra et al., 2018), and while the findings of certain literature agrees, social contexts result in other findings differing, as wealthy women in Nigeria contributed to victim statistics (Bamiwuye & Odimegwu, 2014). The literature mentioned in this heading demonstrates how IPV is rife in American, Asian and African contexts, where women of colour hailing from different backgrounds are equally at the greatest risk for being victims of IPV. The following heading concentrates on IPV within the context of universities globally and locally.

2.7.   Intimate Partner Violence in university campus residences: Global and local

University campus residences are no different from other social contexts, as they include the dynamics of interacting with, observing and experiencing different social norms. There is a plethora of studies related to GBV in universities, where research findings show that IPV is also prevalent (Tsui & Santamaria, 2015; Spencer et al., 2016; Magudulela, 2017; Singh & Myende, 2017; Bhana & Pillay, 2018), a cause for concern, considering that this is an educated bracket of society. Tsui & Santamaria (2015), Singh et al., (2015) and Spencer et al., (2016) posit that while universities serve to promote career progress, intimate relationships are bound to occur in these institutions. As gender intersects culture, race, class and social norms, the constructions of power determine who dominates in an intimate relationship (Connell, 2012). When power differentials are introduced to intimate relationships, the resulting IPV threaten the health, safety and well-being of victims and their families (CSVR, 2014). IPV has far reaching consequences, as the time required to heal from the various types of abuse could mean taking time off work or studies to recuperate, which for some students may also mean that they delay or abandon their studies (McDowell, 2014). Where disabilities result from IPV, victims may find that they cannot return to their normal daily routines, which translates into loss of productivity for the country and a burden on the budget of the healthcare services (CSVR, 2014; McDowell, 2014).

South Africa has a reputation for being the rape capital of the world and a haven for criminal activity, with the Human Rights Watch (2010) report cautioning citizens to become aware of their surroundings. Universities have also become spaces where the personal safety of students is an area of concern (Gordan & Collins, 2013; Masike & Mofokeng, 2014). Rape and sexual harassment also contribute to making universities unsafe spaces, especially in cases where the perpetrators of violence are intimate or dating partners amongst the student population (Gordan

& Collins, 2013). Physical violence and sexual assault not only impacts on the physical well-being of students, it also affects their mental ability to pursue and achieve a tertiary qualification, with many students lacking the necessary coping skills and adequate support structures as victims of IPV (Gordan & Collins, 2013; Masike & Mofokeng, 2014; Singh et al., 2015).

In 2008, a student from the University of the Western Cape (UWC) was murdered by her boyfriend who was also a student in the campus residence (Clowes et al., 2009). A decade later, IPV at the Mangosuthu University Technikon (MUT) in May 2018 raised much concern in the Department of Higher Education, when one of the female residence students was murdered by her boyfriend within the campus residence (Jagmohan & Nene, 2018). More disturbing was the perpetrator's fearlessness in posting his heinous act on social media. Later that year, the suicide letter of a female student from Rhodes University campus residence revealed that the lack of intervention from university authorities regarding her rape ordeal, which as perpetrated by a fellow student, left her disillusioned about retributive justice (Citizen Reporter, 2018) hence her decision to end her life. Hence, while some students devise coping strategies (Gordan, 2013) others resort to taking drastic steps when the challenges of IPV become overwhelming.

Voth Schrag (2017) and Tsui & Santamaria (2015) noted in their USA studies that female students aged 18-24 years living in a university campus residence and in dating relationships were most likely to become victims of IPV. One of the reasons for female students experiencing IPV in Tsui & Santamaria's (2015) study was male dominance and female subordination, where unequal gender power contributed to its incidents in the campus residence. This was like the findings of Spencer et al., (2016) in a South African study, where female students in cohabiting relationships within the university campus residence faced a greatest risk of experiencing IPV. In South Africa, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO's) and gender champion groups focus on activism to reduce violence against women and children in an effort to highlight the plight of IPV victims, yet the attention drawn to the university context remains very limited (Myende, 2017) and where IPV burdens the prevailing high crime statistics for South Africa (Gordan & Collins, 2013)

While male students assumed a position of dominance in their intimate relationships (Gordan & Collins, 2013), a study by Ngabaza et al., (2013) showed that female students with access to

finances paid for expenses within an intimate relationship due to their emotional dependency on their partner within a heterosexual relationship. In Ngabaza et al.,'s study (2013), the emotions invested in intimate relationships for female students superseded their health and concerns about being subjected to the violence of an aggressive partner, which adds to the already high levels of HIV transmission in South Africa (Ngabaza et al., 2013; Singh et al., 2015). Not many victims in abusive intimate relationships are willing to discuss their abuse, regardless of its toxicity and threat towards their personal wellbeing, goals, health or educational achievements (Hines, 2009; McDowell, 2014; Voth Schrag, 2017). Due to the sensitive nature of intimate relationships, incidents of IPV are not always reported to campus officials, this occurring in university campuses globally (Gopaul, 2015). Research shows that globally, universities experience a major challenge of reporting incidents of violence, including sexual violence in dating relationships (Tsui & Santamaria, 2015), one of the reasons why IPV is considered as thriving is due to the silences and underreporting by its victims (McDowell, 2014; Magudulela, 2017).

The National Development Plan (NDP) 2030 aims to improve the education at South African universities in an effort to reduce the rate of unemployment in the country (Zarenda, 2013), with the literature revealing that the prevalence of IPV within universities threatens the achievement of this goal (Gordan & Collins, 2013; Singh & Myende, 2017; Magudulela, 2017). If South Africa is to realise the success of the NDP (2030), stricter measures will have to be put into place to identify the prevalence of factors that hinder its progress at the higher education level. Most of the literature related to IPV indicates that women between the ages of 18-24 are victims, which includes female students making it important to review its perpetration and eliminate this scourge from universities (Voth Schrag, 2017). Furthermore, it is important to gain an insight as to how this type of violence filters into universities through either implicit or explicit social practices. It is only through rigorous and ongoing research followed by intervention and strategies that factors affecting the welfare and progress of students are addressed. Policymakers at tertiary institutions are also tasked with the safety and security of their students, hence the need for research and the ongoing review of situations within campuses, including residence facilities (Singh et al., 2015).

In South Africa, limited attention and research has been conducted on the death rate related to IPV, unlike the United States of America, which has a database related to such incidences (Voth Schrag, 2017). The purpose of documenting IPV is to study the relationship between

victims and perpetrators, their ages and the factors that contribute to its perpetration (Abrahams et al., 2009). Most young adults commit themselves to an intimate relationship for various reasons, including cultural norms, financial dependence, peer pressure, or to have a sense of belonging in a romantic relationship, without anticipating abuse (WHO, 2012; Bhana & Anderson, 2013; Singh & Myende, 2017; Bhana & Pillay, 2018). While coming to terms with the responsibility of living in a communal environment, students must realise the importance of their own position, power and control in negotiating decisions in an intimate relationship (Singh & Myende, 2017). The next heading addresses the non-reporting and under-reporting of IPV.

2.8.   Non-reporting and underreporting incidents of Intimate Partner Violence

South Africa has an overall rate of femicide that is six times higher than international estimated levels, with its IPV related femicide being the highest in the world (Gordan, 2016). While this type of violence remains a silent social evil, the effects of IPV on other members of the family cannot be overemphasised. In South Africa, the human rights of every citizen are enshrined in the Bill of Rights, Chapter 4, which is the cornerstone of the country's Constitution. Limited access to education and the lack of knowledge about their fundamental rights is one of the reasons why most victims do not report their abuse (Bamiwuye & Odimegwu, 2014; Gordan, 2016), and it is in underreporting where Holland & Cortina (2017) identify gaps in further research. Where IPV is not reported the non-disclosure of IPV creates barriers for researchers in offering suggestions or possible solutions for decreasing IPV statistics within universities. For Spencer et al., (2016), the limited opportunities for victims in cohabiting relationships in a university campus residence to escape their perpetrator further exacerbates the experiences of IPV. While day students returned home, those students living in the campus residence with abusive partners were forced to remain silent about their abuse due to their constrained living arrangements (Spencer et al., 2016). It is important to note that while students who are victims of IPV are acutely aware of their subjective positions, the experience of reporting abuse and the shame of having an abusive partner can be intimidating, even for the educated sector of society (Spencer et al., 2016).

The contradictions between policy and practice across global contexts not only limit female agency but ensures that a culture of underreporting occurs on an inter-generational basis (WHO, 2012; Bamiwuye & Odimegwu, 2014; Tsui & Santamaria, 2015). Due to unequal access to educational opportunities, many women may well be aware of their fundamental

human rights but where law enforcement officials do not support the reporting of IPV, this becomes a challenge as women reporting abuse must return to their homes and face their perpetrators once again (Patra et al., 2018). The financial dependence is hence a challenge where unemployment and the need for a place to stay trap victims in volatile relationships (Bamiwuye & Odimegwu, 2014). The intense fear for male authority and the lack of positive male role models in a family ingrains the consequences for female insubordination (Magudulela, 2017), where IPV was heightened during the COVID-19 pandemic calling for government intervention as women were trapped with their perpetrators under Lockdown 5 and 4 levels (Movendi International, 2020). In situations where victims do not report their perpetrators, despite advice from medical practitioners and healthcare workers, they face being labelled as weak, indecisive and deserving of their abuse (Gordan, 2016; Patra et al., 2018). In situations where the notions of love and hope of the perpetrator's rehabilitation outweigh the reporting of IPV, this often came at a price of ongoing abuse interspersed with incidents of fatalities within violent intimate relationships (Mathews et al., 2015). Studies show that where victims experienced IPV through observing their mothers being beaten by fathers or other male members of the family, this behaviour was normalised and accepted as a form of maintaining social order within the family (Spencer et al., 2016; Magudulela, 2017; Kheswa, 2015).

Related to the underreporting of IPV, a study by Tsui & Santamaria (2015) revealed how female university students in engaged, married or cohabiting relationships faced abuse by their spouses or partners if they indicated their challenges in managing their studies and household duties concurrently. Instead of reporting abusive intimate relationships and compromising their education, female students in the Tsui & Santamaria's (2015) study navigated through their experiences of IPV with limited support from family members, counsellors and peers. For Gordan (2016), underreporting incidents of IPV in a university context served to protect the perpetrator from punishment due to the unequal social gender norms that allow men to dominate while subordinating women. Where students engaged in transactional relationships without the knowledge of their parents or family members, reporting IPV was a challenge for fear of reprisal from family members (Magudulela, 2017; Bhana & Pillay, 2018). Similarly, in the findings of Sorenson & Thomas (2009) students in non-normative gender relationships were on a constant guard to ensure that members of their social and student communities did not learn of their non-normative gender status in order to avoid homophobic attacks. In turn these gay and lesbian partners were forced to live with and accept abuse from their dominating intimate partners. Through the process of reporting, universities can develop policies to ensure

the safety and well-being of staff and students with evidence of some universities such as the University of KwaZulu-Natal who has, through ongoing research, drafted a GBV Policy that includes the phenomenon of IPV (University of KwaZulu-Natal: Gender Based Violence Policy, 2017).

While great focus falls on women as victims of IPV, the possibility of men as victims is a highly under researched area. The construction of men as emotionally strong and in control of their intimate relationships does not address the possibility of non-violent men (CSVR, 2016). Studies conducted in South Africa and India show similar findings, where men underreport IPV due to the social stigmas attached to men as victims. When men report IPV, they risk being ridiculed by law enforcement officials and labelled as effiminate (CSVR, 2016; Gordan, 2016; Patra et al., 2018). This translates to approximating statistics for male victims of IPV and assuming only women to be victims (CSVR, 2016). It is in male non-reporting and underreporting of IPV where gaps in understanding this phenomenon exist.

According to Patra et al., (2018), the treatment of victims by law enforcement officials and healthcare workers subjects the victims of IPV to secondary trauma in the way in which incidents are documented. In Patra et al.,'s (2018) study, police officers were highly insensitive to the confidential information surrounding the abusive practices of IPV where men and women are victims, this attitude being further compounded by healthcare workers who insisted on victims divulging intimate details of their abuse. Despite their studies having taken place in different continents, the above findings of Patra et al., (2018) in India concur with that of Gordan (2016) in South Africa, where women experience secondary trauma through the reporting of IPV. Furthermore, poor accountability on the part of police officers, missing dockets and case numbers as well as inadequate resources contribute to the low success rate of punishing perpetrators, especially where fatalities are concerned (Abrahams et al., 2009). For Abrahams et al., (2009), proper investigations concerning femicide for women of colour is highly neglected in South Africa, hence the lack of valuable data contributes to inaccurate IPV statistics. The heading below deals with students' personal safety in a university campus residence.

2.9. Students' personal safety in a university campus residence

While universities ought to be safe spaces where all students can thrive and develop into productive adults (Singh, Mabaso, Mudaly & Singh-Pillay, 2016; Masike & Mofokeng, 2014),

IPV affects those in heterosexual and non-normative gender relationships (Cooke, 2018). In a study by Bhana & Pillay (2018), the findings show that university students' freedom to explore their position in an intimate relationship is accompanied by health risks and experiences of violence within those relationships. Research by Collins & Gordan (2013) carried out in a South African university campus residence showed that while IPV was perpetrated as a form of GBV, gendered roles for male and female students was a contributing factor within the campus. University residences served as a place of residence from their original home for both undergraduate and postgraduate students (Mathunjwa, 2017), and in most cases, this living arrangement last for the duration of their studies. As many students who live in campus residences come from distant areas, living in a campus residence leaves them with limited or no other choice for somewhere to stay due to its convenience and access to the university campus (Mathunjwa, 2017; Bhana & Pillay, 2018). The limited contact with or absence of family members locally, and the protection that may well provide at home, make students particularly vulnerable to the dangers of living in a communal environment with a poor support network from caring people (Tsui & Santamaria, 2015).

Victims of IPV are forced to internalise unequal gender relations, as reported by Tsui and Santamaria (2015), as attempts to engage in dialogue with the perpetrator are often construed as undermining male authority and disrespecting the construction of masculinities within that relationship. Masike & Mofokeng (2014) found that university campus residences were unsafe due to the indifferent attitude of campus management towards student safety. While weapons are prohibited in most public buildings, Masike & Mofokeng (2014) identified poor monitoring by security staff as contributing to students bringing firearms into the residence buildings, hence compromising the safety of staff and students. Students are therefore forced to navigate their educational path while devising their own strategies using their personal experiences to ensure their well-being and safety in a campus residence. Unfortunately, where the abuse reaches a point of saturation, including emotional blackmail, and family or peer support is minimal, suicidal tendencies and self-harm present as options for some students to escape a toxic intimate relationship (Cooke, 2018). The next heading addresses the issue of student safety related to the connection between alcohol/substance abuse and IPV.

2.10. Alcohol consumption, substance abuse and its connection to Intimate Partner Violence

According to Peltzer & Pengpid (2013), South Africans are the highest consumers of alcohol in Africa, and while alcohol abuse introduces a range of health issues, the most significant consequence is the high level of IPV. Alcohol consumption, exacerbated by unemployment and related issues of low self-esteem, were found to be the drivers of femicide in the studies of Mathews et al., (2015). As alcohol abuse has been medically proven to cloud one's sound judgement and differentiate between socially acceptable and unacceptable behaviour, some men felt that they had a right to amnesty if IPV took place under the influence of alcohol or substance abuse (Jewkes, 2002). Mathews et al., (2015) found that being in an intoxicated state was a common excuse for men to defend their violence, hence alcohol and substance abuse becomes a crutch for the perpetration of IPV, including fatalities. In a multinational survey, Peltzer & Pengpid (2013) found that South African men contributed to the exceedingly high rate of femicide. In a survey, Abramsky et al., (2011) found that excessive use of alcohol in intimate relationships increased the risk of IPV. As a result, South African women faced the consequences of the various types of GBV with IPV being one of the types of violence. For Kheswa (2015), schoolboys who engaged in alcohol and substance abuse engaged in anti-social behaviour including the perpetration of IPV within heterosexual and non-normative gender relationships. In Kheswa's (2015) study, IPV perpetration increased the HIV infection rate amongst youth.

According to Gordan & Collins (2013), it is not uncommon for university students to engage in alcohol or substance abuse during residence parties or *"House Parties"*, as this activity is commonly referred to. Gordan & Collins (2013) also observed that male students under the influence of alcohol were mainly the perpetrators of sexual assault relating to IPV, while inebriated female students were at risk for becoming the target as victims. Jewkes (2002) agree that where alcohol consumption prevails in an intimate relationship, the levels of violence in those situations. Studies showed that those females who consumed alcohol during social gatherings were considered as easy targets for sexual assault and unsafe sex practices, including coerced sex (Gordan & Collins, 2013; Clowes et al., 2009; Mathunjwa, 2017). Women staying out late at night and engaging in binge drinking are regarded as contributing to the perpetration of physical and sexual assault against them, while men do not face similar risks of sexual assault (Gordan & Collins, 2013; Mathews et al., 2015). The fear of being judged as socially irresponsible is one of the reasons why women maintain relative secrecy surrounding the abuse

within their intimate relationships (Gordan & Collins, 2013). Where both the victims and the perpetrators were under the influence of alcohol or drugs, it was difficult to establish whether victims of rape or sexual assault had in fact consented to sexual intimacy or not, thus posing a challenge for university officials to address IPV and institute disciplinary action for the perpetrator (Holland & Cortina, 2017).

While alcohol and substance abuse were responsible agents for perpetrators to violate their victims in IPV related incidents in university residences, it also served as a form of escapism for victims (Tsui & Santamaria, 2015). Where the levels of alcohol and substance abuse were high among the youth, Ngabaza et al., (2013) and Kheswa (2015) also found the prevalence of IPV to increase. While alcohol consumption appears to be prevalent in universities, female students who were victims of sexual assault were blamed for transgressing social norms that frown on women consuming alcohol and socialising in the company of men and male students (Gordan & Collins, 2013; Mathews et al., 2015; Spencer et al., 2016; Bhana & Pillay, 2018). Studies by Singh & Myende (2017) and Bhana & Pillay (2018) show that alcohol consumption and IPV to be related, where female university students within transactional relationships are prone to forfeiting their agency in return for material benefits, drugs and alcohol. Material entrapments within transactional relationships involving Blessers/Sugar Daddies will be the focus of the next section.

2.11. Transactional relationships: Blessers/Sugar Daddy phenomenon, material entrapments and female agency

The literature shows a correlation between socio-economic status and the prevalence of IPV, and according to McCloskey, Boonzaaier, Steinbrenner & Hunter (2016), poverty, amongst other risk factors, is associated with the heightened perpetration of IPV in SSA, where women are largely victims. The increase in the unemployment rate in South Africa, as well as limited educational opportunities and access to academic institutions, are some of the challenges faced by the youth in this country (Bhana & Pillay, 2018). Whilst some students secure part-time work to subsidise living costs, others find alternate and less favourable means to secure financial assistance, with studies by Singh & Myende (2017) and Magudulela (2017) showing that female youth enter transactional relationships with health and safety risks as a means of accessing money for material requirements. Furthermore, Ngabaza et al., (2013) posit that while some female students enter transactional relationships for money related to their studies, others engage in them to acquire expensive clothes, mobile phones and money. Not all students

in transactional relationships are poverty-stricken, with the participants in Singh & Myende's (2017) and Magudulela's (2017) study being acutely aware of how women use their agency to access and acquire material benefits, food and intoxicating substances from Blessers/Sugar Daddies. Ngabaza et al., (2013) argued that students who were financially dependent in an intimate relationship could manipulate the circumstances to suit their financial needs until they could wean themselves off dependence. In keeping with Maslow's hierarchy of needs, humans progress to new needs as soon as their fundamental ones were fulfilled (Maslow, 2012. A study by Ngabaza et al., (2013) showed that when female students could not acquire material possessions, luxury items and food from their boyfriends who were students, they refused to engage in sexual relations with them. For female students, their expectation was to be taken care of by their partners and being relieved of financial worries (Ngabaza et al., 2013).

In South Africa, the social norm is for men to be providers and women to be dependents (Ngabaza et al., 2013). This is manifested through the practice of women having Sugar Daddies/Blessers, who are usually men with access to money or occupy positions of power and who offer financial assistance or material objects in exchange for sexual favours (Magudulela, 2017; Singh & Myende, 2017). According to Connell (2012), self-embodiment is one of the reasons why the bodies of women become commercialised, resulting in women being used for example as surrogate mothers in various parts of the world. Furthermore, the media portrayal of women's bodies being objectified reinforces the financial purposes attached to the physical self (Hust, Rodger & Bayly, 2017). However, in a country where HIV and AIDS infection is higher for females aged 18-24 than for males, the health risks associated with transactional relationships involving older men aggravates the situation (Bhana & Pillay, 2018). As mentioned in the previous section, studies by Singh & Myende (2017) and Bhana & Pillay (2018) showed that transactional relationships included the provision of clothes, food, material benefits and alcohol. However, in acquiring these, female students faced the risks of falling pregnant, acquiring HIV and other sexually transmitted infections in situations where they were unable to negotiate safe sexual intercourse with older men.

According to Clowes et al., (2009), first year female students were the most vulnerable individuals to face the risk of infection compared to older male students in the same campus residence as well as unplanned pregnancies. Although the assumption is that female students are in an educated position to exercise their agency, social inequalities (Bhana & Pillay, 2018) and the lack of resources, including finances within patriarchal societies, put young women's

health and safety at risk (Abramsky et al., 2011) while limiting their options in negotiating safe sex (Singh & Myende, 2017; Magudulela, 2017). Not only are economically dependent partners in an intimate relationship forced to be faithful, they are trapped in that relationship until the Sugar Daddies/ Blessers accepts negotiation in terms of freedom of their movements and safe sex practices (Jacoby, 2008). In a study by Clowes et al., (2009), gender norms based on the constructions of patriarchies enabled Sugar Daddies/Blessers to engage in sexual relations upon demand, regardless of the study timetable, with unequal gender power and performativity within transactional relationships affecting female students' studies. Female students were wary of the type of transactional relationships they entered, and where a male student could not be a good provider of money and material comforts, that relationship lacked romance (Ngabaza et al., 2013). Ngabaza et al., (2013), Singh & Myende (2017) and Bhana & Pillay (2018) detail hose men with money translate to being better intimate partners for female university students who in turn consent to sexual intimacy when presented with material gifts. While men can dominate in transactional relationships, their position of power is only associated with the extent that they can provide for women. Hence, for Bhana & Pillay (2018), women are not powerless or always vulnerable in transactional relationships and are aware of how their decision not to exercise female agency can benefit their economic situation.

Studies show that IPV is a multi-faceted phenomenon, where resources, access to education and social norms affect female agency and the treatment of women in different contexts (Bhana & Anderson, 2013; Bamiwuye & Odimegwu, 2014; Singh & Myende, 2017, Bhana & Pillay, 2018). In the contexts of universities, female students exercise their agency by engaging in behaviour for material benefits, but at the same time experience challenges in negotiating safety within such relationships (Bhana & Anderson, 2013; Ngabaza et al., 2013; Singh & Myende, 2017; Magudulela, 2017). In addition to the abuse endured by the female beneficiaries of these relationships, they adhere to the terms and conditions that compromise their well-being and therefore collude in their experiences of IPV (Bhana & Anderson, 2013; Bhana & Pillay, 2018). While agency for these young women offers them financial freedom, access to alcohol and expensive material goods, the double standards for women and gay men in intimate relationships exposes them to the triple bind of race, class and socio-economic status in experiencing IPV. In a study by Masvawure (2010), female students in a university campus exercised agency and engaged in relationships with wealthy older men yet were unable to shatter the social norms of dominant male and subordinate female social constructions. The findings of various studies indicated that women were not always as fragile and vulnerable as

they were socially constructed to be, as Ngabaza et al., (2013), Singh & Myende (2017) and Bhana & Pillay (2018) posited that female students exercised their agency in ways that benefitted them materially.

Female students who hailed from societies where teenage pregnancy was socially acceptable, exercised agency despite the health concerns associated with risky and unprotected sexual intimacy (Bhana & Pillay, 2018). The study of Bhana & Pillay (2018) showed that when female university students fell pregnant as a result of their inability to negotiate safe sex practices with their providers, they did not abandon their studies or adhere to the social expectation of women as caregivers. Instead, female students in Bhana & Pillay's (2018) study sought alternate ways of childcare, where extended family members were normalised to take over such duties. Studies show that Sugar Daddies/ Blessers were aware of their power in transactional relationships and they used this power as leverage to control their intimate partners. The next heading and explores risky behaviour in a university campus residence.

2.12. Risky behaviour and Intimate Partner Violence

While transactional relationships in the above section demonstrated how it served to limit female agency, this heading looks at risky behaviour and how it contributes to the growing statistics of IPV. Living independently and assuming responsibility for their own welfare is a novel experience for many young university students in a campus residence (Bhana & Pillay, 2018), as the lack of parental supervision exposes them to a range of vulnerabilities. Students no longer under the supervision of parents, guardians or other authoritative figures were more likely to become victims of violence, especially those who engaged in negative peer practices (Zavala et al., 2019). In a study by Singh & Myende (2017), female students submitted to peer pressure and engaged in risky behaviour that introduced elements of IPV in their relationships with intimate partners. This is demonstrated in the study by Tsui & Santamaria (2015), where female university students who engaged in violent intimate relationships remained in them despite the violence experienced as having a partner superseded their injuries. For Kheswa (2015), youth who engaged in risky behaviour not only endangered their health, the IPV perpetrated against young women also distorted their (the females') views of intimate relationships. While certain cultures reinforce the dominance of men in society, traditional patriarchal practices that ignore the safety of women and girls' subject the vulnerable sectors of its community to irreparable harm (Kheswa, 2015). The next heading elaborates on and highlights the effects of IPV within society.

2.13. The effects of Intimate Partner Violence

While the various forms of IPV can traumatise a victim in an intimate relationship, secondary trauma also affects the families and children associated with the victim (CSVR, 2016). One of the most common consequences of IPV is the way it shapes future perpetration and while many perpetrators have underlying issues, such as engaging in substance abuse or personality disorders, the construction of masculinities normalise IPV from witnessing it in childhood years (Abramsky et al., 2011; McCloskey, Boonzaier, Steinbrenner, & Hunter , 2016; CSVR, 2016; Patra et al., 2018). Where physical violence and sexual assault are, for example IPV witnessed by children (CSVR, 2016). Through the passage of time, victims and observers of IPV internalise this type of violence and treat it as a normal behaviour, repeating its vicious cycle on an inter-generational basis (Jewkes, 2002; Magudulela, 2017). The various types of IPV can result in decreased productive physical functioning, sexually transmitted diseases, unplanned pregnancies, post traumatic depression or worst from all, suicidal tendencies experienced by the perpetrator as well as the victim (Spencer et al., 2016; Cooke, 2018).

Boys who watched their mothers being beaten were more likely to abuse their intimate partner, while girls who were physically abused by their parents faced a higher risk of becoming victims of IPV in intimate relationships (Jewkes, 2002; Abramsky et al., 2011) thus reproducing intergenerational violence. Although conservative gender stereotypes contribute to IPV, past experiences from the justice system regarding light sentences as punishment for the perpetrators of IPV give little hope for victims and survivors to leave violent relationships and their abusive partners (Fagan & Maxwell, 2006). IPV involving sexual abuse also contributes to admissions to hospital trauma units, thus placing a strain on the finances of the health sector due to the expenses incurred to treat IPV victims (WHO, 2013; Gordan, 2016; Spencer et al., 2016; Niolon et al., 2017). Survivors of IPV can suffer from a range of physical injuries and mental trauma (Niolon et al., 2017), while other side effects of surviving IPV could result in victims engaging in risky behaviour, depression, suicidal tendencies, substance abuse and the fear of being around people (WHO, 2013). Victims need time to recuperate and are absent from work due to their IPV related injuries, which affects the economy. Where the perpetrator engages in controlling or coercive behaviour, this affect the victims' agency and ability to negotiate birth control options, condom use and career paths that offer financial independence, especially for women, thus forcing them to remain in abusive relationships (WHO, 2012;

Niolon et al., 2017, Patra et al., 2018; Mukamana et al., 2020). Other behaviours of perpetrators of IPV include stalking and communicating harmful messages to the victim, including threats of violence towards the victims' close ones (Niolon et al., 2017). For Magudulela (2017), the lack of positive male role models who are not violent and who promote good human relations are severely lacking in the South African context. In order to analyse the data in the next chapter and make meaning of students' understandings, experiences and exposure to IPV in a university campus residence, the literature findings must be strengthened by the relevant theoretical frameworks.

2.14. Theoretical Frameworks

A theoretical framework is important for research as it provides an analytical lens with which data can be interpreted. Theoretical frameworks also offer an understanding of a phenomenon by providing an explanation, with two being used with a gender perspective to underpin this study. The two theoretical frameworks best suited for this study are Connell's (2012) Gender Relational theory, which includes the power differentials that exist in the gender order of domination and subordination, and Burr's Social Constructionism theory (2003), which is essential for understanding the multiple perspectives, lived experiences and exposure of participants to IPV.

2.14.1. Gender Relational theory and Gender Power

Gender Relational theory will provide an understanding the lived experiences of students in a university campus residence, as it deals with the constructions of masculinities and how the youth respond to gender roles in relation to intimate relationships. Figure 1. illustrates the ways in which gender relations are determined by dominant power positions and the interaction with social constructions of emotions shown by men and women.
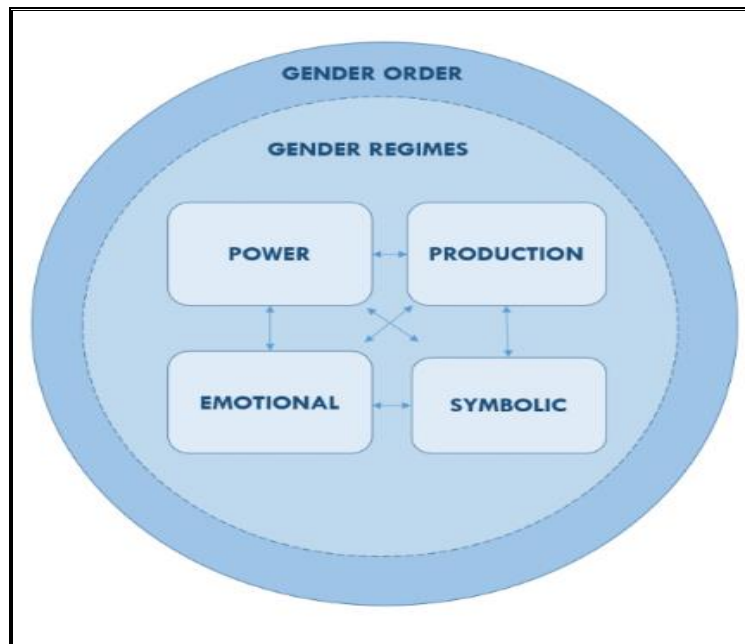
Figure1. Connell's Relational theory of Gender taken from Connell (2002, p 55)

Gender Relational theory is characterised by three important social structures namely: the structure of cathexis, normative and non-normative individuals exercising agency and the sexual division of labour. The structure of cathexis refers to an investment of emotional or mental energy in a situation which is integral in the study of intimate relationships and within intimate relationships, both men and women invest in their emotions towards the relationship (Bapat & Tracey, 2012). However, while feelings of love towards the other partner may be present, men and women attach different feelings to their positions as an intimate partner. In certain African cultures, masculinities are aligned with cultural practices of male initiation programmes (Ngabaza et al., 2013) where men are perceived to be more respected once they complete the course of initiation rites and prove their masculinities through intimate sexual relations with multiple partners regardless of their emotions towards these intimate partners. As culture influences the constructions of violent and promiscuous masculinities, it creates power for men and determines how they behave towards women and vulnerable communities. While men are considered to become powerful through cultural norms, it also renders women having limited agency where they are coerced into sexual intimacy from a young age (Bhana & Anderson, 2013). While the sexual prowess of a man is normalised and having multiple intimate partners is a sign of his masculinity (Kheswa, 2015), women are socialised to be monogamous and nurturing within intimate relationships (Naidu & Ngqila, 2013).

When students within heterosexual and non-normative gender relationships fear being abandoned by their intimate partners, they exalt that partner to a position of power and remain in abusive situations due to their emotions for the perpetrator (Sorenson & Thomson, 2009). Here we see a close relationship between power and emotions as they interact with one another. Women who fear abandonment in an intimate relationship, consider their emotional well-being to be more important than their physical safety (Tsui & Santamaria, 2016) thus producing and reproducing unequal gender power relations from one generation to the next (Magadulela, 2017). While gender roles are constructed on the biological binaries of male and female, the manipulation of power and social imbalances subject women and non-normative gender groups within society to subordinate practices (Connell, 2012). Considering the unequal privileges for heterosexual men in society, the revised Gender Relational theory (Connell, 2012) recognises the disparities that women and non-normative genders must endure in their daily interaction within their societies and it includes the global economic adversities of unequal gender power relations.

This theoretical framework attempts to explain how social relationships between men and women are shaped by unequal power positions through the influence of culture, race and the historical period that some societies experience. While the political dynamics of a country can change with de-colonisation (Connell, 2012), the cultural and social practices within these societies evolves on their own terms and conditions to ensure that hegemonies are maintained (Abolfotouh & Almuneef, 2019). The social embodiment of women, influenced by gender regimes (Connell, 1995), creates power imbalances for men and women, thereby limiting female agency, where women are financially dependent on men (Bhana, 2013). Where the negotiation of safe sexual intimacy is restricted by men, women and non-normative genders face an increased risk of disease transmission (Connell, 2012; Kheswa, 2015; Bhana & Pillay, 2018).

According to Connell (2012), gender regimes within institutions determine the gendered division of labour which limits the career paths for women especially where work is related to income. It is therefore not surprisingly that the abuse of women's bodies for economic purposes results in the increased statistics for female mortality rates, amongst lower income groups (Gordan, 2016). Women from poor backgrounds, including female students who engage in transactional relationships, face higher risks of IPV as they are expected to relinquish their agency in return for material objects (Singh & Myende, 2017; Bhana & Pillay, 2018).

According to Connell (1995) and Connell (2003), gender and power are intertwined, and while gender regimes limit the agency of women, gay communities are not exempt from the effects of patriarchy. These social impositions also affects the way in which non-normative relationships are viewed, with lesbians first being considered on the basis of their biological identity of being women, while gays are considered as men before their sexuality is taken into consideration, thus putting individuals in limbo when internalising their own gender identity (Sorenson & Thomson, 2009; Connell, 2012). Hence, gender inequalities in conjunction with economic abuse within intimate relationships construct heteronormative behaviour to be the social norm (Bhana, 2013; Singh & Myende, 2017; Bhana & Anderson, 2018).

To a large extent, gender relations hinges on the historical transformation of a society and in the South African context, while the Constitution accommodates gender equality, hegemonic masculinities masquerading as culture and religion are complicit in maintaining the superior status of carefully constructed patriarchies (Naidu & Nqila, 2013). South Africa has been rated second in Africa after Rwanda in the representation of women in politics (CSVR, 2016), yet women still struggle to reach positions of senior management, for example within schools (Moosa & Bhana, 2017). It is in such scenarios that Gender Relational theory addresses the effects of heteronormativity on the global and local economy and where men enjoy the privileges of higher earning power. Where masculinities are challenged, situations of violence arise to ensure that patriarchies are not contested (Jewkes, 2002), which is crystallised in the way Connell looks at the physical strength of the male body as the site for the construction of patriarchal dominance through violence largely inherent in heterosexual relationships (Connell in Wedgewood, 2009).

2.14.2. Social Constructionism Theory

My second theoretical framework is rooted in Burr's Social Constructionism Theory (2003), where the concern lies in how knowledge is constructed, internalised and re-enacted, being epistemological rather than ontological in nature. Social Constructionism posits that individuals learn social phenomena through their parents, peers, religion, culture and education curriculum, which reinforce social norms in diverse ways that sometimes collude in contriving tactics. In this theoretical framework, knowledge is constructed by an individual based on the influences of social constructions rather than knowledge constructed naturally and through a person's experiences (Galbin, 2014). While Constructionism posits that individuals make meaning of social phenomena through their experiences, for Burr (2003) Social

Constructionism focusses rather on a group of people for whom identities are the result of the acceptable norms of that society. Within Social Constructionism, culture largely determines the changes that are made within society, depending on that historical period. This means that there is no fixed reality about the truth, with meanings being in a constant state of flux as culture evolves and mutates to suit its needs for maintaining dominant practices. As culture is affected by contextual factors and is in a constant state of fluidity, gendered roles can differ from one setting to another. While violence stemming from unequal gender power relations may be accepted within one context, it can be negated or contested in another.

Although hegemonic masculinities may not be explicitly taught in childhood years, violent behaviour, represented through social structures and the different treatment of male and female children, reinforce gender norms (Wedgewood, 2009. Kheswa, 2015). For Kheswa adolescence in certain African cultures within South Africa marks an era where young men are taught that masculinities are valued, and through initiation programmes, those who show endurance are worthy of entering manhood. Initiation programmes for the constructions of masculinities reinforce that men are superior, and it is here that violent practices filter into society (Kheswa, 2015). When patriarchal norms go unchallenged, they become the social norm masquerading as culture (Suffla et al., 2004, Jewkes et al., 2015). When masculinities are challenged, situations of violence threaten harmonious gender relations (Jewkes, 2002), with such events being related to individuals or groups of people whose versions of the truth, in order to maintain social norms, measure the superiority of individuals against each other based on gender and class (Mathews et al., 2015).

Social Constructionism, from an epistemological perspective, interrogates how knowledge is constructed through language, which is an integral factor in communicating how phenomena and experiences are interpreted (Burr, 2003). Through language, social norms are coded and maintained or changed, depending on transformation (if any), where cultures and societies hold their unique distinctions for interpreting phenomena and their stance regarding gender relations, and while symbols hold different meanings in specific contexts, they are careful constructs for the basis of gender divisions (Galbin, 2014). For Kheswa (2015), being an *"indoda"* in the Zulu culture means 'to be a man' or the demonstration of 'being masculine', where men resort to IPV as a display of their social dominance. While culture glorifies men, who have been initiated into manhood, women on the other hand accept their position of female subordination as a sign of respect for their culture. Where parents reinforce culture from an

early age, children adopt social behaviours that they apply to their own relationships as adults (Burr, 2003; Magudulela, 2017). Where culture, homophobia and social stigmas for victims of physical assault intersect, girls learn subservience through social constructionism, where mothers who were victims of IPV teach their daughters that an ideal woman does not contest her abuse (Mathunjwa, 2017). It is in this argument that Gordan & Collins (2013) concur that fear for transgressing social, cultural or religious norms of male authority is used as a strategy to maintain the submissive position of women in society.

Social Constructionism allows for transformation and constructive criticism of traditional cultural and social practices, especially where social reproductions collaborate to disadvantage vulnerable groups (Galbin, 2014). This is where Connells's (2012) Gender Relational theory and Burr's (2003) Social Constructionism theory complement each other, and while both theoretical frameworks highlight, explore and interrogate the effects of hegemonic practices and heteronormative behaviour in different ways, they support the move towards people as agents of change.

2.15. Conclusion

This chapter alluded to the UKZN: GBV (2017) policy as a working definition of IPV for the purposes of this study given the specific study context. The literature focussed on the various types of IPV with a close examination of the gendered roles in intimate relationships. It outlined the various contexts of IPV including the global, African, South African and university campus contexts. The literature that was reviewed in this chapter focussed on how IPV repeatedly and in various contexts serve to disadvantage women and non-normative gender persons, permeating their lives with unequal career opportunities as they face health and safety risks. The literature indicated that IPV was prevalent in the broader context of society and filtered into universities, masquerading as social norms. The understandings, experiences and exposure to IPV of the more educated bracket of society have implications for the nation at large, given that the participants of this study are future educators and role models for the next generation of youth. In addition to the various underlying factors for the perpetration of IPV, the constant fear of sexual assault by intimate partners is a stark reminder of the consequences for not adhering to the gender script concerning the construction of masculinities or femininities and where women suffer the negative effects of patriarchal dominance (Gordan & Collins, 2013, Tsui & Santamaria, 2015). In a country steeped in patriarchy, hegemonies continue to dominate

through the unequal ways in which women and non-normative genders are treated in their different cultural and social contexts (Ngabaza et al., 2013; Kheswa, 2015).

While femicide statistics in South Africa rank amongst the highest in the world, underreporting this phenomenon is a global trend (Gordan, 2016). Relationships where financial dependency is rife is one of the contributing factors for inaccurate statistics of IPV in South Africa (Gordan, 2016) while in India the attitude of law enforcement officials and healthcare workers contribute to the low rate of reporting. Where students engage in intimate relationships, including those within a transactional, romantic or non-normative nature, without the knowledge of their family members, fear of contravening social norms that are exacerbated by inadequate support systems discourage reporting abuse to the relevant authorities (Bhana & Pillay, 2018).

Where perpetrators are acutely aware of the vulnerabilities of their victims, they capitalise on this fear to subject them to ongoing violence, and students who cannot cope with IPV resort to dangerous coping strategies, including self-harm and suicidal tendencies. In South Africa, alcohol consumption is the highest in Africa (Peltzer & Pengpid, 2013), and according to Ngabaza et al. (2013), the prevalence of IPV is further aggravated through binge drinking and substance abuse. While alcohol abuse contributes to IPV, peer pressure and engaging in risky behaviour also contribute to incidents of abuse. Where female students seek to acquire material goods through transactional relationships, they become complicit in behaviours that jeopardise their own health and personal safety. Some studies showed that female students relinquished their agency (Masvawure, 2010; Bhana & Anderson, 2013), while others found that female students demonstrated resilience towards IPV and contested masculinities by using transactional relationships for material gain (Singh & Myende, 2017; Bhana & Pillay, 2018).

The two theoretical frameworks that were used in this study, were firstly Connell's (2012) Gender Relational Theory relating to female subordination, non-normative gender relationships, agency and transition within society while considering the repercussions of violence on the economy. The second theoretical framework was Burr's (2003) Social Constructionism Theory, which demonstrated how social norms are taught, reinforced and maintained through the influences of institutions, parents and the education system as opposed to a natural construction of knowledge based on one's own life experiences.

CHAPTER 3. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

This chapter outlines the research design and locates it within an interpretivist paradigm. The research methods used for this study include the study sample selection, data collection instruments and analysis, validity, reliability, rigor, transferability, confirmability, credibility, trustworthiness, dependability, ethical considerations and study limitations. Reflexivity in this study allowed me to reflect on the processes involved in this research, and through introspection, I was able to determine what worked for me and the factors that presented challenges along the way. According to Palaganas, Sanchez, Molintas & Caricativo (2017), researchers cannot be completely objective. Reflexivity within this qualitative study also gave me the opportunity to show my gratitude towards my participants who, without them, I would not have been able to conduct such sensitive and important research. In addition, the human element became an integral part of this qualitative research (Probst, 2015; Dodgson, 2019), where I reflect on issues of bias and was mindful of making assumptions in how the phenomenon of IPV was interpreted. This chapter encapsulates the foundations for a thorough small-scale study while adhering to the principles of sound research ethics.

3.2. Study location

This study was conducted in 2020 at a selected university specializing in teacher education located in KwaZulu-Natal Province, South Africa. The university is geographically situated in a well-developed urban area surrounded by residential dwellings. The university has access to internet facilities and public transport systems including buses, taxi services and private hire transport such as *Uber* which is an on-line metered taxi service for some students. The Risk Management Services (RMS) are on a 24-hour patrol duty where they monitor the safety of the university staff, students, service providers and visitors on foot as well as using motorized vehicles. The staff, service providers and students can gain entry to the premises using their staff and student cards while visitors entering and leaving the university are monitored through written log entries. Authorized vehicles entering the university must display a valid university motor vehicle disc and enter through the guarded electronic boom-gates. Each gate allows for one vehicle at a time to enter the university premises. However, only one vehicle at a time can exit the boom-gate after it has been checked by the security personnel stationed at the exit point.

The campus consists of a diverse population of day students as well as those who reside in hostel buildings located away from the academic building. The students who live in the campus residence ranged from first year (undergraduate) to post-graduates specializing in various disciplines of study. The campus residence caters largely for students who originally reside far from the university and for whom it was too difficult to commute daily to the institution. For some students their bursaries, student funding such as the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS) or study scholarships paid for their study fees as well as accommodation in the student residence. The university accommodates various residence options namely female, male and mixed gender residence quarters. The mixed gender residence quarters are for students who could not secure rooms in the first two types of residence and for those students who opt for cohabiting relationships. Due to the shortage of accommodation, students in this study admitted to sharing rooms or cohabiting with another student, not necessarily an intimate partner and as a means of securing a place to live. The campus residence buildings have electricity and water connections, communal bathrooms, a leisure room for watching television, 24-hour access to the university library including internet and computer facilities, as well as grounds for sports/recreational facilities. The student residences have communal kitchen facilities, however students also prepared meals in their private rooms.

3.3. Study Design

This is a qualitative research within an interpretive paradigm where the design of the study is outlined below.

3.3.1. Qualitative Research

According to Queirós, Faria & Almeida, (2017) the following characteristics contribute to a sound qualitative study.

- Flexible interviews using open-ended questions.
- Conducted in its natural setting.
- Highlighting real life lived experiences.

Quantitative research usually seeks to test a hypothesis using numerical values as data with rigid research styles (Queirós, Faria & Almeida, 2017), while qualitative research is more suitable to investigate real life situations, emotions and lived experiences involving the human element (Palaganas, Sanchez, Molintas & Caricativo, 2017). Qualitative research can use a

variety of data collection methods in the forms of interviews, one-on-one conversations, observations, detailed notes, audio-visual recordings and fieldwork in its natural setting (Bertram & Christiansen, 2014). Focus groups, where group discussions generate data, and secondary data in the form of photographs, video clips, newspaper reports including previous research data, are also characteristics of qualitative research (Queirós, Faria & Almeida, 2017). In this study, I worked with people and not objects therefore qualitative research methods were most suitable to enable me to understand and interpret the data (Marshall & Rossman, 2011; Crossman, 2019) so that I could analyse the understandings, experiences, exposure, opinions and observations of the participants with regards to IPV in a university campus residence. In this study, qualitative research also offered the participants the opportunity to interact (verbally) with and gain clarity from the researcher with regards to certain questions during the data collection/interview process.

3.3.2.   The interpretivist paradigm

The interpretivist paradigm addresses the needs of looking at data from a social sciences perspective, and while positivism looks at research from an objective point of view, interpretivists aim to understand the lived experiences of people (Bertram & Christiansen, 2014). Humans are affected by the environment in which they live, and it is in the natural settings where interpretivists strive to research phenomena in order to gain an in-depth understanding of such experiences (Bertram & Christiansen, 2014). Interpretivists maintain that there are multitudes of possibilities and reasons for a phenomenon to occur, hence the need for fieldwork to make meaning of each situation and take into consideration specific contextual factors in different settings (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011). Within the interpretivist paradigm, dependability, reliability, trustworthiness, transferability and confidentiality lay the foundation for a sound study (Bertram & Christiansen, 2014; Silverman, 2014), these being discussed in this chapter. Within the interpretivist approach, the researcher's understanding of the data is open to subjectivity, these research traits being acknowledged within this paradigm (Bertram & Christiansen, 2014). In addition to cultural influences, social norms (Marshall & Rossman, 2011) in the context of universities, from a gender perspective, were considered, as I tried to unpack participants' understandings, experiences and exposure to IPV. As I interpreted university students' understandings, experiences and exposure to IPV in a campus residence, I was introduced to different cultural, social and gender norms which were imperative for analysing this phenomenon.

3.4. Sampling strategy

The most suitable methods of sampling were purposive and snowball sampling, as I was interested in a specific target group, which was university students who were living in a campus residence. This study was undertaken during the global Covid-19 pandemic, which called for social distancing as a preventative measure to reduce the opportunities for virus transmission and infection. For safety reasons, education institutions were also affected, with staff and students having to work remotely from home, and contact lectures being cancelled from late March 2020, until the university notified students when to return to the campus. This impacted negatively on my data collection, as the country was in level 5 lockdown, the level with serious restrictions regarding the movement of people. Students who were living in the university campus residences had to vacate their rooms and return to their homes. For a student to participate in this study, the following inclusion criteria were applied:

- Student must be living in the mentioned university campus residences.
- Student could be living in the female, male or mixed residences.
- Student could be an undergraduate or postgraduate student.
- Student did not have to be in an intimate relationship at the time of the study.
- Student did not necessarily have to be a victim or perpetrator of IPV themselves.
- Student could be single, in a heterosexual or non-normative gender relationship.

My initial participant was a student whom I met in 2019. This participant worked part time in the university library. After a short conversation regarding my study specialisation during one of my visits to the library, the student demonstrated an interest in my field of study. I identified him to be a potential participant when I learnt that he lived in the campus residence and that he was interested in contributing to this study voluntarily. The COVID-19 protocol of social distancing did not allow for face-to-face communication, so we contacted each other telephonically and through WhatsApp messages. After consenting to be a participant, he passed on the message of this study by word of mouth to his friends, one of whom self-identified as being in a non-normative gay relationship and through the snowballing technique he recruited two other students in gay relationships. For Silverman (2014) snowball sampling complements purposive sampling as the study sample does not spill over the target population. This was helpful in ensuring that my desired study sample included students who were heterosexual and non-normative genders. The study sample then grew through participants referring their friends who indicated an interest in voluntary participation. Purposive and

snowball sampling were very effective methods for this study to engage the appropriate participants who in turn proved to be effective in identifying other students wanting to express their views and make a valuable contribution towards this study (Merriam, 2009).

Dowling & Brown (2010) posit that snowball sampling usually passes the message of seeking more participants verbally which can be very effective where time constraints are a challenge in completing a research study within a limited time frame which was applicable in this study as the approval for ethical clearance extended over fourteen months. Snowball sampling was a very useful method as participants were able to pass the message about this study to their colleagues, friends and roommates using their own social networks to quickly, efficiently and cost effectively identify a population of participants that I would not have been able to access or invite to participate by myself or had I employed purposive sampling methods only.

Using the saturation principle of Mason (2010), where a very large sample size in qualitative research can create the repetition of data, I aimed for the maximum number of 30 participants, as this accommodated participants who chose to opt out of the study (Silverman, 2014). Six participants exercised their autonomy when they decided not to participate in this study. Since participation was voluntary, students did not have to fear facing negative consequences or victimisation (Bertram & Christiansen, 2014). During the course of recruiting participants, and two male students whose friends sent me their contact details did not respond to my invitation to participate, two students (one female and one male) did not grant consent although they initially indicated a keen interest to be interviewed, two participants (one male and one female) withdrew from the study after granting consent. The consent forms of the students who withdrew from the studies were destroyed, disposed of and these students were not contacted again.

The 24 students who responded in favour of participating were 14 female Black African, 9 male Black African, and one male Indian student. In this study sample, five students were in the first year, four in second year, five in third year, seven in fourth year and three were post-graduates. The study sample consisted of twenty-one heterosexual and 3 non-normative gender students where the latter self-identified as being in gay relationships. The age of the students ranged from 18-30 years. While some students had the experience of living in the mixed gender residence, others lived in the male or female only campus residences. As I received the contact details of referred participants I made contact with them using WhatsApp messages, where I

introduced myself, mentioned the person who made the referral, stated the title of my study and enquired for myself if they were indeed interested in participating on a voluntary basis. I did not share my opinion of the topic in any way that would coerce or influence students (Silverman, 2014) to participate in this study. I then proceeded to e-mail each interested student a consent form requesting for their permission to be interviewed. They shared their e-mail addresses with me and familiarised themselves with the contents of the consent forms by reading through the informed consent. The completion of the consent forms was a challenge for many students as only one student had access to a printer and scanner to complete the form and return it to me. Those students who were willing to participate sent me their digital signatures via e-mail or WhatsApp and with their permission, each signature was scanned, uploaded, and in this manner, I was able to complete the consent forms for twenty-three participants without direct human contact and adhering to research protocols. It was only after this process of securing students' consent to participate that I was able to interview each participant and engage in data collection.

3.5. Data Collection

An important aspect of any research is the ethics of obtaining informed consent (Merriam, 2009), with consent forms needing to be available in language that is simple to understand so that participants can make an informed decision to participate or not. Translating the informed consent into the participants' home language enables them to have a fair understanding of what the study is about and what to expect. Fortunately, all the participants in this study could read, write and speak in the medium of English, which meant that there was no need to translate the consent form. As mentioned earlier, prior to interviewing any of the participants, an informed consent form via WhatsApp or e-mail (according to their preferred choice of communication), which is outlined in detail the following important information was sent to every participant.

- The topic and description of the study.
- The benefits of participating in this study.
- The name and contact details of the Primary Investigator (PI).
- Assurance of confidentiality through anonymity.
- Importance of returning a completed consent form.
- The approximate duration of an interview.
- Participation is voluntary, that participants can exercise his/ her autonomy at any point in the study and the research instruments, the individual interviews.

- Storage of data collected.
- Transcripts to be returned to students for validation.
- Contact details for trauma counselling, should a need arise.
- The contact details for the HSSREC Ethics Office should there be any queries.
- The name and contact details of the PIs supervisor.

Participants were informed that in the event of needing emotional assistance during the interviews, they would be referred to the UKZN's on-site counsellor or by contacting the institution via the site for student services. The aim of any research is to ensure that participants are not harmed or adversely affected in any way during the course of a study (Bertram & Christiansen, 2014) and to this end my supervisor availed herself to assist and offer advice had there been such a need. In order to protect their identity, each participant created their own pseudonym or in some cases, they allowed me to choose one for them and these names was used in the transcripts. I interviewed each participant individually in a session lasting between 20 minutes to almost an hour and at a time that they indicated was most suitable for them. These interviews were audio-recorded for compiling transcripts and used in the data analysis process. Semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions were used to obtain the data (Queirós et al., 2017), with further probing questions being used where necessary. Due to social distancing protocols, the interviews had to be conducted using remote communication methods that did not require face-to-face contact. Zoom meetings, telephone calls, WhatsApp voice or WhatsApp video calling were the options that I offered to my participants. Through WhatsApp text messages I explained the communication options for interviews and confirmed the times that were most convenient for them to speak to me. Twenty-three participants chose WhatsApp voice calls and one participant opted for a telephone call. Seventeen participants indicated that they did not have data for WhatsApp calling and they were supplied with data vouchers to cover the cost of interviews using WhatsApp voice calls as well as for e-mails to verify their interview transcripts.

As students were working remotely from home, I had to be cognizant that they could possibly be engaged in zoom meetings with their lecturers, preparing for tests or busy working on submitting their assignments. Therefore, I had to work around participants' availability and maximise each interview session to extract as much rich data as I possibly could in a single interview session. Many students also admitted to having limited privacy to engage in

interviews because some of their homes were not conducive to speaking privately due to national lockdown and family members all being at home within a confined space, so interviews had to be conducted when their homes were relatively quiet. This meant interviewing participants in the evening when there was less activity and disturbance or calling them when they indicated their ability to speak freely. Every participant was assured of confidentiality (Marshall & Rossman, 2011) on an ongoing basis during the interviews, that their conversations with me would not be discussed with other participants and their identities be not be known to any person other than myself. The data collection period lasted approximately seven weeks and there were some delays as every research protocol was strictly adhered to in this study.

The most suitable research instrument for collecting the qualitative data was a semi-structured interview using open-ended questions with probing further questions that were applied where necessary to extract rich data. The advantage of using this research instrument was its flexibility in that it enabled the participants to engage with me and seek clarity regarding certain questions while I could collect rich data using probing questions that go further than the initial response to questions and to get a deeper meaning of the conversation (Crossman, 2019). To ensure that I was prepared for and consistent with every participant, I used an interview schedule with guiding questions that was in keeping with the study objectives. However, the interview schedule was flexible and adapted to suit each participant`s responses through prompting them where responses were in monosyllables and using probing questions where participants were keen to elaborate on responses. I also allowed the participants, in some way, to determine the nature of and direction the interviews where they demonstrated an openness and willingness to share more information than what was indicated in the interview schedule.

I started each interview by thanking the participant for taking time off their schedule time to participate in this study and enquired about their wellbeing under the circumstances of a pandemic as a form of courtesy. I then introduced the research topic and obtained their biographical data which offered an insight to their lives, their age, where they originally lived, their year of study, their economic backgrounds and the period lived in the student residence which is valuable information in the data analysis process. The interview schedule comprised of four sections.

Section 1: Biographical data, five questions to obtain background information (age, gender, year of study).

Section 2: Students' understandings of IPV in a university campus residence (Objective 1).

Section 3: Students' experiences and exposure to IPV in campus residence (Objective 2).

Section 4. Accessibility of assistance from the relevant authorities to address IPV in campus residences (Objective 3).

By being mindful of the research questions, I was able to remain focused on the interview questions that would address the research Objectives trying not to digress too far from the subject at hand, a common feature using open-ended questions (Merriam, 2009) and when it occurred in some cases, I allowed participants to speak freely but steered them to the interview questions using probing questions and in this manner, I was able to yield interesting and unanticipated responses that were important to the findings of this study. While qualitative research is prone to subjectivity, I did not allow myself to get personally involved by giving my own opinion on any issue mentioned by the participant. Such behaviour can contribute to participants responding in a manner they believe pleases the researcher (Bertram & Christiansen, 2014) hence introducing some element of bias in a study. All participants were asked the same questions and were not under any duress to answer those that they were not comfortable with. They were also informed prior to the interview that they could withdraw at any time from the study if they were uncomfortable, experienced trauma or had a change of mind, without fear of being victimised or face any penalties.

3.6. Transcribing and verifying the data

The interview with each participant was audio-recorded after gaining written consent to interview and audio-record the interviews. The advantage of an audio-recording was to capture the exact words of the participant verbatim and through the recordings, I could move back and forth to ensure that every word was accurately captured in the transcriptions. The recordings were transcribed verbatim and later these transcriptions formed the basis for data analysis. After the data was transcribed into text, they were returned via e-mail to the respective participants for verification in order to establish whether their utterances were indeed captured correctly and that there were no misrepresentations of what they said. In addition to their initial responses, participants could make changes, omit or add data where they saw a necessity to do so. This process served to validate the statements made by the participants and later the claims made by the researcher (Merriam, 2009; Bertram & Christiansen, 2014). Once the verified transcripts were returned to me, I updated the data collected by making changes indicated by the participants. Thereafter, a hard copy of each transcript was created for the next process,

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which was analysing the data. Transcripts are important as they serve as a point of reference should an audit trail be conducted by the university regarding the research results, or if there are any doubts pertaining to the researcher being biased while the data was being analysed (Bertram & Christiansen, 2014).

3.7. Data analysis

In this study the thematic data analysis involved the following steps (Silverman, 2014):

- Transcribing the interviews.
- Examining the data for similarities and differences that emerged from the responses.
- Developing a system of codes for the data.
- Organising and categorising the data into the codes. Identifying and formulating new or different categories and codes.
- Bring the repeated themes together as a structured, systematic analysis and discussion.

After creating hard copies of the transcriptions, I read through the transcripts several times to familiarise myself with the contents of the data and identified common issues discussed by the participants. Through their utterances, I was able to identify emerging themes that arose in the contents of the data and used these to sort the data according to codes (Silverman, 2004; Bertram & Christiansen, 2014). As I read through the transcripts, more themes and patterns of participants' responses became apparent (Lee & Stanko, 2003), and I included these patterns in my existing coding system until there was a saturation of the relevant data. Throughout the process I remained true to the data by not tampering or interfering with the participants' responses, thereby maintaining trustworthiness and validity of data. For me as the researcher, upholding the ethics of a sound research holds this study in good stead for transferability (Bertram & Christiansen, 2014).

The data that was arranged according to a coded system was ready to create a cohesive and structured data analysis and discussion. Biographic data that included the demographic information of the participants also provided valuable information regarding the geographic location of the participants and the varying communities they lived in. This information was useful in identifying the thinking patterns of different communities (Lee & Stanko, 2003). Considering that this is a qualitative research, interviews had to be transcribed accurately and returned to every participant for verification before the data could be analysed and research

findings reached (Crossman, 2019; Merriam, 2009). Transcribing qualitative data for analysis is time consuming and labour intensive (Queirós et al., 2017), with not all data being returned timeously by the participant because they were busy with their own online studies, often resulting in gentle reminders by myself to verify such details. Problems were also experienced with the turnaround time for the data verification due to the costs associated with receiving and returning participants' transcriptions via e-mail, for which provisions were made for them to receive data and airtime. This was also done to avoid the burden of students having to bear the costs for my study.

3.8. Validity, Reliability and Rigor

In any research study, reliability and validity form the cornerstones of a good research, where issues of reliability and validity address the question of how realistic the findings are (Hammarberg, Kirkman & de Lacey, 2016). Hammarberg et al., (2016) further argues that for reliability and validity to stand true in a study, trustworthiness is fundamental. Validity and reliability are therefore intertwined and determine the future success of the transferability and confirmability of the finding to similar research studies. Reliability in research is the extent to which the research instruments used in one study can yield almost corresponding results with a similar group of participants in another study (Bertram & Christiansen, 2014). Contextual factors largely determine the validity of the results of a study and where the context is vastly different, it becomes difficult to apply the research elsewhere. The true validity of this study lies in how the researcher of a future related study determines the success rate of its transferability.

Although rigour is essentially applicable to quantitative research studies, some academics maintain that qualitative research should include some evidence of how detailed the study was (Hammersley & Traianou, 2012). The study data should match the results and there should be no gaps between the interpretation and representation of data (Merriam, 2009). In the event of inconsistencies between the data and the analysis, the researcher should ideally allow for returning to the interview process and verifying the perspective of the participant regarding the research topic. Data does not speak for itself, but that does not mean that data should be subjected to the personal interpretation of the researcher and suit a specific desired result. The researcher must pursue the quest for clarity about the thoughts, feelings and information of the participants (Silverman, 2004) and analyse the data from there onwards. After the data was transcribed verbatim, it was returned vie e-mail for verification by the participants. Honesty on

the part of the researcher is paramount, and tampering with data to suit what the researcher wants to represent constitutes the false representation of information (Crossman, 2019).Throughout the study, I remained true to the data and drew my analysis from the participants' responses, and no point tampering with the responses and falsify the results.

3.9. Transferability, confirmability and credibility

Although not all qualitative research results can be applied in another situation, the results of a similar study should not be very different to studies in similar contexts. A significant part of the data collection process was transcribing the audio-recorded interviews and allowing the participants to peruse through these for the verification process, adding further credibility to the study (Bertram & Christiansen, 2014). In this study, I ensured credibility by capturing the data verbatim and enabled the participants, who are usually the best judges for the verification of data, to legitimise what was represented. Data does not speak for itself, and as this was a qualitative research with elements of subjectivity (Silverman, 2004; Bertram & Christiansen, 2014;), as the researcher, I became the voice behind the data, which rendered me accountable for transcribing and interpreting it (Crossman, 2019). Where responses were used to support statements in the data analysis, they appeared within quotation marks, using previous literature and theoretical frameworks to fortify the claims made. In this way, transferability, which is the extent to which a research can be applied to another similar social setting (Bertram & Christiansen, 2014), can be guaranteed, as the analysis report makes reference to previous studies based on IPV in similar contexts (Silverman, 2004). The data and research findings should match reality and reflect a high degree of credibility in any study (Merriam, 2009). Credibility in any research should avail itself to an audit trail upon request to verify the data used (Bertram & Christiansen, 2014) and to this end the transcript of a sample interview appears in the appendices.

3.10. Trustworthiness and dependability

The researcher is the driver behind the data analysis and the results thereof, and while being tasked with being a neutral component in research can be a challenge, it was an essential part of a study (Merriam, 2009). Researchers should be wary of elements of bias based on socio-economic, gender and cultural factors that can enter a study, either consciously or unconsciously (Palaganas et al., 2017). Hence, capturing the data collection and analysing it with honesty and integrity was essential in this study (Bertram & Christiansen, 2014). Talking about violence is always a sensitive issue, but it was important to bring about change without

doing harm to the participants or the context in which the study took place (Lee & Stanko, 2003). In this study I constantly reminded the participants that their anonymity was assured and that they could speak freely and honestly without fear of their utterances being discussed with other students or individuals. This required tact and honesty on my part as a researcher, as it was not easy to convince some participants to take part. The telephone calls enhanced trustworthiness by increased anonymity for some participants as it appeared that they were able to respond to probing questions without inhibition due to there being no visual and physical contact with me, the researcher. However, I felt that there were participants who did not respond as openly due to not being able to see who they were speaking to. Remote interviews to a large extent worked as an advantage, where participants did not have to be conscious that their peers were aware of their involvement in a research study, especially as it relates to a sensitive topic such as IPV. Telephone and WhatsApp calls were a further advantage, as the interviews were conducted when the participants were sure that they were in a private space and could speak freely, with some lasting longer than an hour.

3.11. Ethical considerations

The following ethical considerations were observed:

- Application was made to the Registrar of the university to conduct this research study at the university and indicated in Appendix A.
- Ethical clearance was granted by the University of KwaZulu-Natal Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (HSSREC), first manually and then electronically, in keeping with the change in format for an online ethical clearance application. The application had to go to the Full Committee for approval due the highly sensitive nature of this study. Only after the necessary changes were made to the Provisional Approval in accordance with the Covid-19 research requirements was the Full Ethics Approval granted (**HSSREC/00001124/2020),** as indicated in Appendix B.
- This research was undertaken during the Covid-19 pandemic, with the required protocols being observed regarding social distancing to ensure everyone's wellbeing.
- Participants' anonymity and right to privacy was respected, with pseudonyms being used to protect their real identities and the researcher guaranteeing each participant's confidentiality by not discussing their response with other individual/s (Merriam, 2009).
- The participants were made aware that they would not be subjected to any intentional trauma or be forced to continue with an interview if they were not comfortable with

certain questions (Lee & Stanko, 2003). If they felt traumatised at any stage of the interview, they were informed that the process would be aborted, and they would be referred for trauma counselling. They were made aware that they could seek assistance for counselling from the university counselling centre and to this end were provided with the name and details of the counsellor.

- Participants had the right to exercise their autonomy during this study where they could withdraw at any point without having to fear negative repercussions (Bertram & Christiansen, 2014).

- Confidentiality and privacy of data must be a highly prioritised area in any study (Merriam, 2009) and here I ensured that all sources of participants' personal information and the data collected were stored safely on a data retrieval device that required a protected password to access any information, with only the supervisor and I having access to the research details. All hard copies must be filed and stored in a locked cupboard.

- Details of this study were communicated with the supervisor via electronic mail, and as a researcher, I undertook to maintain honesty by not tampering with data to suit a specific or desired research result (Crossman, 2019).

3.12. Limitations to the study

The changes from manual ethical approval applications to an online version presented several challenges. This was due to my initial manual application for ethical clearance being 'lost' on the university's computer system, and while the relevant personnel acknowledged the error, the university had already implemented the Research Institute Gateway (RIG) system, where ethical clearance applications could only be accepted via online applications. This meant that I had to redo the ethical application using a system that had its own setbacks, as the computer programme was not fully developed and still a work in progress. The first online application was not approved until the revisions met the ethics committee's requirements. The final ethics approval was granted 15 months after my initial application with further delays due to the ethics committee having to work remotely during the Covid-19 pandemic. When the ethical clearance was finally approved, the availability of student in the residences was an immense challenge due to the Covid-19 pandemic, with many having left and returned home under the national lockdown. This meant getting the contact details from the referring student and hoping that the contacted person would reply.

There were also strict university research protocols for social distancing, which meant that as face-to-face interviews could not be conducted, the data collection methods had to be amended to suit the changing needs of the study, for which I used telephone calls and social media. While these were successful for data collection, they lacked the human element of communicating face-to-face where I could take note of facial expressions and the body language of each participant as they responded in the interview. Time constraints was another limitation in this study, as university students working remotely from home undertook their studies online, with the added responsibilities of household chores and childcare duties, which curtailed the amount of time they could spare for being interviewed, whereas if they were living on campus, access and availability may have been easier without the added responsibilities.

While I diarised the date and time that participants indicated when they were available, some did not adhere to their appointments, which meant that new dates and times had to be arranged. In cases where participants did not contact me despite my leaving SMS's or WhatsApp messages on their phones, I had to adjust my appointment times with other participants. Many students live where the internet connection is poor resulting in me having to reconnect calls several times in the same interview with interruptions during our conversations.

Privacy for participants was a further limitation, as some indicated that they had to work in overcrowded homes. Due to the travel bans imposed during the lockdown, some students had to live with relatives as they could not reach their homes, thus creating further challenges that they may not have encountered while living in their own homes. I used probing questions to engage the participants in deeper conversations to go beyond the surface responses, but I was always mindful of the possibility that some participants could be victims of IPV. This could have had a negative impact on them where questions could trigger memories or bring flashbacks of their experiences. To this end, I explicitly acknowledged that although I am not professionally qualified to provide counselling to any participant, I could provide details for a professionally trained expert, helpline on campus for assistance and my supervisor to assist in the event of requiring assistance.

3.13. Reflexivity in the study

The process of reflexivity in this study allowed me some introspection about what worked for me in light of the COVID-19 pandemic, the challenges of obtaining full ethics approval, and

the university's research restrictions that required me to adapt my data collection methods to suit the 'new normal' of social distancing. Reflecting on the research processes allowed me the opportunity to acknowledge the contributions of my participants and supervisor, which is integral in any study. The technical challenges experienced during the manual and online ethics approval application processes further exacerbated the delays in this study, as the country entered a national lockdown during the COVID-19 pandemic. Reflexivity created a portal for me to understand the contextual factors surrounding this study better. Given the challenges of having to work remotely with poor internet connectivity, the absence of face-to-face interviews and being unable to observe the participants' body language where I could reflect on different people and their responses to my questions, I missed the human element of communication.

Qualitative research within an interpretative paradigm acknowledges that studies cannot be devoid of subjectivity, as researcher bias, their assumptions (Dodgson, 2015) and emotions inevitably play a role in influencing how a phenomenon is understood (Palaganas, Sanchez, Molintas, & Caricativo, 2017). As I listened to the participants, I could not divorce myself from my maternal instincts of fear, anger, sadness and hope while I listened to incidents of physical assault, including sexual abuse and rape endured by students who were almost the age of my own children. Being an Indian post graduate student with my own religious convictions and cultural beliefs, there was bound to be some degree of bias in analysing the data. I had to gain greater insight into my participants` cultures that I was not exposed to and this was a learning curve for me as well. Furthermore, I had to dissect certain cultural practices and norms that did not make sense to me at first. At some point in this research, my positionality as the researcher could have had an impact on this study as cultural differences may have led to some degree of unintentional bias in the study. However, being an educator for close to twenty-five years, I am familiar with communicating with learners and people from different socio-economic backgrounds. While I may not have had the experience of living in a campus residence myself, I understand the value of having the option of being closer to the university. As a student, I had to travel over 100 km daily from a rural location in my undergraduate years to attend lectures at UKZN. Thereafter, I had to travel 120 km to complete my post-graduate studies. From my personal experiences I can relate to the reality that students choose to live in a university campus residence as an attempt to save on the commuting time and costs. University campus residences ought to be safe spaces and this is what the study aims to explore. According to Dodgson (2015) subjectivity on the part of the researcher is acceptable and a reality within an interpretive study. Some researchers do not practice reflexivity but for those

who do, they add an immense benefit of understanding the limitations of a study in conjunction with addressing the challenges presented along the way (Probst, 2015).

3.14. Conclusion

This chapter outlined the research methodology and design applied for the specific purpose of this study, with due reference to experts in the field of research. It provided information about the location of the study and how the study was conducted. In addition, the characteristics of qualitative research was discussed, supporting the rationale for its choice in this study. The study was located within an interpretive paradigm, which was best suited for this study as it allowed the researcher to make sense of real-life experiences within a specific context. This chapter also focused how participants were recruited, the data collection and interview process as well as the dynamics of the conversations between the researcher and participant, the compilation of transcriptions and verification thereof. The limitations of this study were then discussed with regards to challenges in obtaining ethical clearance to proceed with this research, including in relation to the pandemic, and how they were overcome or contributed to the delay of this study. The confirmation of data was integral in this research, as the back and forth movement of data between the researcher and the participant served to strengthen the analysis and findings of the study. In this study, utterances were used verbatim to strengthen the discussion and statements in the analysis chapter. I alluded to the process of reflexivity in research, which allowed me to conduct introspection and reflect on what worked for me in this study while examining those factors that served to my disadvantage. This chapter served to prepare the reader for the data analysis which follows in Chapter 4.

CHAPTER 4. DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.1. Introduction

This presents the findings based on the themes that emerged from the participants' responses in conjunction with the literature drawn from extant studies related to Intimate Partner Violence (IPV). The literature from Chapter 2 and relevant theoretical frameworks were used to support or refute the findings of my study. The data generated from the interviews with 24 university students (14 females, 10 males) residing in a university campus residence is discussed in detail. This is a qualitative study within an interpretivist paradigm, where the research instrument used was individual semi-structured interviews with open-ended and further probing questions, where necessary. The interpretivist paradigm was the best suited approach for this study as it allowed me to make meaning of the data, taking into consideration the human elements of the social, political, historical and contextual factors where the study was located (Bertram & Christiansen, 2014), thus providing valuable insight into the participant's lived experiences.

The participants in this study live in male, female or the mixed gender residence where they share communal facilities for cooking and entertainment. However, some students prepare meals for themselves as well as their partners in their rooms. The participants were identified initially through purposive then snowball sampling as students had to return to their homes during the lockdown period of the Covid-19 pandemic. This study was conducted amid a pandemic, where the university's research guidelines stipulated strict adherence to social distancing, hence face-to-face interviews could not be conducted. Telephone and WhatsApp calls were used to communicate remotely with the participants to conduct the interviews. Data collection took place once informed consent was granted and confirmed by the participants via e-mail.

The data was thematically analysed within the context of the two relevant theoretical frameworks as a gender lens, namely Connell's Gender Relational theory (2012), which includes gender power relations, and Burr's (2003) Social Constructionism theory. While gender relations are inclusive of social and agentic elements working in collaboration with one another, social constructionism hinges on knowledge influenced by culture, language, parents, caregivers, institutions and the education system, as opposed to knowledge coming from within an individual based on their own worldly experiences (Burr, 2003). The theoretical frameworks

contributed to unpacking the ways in which the students in this study understood, were exposed to and experienced IPV in this university campus residence.

The following eight themes emerged from participants' responses, and where necessary, sub-themes were used to provide an in-depth discussion for a better understanding of the data analysed.

1. Students' understandings of IPV
2. University students' experiences and exposure to IPV
3. Agency, resilience and the "Kangaroo court"
4. Race, culture and violence
5. Substance abuse, the culture of parties and IPV on campus
6. Transactional relationships are the risky ones: Love vs Money
7. Accessing assistance from the relevant authorities
8. Students' suggestions for a way forward

4.2. Biographical data of the 24 participants

This study involved twenty-four participants, fourteen females and ten male students at various levels of study living in the university campus residence. Of these, twenty-three were from the race group classified as Black African, with only one Indian participant, the reason for this being because most students living in this university campus residence are Black African. The sample comprised of both undergraduate and post-graduate students (including doctoral studies), where their ages ranged from 18 to 30 years. The participant's biographical data was provided to provide insight into their lives, with twenty-two students hailing from within KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) Province, and two from other provinces. Male participants were referred to as 'MP' followed by the number according to the order in which they were interviewed. Female participants were referred to as 'FP', also followed by the number in the order which they were interviewed. The name that appeared before the code was a pseudonym chosen by the participant or in some cases, the participant trusted me and gave me permission to choose a pseudonym for them.

Their original place of residence ranged from northern KZN to the South Coast including urban, peri-urban and rural areas. Three participants self-identified as being homosexual and in same sex intimate relationships, while the rest identified as being heterosexual. The study also comprised of students who were pre-service educators (undergraduates), peer educators,

residence assistants (RA's) and those who served on the Student Representative Council (SRC) as well as volunteers in Non-Profit Organisations (NPO's). All the students were fluent in English, which enabled easier communication with the researcher as there were no language barriers during the interview process. In response to students who could not afford to finance their tertiary education, the Department of Higher Education extended its budget to finance disadvantaged students in the form of the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS). Of the 24 participants, 20 received bursaries or funding from various sources, while three worked part-time and one depended on his family members to finance his education. Listed below are the participants' biographical data, using pseudonyms, that offer an insight into their lives.

Male participants:
- **MP 1**: **Nkosiyazi** is 20 years old and a second-year student. He is originally from Hluhluwe, Northern Natal. He receives financial support from his brother and does not work. He has been living in the campus residence for two years.
- **MP 2: Music** is 18 years old and a first-year student who comes from Newcastle. He receives student funding and does not work. Music has been living in the campus residence from February 2020.
- **MP 3: Lee** is 28 years old and a seventh-year doctoral student. He is originally from Chatsworth Durban. Lee does not receive student funding and works part-time to pay for his studies. He has been living in the campus residence for two years.
- **MP 4**: **Bonga** is 24 years old and a fifth-year student. He is originally from KwaNdegyezi in Pinetown. He is an orphan who works as a Resident Assistant (RA) and in the university library to fund his studies. He has been living in the campus residence for five years.
- **MP 5: Mike** is 21 years old and a third-year student. He is originally from Umbumbulu, South Coast KZN. He does not receive student funding and works part-time to pay for his studies. He has been living in the campus residence for three years.
- **MP 6: Philip** is 23 years old and a fourth-year student. He is originally from Osizweni in Newcastle. He does not receive funding. He is unemployed and depends on his family members who are SASSA grant recipients. Philip has been living in the campus residence for the past four years. He self identifies as being in a gay relationship.

- **MP 7: <u>Brian</u>** is 25 years old and a fourth-year year student. He is originally from Umzumkhulu, South Coast KZN. Brian receives a bursary and does not work. He has been living in the campus residence for three years.

- **MP 8: <u>Austin</u>** is 23 years old and a first-year student. He is originally from Ulundi. Austin receives student funding and does not work. He has been living in the campus residence since February 2020. He self-identifies as being in a gay relationship.

- **MP 9: <u>Fred</u>** is 24 years old and a fourth-year student. He is originally from Inanda Durban. Fred receives a bursary and does not work. He has been living in the campus residence for four years.

- **MP 10: <u>Sam</u>** is 21 years old and a fourth-year student. He is originally from Inanda, Durban. He receives a bursary and does not work. Sam has been living in the campus residence for four years. He self identifies as being in a gay relationship.

<u>Female participants:</u>

- **FP 1: <u>Lisakhanya</u>** is 21 years old and a third-year student. She is originally from Richards Bay. Lisa receives a bursary and does not work. She has been living in the campus residence for two years.

- **FP 2: <u>Crocodile</u>** is 18 years old and a first-year student. She is originally from Newcastle. She receives NSFAS funding and does not work. She has been living in the campus residence from February 2020.

- **FP 3: <u>Rose</u>** is 19 years old and a second-year student. She is originally from Nongoma KZN. She receives student funding and does not work. She has been living in the campus residence for two years.

- **FP 4: <u>Lily</u>** is 19 years old and a second-year student. She is originally from Empangeni, Northern KZN. She receives funding and does not work. She has been living in the campus residence for two years.

- **FP 5: <u>Amanda</u>** is 21 years old and a third-year student. She is originally from Umlazi Township, Durban. Amanda receives a bursary and does not work. She has been living in the campus residence for three years.

- **FP 6: <u>Amel</u>** is 19 years old and a first-year student. She is originally from Pretoria, Gauteng Province. She receives a bursary and does not work. Amel has been living in the campus residence since February 2020.

- **FP 7: <u>Peaches</u>** is 21 years old and a fourth-year student. She is originally from Ixopo. She receives NSFAS funding and does not work. Peaches has been living in the residence for four years.

- **FP 8: <u>Mary</u>** is 20 years old and a third-year student. She is originally from Durban. She receives NSFAS funding and does not work. She has been living in the campus residence for three years.

- **FP 9: <u>Bonita</u>** is 23 years old and a fourth-year student. She is originally from the Eastern Cape Province. She receives funding and does not work. Bonita has been living in the residence for four years.

- **FP 10: <u>Princess</u>** is 22 years old and a third-year student. She is originally from Inanda, Durban. She receives a bursary and does not work. Princess has been living in the campus residence for two years.

- **FP 11: <u>Pearl</u>** is 26 years old and a third-year student. She is originally from Umzinto, South Coast KZN. She receives a bursary and does not work. Pearl has been living in the campus residence for two years.

- **FP 12: <u>Lisa</u>** is 20 years old, and a second-year student. She is originally from Chatsworth, Durban. She receives a bursary and does not work. Lisa has been living in the campus residence for two years.

- **FP 13: <u>Patricia</u>** is 30 years old and a seventh-year student. She is originally from Eshowe, Northern KZN. She receives student funding and does not work. Patricia has been living in the campus residence for seven years.

- **FP 14: <u>Lindi</u>** is 24 years old and a third-year student. She is originally from Shakaskraal, on the north coast of KZN. She receives student funding and does not work. Lindi has been living in the campus residence for three years.

4.3. Students' understandings of Intimate Partner Violence

This theme explores and discusses the university students' understandings of IPV in an environment that is supposed to foster collegiality, and where education should be the focal point of being in the institution. In the excerpts below, the participants' responses indicated their perceptions and understandings of IPV, based on their lived experiences and exposure to this phenomenon in a university campus residence. Amanda, a third-year student, indicated her understanding of IPV in this university campus residence, where violence between intimate partners were normalised for students.

"It's something that happens quite often. I'm sure that's not coming to you as a shock, so I am aware of cases of IPV across all our residences."

(Amanda, FP 5)

The phenomenon of IPV from the above response is something that occurs 'quite often' in the campus, and for students, it was not unusual for the residences to be a sites where abusive practices were rife. In addition to IPV occurring in the on-campus residence, according to Amanda, this phenomenon also took place in the various off-campus residences. The responses below demonstrate students' varied understandings and perceptions of IPV.

"Um…I think it has to do with boyfriend/girlfriend relationship and um… GBV."

(Lindi, FP 14)

For Lindi, IPV and GBV was one and the same type of violence. In her understanding, IPV was violence that occurred in a dating relationship, which she referred to as a "boyfriend/ girlfriend relationship", and where her understanding of an intimate relationship was limited to heterosexual ones. One of the common perceptions in this study amongst a few participants, such as Lindi, was that IPV and GBV could be used interchangeably. While GBV is perpetrated by strangers, the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation [CSVR] defines GBV as violence that "*occurs as a result of the normative role expectations… as well as the unequal power relationships between the genders.*" (CSVR, 2016, p 4).

"It would have to be verbal, physical as well as just psychological. You know how some-one's behaviour will affect somebody else" **(Austin, MP 8)**

"It is physical violence, sexual violence, where a person actually forces you to be umm…intimate with them, emotional abuse, controlling behaviour. All those things." **(Amanda, FP 5)**

In the above excerpts, male and female students' understandings of IPV included a dominant-subordinate relationship where one partner tried to overpower the other using forceful or controlling methods and where violence was consistently inherent in an intimate relationship. Austin who self-identified as being in a gay relationship and Amanda who identified as being heterosexual both mentioned IPV as an unequal power relationship and exhibited a deeper knowledge of IPV involving tangible and intangible forms of violence. In cases where one partner decided to leave an intimate relationship, Fred spoke about cyberbullying and hacking social media accounts as a means of harassing and stalking an intimate partner. With the advancement of technology, it is evident how intimate relationships extend beyond the realm of intimate contact between partners into the public domain, where estranged partners vent their emotions in vengeful ways.

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"…they just stalk the girlfriend like hack the Facebook account." **(Fred, MP 9)**

Sam, who self-identified as being in a gay relationship at the time of this study, was aware of IPV amongst non-normative gender couples, while for Rose, her understanding was that intimate partners did not require physical contact for violence to prevail in their relationship, as partners living in different premises could experience or exercise violence remotely.

> *"You find that there are many couples who are gays or lesbians, there's some sort of violence in their relationship…"* **(Sam, MP 10)**
>
> *"The violence between the people who are in a relationship even if they are living far from each other."* **(Rose, FP 3)**

According to Lee, IPV is a deliberate act of violence within a close relationship where one partner inflicts abuse with the intention to cause anguish for the victim. This perception resonates with the literature, where Gordan (2016) posits that IPV is perpetrated directly or indirectly, being intended to subjugate the victim by using various forms of violence.

> *"… the violence part is more about a person who you are in a relationship with, if they physically, emotionally, psychologically make you feel uncomfortable or hurt you, so I consider that intimate partner violence."* **(Lee, MP 3)**

While some participants spoke of IPV manifesting physically to include sexual assault and coercive practices, others were aware of the hidden forms of abuse with equally damaging effects on the well-being of the victim. Either through being educated, their own observations or personal experiences, most students understood that IPV to be physical abuse, while other understandings indicated that IPV could be perpetrated using intangible forms of psychological and emotional blackmail through insidious comments. In the responses from Lindi and Philip below, the remarks from verbal abuse were equally damaging as other forms of IPV, and instrumental in reinforcing the perceived power of the perpetrator, and here the result was the self-fulfilling prophecy, where victims of emotional and verbal abuse live up to the desired expectations of their abusers.

> *"…the boy was cheating with someone in the same res and when he got caught, he started making nasty remarks at the girl that he cheated on so ya, it was really bad. Most of the things that he said, I think they have damaged her self-esteem."* **(Lindi, FP 14)**
>
> *"…a female would see her boyfriend, maybe discover that he's cheating, and then the boyfriend will emotionally er…blackmail the girl, and then the girl will go back to her room. She won't talk to her friends. She won't be in contact with anyone. She*

will just go into her bed, not eat. Starve herself you know. They just torture themselves." **(Philip, MP 6)**

In their responses, both male and female participants maintained that the negative outcomes of IPV had detrimental effects on the victim, and while for Lindi, name-calling was a form of emotional abuse that served to lower the self-confidence of the victim, Philip considered emotional abuse to be one of the causes of self-punishment and self-blame. According to Gordan (2016), where victims were not confident of being independent or leaving a toxic intimate relationship, there was an increased possibility of them not accessing medical assistance or confiding the details of their abuse to other people, including the relevant authorities. Through the voices of Philip and Lindi, it was evident that female students who were victims of IPV engaged in self-blame as a reaction, and while this behaviour endangered their health and social well-being in the bouts of depression and starvation they experienced, the situation was exacerbated by their male counterparts using reverse psychology to subdue and control them.

While the health and emotional welfare of the victims must be considered as being at risk of self-harm, there are greater implications, as victims who are affected by IPV are more prone to engaging in risky behaviour and coercive practices for fear of abandonment by an intimate partner (Bhana & Anderson, 2013), or constantly seeking validation from them (Gordan & Collins, 2013). The social constructions of violence varied from one participant to the next, and while Lindi and Philip acknowledged that IPV was rife, for Bonita, being pinned against a wall and subjected to verbal abuse did not constitute violence, as the onslaught of words was harmless compared to physical forms of abuse. Although being physically held against the wall limited her ability to escape from harm, if she was not physically beaten, it was not regarded as violence. This demonstrates how gender as a social construct serves to indoctrinate females to accept verbal and emotional abuse as forms of reinforcing social norms that distort their understanding of IPV.

> *"No, he's just reprimanding me, it's not IPV. He just pinned me against the wall. It's not violence. What is violence? How do you tell me I'm being violated?"*
> **(Bonita, FP 9)**

Through her lack of understanding of what constitutes IPV, Bonita colludes in her own oppression, where she justifies violence as an acceptable form of being reprimanded. Hence,

her understanding of IPV is misconceived through her misguided interpretation of how IPV is perpetrated. Where social constructions glorify masculinities, violence is construed as an acceptable form of maintaining hegemonies through constant reinforcement by parents, gender norms, education systems and cultural experiences (Burr, 2003; Magudulela, 2017). According to the WHO (2012) report, social norms are largely responsible for the acceptance of IPV within certain cultures, where ideologies of men as superior beings is encouraged. The above findings are reiterated by Abolfotouh & Almuneef (2019), where masculinities, influenced by religion and culture in Saudi Arabia, determine the treatment of women in society. Through such beliefs, men perceive themselves as disciplinarians and assume that women should endure violence because of their subjective position in society. The issue of race and culture as factors contributing to IPV will be discussed later in this chapter. The varied responses reveal that IPV can be physical, sexual, emotional and psychological abuse, including controlling behaviour and stalking, with the students' understandings of IPV resonating with the UKZN: GBV (2017) policy.

The responses from participants showed that students understand IPV as a phenomenon that was normalised in this campus residence, as well as in off-campus residences, within heterosexual and non-normative gender relationships. Social constructs of power were understood to be rife in intimate relationships, where the battle for dominance was evident in the way violence was used to resolve conflicts through the perpetration of physical violence, sexual assault and coercive practices. However, the participants were acutely aware of other intangible forms of emotional and psychological abuse, which were equally devastating for the victims of IPV. An extension of the understanding of IPV is carried in the next sub-theme, which focuses on the victims and perpetrators of this social phenomenon.

4.3.1.   The victims and perpetrators of Intimate Partner Violence

While students' understandings of IPV sets the tone for the rest of the data analysis, their perceptions of who the victims and perpetrators are offers further insight into the target groups for torment and perpetration in this campus residence. When the participants were questioned about who they identified victims of IPV to be, the unanimous response was that female students were the prime target population, with less dominant partners in homosexual relationships also facing the risk of being victims of IPV. The extracts below were in response to the question I posed to Sam. According to Butler (1990), sex is the biological binaries of male and female, while gender is how people are socialised into behaving. For Sam, who self-

identified as being in a gay relationship, the construction of gender was important for him to respond in relation to power dynamics within an intimate relationship, and he demonstrated a deeper level of understanding by confirming a response in terms of the difference between the sex of an individual and a person's gender.

While the participants were aware of gender power relations within heterosexual relationships, hierarchies in non-normative relationships subjected submissive partners to violence that is usually associated with the abuse of women. For Ngabaza, Daniels, Franck & Maluleke (2013), the treatment of women in university spaces is a reflection of how they are treated in broader society, and from the responses below, gender roles create fertile grounds for exposing women to violence, while men are perceived as authoritarians in an intimate relationship. Within heterosexual and non-normative genders, the partner exhibiting 'femme' or female characteristics were consistently identified as "usually" the victims.

> *"Who do you think the victims are mostly?"* (**Interviewer**)
>
> *"In terms of gender?"* (**Sam, MP 10**)
>
> *"Yes."* (**Interviewer**)
>
> *"I think it's usually the females, females or partners who are…I don't know how to put this, um…partners that are not dominant in the relationship. I don't know if I can put it that way?* (**Sam, MP 10**)
>
> *"I would say the women…I think it also happens in same sex relationships."*
>
> (**Lisa, FP 12**)
>
> *Err…the main victims are usually the women. It also happens in same sex relationships, because I've witnessed a gay and lesbian relationship where a partner would maybe one says something about one thing and the maybe the other partner decides to hit the other partner.* (**Mike, MP 5**)

Although one cannot overlook the possibility of men suffering abuse within IPV, studies and statistics conclude that women and children face the consequences of IPV as victims (World Health Organisation [WHO], 2012, Bhana & Anderson, 2013). While women are the main perpetrators, and that where men are positioned through culture as superior, women and vulnerable groups within society bear the consequences for not adhering to the gender script of submission (Connell, 2012; Spencer, Haffejee, Candy & Kaseke, 2016; Bhana & Pillay, 2018). From Sam's response, we see how social constructs of non-normative genders excludes gay and lesbian persons through language, where he refers to homosexual couples as "those partners".

"*Yes, it's actually females and those partners…*" (**Sam, MP 10**)

Sam was acutely aware of the subordinate status that women and non-normative genders were relegated to in an intimate relationship. His response resonated with those of Mike and Lisa, where the accepted norm amongst students was for women to be the target group as victims of IPV. However, through their exposure of communal living conditions they were also aware that less dominating partners of non-normative genders faced a similar likelihood of being victims of IPV. This was a consistent response from most participants in this study, where only two participants responded that only women were victims and one did not respond to the question at all. While educational institutions ought to be neutral spaces with equality for all students regardless of race, class, gender or their social-economic status, it was apparent that students introduced their social practices that created divisions along gender lines into the university campus residence.

In this study, participants acknowledged that IPV could prevail in heterosexual and homosexual relationships, with perpetrators being the dominant partner. Male students in this university campus residence were perceived to be predominantly perpetrators of IPV within heterosexual and gay relationships.

> "*Most of the times males would be like violating their girlfriends in most case. That's the common one.*" (**Bonita, FP 9**)
>
> "*The perpetrators are males in most cases.*" (**Lindi, FP 14**)
>
> "*If it is a relationship between a male and a female, it's usually the male who is abusing the female. Yes.*" (**Music, MP 2**)
>
> "*I think it's mainly because of the upbringing or rather the… eh…community or social backgrounds of most of these male students, their exposure insofar as violence is concerned. Or mostly the… er…communications problems … or even what I call it…situation management skills*" (**Brian, MP 7**)
>
> "*Just because guys um…they, they have a way of dealing with things, they blow things out of proportion. These guys wanna resolve things a lot more different than how girls would.*" (**Austin, MP 8**)

While violence is an unacceptable form of exercising dominance and authority, gender and power constructs within patriarchal societies position men as powerful in relation to the inferior treatment of women (Connell, 2002). For Brian and Austin, male students in intimate relationships sought immediate gratification in situations of conflict and a common way of

resolving conflicts was to use violence. According to Brian, male students who were socialised into learning that violence resolved conflicts practiced this type of behaviour in the university campus residence. Social constructionism reinforces the behaviour of men and women in society through observing role models, and for Magudulela (2017), the lack of positive male role models and absent fathers impacts on how male children treat their intimate partners. Through the voices of the students, hegemonic masculinities prevailed in this university campus residence, giving unrelenting power to male students, who considered perpetrating violence as a norm and an automatic right to dominate in an intimate relationship. Within these asymmetrical gender relations, the physical assault of female students was an acceptable social norm amongst students. Where perpetrators were aware of their dominance and power to manipulate victims to remain in abusive relationships, they used culture as a crutch for the normalisation of violence in intimate relationships. In the next sub-theme, I explore how gender power relations serve to silence the phenomenon of IPV in a university campus residence.

4.3.2. The silence and underreporting of Intimate Partner Violence

One of the key features of IPV is the relative silence and underreporting of abuse in intimate relationships (WHO, 2012; Bhana, 2013; Gordan, 2016, Patra, Prakash, Patra & Khanna, 2018). This escalated during the Covid-19 pandemic lockdown, when the increased rates of domestic violence in South Africa gained public attention and the country's leadership was quickly drawn to how victims of IPV were forced to live with their perpetrators. Lockdown procedures meant that human movement was highly limited, with victims of domestic violence having no access to police services, law enforcement officials and telephonic communication. Due to social distancing, bystanders in different communities were not present to witness IPV perpetrated inside homes and report this to the police on behalf of the victim, thus curtailing any further means of accessing help. In this sub-theme I look at the underreporting of IPV in a university campus residence and the factors that influence the silence surrounding this phenomenon. In the response from Sam *"…violence usually takes place in the residence where we staying, maybe when you are visiting your partner and stuff",* thereby giving an indication that it was normalised for IPV to occur when partners visited within the campus residence. According to Bhana & Pillay (2018), a campus residence serves as home, even in the absence of family members and the privacy within a residence, the student's room is equivalent to that of an entire home. In this study, the participants spoke about the residence rooms being the most feared spaces as this was the site where IPV was most perpetrated. During the interviews,

I questioned each participant about the areas that they deemed to be sites for the perpetration of IPV.

> *"...if they do not get privacy, it happens on the campus. Maybe in the library or on the grounds".* **(Fred, MP 9)**

While the library and recreational areas had sporadic bouts of verbal arguments between partners in heterosexual relationships, the rooms (bedrooms) where the students lived were the spaces where IPV was mostly perpetrated.

> *"Which areas in the campus residence does IPV mostly occur?"* **(Interviewer)**
>
> *"In the rooms."* **(Lisakhanya, FP 1)**

Even when partners engaged in verbal abuse in the lecture halls, they refrained from any form of violence in public, as they were conscious of the consequences for breaching the university policy on GBV (UKZN: GBV, 2017). According to this policy, students caught contravening the university regulations and rules face disciplinary action from the relevant authorities. Hence, perpetrators ensured that they were discreet about their actions and contained IPV within the confines of the residence and private rooms.

> *"I'd say the residences. It doesn't usually take place in the campus."* **(Rose, FP 3)**

While IPV in open spaces and the presence of security staff could jeopardise their reputation with the institution, perpetrators of IPV were mindful of getting into trouble with the university authorities and used more private spaces, where their movements were less monitored and they could exercise their authority over their partners in covert ways. Singh & Myende (2017) posit that universities should ideally be safe spaces where students thrive and develop as productive individuals in their respective career paths. However, according to the study participants, the violence in the campus residence was an extension of the high levels of violence in the broader South African community, where the statistics for crime is amongst the highest in the world (Gordan & Collins, 2013) and the rate of femicide is almost six times higher than the rest of the world (Gordan, 2016).

> *"Err… with what is happening is we can see that there is no platform that kids can use for IPV. The university does not accommodate such violence, so I would advise that maybe they talk to someone that they trust."* **(Mike, MP 5)**
>
> *"...they do not feel there's an escape to this because even if you are to perhaps go report the matter, you do not get the necessary support from the institution."*

(Amanda, FP 5)

The University of KwaZulu-Natal's Gender Based Violence policy, which was effective from 2017, was designed to address the increase in GBV in their various campuses, and as an intervention strategy, will be reviewed on a three-year cycle. However, although IPV is included in this policy, it falls under the umbrella of GBV and has yet to be identified as a main area of concern, given that the university caters for students to cohabit in the mixed residence. For Mike, a senior student who is politically active in the university, the silence surrounding IPV suggests that students are not comfortable reporting IPV because the institution does not have the necessary forums to address the issue. Amanda and Mike indicated that although the university authorities are often aware of the incidents surrounding IPV, there is no avenue for reporting incidents of such violence.

According to Connell (1995), gender regimes of an institution serves in the interests of patriarchies, where different roles for men and women exacerbate unequal gender norms and its practices. For Amanda, the university does not have the appropriate mechanisms for reporting IPV, and the proverbial "turning a blind eye" creates a further lack of its awareness in the campus residences. Hence the gender regimes of the institution collude with perpetrators to invest in patriarchal norms and the continued perpetration of IPV where female students are most likely to be victims. For participants such as Fred, the dynamics of living in a university residence was unlike living in a broader community, where there were more options for seeking assistance in matters of IPV.

> *"...because in a campus residence, I think people will become more private compared to places where in the townships or in the suburbs."* **(Fred, MP 9)**

For Gordan (2016), victims of IPV repeatedly demonstrated being embarrassed in divulging personal details of their abuse, especially to law enforcement officials and healthcare workers. This is a global tendency, where Patra et al., (2018) identify the lack of confidentiality from the relevant authorities as one of the reasons for the relative silence around IPV. In this study, students who were victims of IPV displayed a tendency to self-blame for their choice in an abusive intimate partner, including where intimate partners were not fellow students.

> *"But it is hard to find out that it is happening in the campus because other partners and other people, they just being ashamed of exposing their partners..."*
> *(Nkosiyazi, MP 1)*

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According to Singh, Mudaly & Singh-Pillay (2015), rape is a constant fear that consumes the lives of women in South Africa, not only restricting their movements, but the health risks have far reaching consequences that affect their productivity, including career options. Students' responses revealed that punishment for perpetrators of IPV was a confidential matter, and while the university may have resolved and addressed the incident accordingly, the silences surrounding the consequences for perpetrating IPV came through as the perpetrators evading strict punishment.

> *"The fact that no perpetrator being punished means that um…victims are not reporting the issues you know to their officials. So, you know that might be a problem because that would mean the violence will continue to happen…"* **(Sam, MP 10)**

Not only was the lack of knowledge about students being punished for violent offences a deterrent for reporting, it gave an impression to students that this was probably the reason why IPV was on ongoing problem in this university campus residence. The silences and underreporting of IPV extended to students not having the confidence to engage with the relevant authorities, as they were aware of the possibility that they could be subjected to secondary trauma and re-live the flashbacks of their experiences. In the case of Peaches, date rape was a complicated issue to explain to the relevant authorities, where in certain cultures, gender stereotypes render it unfathomable for a woman to refuse her intimate partner sexual intercourse. As the details surrounding the sexual assault perpetrated by a fellow student was too personal to divulge, and the protocols for reporting can be overwhelming, especially where the relevant authorities are not adequately trained to address the complainant, Peaches chose to remain silent, thereby contributing to inaccurate rape statistics.

> *"I was involved with a male student and it was eh sexual violence actually. I didn't tell anyone. I didn't report it in the first place. Cos, I didn't want to deal with the drama. People don't tend to believe you, so I just felt like that too."*
> **(Peaches, FP 7)**

According to Singh et al., (2015), one of the reasons for underreporting sexual assault perpetrated in a university is due to the victim being familiar with the perpetrator. Where parties are familiar with each other, the assumption by peers and friends is that both partners are mutually consenting to intimate relations, with Peaches feeling trapped in her experience as the process of reporting would include *"drama"* and the possibility that she would be labelled as being a liar or accused of attention seeking behaviour, as the relevant authorities *"don't tend*

to believe you". In this study, it was common for females to underreport or maintain silence around their experiences of IPV, as Lisa contends

> *"that it is increasing as the years go by, and it is increasing because the females decide to keep quiet and not say anything... they keep quiet and silent about it and decide to deal with it on their own. They maybe feel that it will never happen again if the other party apologises."* **(Lisa, FP 12)**

Lisa's response resonates with the study of Gordan & Collins (2013), where victims of IPV refer to such violence as 'it'. The deliberate avoidance of language to communicate their perceptions openly is demonstrated repeatedly, where Lisa refers to IPV as *"it is increasing"*, *"deal with it"*, *"it will never happen again"*. For Burr (2003), language is a powerful vehicle for reinforcing social norms and where certain phenomena are considered taboo, they are not openly discussed hence certain words are either evaded in conversations or referral is made indirectly. According to Gordan (2016) and Patra et al., (2018), gender relations justify that men perpetrate violence because they perceive women to be transgressing social norms within patriarchal societies and where women accept abuse on this basis, it is largely due to their loss of self-identity including female students in this campus residence. In her response, Patricia, the most senior of all participants, understood IPV at a level where victims contributed to its ongoing perpetuation by relinquishing their self-worth in a relationship where respect was not reciprocated. During the interview, Patricia, like most other participants, understood victims of IPV largely to be female students, and to a lesser extent, partners in non-normative relationships. For her, while victims were able to understand that IPV was detrimental to their well-being, they tolerated and normalised abuse by remaining in violent intimate relationships. She contended that the growing silence around IPV was due to victims accepting themselves as weak and positioning themselves as helpless, thus leaving their personal safety in the hands of intimate partners who used contriving ways to control them.

> *"It's happening because of the lack of respect for oneself and your partner. And lack of confidence from one partner and it is increasing, yeah."* **(Patricia, FP 13)**

Unequal gender relations, where women are forced to conform to dominant patriarchal social constructs by instilling dependence, collude to recreate the cycle of IPV, as women are raised with the notion that men are breadwinners and should be respected accordingly (Patra et al., 2018). Due to the absence of family members and the social constraints of their home society, students could use this as an opportunity to shatter patriarchal constructs and strive towards agency in their intimate relationships. Despite being a more educated sector of society, victims

of IPV in this study were reported to blindly accept the social indoctrinations of gender scripts that protected men as perpetrators and threatened women with being ousted for challenging gender stereotypes. According to Gordan (2016) and Tsui & Santamaria (2015), female university students who were victims of IPV showed a tendency to remain in abusive relationships or reproduce the role of being a victim of IPV in new relationships. Bonga, a Resident Assistant (RA), spoke from an informed perspective, where he was exposed to a variety of IPV incidents that took place in the residence building. He related various incidents involving heterosexual and non-normative genders where victims of IPV normalised abuse and accepted violence in an intimate relationship in the following excerpt his referral to female victims were those who

> "… *come from backgrounds where a man slapping a woman is a norm and they*
> *don't see anything wrong with that."* **(Bonga, MP 4)**

For Bonga and Fred, IPV did not exist in isolation within the university community, as the university residence was an amalgamation of students from different cultures and social backgrounds. It was in this melting pot of cultures and social norms where power relations conflicted, and violence erupted with traumatic results. For Fred, violence was mechanical and like any other daily activity. Students were accustomed to its prevalence to the point that they did not pay attention to the effects of IPV or its presence and at some stage they showed indifference towards this phenomenon.

> "*…violence becomes part of a norm. It would be like having breakfast or doing the*
> *laundry…they become numb to it.*" **(Fred, MP 9)**

In this study, gender relations where men perceived themselves as being entitled to their partner's bodies due to dominant masculinities resulted in IPV, especially where women did not adhere to the norm of being subordinate and docile. The expectation from the perpetrators of IPV was that their victims accept the perpetration of violence as a social or cultural norm to the extent where these men felt self-entitlement to their girlfriends' bodies.

> "*…with my own experience, he kept on telling me that I was over-reacting. That*
> *we belong together, and I didn't give it enough time to forgive him and the girl that*
> *I know she kept on telling me he did the same thing to her."* **(Peaches, FP 7)**
> "*In the male residences it's the male occupants or the male students. That's their*
> *room. So they think that when something is belonging to you, then males normally*
> *like to have a dominating attitude or demeanor, so I think even a male residence, if*

you bring over a partner, which is most of the time a female, and they behave or they say something not what you agree with, they tend to impose their dominance with violence." **(Lee, MP 3)**

The price for non-compliance in this study thus far was that male students engaged in various forms of violence to position their intimate partners in accordance to their belief that women should accede to their demands willingly. While female students in this study were aware of their position as victims, they were petrified to report their abuse due to the stigma attached to being in a failed relationship. Although Peaches did not report her incident of sexual abuse, this did not translate to her docile acceptance of repeated sexual assault, and while she was aware of the social stigma attached to victims of rape (Singh et al., 2015), she demonstrated resilience to IPV by withdrawing from her intimate relationship. The stance adopted by Peaches resonates with the study of Singh & Myende (2017), where female students are not always accepting of IPV, and while Peaches remained silent about her rape ordeal, she was aware of the social repercussions of speaking out should she experience rape repeatedly, which was quite likely given that her ex-boyfriend raped another female student. For her, the sense of self-entitlement that men feel they have over women became an unquestioned norm and reporting sexual assault amongst other forms of IPV was a futile exercise.

In this study, participants spoke about their role as bystanders, where they witnessed IPV perpetrated against students in neighbouring rooms and in the corridors. Some participants also had friends who were victims of IPV and confided their experiences to them. Through either witnessing IPV or listening to their friends' experiences, participants identified the need to report IPV, but they were met with resistance when they suggested this to the victims. In the case of Amanda below, she offered moral support to her friend but beyond that, there was limited advice that she could offer because her friend was in a relationship where she depended on the perpetrator for financial support.

> *"I tried to be as supportive as I could be. ...other material conditions were not allowing her to move on from the situation and I guess to a certain extent my advice in that situation or my participation was not even asked for."* **(Amanda, FP 5)**

In the case of Amanda's friend, she did not report because of financial dependence but interestingly, for Lindi other victims lived in denial of what was happening to them.

"In most cases victims don't wanna be helped by another person. I don't think that they are aware that are being um…that they are being abused or they usually they don't want help. You end up being a bad person for wanting to help or assist you know." **(Lindi, FP 14)**

Furthermore, underreporting on the part of the bystander was due to fear that they could face physical assault, as in the context of this university male perpetrators did not welcome interference, and exhibited violent tendencies where male and female students entered the territory of intimate relationships.

"You would like to help them, but I won't be able, what if I'm helping him and they turn against me? They may even get angry and try and beat me." **(Rose, FP 3)**

In this study, participants reiterated while some victims were hesitant to accept assistance from bystanders, others plainly refused to acknowledge that they were victims of IPV.

"I was the one always saying: we need to open a protection order or something of that nature then when we had to do that eh… something would just come up. An excuse of sort would just come up and she would say: No, let's do it tomorrow. And then by the time tomorrow comes, they have already spoken, and he has somehow smooth talked the whole situation then she's somehow neutralised. She doesn't want to go the SAPS anymore and then if it happens again, eh…she comes to me and says: Let's do this now. Then she will delay again, hoping that he will change."

(Brian, MP 7)

While emotional dependency contributed to the victim's refusal for assistance from bystanders, gender roles of enduring violence was normalised for victims who procrastinated in reporting IPV. In Brian's response, his friend refused to report her abuse in the hope that her perpetrator would reflect on his behaviour and shift away from it. This finding resonates with Abrahams, Jewkes, Martin, Mathews, Vetten & Lombard (2009) and Gordan (2016), where underreporting is largely due to victims living in the hope that the abuse is temporary and by not reporting abusive incidents, the perpetrator will use this as an opportunity to modify their socially unacceptable behaviour. However, the danger for Brian was that while victims waited for their abusers to rehabilitate, their patience could result in a fatality, as in the case of the murders of other female students in campuses across South Africa. The deaths of Xolile Khumalo, a student living in the campus residence at Mangosuthu University Technikon, shot by her boyfriend (Jagmohan & Nene, 2018) and Khensani Maseko, a Rhodes University student who

committed suicide after she was raped by a fellow student (Citizen Reporter, 2018), are constant reminders of the consequences of IPV in the context of universities.

In this sub-theme, it emerged that while students were aware of incidents of IPV in the campus residence, there was relative silence around this phenomenon. In addition to the prevalence of IPV, male students were largely perceived as perpetrators, while female students and partners in homosexual relationships contributed towards the statistics for being victims of IPV. The silence and underreporting surrounding IPV was largely due to victims trying to evade the reporting process and admitting being a victim of IPV. The supportive role of the bystander was limited to those who acknowledged abuse, and in this study, victims and perpetrators viewed bystanders differently. While some victims accepted a bystander's intervention, others, in collaboration with the perpetrator, perceived them to be interfering in domestic matters. The next sub-theme examines the dynamics of intimate relationships and offers a deeper insight into this phenomenon.

4.3.3. The dynamics of intimate relationships

This sub-theme explores the dynamics of intimate relationships and how gender relations shaped the various ways victims and perpetrators were perceived. Intimate relationships revolve around the trust and safety between partners, and it should be within these relationships that partners feel most protected from harm and danger that is associated with strangers (Bapat & Tracey, 2012). The types of intimate relationships that the participants alluded to were dating, married or cohabiting ones with girlfriends, boyfriends, lovers and friendships within homosexual or heterosexual relationships. According to Niolon et al., (2017), intimate partners do not necessarily have to be sexually active for that relationship to be considered an intimate one. Juxtaposing this literature, most of the participants in my study associated intimate relationships to be sexual relations between partners. This is in keeping with the findings of Ngabaza et al., (2013), where these scholars posited that in certain African cultures, sexual activity was expected by male partners in an intimate relationship, regardless of commitment issues within that relationship.

> *"…me and my partner are in a relationship, and then maybe I deny him or her sex, and then you know that they'd use violence to do that and then because we are in love I'd understand that I have er…to fulfil their desires, then I'll have to fulfil and give them sex you know."* **(Philip, MP 6)**

"And the guy believes that when you are in a relationship, it's automatically you should have sex." **(Lily, FP 4)**

While some cultures frown on pre-marital sex, others encourage the sexual conquests of men as a sign of masculinities (Bhana & Anderson, 2013; CSVR, 2016), with the self-entitlement over women's bodies by men in intimate relationships. Abolfotouh & Almuneef (2019) attribute the disrespect for women in certain societies, as well as the double standards for the behaviour of men and women in intimate relationships to culture and reinforced by religion. For the above scholars, while polygamy and men engaging with multiple intimate partners are acceptable in certain cultures, those very same cultures expect women to be faithful and docile towards an abusive partner. There were similar findings related to the literature, where social inconsistencies for men and women within certain cultures gave men power to engage in multiple intimate relationships simultaneously in this study (Kheswa, 2015). This finding was demonstrated in the excerpt from Fred, who referred to IPV as being due to the man having a *'side chick'* intimate relationship.

"Ok, so my understanding would be for IPV are violence caused by one or maybe both of the partners towards one another. Maybe in a relationship or maybe in a relationship such as marriage, or maybe a side chick, maybe, side chick relationships, something like that." **(Fred, MP 9)**

For Burr (2003), language within Social Constructionism is used to convey the messages of socialised norms. In this scenario, within slang '*chick*' refers to a girl or woman and a *'side chick'* refers to an affair on the side, outside a committed relationship. Therefore, the status of a woman in a committed relationship was constructed as serious and an additional girlfriend was compared to as a side dish to a main course. While men could cheat on their partners, women were expected to tolerate her partner's infidelity and accept health concerns, including sexually transmitted diseases and infections associated with risky behaviour (Bhana & Anderson, 2013, Kheswa, 2015, Spencer et al., 2016). However, when intimate partners were suspected of being unfaithful, they were subjected to covert forms of abuse. For Sam mutual understanding and trust between intimate partners was a concern where he was in a gay relationship and he could relate to the red flags signaling the invisible forms of IPV which he mentioned to be

"... like when your partner is like abusing you emotionally you know...saying that you're cheating, and you're not and stuff like that..." **(Sam, MP 10)**

For Sam, intimate partners who had trust issues within their intimate relationship constantly policed their partners by subjecting them to intangible forms of abuse such as emotional abuse mentioned above. When women and non-normative gender partners are under constant surveillance by their partner, they must prove their commitment and hence they are unable to negotiate issues such as safe sex practices in intimate relationships, thereby increasing their exposure to health risks. This data coincides with the findings of Bhana & Anderson (2013) where young women faced disease infection and pregnancy as a result of them constantly being forced to prove their love, one being through unsafe sexual intimacy. For Bonga, by the time students entered the university, they were already socialised into understanding and accepting what constitute a heteronormative relationship. It was within these relationships that female students were trapped, as they felt a sense of allegiance towards their partner, despite being in an informed position to leave a toxic relationship that affected their studying in a university.

> "…*some grew up seeing and understanding that for a woman to be a woman or to qualify to be called a woman they have to be in a relationship with a man, and when they come into the university, into the institution err…they have those understanding that for me to be a woman, I have to have a man by my side, and no matter that condition or the situation that the person might find themselves in but they, they continue to stay in such relationships.*" **(Bonga, MP 4)**

According to Abramsky et al., (2011), intergenerational violence was largely responsible for future incidents of abuse in intimate relationships, as women cohabiting with older partners who engaged in multiple intimate relationships simultaneously were most likely to accept ongoing violence in that relationship. Hence the risk factors for IPV increased as women were socialised into accepting violence, while male students were perceived to be perpetrators of violence as a means of communicating control in an intimate relationship. In this theme, IPV could be located within heterosexual and non-normative gender relationships, where violence within intimate relationships hinged on unequal gender power relations. Despite living in a democracy, the participants' responses indicated that male dominance defined the gender script for partners in intimate relationships. The double standards that condone multiple partners for men in intimate heterosexual relationships relegates women to positions of subordination, where they must accept abuse or show resilience towards IPV. The next theme attempts to analyse these power constructs in relation to university students' experiences and exposure to IPV while residing in the university campus residence.

4.4. University students' experiences and exposure to Intimate Partner Violence

In this theme, students' responses included a variety of experiences and exposure to IPV. The sub-headings below offer an elaborated discussion of the different types of IPV.

4.4.1. We are exposed to all types of Intimate Partner Violence: gun violence, physical assault, hitting, bullying and sexual harassment.

Studies show that South Africa is fraught with one of the highest levels of crime and violence including rape on a global level (Human Rights Watch, 2010; Gordan & Collins, 2013) with universities not immune to violence (Gordan & Collins, 2013; Spencer et al., 2017). When the participants in this study were questioned about the types of violence that they witnessed in the university campus, they identified physical violence with incidents of sexual assault including rape, emotional, verbal and economic abuse to be prevalent.

According to Mathew, Jewkes & Abrahams (2015), the crime rate in South Africa is almost twice as high compared to global rates and while men can contribute to being victims, females constitute the greater statistics as victims of IPV. In this sub-theme, participants like Fred were aware of some of the serious incidents of IPV involving the different types of abuse mentioned above.

> *"It happened I think last year or the year before last. I was in a res. where a girl was dating a guy. So, she was dating this guy and one day this girl decided to break up with this guy. And then when they broke up, the guy came into the res because security identified that man because of err…because of their relationship and he went into the res and shot that girl."* **(Fred, MP 9)**

Considering that gunshot wounds contribute to the statistics of fatalities related to IPV nationally and internationally, women are mostly victims (Abrahams et al., 2009). It was of great concern in this study that university students had access to firearms and more disturbing was the lack of surveillance and security levels that did not detect the presence of weapons in the campus residence. Through Fred's response, gender power relations demand female subservience to an extent that if a woman decided to opt out of an abusive intimate relationship, there were consequences and imminent violence resulting in fatalities. This pattern of gendered submissive behaviour subjects the families of victims who depend on them as breadwinners to suffer the consequences of IPV. In this study, it was the male students who perpetrated physical assault while female students were the victims of evident injuries.

"to us we did not understand what she was going through. And for her, herself she didn't understand what she was going through. So, she was just kind of lost until an incident happened when she was like, her eye was...she had a black eye. She had bruises throughout her body." **(Fred, MP 9)**

Male students within intimate relationships in this study resorted to violent tactics to reinforce the social expectations of a female in an intimate relationship. Where female partners were suspected of cheating but there was no evidence of such infidelity, physical abuse in the form of hitting was used as a warning not to engage in unfaithful behaviour ever in the relationship.

"... it happened to my friend. My friend was accused of, what cheating or something? And she was... she was abused." **(Mary, FP 8)**

"What happened in that incident?" **(Interviewer)**

"Hmm, she was hit a couple of times and then and ya, they sorted it out. He promised not to do it again" **(Mary, FP 8)**

While female students experienced infidelity in their intimate relationships by their partners, cheating on the part of a male partner in a heterosexual relationship was normalised. However, when male students feared that their girlfriends were unfaithful, they used violence to ensure that these young women did not betray them. The fear of being unfaithful was an awareness on the part of boyfriends because they realise that infidelity introduced health risks such as HIV and Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STD) infection. In the case of Mary's friend, her boyfriend's promise of not hitting her again and her acceptance of her boyfriend's violence demonstrate how female students are complicit in their own abuse. As mentioned previously while male students largely inflicted physical violence as a form of IPV, female students also engaged in emotional and verbal abuse as forms of IPV where their partners were passive. Through Austin we learn how female students who had violent brothers adopted their gendered patterns of violence to dominate in an intimate relationship. Male students in intimate relationships who did not conform to the social constructs of violence as a means of conflict resolution were in turn subjected to violence by their girlfriends who felt a need to dominate. In this way, power differentials were adopted by female students to locate dominancy by bullying male partners who did not follow the gender norms of being violent.

"...it could be sometimes like ah...in heterosexual relationships that girls could be the abusive partner. You know how girls have a lot of brothers and bully the boyfriend into a continued relationship." **(Austin, MP 8)**

For Philip bullying was also used to demonstrate power in an intimate relationship and here both male and female students engaged in bullying tactics to wield power over their partners.

"Being known as the cool guy or the cools girls while what they are doing is wrong. It's like, it's like the bully thing you know. People get satisfied by things that are not right you know." **(Philip, MP 6)**

One of the gaps in the literature related to IPV in universities is how violence is transferred into tertiary institutions. While there is a plethora of studies that focusses on bullying in schools, further study is required in this field to identify if it has a bearing on IPV in universities. For Tsui & Santamaria (2015) and Bhana & Pillay (2018), the need to be loved was one of the driving forces why partners made irrational decisions that jeopardised lives of intimate partners in the process. While female students were mostly understood to be victims, there was evidence that male and female students employed covert ways to maintain dominancy in an intimate relationship. While physical and emotional abuse as forms of IPV was reported to be prevalent in this study, sexual assault cannot be overemphasised (Gordan & Collins, 2013; Libertin, 2017; Spencer et al., 2016; Bhana & Pillay, 2018). Intimate relationships are different from other human relations due to the high levels of trust and personal details shared between partners (Bapat & Tracey, 2012).

"...this guy of hers came and troubled her. So, this girl, she's a virgin. So, this guy, he's sexually active and he demands sex, so they argue about that. That's how it is." **(Rose, FP 8)**

In the above excerpt, Rose spoke about how boyfriends harassed their girlfriends and demanded sexual intimacy while girls wanted to preserve their virginity until they were prepared for a relationship to be sexually active. Taking into consideration the demographics of the university campus residence, majority of the students living here are Black African. According to Chisale & Byrne (2018) virginity within African culture is prized to an extent where females are encouraged to remain celibate for as long as possible with incentives in the form of study bursaries to encourage women to be financially independent. While the initiative must be applauded, the double standards for sexual promiscuity whereby young boys are encouraged to pursue their sexual prowess through male initiation rites (CSVR, 2016) contradicts how girls are expected to be virgins while boys must demonstrate the masculinities through multiple sexual partners. When male students were denied sexual intimacy, they resorted to exerting their power using harassment tactics where girls are followed and forced to agree in engaging in sexual relations. Where girls refused to engage in sexual relations, they were forced into sexual intimacy through rape, coercive practices and forced abortions which be discussed in the next sub-theme.

4.4.2. Controlling behaviour: rape, abortion, corruption and coercion

The male and female students spoke about their experiences and exposure to coercive practices imposed by intimate partners. While studies show that coercive behaviour is used to maintain unequal power dynamics in an intimate relationship (Tsui & Santamaria, 2015), controlling behaviour in this study gave male students a sense of power, making it difficult for their victims to leave that relationship. The various forms of coercive practices reported were forms of sexual assault, forced abortions and psychological /emotional abuse, which coincided with the results of the studies by Gordan (2016); Voth Schrag (2016) and Libertin (2017). Male and female students, as illustrated in the extracts below, related incidents where coercive practices not only relegated the victim to a position of subservience, but also ways in which the control within that relationship denied the victim their human dignity, as enshrined in the Bill of Rights of the South African Constitution.

> *"...when two partners who are obviously in love and then maybe they have er...different views based on how to do things in their relationship. Maybe one doesn't know how to do something and then the other forces the other one to do things that they are not comfortable doing. And they end up arguing and unfortunately being raped."* **(Mike, MP:5)**

> *"It is physical violence, sexual violence, where a person actually forces you to be umm...intimate with them, emotional abuse, controlling behaviour. All those things."* **(Amanda, FP 5)**

> *"You know there are men, males in politics who get involved with er...first year students, and they make them victims because you know that they are vulnerable, they are fragile, they are not used to the city life. They are not used to being independent and then they become victims of sexual assault and emotional blackmails from err...senior male students."* **(Philip, MP 6)**

Male and female participants in this study were acutely aware of IPV and certain conditions that created it. The participants above referred to coercion as one partner refusing to do something that the other partner wanted him or her to do, which in turn created a dominant-subordinate power relationship. The consequences for non-compliance or not submitting had detrimental effects, such as rape, with South Africa having one of the highest statistics for violence, including rape (Gordan & Collins, 2013). Mike was in a heterosexual relationship while Philip self-identified as being in a homosexual gay relationship, both men identifying

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rape to be a method of punishing the less dominant partner for not acceding to the demands of the dominant partner.

According to Connell (1995), patriarchy and heterosexual dominance infringed on the safety and health of women, hence the need to review her gender and power theory to include the gay community within gender relational theory (Connell, 2012). Although victims do not necessarily show signs of the damaging effects of coerced practices within IPV immediately, long-term suffering, including suicidal tendencies, cannot be ruled out (Garcia-Morena & Riecher-Rossler, 2013). This could be one of the reasons why rape victims take drastic steps, such as suicide, which was the case for Khensani Maseko, a Rhodes University, student who took her life because she felt that the university did not deem rape to be a serious offence (Citizen Reporter, 2018). In this study, participants knew of cases of rape where they served on committees for student disciplinary hearings. In the following excerpt Bonga related how he was involved in a disciplinary hearing where a female student related how she was raped by her boyfriend. Not only was the hearing traumatic for the victim, but for him serving on hearing committee as well. For Bonga, educators who have planned to be teachers are expected and trained to be role models for the future generation are perpetrators of one of the worst crimes that contribute to global statistics of rape.

> *"the girl was actually a virgin and had never had sex before ...the girl was telling us her story, she said that the guy raped me you know and I fainted and I fell on the floor and to wake to twenty minutes later and find him on top of me…"* **(Bonga, MP 4)**

In this study, the most serious forms of rape were committed by boyfriends in this university campus residence, where young women had to be vigilant and protect their virginity. As soon as boyfriends learnt that their girlfriends were virgins, it became a quest to ensure that they were the first males to be sexually intimate with these girls. The obsession to be intimate with a virgin appeared frequently in this study, with students being acutely aware of situations where female students were subjected to IPV when they refused sexual intimacy with their boyfriends. Bonga reported how a young woman had to relate her rape incident and loss of her virginity in front of a panel of male student leaders, where the rapist was a student leader himself. Where gender and culture intersect with regards to sexual practices, women are often marginalised and face the consequences of refusing to engage in sexual activities through IPV including experiences of being raped.

One of the most serious forms of coerced behaviour that emerged from this study was that of forced abortion, often following situations where the female students were subjected to rape by their boyfriends, who were sometime in the same residence. This self-embodiment is reflected in gender relations, with Connell (2012) identifying the abuse of women's bodies as a global phenomenon, where women across various contexts constantly risk their lives during pregnancy and childbirth, and where economics factors can contribute to the abuse. In countries where the education levels for women are low and culture is patriarchally dominant, females are more prone to being financially dependent on men, who subject their partners to IPV (Stern et al., 2015; Abolfotouh & Almuneef, 2019). Where social norms dictate that men can be controlling and in charge of decision making in an intimate relationship, this serves to limit the agency of women. In one of the responses from Pearl, she related how one of the students was forced to abort her baby by her partner, a fellow student, who could not accept the pregnancy. While Abolfotouh & Almuneef (2019) posit that financial dependence largely contributes towards coercive practices in an intimate relationship, the incident mentioned below was perpetuated despite the boyfriend not being in a financially advantageous position, with both partners studying, rather than one being employed and have spending power.

> "... there is a lady that when she was doing her 4th year. Then the girl got pregnant
> then they, the guy forcefully forced her to abort the baby and he bought her the pills
> and forced her to drink them..." **(Pearl, FP 11)**

When female students who were forced to engage in unprotected sex or unable to negotiate the use of contraceptives fell pregnant, it was their male partner or his family who decided whether the pregnancy should be terminated. Through coercive practices, female students not only faced unwanted pregnancies, sexually transmitted diseases and infections, but post traumatic disorders, as they had to undergo illegal abortions without the proper healthcare, which endangered their lives. For Connell (2012), one of the contributing factors for the high global female mortality rate is unequal gender relations that exalt men to positions of power and dominance, where they decide how the bodies of women should be treated. According to a study by Patra et al., (2018), women who experienced violence in previous intimate relationships were more vulnerable to future similar situation, as they internalise violence as being a norm and not as abuse. On the contrary, where students did not accept IPV and reported sexual assault such as rape, they experienced further challenges, where the family members of the perpetrator intervened, using bribery to dissipate the matter.

"There was one incident where a student was actually raped. The student raped a girl, he raped the girl because he was providing money and stuff to that girl. And that girl reported the case and there was progress. The case included the SAPS and the institution, and when time went on, we actually asked the girl how far are you with the case and she said that, and she said that the boy's parents had promised to pay an amount of R10 000 to have the case dismissed. **(Bonga, MP 4)**

While corruption threatened the self-worth of the victim, female students also lost their voice when their human rights were compromised. Through bribery and corruption, law enforcement officials also face the predicament of not being able to follow-up on rape and sexual assault when victims are forced to withdraw these complaints. Studies show that victims of IPV suffer from bouts of depression when exposed to coercive practices, such being forced to engage in sexual activities and isolation from family or friends (WHO, 2012; Voth Schrag, 2016; Libertin, 2017). For Peaches, patriarchy gave men the perceived power of self-entitlement over women through extreme control, while Brian and Bonita's responses were that male power was measured by the ability to control their partner's behaviour, social circles and the amount of time spent with others.

"So, I felt that they feel that they're entitled to us. As a woman, we belong to them and this is what the things they do to us because it's out of control."

(Peaches, FP 7)

In Brian's case, his female friend was not allowed to meet him after she entered an intimate relationship, as her boyfriend did not approve of their friendship. In addition to Brian's friend being subjected to verbal threats, the male students whom she interacted with were also threatened with physical assault, which indicates how hegemonic masculinities, based on finances, physical strength and seniority, come into play among male students to protect what they feel belongs to them.

"Our friendship was a threat to the relationship… but the main problem with him was that he had anger issues and he could not control his anger, and the best part was that he was a body-builder. So, he went around thinking that he can punch everyone." **(Brian, MP 7)**

Coercive practices to a large extent also related how female students reproduced performativity, where they acted as if they were wives instead of girlfriends in dating relationships. Girlfriends in this study were expected to cook, clean and care for their

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boyfriends and in the process, they neglected their own studies, thus maintaining society's normalisation that men are breadwinners. As men provide for their partners, they are elevated to positions of superiority in their intimate relationship.

> *"Most of the times males would be like violating their girlfriends in most case. That's the common one. And the problem is um…the males who are mostly violent towards their partners are males who are in prominent positions in the campus. So, they would be bullying their partners around. Why were you talking to the guy? Why you with your girls at this time? Shouldn't you be cooking? It's like you're a wife or something and the girl is not even married. Just dating each other."* **(Bonita, FP 9)**
>
> *"…they're not husband and wife relationships, where the girl is not supposed to study and do everything like a wife."* **(Lily, FP 4)**

In this study, the coercive behaviour correlated strongly with the literature, where economic dependence determined the levels of abuse for partners, especially in sub-Saharan Africa (Bamiwuye & Odimegwu, 2014). In this study some female students strived to live up to the social expectation of performativity (Butler, 1990), where being a responsible and dutiful girlfriend gave an indication of how well she could manage a household. Thus, some women in this study remained in cohabiting relationships in the quest of seeking validation from their boyfriends who were aware of their vulnerabilities, exploited and abused them.

The participant's responses indicate that the social construction of patriarchy contributed to coercive practices by controlling partners in this university campus residence, which resonates with the studies of Singh & Myende (2017); Voth Schrag (2016) and Bhana & Pillay (2018), where men use their perceived power to dominate in a relationship. Gender Relational theory posits that gender regimes controls the positioning of individuals in an institution or workforce and where patriarchal dominance prevails, it was more likely for men to be overrepresented (Connell, 2012). Furthermore, where higher earnings are related to certain types of employment patriarchal domination have more authority while females gained representation through careers such as healthcare, clerical jobs and caregiving. In keeping with caregiving and household chores, Bonita mentioned earlier that male students in prominent positions bullied their partners, and for her it was irreconcilable that female students in a dating relationship were forced to fulfil the duties of a wife while having their own study commitments. The career and health of female students were considered less important, especially in a cohabiting

relationship, while household chores superseded the primary reason for her being in a university. While females showed a tendency to accept abuse, the next sub-theme examines how female students in this study could also be the perpetrators IPV.

4.4.3. Female students as perpetrators of Intimate Partner Violence

Women as potential perpetrators of IPV is discussed, and while most studies show men to be violent, with a small possibility of women being violent in intimate relationships (WHO, 2012), the data in this study reflected female students as potentially violent intimate partners for various reasons. The following excerpts explored the possible reasons why female students engaged in various forms of IPV. During the interviews, participants' spontaneous responses indicated that male students were primarily perpetrators of IPV, while female students who perpetrated violence were those who realized how important it was to retaliate against the socialised norms of females perceived to be victims.

> *"I don't want to take the route of speaking on males being abusive towards females. Sometimes females are abusive towards males as well, but I think it's occurring due to societal constraints ... it's happening at such a big rate..."*
>
> **(Amanda, FP 5)**

The WHO (2012) report indicated that women who were violent in intimate relationships did so in self-defense. The data in this study resonated with the above literature, as not all female students in heterosexual relationships accepted violence from their partners, despite all the participants indicating that male students were largely perpetrators of IPV. Although rape and other forms of coerced practices were methods for controlling, punishing and maintaining the subordinate position of the victim in this study, it was apparent that rape could also be used as a bargaining tool by female students to engage in coercive practices and force her partner to remain in an intimate relationship. In this way, female students used contriving ways that otherwise destabilised female victims and positioned them as weak. This disturbed the social constructs of men as initiators of sex and having full control of sexual activities in an intimate relationship. The following discussion turns to how violence such as rape can keep partners in a relationship through gendered blackmail techniques.

> *"It depends, I think it mainly depends on the background of the person. Like how the person grew up, like when they witnessed violence, happening even to their immediate family, how did they react? It's all about that and then another factor is they themselves, how they view themselves. Because another can grow up in a home where their mother was abused and did nothing but when they are abused,*

they cannot stand for it. They fight…like females you cannot go into the police station and say that somebody raped you because he wanted to break up." **(Fred, MP 9)**

According to Connell (2012), Gender Relational theory supports that change can take place in societies where traditional norms are replaced by progressive thinking and equal gender power relations. Gender relations are influenced by culture through socialisation, and as culture is in a constant state of fluidity, it can result in female agency depending on the historical period of transition for that society. For Fred, rape became a means for female students to force her partner to remain in an intimate relationship. Rape is one of the most feared forms of sexual assault in any context and female university students in the studies of Gordan & Collins (2013) and Singh, Mabaso, Mudaly & Singh-Pillay (2016), were particularly fearful of being raped compared to other forms of violence. In this study, there was a shift in how fear could be used to benefit a woman and become a means to an end. Witnessing abuse in childhood reinforces how violence is normalised, and while girls could not do much to change what happened in their homes and the acceptance of violence by their mothers, they were able to manipulate the factors contributing to violence to suit their needs within their personal relationships.

Due to social constraints, a female leaving a relationship is not accepted in most cultures (Gordan, 2016), and it is through such ideologies that women are forced to remain in abusive relationships. Furthermore, reporting abuse becomes problematic when women decide to remain silent about the toxic nature of their intimate relationships. In the above excerpt, rape was used as a bargaining mechanism, which opposed the notion that women are passive and incapable of perpetrating IPV in the form of emotional abuse to suit their needs, with a possibility that female students can be perpetrators of IPV.

"Their relationship began on sexual incidents…So, so the girl, I assume she became obsessive of the male and then she, she didn't want him to have any form of relationship besides her. The guy couldn't spend enough time with er…with his friends and er…and his female friends were a threat by the girl. And then there's this one time, the guy went with the girl by the beach because the residence is close by the beach and then um… the girl went out to confront the guy and then the guy denied that he is in a relation, he is in any form of romantic relationship with the guy and then um…the girl went, went back to her res and she took a knife and she wanted to stab the guy." **(Philip, MP 6)**

Philip's comments demonstrated that socialised patterns of masculinities were overturned where female students were capable of being physically violent or engaged in controlling behaviour. While gender relations are prone to change with social transition and outside cultures entering the institution, females were still regarded as victims, with Sam's response, indicating that it was difficult for law enforcement officials to believe that female students were perpetrators.

> *"...but when it is the guy that is being abused, they do not consider it to be a serious issue. That even happens when you going to like a police station to report that you're being abused. When you are a female, you know the police officers usually take your matter very seriously, but when you're a guy, they usually laugh at you and you know, call you names… it's not fair because … most of the time females are the ones that are being abused in relationships but there are also males that are being abused."* **(Sam, MP 10)**

The challenge for Sam was that although male students who were victims of IPV made a concerted effort to report it, the role of police officers was steeped in culture and affected the reporting mechanisms for them. The social norm in most African cultures is for men to assert their power and authority over their partners and spouses (Ngabaza et al., 2013), and while men could be victims of violence, law enforcement officials ridiculed male victims for not being assertive in their intimate relationship. The name calling experienced by male victims further exacerbated the situation in the form of secondary trauma, and regardless of the gender of the perpetrator, the lack of support from police and security officers was equally detrimental for all victims. Studies show that it is the less dominant partner in intimate relationships who must navigate through various forms of oppression, despite the growing consciousness of the harmful effects of abuse and violence, including sexual assault (Bhana & Anderson, 2013; Bhana & Pillay, 2018; Patra et al., 2018). Here it was not only male students who engaged in IPV, as female partners from the above analysis were equally capable of being perpetrators in unconventional or quiet ways. Closely connected to female students as perpetrators of violence, the next theme looks at female agency and resilience in the context of IPV.

4.5. Agency, resilience and the 'Kangaroo court'

The previous theme discussed female students as perpetrators of IPV, where I focus on their attempt to defy traditional gender stereotypes of women being victims of IPV. In the studies of

Singh & Myende (2017) and Bhana & Pillay (2018), women reconstructed gendered roles in intimate relationships to assert themselves as able to exercise agency. In this study, 21 of the 24 participants responded that male students were perpetrators of IPV, and through probing questions I was able to establish that female students were not as subordinate as indicated earlier in the interview responses. While Amanda was raised in a liberal household, the challenge that she experienced was the physical violence used by her boyfriend to coerce her to submit, according to his cultural expectation of gendered roles. While Amanda's parents encouraged her to be liberated and exercise her agency, she found herself trapped by love where her partner gravitated towards stereotypical patriarchal norms.

> *"I struggled to submit cos that's was not how I was taught or that's not how I grew up um…those are the cultures that I was taught by my parents. So, this male may think that, that may be a trigger for men that no, no, no. I cannot be having an intimate partner who refuses to submit. So, then they end up using physical violence to make me submit."* (**Amanda, FP 5**)

The culture in which Amanda was raised empowered her for leadership, where she was valued for making a difference in any society that she entered, and this was evident in her positions on the student representative body and volunteer committees. While asserting herself and refusing to submit, Amanda faced more abuse for attempting to disrupt the conventions of gender stereotypes and subordination that extended beyond her own relationship into the realms where student leadership exposed her to an onslaught of emotional and verbal abuse when she tried to address serious cases of IPV, including rape. In this university, there is an unequal representation of female students serving as leaders on the Students Representative Council (SRC). While the reason for this underrepresentation is unknown, what is evident is the overrepresentation of male students that lean towards patriarchal dominance. As the perpetrator in this scenario was a male student leader, Amanda was expected to be complicit and perpetuate the gendered violence that was prevalent in the campus residences. Despite her being on the SRC, Amanda was unable to use her political power to assist a female student who was a victim of sexual assault. Her efforts to engage in dialogue and seek justice for an IPV victim was sabotaged by a patriarchal leadership who colluded in contriving ways to ensure that masculinities were preserved.

According to Connell (2012), gender relations within politics often serve in the interests of patriarchal dominance, and while certain countries experience transition into decolonisation and democracy, as in the case of South Africa, the power within political leaderships is fiercely

guarded through hegemonic masculinities. This ensures that patriarchies dominate, and the social order of male supremacy is maintained. The brotherhood within the SRC, and their perception of being invincible, appear again in this report, where prominent leaders have been known to be perpetrators of IPV.

> *"I tried to speak to the other umm…male leaders, but because I was the only female in the SRC structure, I was experiencing oppression. For my voice in most cases would not be heard. Only when they needed me I would be heard, but for that particular situation I was not needed, so they did everything in their power to ensure that whatever I did, did not succeed and I failed to assist that student."*
> **(Amanda, FP 5)**

While male students were in a position of power to ensure justice for the victim, they chose oppressive behaviour that privileged men and ensured that patriarchal leadership was maintained in the face of the atrocities occurring on campus. While there exists a plethora of literature that indicate female oppression within IPV, the data in this study show that resilience towards oppressive practices within IPV and female agency were not only used in personal relationships but for altruistic purposes as well.

> *"The girl was my next-door neighbour and we knew each other. We're not friends or anything, but we knew each other, and so when the guy came over, he like beat her up. I don't know the background story of what happened exactly uh…but I could hear noises. I could hear sounds like the girl was crying and screaming and (sniffs), and so I spoke to the girl and convinced her uh, to report the matter. We did, but nothing ever happened."* **(Bonita, FP 9)**

In the above response, Bonita related how she persisted in reporting IPV that she was exposed to in a bid to break the tradition gender norm of silent victims, and although punishment for the perpetrator did not materialise, she found solace in how the initiative to report empowered the victim not to accept IPV as a norm. While Amanda and Bonita exercised agency in a pragmatic manner where most male and female students responded that they would approach the university officials for assistance, Patricia resorted to using the conventional male approach of violence to address ongoing bouts of violence against her friend.

> *I only know of that one where we as the females decided to take the law into our own hands and then we showed him what beating really is and he never did that thing anymore. He changed."* **(Patricia, FP 13)**
>
> *"And what did he do?"* **(Interviewer)**

Ay…he would usually beat his girlfriend like in the early hours until 4am. I was fed up of breaking it up, so we decided to beat him up. Like we gave him a thorough beating." **(Patricia, FP 13)**

The turning point in Peaches' intimate relationship was when her boyfriend raped her. She considered the intimate act as rape because he defied her negotiation of using a condom. Like other girls in this study who did not report IPV, Peaches decided to opt out of the relationship, seeing her ex-boyfriend as a perpetrator and a reminder of how she was violated. Not many females in this study took a firm stand like Peaches, but through her own informed way of thinking and evaluating her position in her intimate relationship, she was able to extract herself from a toxic relationship with possible health risks, including unwanted pregnancies. In the absence of culture and the influence of parents who reinforce female subordination through the double standards for male and female children, Patricia and other female students used this as a window of opportunity to demonstrate their resilience to violence. Whilst exposure to IPV between parents in the childhood years can socialise children into accepting IPV, either as perpetrators or victims (Patra et al., 2018), in this study, female students refused to submit to the norm of women as victims. Ironically, these female students used violence in the form of a 'Kangaroo court' to address IPV, while seeking transformation that accorded female students respect. The decision to take the law into their own hands demonstrated how gender relations could be used in reverse to reposition oneself and become assertive. Patricia was not the only participant who believed that gender roles can be reversed, with Rose being aware that although female students were afraid of their abuser, she believed that self-defence was a way of resolving IPV before the victim became a fatality statistic.

"First of all, maybe, they can try and talk to their partners and if that doesn't work, put on self-defense. Or dump the guy." **(Rose, FP 3)**

"So, get out of the relationship as soon as you see violence there? **(Interviewer)**

"Before you get killed." **(Rose, FP 3)**

In a bid to complete their tertiary education, the participants showed that they were informed to reconstruct gender relations that ensured their personal safety, as well as those of their friends. For Rose, violence in intimate relationships could materialise in toxic ways and the hope that an abusive partner can rehabilitate may be unrealistic. While some participants spoke of their roles as agents of change and overcoming gender barriers, Bonga related how his friend went ahead with reporting a case of rape despite facing criticism via social media.

"Many people were saying that, "You are lying. You wanted this. Why do this? You're a drama queen. Stop this. You know there was a lot, a lot, a lot of bad things that were being said towards this girl who actually came forward and said, 'I'm being abused by my partner and I want justice.'" **(Bonga, MP 4)**

Heteronormative behaviour determines the ways in which women must behave and prescribes the gender script. While men initiate sexual advances, women are expected to follow the lead in a coy manner. According to Bhana & Anderson (2013), one of the reasons that girls enter sexual relations with boys is for them not to be considered traditional, despite being aware of the health risks involved in such alliances. In this study, when victims spoke out about their abusive experiences, they were perceived to be dramatic and exhibiting attention seeking behaviour, which is an unequal gender norm within their culture. While social media can serve to inform its consumers of social ills, in this study, Bonga's friend experienced secondary trauma through social media, where victims are positioned as instigators of violence. Bonga, indicated the length some female students were willing to go to in order to ensure that perpetrators were not protected, which resonates with the studies of Singh & Myende (2017), where female students interrogated, dismantled and reconstructed gender norms for their personal well-being instead of glorifying abusive partners. Despite being considered as non-conforming by other people sharing the same media platform, there is evidence in this study that not all victims were quiet about their abuse. Through social media, female students as victims of IPV exercised their agency, thereby shattering the gender norms of women as acceptive of abuse. While they experienced challenges with race, gender and culture, the responses herein demonstrated a fair knowledge of how gender relationships can be troubled and reshaped to offer protection in an environment shared with strangers. In the next theme, the issues of race and culture in relation to gender and violence is explored in detail.

4.6. Race, culture and Intimate Partner Violence

This theme focusses on race and culture in relation to IPV. One of the features of social constructionism is how the world can be perceived through a racial lens (Burr, 1995), and while we cannot fully escape that race determines the way in which people are treated, it also affects the way different race groups are portrayed. South Africa has a history that is deep-rooted in racial division, and although democracy has one of the most progressive constitutions on a global level, the burdens of past prejudices are carried over in a society that is fragmented by past White privilege. Global history shows that colonialism has impacted greatly in certain

societies, where unequal gender relations hinge largely on social and economic factors, with people of colour, especially women, being treated as inferior beings and suffering the consequences thereof. The process of decolonisation has fractured society even further, where the struggle for dominant leadership by indigenous leaders benefit men but marginalise women, who have fought equally and in earnest for political freedom (Connell, 2012).

In this study, except for one participant, the others were Black African students, with their responses indicating that high levels for IPV were due to the dominance of certain cultures in the institution. This study was in KwaZulu-Natal Province, which is a melting pot of various race and cultural groups. According to Ngabaza et al., (2013) and Kheswa (2015), Black African males are prone to engage in intimate partner violence due to cultural gendered norms that hold men as superior. For Kheswa (2015), this violence can be attributed to their backgrounds, which are fraught with socio-economic factors, exposure to substance abuse and limited access to education amongst others. When the participants were questioned as to what they believed to contribute to IPV occurring in the campus residence, the responses resonated with Ngabaza et al., (2013) and Kheswa (2015), who included race and culture as contributing factors.

> "…mostly us as Zulu people, we believe that if your partner hits you he just teaches you in a good way." (**Nkosiyazi, MP 1**)

For Burr (2003), knowledge does not occur naturally, instead parents and the influence of culture and social norms construct knowledge, and from early childhood, adherence to these norms are reinforced as reality. In his response, Nkosiyazi, self-identified as being a Zulu through language where he uses 'us' to indicate his belonging to that culture, and where he believed that there was merit in the use of something as negative as violence to instill subservience. For him, physically assaulting a woman to impose unequal power relations of female subordination was normalised using the Zulu culture as a supporting crutch. Hence, through violence and the manipulation of culture, female identities were unequally constructed.

> "I just want to speak on patriarchy, because in this campus, you would have noticed that most of the students come from rural areas, and in our rural areas the culture of patriarchy is very drilled into males and females as well. So, they come into university with that culture embedded in them, knowing that a male is superior, and a female is inferior." (**Amanda, FP 5**)

While Amanda spoke about culture giving rise to conflict, Princess believed that race contributed to heteronormative behaviour and patriarchal dominance.

> *"When you ask Black people, you are told that men are dominating in a relationship. You must respect the male person. You must respect the male in the relationship. Even the first time you talk to them. The first question when I talked about dominancy you asked if these things are being passed on, yes, it is passed on through generations and generations, and as women we have accepted violence and abuse because we have seen it in our homes. Black people, take all the Black people (laughing), put them in one spot. They are all violent."* **(Princess, FP 10)**

For the above female participants, the constant reinforcement of masculinities through cultural practices gave male students a sense of self-proclaimed authority and perceived power, where violence was used to discipline women. Amanda and Princess understood that violence stemmed from what happened back in students' homes, as they themselves could identify with the violent tendencies of township life. For Princess, male dominance within culture translated to entitlement over women, and she was aware that she was expected to conform and be subordinate in an intimate relationship. In addition to culture, family expectations and social norms for gender relations within the Black African context determined the gender script for how women had to accept subjectivity. In his response, Bonga related how an abused girlfriend who was visiting a male student feared punishment for disrespecting male authority.

> *"This is my second term in the RA, so last year I was in the RA Life Assistant, I was based on campus and in charge of a residence that was consisting of males only, but I had one that was what we call a sleepover, meaning that a person is allowed to bring their partners three times for per month…it was after eight, and then in the evening I was called by the student who is a neighbour… I find these two people err…this guy is half dressed and there is blood on the floor and, and, and you can see that this girl who is sitting on the bed was being beaten up because the blood was coming out of her nose and her mouth, and when I tried to understand what was happening the guy said RA please leave. This is my room. This is my woman. I just said that how can you say this is your woman because you don't own her…And to my surprise the girl shared the same sentiments. She said RA its fine. Please leave because you know if you don't leave, I will end up in even more trouble."* **(Bonga, MP 4)**

Where culture intersects with gender, gender inequalities assume that men own women to the extent that this ownership can instill fear. This resonates with literature regarding social pressure imposed by religion, parents and peers, where victims were forced to internalise IPV (Abolfotouh & Almuneef, 2019). While Princess appeared to have come to terms with her expected role within an intimate relationship, Amanda on the other hand interrogated this assumed male superiority that imposed its thinking patterns and social practices on other cultures. For Amanda, culture created barriers, where her partner, who was from a rural area, did not want to share equal power in their relationship. In the excerpt below, Philip reiterates the geographic location of the perpetrators of IPV to be from rural areas, which he believes are steeped in traditional ways of patriarchy and heteronormative.

> *"And who do you think the perpetrators would be?"* **(Interviewer)**
> *"It will be the males, the masculine and mostly the males who are from the deep rural areas of KZN, because they are not er…not towards how to treat a woman. They are only taught how to be all masculine, how to be all strong and you know."*
> **(Philip, MP 6)**

Race and culture contributed to dissonance amongst Black African male students in this university campus residence, and tribal practices determined the battle for leaderships amongst students. In this study, male and female students were aware of the patriarchal views of students belonging to the Zulu culture. Where gender is used to discriminate and favour those who enjoys power and privileges, Zulu students imposed their culture on other students to ensure that their racial, cultural and patriarchal norms dominated. This was further evident when Lee, one of the senior participants in this study, spoke of how he was constantly considered to be inquisitive rather than being helpful in trying to resolve volatile situations of IPV. Here, masculinities were closely guarded due to a social order that determined who could interject in situations related to IPV and who was regarded as interfering.

> *"I'm more of a senior person on the campus and at the res I do hold some kind of respect…when someone's getting involved in their relationship, err…quarrels, it's more of me interfering so they would even often tell me to stay out of it."*
> **(Lee, MP 3)**

Lee was dismissed for intervening in violent situations of IPV, while Brian positioned himself as able to diffuse incidents of IPV because he believed that he was adequately equipped to address such issues on a mutual understanding of his race, being a male Black African as opposed to Lee, who is Indian.

"…with us, usually we just use our African, what can I say, African ways of trying to diffuse a guy from doing anything wrong" **(Brian, MP 7)**

Where gender intersected race and culture, it was not only the female students who experienced the effects of gender disparity, as Lee felt the effects of gendered norms through social division based on racial barriers when he was told not to interject in domestic violence even though he was a senior student. Gender inequality was also felt by gay students, such as Philip, who considered heterosexual Black African male students to perceive themselves as masculine and superior to other students living in the same campus residence, and where they treated female students, the homosexual community and students other than Black African as different and to a large extent as inferior. Throughout the interviews, the common response from participants was that Black African male perpetrators did not welcome intervention from fellow residents, as constructs of hegemonic masculinities were threatened. Furthermore, Black African female students understood their gendered positions in an intimate position and their subservience contributed to preserving cultural norms. IPV is no doubt located in a framework of gender inequalities, where hegemonies are elevated to superiority in society. The issue of masculinities and violence will be discussed further in the next theme, which examines alcohol, drugs and the culture of parties as contributing factors to IPV.

4.7. Substance abuse and the culture of parties

This theme focusses on alcohol consumption, drug abuse and the culture of parties as contributors of IPV. During the interviews, students indicated that alcohol and drugs in addition to parties in and outside the university contributed to IPV. This resonates with the studies of Pengpid & Peltzer (2013) where one of the main contributors to IPV is substance abuse, with South Africa having the highest consumption rate of alcohol in Africa. While the marketing and advertising of alcohol carries warnings about the effects of excessive consumption, the rate of GBV, including IPV remains very high in South Africa compared to other parts of the continent, with universities contributing to being unsafe spaces (Gordan & Collins, 2013; Masike & Mofokeng, 2014).

"Usually, after they collect their allowances and they go partying afterwards cos it's when they are drunk these things happen. When they are under the influence."
(Lindi, FP 14)

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While students received allowances for their study purposes, many contended that it was abused by male and female students to purchase alcohol, drugs and host parties instead of being utilised for food, travel and study purposes, with IPV being highest during weekends, over long weekends, after parties and when students received their monthly funding allowances.

> *"It usually happens um…right after the students get their funding, because that is when they have money to, you know, to buy substances and usually substances lead them to being violent towards their partners, so it usually happen right after the funding, and also during the weekends, because you know during weekends, students usually go out, have fun and party, you know go out for parties and they might come back and um… abuse their partners in those times."* **(Sam, MP 10)**

While students abused funds intended to assist with living and studies expenses, their exploitative habits also extended to friendship where they were able to convince RA's who were their friends to overlook parties in the residence buildings. According to Brian, parties were not allowed in the campus residence, but students nevertheless held them with or without the permission of the resident assistants.

> *"Eh…the parties are not allowed. Only if they are somehow approved by the residence administrators and err…you, your RA's but mostly they are not allowed. They are not allowed, but because of nepotism and knowing someone, these people are able to manipulate things and get what they want, whatever they can."* **(Brian, MP 7)**

This study shows that it was normalised for students to break the rules regarding student funding and university regulations where parties were not allowed and it was during these parties where alcohol and substance abuse took place, resulting in bouts of violence, including incidents of IPV.

> *"You know when there's NSFAS time, everyone is happy. Everyone has money. They go buy booze. They do all these unnecessary things with the money, and then they can fight with their girlfriends, maybe the other one didn't come back from the party or they are drunk. All of them, they are shouting and reminding each other of their old fights".* **(Pearl, FP 11)**

The high statistics of GBV during the Covid-19 lockdown period related to alcohol abuse called for the president of the country to declare an alcohol ban nationwide (Movendi International, 2020). The conversations with the participants above used the plural '*they', 'we'* and '*students*',

which indicated that a culture of parties, alcohol consumption and substance abuse was rife in the residence, with no differentiation between the genders regarding alcohol consumption.

> *"When they get funding allowances, they go buy booze and they get drunk and get a beer for you. Like a rage."* **(Princess, FP 10)**

For Princess, the time when students received their funding allowances was what she referred to as a 'rage', which is associated with a mass gathering for partygoers. According to Peaches, male and female students were equally aware of the effects of alcohol consumption, and in their inebriated state, the men were more prone to being perpetrators of IPV. While the victim and perpetrator could be intoxicated, it was the victim who experienced the brunt of IPV. The unequal positioning of male and female students in this study, where female students were victims and male students were perpetrators, determined different gender patterns for their alcohol consumption.

> *"I would say after parties you know. People might be intoxicated. People might be, you know, high from substance abuse and…"(Voice trails off)* **(Amel, FP 6)**
> *"And during time when there are incidents of IPV after parties eh, why do you think oh sorry, who do you think the victims would be mainly?"* **(Interviewer)**
> *"The victims would mainly be females."* **(Amel, FP 6)**

While some male students could be intoxicated and abusive, other students chose to protect such perpetrators, and instead of divulging details regarding incidents related to IPV, they normalised these men being drunk and abusive. Where alcohol and abusive behaviour are involved, perpetrators use their drunken state as an excuse for their violent behaviour (Mathews, Jewkes & Abrahams, 2015). When IPV was perpetrated during parties, victims who were drunk were blamed for drinking, and here while alcohol consumption is acceptable for men, it is regarded as an invitation for trouble when women drink in public.

> *"Definitely after parties, because everyone is drunk and no-one is paying attention so ya, definitely after parties."* **(Peaches, FP 7)**
> *"When we say everyone is drunk, would you say the victim and the perpetrator?"* **(Interviewer)**
> *"It can be anyone who is drunk, because sometimes the victim is too drunk and won't know what is going on and there are students who cover it up for others. So ya."* **(Peaches, FP 7)**

The above situations, where IPV victims were drunk at the time of their abuse, concerns with the findings of Mathews et al., (2015), where women who drink in public are subjected to IPV because her expected behaviour does not give her equal rights for alcohol consumption as men. The normalisation of IPV and its recurrence was evident in the interview with Lee who was aware of the same intimate couples engaging in binge drinking, partying and IPV on an ongoing basis.

> "…because if you hear it on a weekend, the likelihood of it happening on the next weekend is very high. You'd often hear the same thing happening throughout the semester and the year, from the same room." **(Lee, MP 3)**

In this study, participants spoke about violence that erupted between intimate partners where one or both were under the influence of alcohol or drugs. Although both male and female students engaged in binge drinking and drug abuse in the campus residence, there was a tendency for male students to be more violent than females. Male and female students were known by the participants to attend parties that were hosted in the university campus residence, but different rules applied to male and female students through the violence that was witnessed. While male students could leave the campus residence and return at a time that was convenient for them, female students who attended parties outside the residence had to adhere to curfews imposed by their boyfriends. Where male students policed their girlfriends by monitoring the times they returned to their rooms, female students were subjected to physical beatings and verbal abuse in order to maintain the gender order of men being free to socialise. In this study it was also found that the gender norms for alcohol consumption was while both male and female students consumed alcohol, female students were regarded as irresponsible for staying out late at night, drinking and partying into the early hours of the morning.

> "I lived in campus which had a female residences and a friend of mine had come back from a party around 2am and then err… her boyfriend was standing in the corridor waiting for her to come back and then err…started to fight. He beat her to a pulp, and we had to take her to a hospital." **(Princess, FP 10)**

Incidents of GBV are cognisant that violence including IPV usually involves females as victims (WHO, 2012; Bhana & Anderson, 2013; Kheswa, 2015). Given the high crime statistics in South Africa (Gordan & Collins, 2013), one would think that female students who partied in the company of strangers were at a greater risk of being violated by a stranger. The paradox here is that the very men who believed that girlfriends' where unsafe amongst strangers were the ones who harmed them. The movement of women and how they engaged in socialisation

determine different gender scripts for men and women, and how men control the socialisation of women (Bhana & Anderson, 2013). Here mobile phones became a means to monitor a woman's whereabouts and if her phone was switched off, for boyfriends this meant that his girlfriend was being secretive about her location and where anxiety turned to violence.

> *"She will go out drinking and the guy would be so worried about the girl in such a way that err, he would try and call but the girl would be fine wherever she is, she would just switch off her phone so the guy would worry about her. So, I feel that, like that was err…emotional blackmailing and it was also emotional er violating the person because he was worrying. He was becoming stressed. He was developing anxiety while caring for someone."* **(Philip, MP 6)**

In Philip's response, boyfriends considered their girlfriends to be causing them anxiety if they left the campus residence to attend parties with friends. While female students in this study owed an explanation of their location to their boyfriends, male students could party in nightclubs, consume alcohol, flirt with strangers and engage in sexual intimacy in the absence of their girlfriends.

> "*We drink alcohol, we go out to clubs and then you know the things that happen in clubs you know. Someone may err… a girl or the guy may meet, someone that they just have a fling with maybe a kiss in the bathroom, maybe touch each other you know in a sexual way. If your partner is there, then obviously er…then IPV would just break out in that instance."* **(Philip, MP 6)**

Men who engaged in binge drinking and pursued different partners were considered masculine in the studies of Kheswa (2015), and has also been found to appear in this study where female students could party but in the confines of the university residences, away from the company of men who were not students, while male students socialised with their friends nightclubs amongst strangers. Where both partners went out to nightclubs together and engaged in alcohol consumption, there was a possibility of IPV if one partner was sexually intimate with a stranger. It was apparent in this study that being in a state of intoxication did not render male students to be oblivious of their perceived superiority in an intimate relationship. Social constructionism teaches children that abuse against women is a norm, and boys who experienced watching their mothers being abused where more prone to perpetrating violence on an inter-generational level. The absence of positive male role models that socialises boys into believing that women must not be taught using violence means that they continue to subscribe to male dominance (Magudulela, 2017), and that deviations for this acceptance have negative outcomes for them.

"…that happened, once where I live now and there was this guy. I believe that he was drunk, so here drugs can play a part of abuse as well. He was drunk and um, he went to his girlfriend's room and they started arguing. Their arguing, um… lead to them physically fighting now and um…security guards had to get involved because the guy was starting to beat up the girl and all that."
(Sam, MP 10)

Even when a male student was intoxicated, he maintained his dominance in an intimate relationship through violence. In the above excerpt we see how IPV that starts verbally eventually results in physical violence. The responses from Philip and Sam draws our attention to how when alcohol is consumed, one or both partners in an argument become violent resulting in both partners being physically violent eventually. For Lily, alcohol was the driver for IPV to prevail because whenever a male student was intoxicated, he refused to accede to his partner's requests. Furthermore, if his partner tried to reason with him, his refusal to accept the reasoning was a further contributing factor for IPV. Hence, when social norms construct men as being more powerful, they expect these norms to be accepted under all circumstances, and when male power is contested, violent outbreaks follow.

"I can say that the cause is alcohol because whenever they fight, it is because one of them is drunk… male communication is bad. Every time they say something, you have to say yes. So, you don't have to argue. So that is where the problem starts."
(Lily, FP 4)

Through culture, men and boys are raised with the belief that they enjoy immunity to punishment if they were under the influence of alcohol at the time of abusing their partners. This resonates with the findings of Mathews et al., (2015), hence these socialised practices and norms compound IPV to the extent where perpetrators take intoxication as a cue to abuse their partners on an ongoing basis. This is especially harmful for both partners when substance abuse manifests in addiction.

"You know, when there's alcohol involved it may trigger violence…It can be at any time, but it does worsen the situation when there's alcohol involved."
(Amanda, FP 5)
"And any drugs with alcohol, any occurrences of drugs?" **(Interviewer)**
"Drug abuse, it's usually a weed that students are exposed to." **(Amanda, FP 5)**

It is evident from the participants' responses that male and female students engaged in alcohol and drug abuse. While female students in an intimate relationship were subjected to power differentials, male students who engaged in binge drinking, substance abuse and late-night partying were less likely to face the fear of sexual assault. Male students partied inside and outside the university premises, while their partners were only allowed to attend parties in the campus residence. In addition, curfews applied to female students, where their partners monitored their movements and inflicted abuse if they returned to the campus residence late. In the next theme I look at the challenges that victims of IPV face, as they depend on the perpetrator financially or in other cases, they live with the perpetrator.

4.8. Transactional relationships are the risky ones: Love vs Money

This theme illustrates the lived experiences of participants and their exposure to IPV as Residence Assistants (RA's), peer educators and members of the Student Representative Council (SRC), where some victims are forced to live with their perpetrator. Reflecting on the literature in Chapter 2, there are various reasons why students engaged in transactional relationships, and while surviving hardship was one, acquiring trendy clothes, money and mobile phones were others (Ngabaza et al., 2013; Singh & Myende, 2017). Sugar Daddies and Blessers are common phenomena in South Africa, these being men with access to money or in positions of power who obtain sexual favours in return for the material objects or finances they provide (Ngabaza et al., 2013; Magudulela, 2017). Studies by Clowes et al., (2009), Gordan & Collins (2013) and Bhana & Pillay (2018) identified female university students from disadvantaged backgrounds as at a higher risk for engaging in these transactional relationships. Here, young women relinquished their agency for material acquisitions, while providers used their power, money or social status to wield power over their dependents.

Transactional relationships not only subject women to positions of financial dependence, subservience and vulnerability to diseases or infections, it also ensures that the hierarchical position of the heterosexual male is unchallenged, thus maintaining hegemonies. While interviewing the 14 female participants, I could not help but sense their reluctance to divulge details of transactional relationships, with only two female students responding that they saw Blessers and Sugar-Daddies in the campus residence, compared to seven of the ten male participants, who spoke unhesitatingly about outsiders coming into the campus residence and contributing to the prevalence of IPV. Whether it was through some allegiance towards other female students who engaged in transactional relationships or a genuine lack of knowledge,

female participants evaded the issue and responded to probing questions in monosyllables and not yielding rich data through their responses. In this study, the data came mostly from the male participants, who were conscious of incidents where female students were involved in transactional relationships with men from outside the university campus as well as prominent leaders in the SRC or male students from wealthy families because

> *"...if you see a BMW 7-series coming, maybe I'll be like that's the dad, but the dad somehow comes into the room."* **(Brian, MP 7)**

From the excerpt above, flashy cars signaled the economic background of providers who came from outside the university, demonstrating that female students were discerning in their choice of male providers. From this data, we see how providers are familiar with visiting girls in their residence rooms, and for Masike & Mofokeng (2014), when outsiders enter students' residence buildings, it introduces the element of danger. This was evident through Bonga's conversation, where outsiders are allowed into the residence buildings with limited safety monitoring procedures. When female students engaged in transactional relationships, they exercised their agency to do so, however, the lack of power within these relations, where providers were older men, puts them at risk of experiencing physical abuse or being taken away from the campus residence against their will.

> *"... we had one gentleman in I'd think in his mid-fifties who actually came to the res to visit the girl and the proper documents filled in, but we find that he was actually dragging the girl out of the residence and saying, "Get into my car. We are leaving now, now, now." And the girl did not want to leave and when we tried to intervene and ask, "Why are you dragging her out of residence without her actually....without having her agreeing to leave with you?" and you find that the answers are like, "I pay for this residence. I pay for the food she eats. I buy her clothing. I own her."* **(Bonga. MP 4)**

While female students depended on transactional relationships, according to Lee, the violence and suffering that these girls were exposed to, paled the positive outcomes of material gain. Contradicting Bonga, according to Lee, proper documentation for strangers entering the building was not a requirement by the security staff, which jeopardised the safety of students in general.

> *"...older men do come to the campus, taxi drivers and Uber drivers and things that they go up to the residences. I think that they should be controlled in terms of*

access, because I find it difficult to see how people without student cards can enter
the campus. Female students are not aware of what they get themselves into. They
often get lured by money and material things, and when the times when they're
being abused, those things don't really make up for what they go through." **(Lee,**
MP 3)

In effect, female students exposed themselves to danger by inviting outsiders into their campus residence rooms, as Fred was aware that these girls met their providers as per an appointment.

"...they have an agreement with their partners that they will see them at this time,
they will pay them for this time so it's more of like work." **(Fred, MP 9)**

From Fred's response, transactional relationships were not necessarily based on any commitment or notions of love. In using the word "agreement", there was a mutual understanding between the parties that the relationship had an agenda, with both parties consenting about the purpose of the meeting. For women in sub-Saharan Africa, poverty affects how women are treated (Bamiwuye & Odimegwu, 2014; Abramsky et al., 2011), and in this study, some men have economic power that brings with it control over where and when women have to 'work' for material benefits in an intimate relationship rather than receiving possessions as a token of affection. While transactional relationships provided material comforts, female students in this study were known to engage in concurrent romantic relationships with fellow male students. Here the findings show an interesting turn of events, with fellow male students being equally likely to perpetrate IPV as they competed for attention in an intimate relationship where another male with money and power threatened their male dominancy. In their jostle for attention from younger girls, Blessers and Sugar-Daddies also engaged in a power struggle with male students in a quest to prove that money was more important than love. Where male dominance hinged on their ability to control their girlfriends, older men were aware that money and material benefits were the only factors that attracted younger girls, and the physical attraction that the girls felt towards younger men was a threat to keeping them for themselves.

"When the Sugar-Daddy finds out that the girl has a boyfriend they will try and
make the girl break up with the boyfriend, and if the girl doesn't do that, their
relationship with the Sugar-Daddy might end up being a violent relationship as
well...you know the Sugar-Daddies are the ones who have money and power in the
relationship." **(Sam, MP 10)**

For Sam, money and power are closely intertwined with dominance in an intimate relationship. Not only could Blessers/ Sugar Daddies manipulate the dynamics of the relationship to suit their expectations, they could decide at will, whether they wanted to provide for a woman or not. In this situation, female students who were dependent on their providers faced a plethora of abuse, as well as the possibility of contracting sexually transmitted diseases, which supporting literature shows to be in relationships where negotiation for safe sex practices is limited (Bhana & Anderson, 2013; Ngabaza et al., 2013; Tsui & Santamaria, 2015; Bhana & Pillay, 2018). Vulnerability to HIV and sexually transmitted infections is a health risk that can have dire consequences on the academic progress of these students, and some might not achieve the career goals they initially set out. While transactional relationships provided material comforts, girls still wanted romance, with the data indicating how female students engaged in romantic relationships concurrently, and the IPV they were further exposed to was a result of power struggles, where boyfriends felt emasculated when their girlfriends had multiple intimate partners.

> *"...Sometimes it's because the guy is under pressure. He can't be the Daddy to provide and you know they start projecting and hitting the woman and all of that."*

(Bonita, FP 9)

While multiple intimate partners for men in heterosexual relationships is largely accepted in African culture (Ngabaza et al., 2013; CSVR, 2016), the same did not apply in the women in this study, who were forced to be monogamous while men can be promiscuous. Hence the double standards for men and women in transactional relationships, and while social norms frown on women as cheaters in an intimate relationship, men are considered benevolent.

> *"…it's girls who get involved with Sugar-Daddies you know, and they mostly do that in secret. They're cheating on their partners now to secure their finances. They cheat on their student partners and this makes the student partners violent towards, them because disloyalty in a relationship is really not a good thing…they feel like are um…being made stupid of if their partner is cheating with a Sugar-Daddy."*

(Philip, MP 6)

In this study, male students had a very clear understanding of the power masculinities held in a relationship, and where they felt this power was threatened, they used violence to reassert their position. Male students in this study were conscious of their financial limitations and perceived Sugar-Daddies to be a threat for wielding power over their girlfriends. While women must tolerate multiple girlfriends, face the threat of disease transmission by cheating male partners and endure poverty in relationships where men cannot provide, the converse does not

apply in patriarchal societies (Mathews et al., 2015). In this campus residence, patriarchy and male dominance were not directed to the providers or boyfriends but rather to the woman in the relationship, as female students were constructed as weak and easier to control or chastise for their discreet affairs. Hence confrontation between men were avoided and women became the targets of male frustration.

Female students engaged in various types of transactional relationships for financial security and in this study, it was normal for female students to live in cohabiting relationships to secure accommodation. The biographical data earlier in this chapter gives an indication of the various areas that students hail from to study, making it necessary to have a place to stay. In the cases where female students cohabited with male students, they were expected to play the role of a wife, despite their living together being a living arrangement and not a marriage.

> *"Then the relationships in campus, they're not husband and wife relationships where the girl is not supposed to study and do everything like a wife."*

(Lily, FP 4)

Unlike male students in cohabiting relationships, female students who cohabited for transactional purposes were subjected to the social expectation of a responsible homemaker. While male students were not in a financial position to be a breadwinner as they were full time students, this was overlooked, and he was accorded full authority to be the head of the so-called household, the role of the female student being firmly ingrained in the relationship. Here the strong cultural role of women was enforced, where women were expected to be self-sacrificing, despite her academic abilities, while the focus should be on male as achievers. Where a female student was able to access accommodation through her boyfriend, she was expected through performativity to pay back for a place to stay and food to eat. Hence transactional relationships with boyfriends also had expectations attached and men were not able to transcend selfishness. For Connell (1995; 2012), women are always positioned to be responsible for unpaid caregiving work, and where their careers are involved, they occupy jobs lower on career rungs. Through the above responses, it emerged that young females, unlike their male counterparts, were still subjected to dominant patriarchal practices due to their financial positioning. Where men from outside the university supported female students, boyfriends who were students saw this as a threat to their masculinities. The role of the male as a breadwinner occurs across different cultures and race groups, and where this role is replaced, it creates fertile grounds for animosity and violence (Bamiwuye & Odimegwu, 2014; Patra et al., 2018).

While some cultures and social norms accept transactional relationships as a means of exercising autonomy, others regard such alliances as shameful (Bhana & Pillay, 2018). Studies by Singh & Myende (2017) and Bhana & Pillay (2018) show that female students were able to exercise their sexual agency while navigating through their desire to engage in transactional relationships, which was a win-win situation. In some of their participants' responses, transactional relationships were necessary for female students to meet expenses associated with studying and the cost of a residence room. Throughout the responses, female students were subjected to fear and physical violence, whether it was a romantic or transactional relationship. For Connell (2012) gender relations globally position women within working environments in less important positions. While male and female students entered the university with the same career goals, there was no evidence that male students relied on transactional relationships while navigating through their studies. Transactional relationships can be highly contested, with arguments questioning whether it is a form of prostitution and there are studies that show evidence of transactional relationships being rife in universities in sub-Saharan Africa (Masvawure, 2010; Singh & Myende, 2017; Bhana & Anderson, 2018). In this university, security personnel placed at the entrance to the residence are expected to monitor who entered and left the university property, with poor security measures resulting in the men entering the campuses and residents for transactional relationships having dire consequences for victims and onlookers. The next theme examines how students and victims of IPV viewed accessing assistance from the relevant authorities with regards to IPV.

4.9. Accessing assistance from the relevant authorities

This theme addresses how students could access assistance from the relevant authorities. While being in a university would seem the most likely place to present victims with opportunities for accessing assistance, students' responses demonstrated that the relevant authorities themselves were fraught with inconsistencies that allowed for the ongoing perpetration of IPV and forced victims to live with abusive partners Almost half the female homicide victims in South Africa are murdered by their intimate partners (Jewkes et al., 2009; Joyner, Rees & Honikman, 2015). According to Gordan (2016), there are legal and health avenues in South for victims of IPV to access assistance, but the final decision lies with the victim to admit that they require protection from their perpetrator. Through the voice of Mary, the onus lies with the victims in the campus residence to access the available resources for students' safety.

> "*It's up to the victims to be vocal about it. They have to speak about it.*" (**Mary, FP 8)**

Mary mentioned above that the students had the opportunity to communicate their abuse to the relevant authorities, but for Music below, accessing assistance was hindered by relationship dynamics that threatened the safety of the victim.

> *"Maybe they don't wanna report, maybe they were threatened or something."*
>
> **(Music, MP 2)**

While the effects of IPV can be overwhelming, the further social stigma that is attached to being a victim of IPV contributes to their decision not to access assistance, hence it is only through ongoing attempts to address this scourge that any significant progress can be noted in society (Fagan & Maxwell, 2006). Where victims become complacent, the results are the devastating statistics of IPV victims who are exposed to injuries, disease transmission, the increase in HIV infections in South Africa and the high number of fatalities (Gordan, 2016). In Mary's response, the university tries to facilitate helping students who are subjected to abuse and violence, with the first step towards accessing assistance being for the victim to acknowledge that he/she needs assistance from the relevant authorities. The participants' responses varied when questioned them about who they would approach for assistance. For Peaches, speaking to a lecturer ensured privacy, which is what Edwards & Sylaska (2013) found university students amongst youth to gravitate towards.

> *"I would probably go to a lecturer. Reason being is sometimes the victim does not want to go public when they are being abused. So, with the RMS and the campus management the victim is out there but with the lecturer it's more private."*
>
> **(Peaches, FP 7)**

While lecturers appeared to be the first choice amongst students, the unavailability of the staff over weekends was a challenge for accessing assistance. One of the possibilities that students preferred lecturers could be the relationships of trust that had developed between them, and their perceived respect for confidentiality. However, due to the limited contact with them, students had to adhere to protocols and approach the RMS to access assistance or report IPV related to their own experience or on behalf of another student.

> *"the violence usually happens during the weekends and the lecturers are not around you know… but the RMS is usually the one that is available every day and even during the weekends."* **(Sam, MP 10)**

In addition to Sam's voice, other students indicated that they would approach RMS, but as a secondary choice to ensure that an incident report was documented. As with Peaches, Amel who was a first-year student who favoured speaking to the RA first instead of the RMS directly.

For Patra et al., (2018), not all victims feel comfortable communicating with law enforcement officials, as was the case for Amel, who entered the university for the first time.

> *"I would say that they should firstly speak to the residence assistant and if things do not actually get solved then RMS is the way to go."* **(Amel, FP 6)**

Given the alternatives for accessing assistance, Amel considered protocols to be very important in getting help by following university procedures. Being one of the younger participants, he may more likely to adhere to the protocols of the institution, while the students become better informed of their rights and recourse for assistance, as demonstrated by Amanda below. In the case of Amanda, a third-year student, she reflected on her past experiences of accessing assistance for IPV incidents, which demonstrates her concern for having the proper mechanisms in place to address this social scourge.

> *I suggested that there be a separate department that deals with violence because if we are to report everything to the RMS, then they tell us that they busy. That they are dealing with uh…different cases as well. They're not only dealing with this. Then why not there be a separate department to deal with cases of violence so that it can be addressed with the utmost seriousness,"* **(Amanda, FP 5)**

While the RMS was present on the university premises, they had other duties that resulted in them not addressing IPV related issues timeously. For Amanda, there was a need for the institution to set up a facility that could students identify as approachable from which receive the necessary help or advice. The differences in their responses may be due to their differing experiences with violence in general and IPV on campus, the older Amanda having had to work within the current system and seen its challenges. Level 5 lockdown during the COVID-19 pandemic serves to remind this country how, despite the presence of law enforcement officials, policies and the benefits of reporting, victims of IPV, whose movements are often controlled by their partners, may have limited ability to access assistance. They may also not want to suffer the consequences should their partner find out that they had been reported or be arrested, as they may then have nowhere to stay. The sub-theme below offers a glimpse of how secret intimate relationships limited their access to assistance for victims.

4.9.1. Families are unaware of intimate relationships

In this study, there was evidence of female students who could not afford accommodation in this campus residence making their own living arrangements in order to secure a place to live.

While cohabiting relationships are assumed to be based on emotions of love and a desire for partners to be together, here, young women tolerated IPV due to poverty. As a result, their families were unaware that female students were cohabiting with male students or that they were being abused by their cohabiting partners which is in keeping with the findings of Bhana & Pillay (2018). For these scholars, the absence of family and their ignorance of students' intimate relationships contributes to the latter's inability to access assistance, due to fear that the family might find out. This is reflected in Pearl's conversation, as she was aware of students engaging in behaviour that would be otherwise forbidden at home. Closely related to self-blame, the further trauma of the reporting process, which involved laborious paper trails, and without the support of family and relatives, further exacerbated the low rate of accessing assistance from the relevant authorities.

> *"I think when we get to university you know we get to this free and do a lot of things without our parents' consent".* **(Pearl, FP 11)**

For Libertin (2017) and Bhana & Pillay (2018), young adults are less likely to make intimate relationships known to family members when romantic alliances, sex and sexuality are taboo. According to Edwards & Sylaska (2013), there is a tendency amongst the youth not to divulge their intimate relationships to family members, which extends to non-normative gender relationships, where gay and lesbian persons face an increased risk of IPV and a low rate of seeking counselling. The excerpt from Philip shows his awareness of how society looked at non-normative genders, being in a gay relationship himself, and while he sympathised with victims of IPV in heterosexual and LGBTQI relationships, he contended that there were similar challenges in accessing assistance for fear how society would judge them.

> *They never really feel comfortable with sharing what they are going through because they fear judgement.* **(Philip, MP 6)**

For Patra et al., (2018), divulging intimate relationships to family members were known to result in further violence between the perpetrator and family members, or the victims being punished by parents and community leaders. Bonga, who is a RA, knew of female students who faced challenges when it came to accessing assistance, with many choosing to remain in toxic relationships rather than bring it to the attention of the campus officials.

> *"They don't have money to pay for residence, and as a result they are er...seeking ways of, of ensuring that they stay in the institution, to the extent that some form intimate relationships with people that they don't initially love but just to ensure*

that they have a place to stay, they have food in their stomachs, that they cannot go

back home because of poverty, because of lack of a lot of things." **(Bonga, MP4)**

While women in South Africa have more rights in the new democracy, culture and social practices stagnate their transformation in thinking. This is indicated in Fred's response, where the constant reinforcement of social norms makes it almost impossible to combat IPV.

The school has improved their way of thinking, because even it's normal at home,
and you get to school and you talk about it, you discover it's not normal. It's up to
that person to either absorb themselves in that normality or go out of it. Then they
see that this is just crap. **(Fred, MP 9)**

In this study, male and female students were able to decide whether they accepted IPV or not, the decision about its reporting laying with the victim. While gender relations recognise the influence of family and society at large, victims are not immune to the criticism of women for leaving toxic relationships. In this study, victims were overwhelmed with the burden of navigating through IPV, as the very people who were responsible for their welfare in the university perpetrated IPV on them. In the next sub-theme, I discuss student leaders and older male students in the perpetration of IPV.

4.9.2. Prominent leaders and senior male students: Corruption and the abuse of power

This sub-theme examines student leaders and male students and their role in the prevalence of IPV in this university campus residence. One of the core functions of the SRC is to mediate between the institution and the students that they represent, thus contributing to the voice of the student body. However, in this university, some male SRC leaders were known to abuse their positions of power and privilege to serve their own purposes to access sexual favours from female students. The findings of this study do not intend to generalise that all student leaders are corrupt, and the following discussion examines the responses of the participants who spoke consistently of how SRC leaders arranged funding for female students.

"And then the other thing that I realise is that the others that are going for the
young girls, that pull like the SRC guy, they do all these things to the girls. These
girls think that they are being loved by them and then when we hear these things,
like no guys that is wrong, but they never report them even if they try to report them,
they get away with it". **(Pearl, FP 11)**

"So, it's about power and abusing power?" **(Interviewer)**

"Yes, patriarchy. Abusing your power in your personal life." **(Pearl, FP 11)**

The students who accepted the financial assistance were aware of the implications, yet they entered relationships with SRC leaders who were known for abusing their girlfriends, facing charges of physical abuse and sexual assault, as well as involvement in corruption to withdraw police reports. Through the voices of some participants, leaderships and patriarchy were closely linked. While the expectation from the SRC was to facilitate the safety of students, in this study, the SRC leaders themselves were reported to be involved in IPV cases. Where gender and power intersect, it is usually women who are less likely to be equally represented when accessing assistance, as it is assumed that bullying tactics, which is characteristic of masculinities, may serve as a deterrent for following through a report of IPV. For Amanda and Bonita, accessing assistance from the SRC was a challenge, and where IPV was reported, the leaderships themselves did not address IPV as a serious matter.

> *"I remember one female student went to open a case with the RMS, a rape case. This, this male, he was involved in student politics, so he was very well known. Umm….the other male students who were leading at that time were actually went to the female student and told her to drop the case as it would not do good to the image of this perpetrator and that student came to me and umm… she told me about it, of this. And I tried to speak to the other umm…male leaders but because I was the only female in the SRC structure, I was experiencing an oppression. For my voice in most cases would not be heard."* **(Amanda, FP 5)**

According to Bonita, the intimate relationships that female students entered with prominent leaders were fraught with physical abuse, rape and criminal charges, while being toxic in nature. Here again, we learn how male SRC students, in the normalised pattern of perceived power for leaders in the institution, assume that their girlfriends are not entitled to exercise their agency. As leaders are accustomed to not being reported for sexual offences, they perpetrate IPV on an ongoing basis in defiance of the regulation that say that they can be disciplined.

> *"I do remember like during my second year precisely. Uh…this girl she was seeing this guy. This guy was in the SRC, and this girl um, um, they were seeing each other and things ended and then err the guy was making his way back to the girl's life and so when the guy came over, he like beat her up… the guy actually raped her…. Most of the times they also when you see how people come forward and they've not*

been helped, they're discouraged and they you know, it's a matter of: Who am I to
report the president of the SRC?"
(Bonita, FP 9)

For Philip, male students with access to power fed off the vulnerabilities of young female students who were ignorant of their manipulations. In Philip's view, victims who lived in rural areas were socialised according to traditional norms, where patriarchies were entrusted with the safety of society. Societies where women are expected to be housewives do not expect them to progress in their careers or be financially independent. Philip's response indicates that women depend on men for advice and guidance, and accord them due respect as leaders, despite endangering their personal safety and welfare. In Philip's response, we see that young women were accustomed in their rural settings to trust people in positions of authority, while in this campus setting, leaders abused their power. Here male student leaders, under the pretense of being helpful, used the opportunity to violate unsuspecting first year students. The data below correlates with those of Gordan & Collins (2013) and Bhana & Pillay (2018), where first year students were vulnerable to some of the most serious forms of violence by older students. Here, male students used gender and power to manipulate circumstances that served to their advantage of accessing control over female students.

> "*You know there are men, males in politics who get involved with er…first year students and they make them victims because you know that they are vulnerable, they are fragile, they are not used to the city life. They are not used to being independent and then they become victims of sexual assault and emotional blackmails from er…senior male students.*" **(Philip, MP 6)**

The abuse of privileges gave SRC leaders more power than other students where they colluded to exploit young female students, the paradox here being that student leaders ought to ensure transparency while in leadership. Bonga was also aware of unequal gender power relations where the normalisation of violence with no consequences for leaders thus rendering them as invincible.

> "*I'd like to say that the most people who are actually involved in IPV in our campus are the SRC members, because of the power they hold, because of what they can provide for our sisters. In turn, they abuse them, and nothing is being done because of the amount of power that they hold.*" **(Bonga, MP 4)**

Gender and power in intimate relationships are closely intertwined, where female subservience is a social expectation, especially where dependency is established. For Bonga, where IPV perpetrated by a student serving on SRC was serious enough to warrant a formal charge with the SAPS, bribery was used as a hindrance for justice to be served. For Patra et al., (2018), women are subjected to entitlement due to their financial dependency, hence economic resources play a central role in treating women as victims of violence.

> *"Tell me, is the SRC part of the issue of students not reporting their cases? Do*
> *they play a role?"* **(Interviewer)**
> *"Yeah, they do play a role. Even they themselves, they are the perpetrators."*
> **(Patricia, FP 13)**

In this university, participants spoke at length of how culture and race determined dominance in the institution, with Black African male students assuming authority over other students, and where they occupied positions in leadership, they believed that they were entitled to immunity when they appeared as perpetrators of IPV. While most student leaders were identified as male, the overall perception, as mentioned earlier, was that male students subscribed to heteronormative practices where there was a sense of allegiance within the fraternity that hindered the process of escalating reported cases of IPV. In this sub-theme, we see how SRC leaders colluded using contriving ways to shroud their misdemeanors. While SRC leaders were reported to engage in bribery and corruption, there was also discussion around their ability to influence the RMS and SAPS, which will be explored in the next sub-theme.

4.9.3. Law enforcement officials: Inadequate training hinders accessing assistance

While victims of IPV suffer serious physical, mental and emotional harm as consequences of IPV, their secondary trauma lies in communicating with law enforcement officials who are usually not adequately trained or equipped to handle situations of IPV (Gordan, 2016; Patra et al., 2018). Where societies are steeped in patriarchies, law enforcement officials serve to antagonise the situation even further through their lack of compassion shown towards victims of IPV and studies by Gordan (2016) posit the lack of sympathy and inefficiency of following up on reports of domestic violence contribute to low rates of accessing assistance. Universities invest large amounts of funds in security (Masike & Mofokeng, 2014) and students have a right to feel safe within the premises of the institution. In this study students spoke security personnel socialising with friends instead of being vigilant in the residence building.

> *"…in the residences, the security is not there. they are with their friends…"*
> **(Princess, FP 10)**

While the absence of RMS in the residence building was noticed by participants, students also spoke about the security personnel not being willing to assist when they were present.

> *"...when you get there and you question them on, "Why you're taking so long to address my case. It's a matter of 'Ah! We're dealing with lots and lots of other cases', you know and that's frustrating."* **(Amanda, FP 5)**

In this study, the participants spoke about the sheer laziness of RMS to attend to incidents of IPV and waiting to finish their shift instead of responding to a call for help. In this scenario, the security personnel were eager to pass the responsibility to the next set of security guards instead of addressing incidents of IPV.

> *"First of all, like we've got security guards and all but they're just waiting for 6 o'clock so that they can go, and the others can come in."* **(Bonita, FP 9)**

In addition to the poor work ethos demonstrated by the RMS, they exuded an attitude where they did not care about the welfare of students who were victims of IPV. For the RMS, IPV was a domestic matter that students had to resolve between themselves, thereby overlooking the possibility that serious injuries or fatalities could result in certain incidents. In addition to considering IPV to be a personal matter, the RMS applied their social norms of females as victims of IPV instead of looking at each incident from an objective point of view, based on the evidence and case presented. Hence gender norms that position men as powerful serve to disadvantage men who do not subscribe to violence and abusive practices.

> *"I don't think they are trained. Um...I don't think that they are adequately trained because uh... because sometimes they, they let their emotions you know take control of the matter and sometimes they, you find that they will side with the female in the situation because they usually think that the males are the ones who are perpetrators."* **(Sam, MP 10)**

Here the quest for justice and accessing assistance was futile for male and female victims, as Sam indicated regarding how the RMS used their own tactics of avoiding incident reports of IPV. Due to the lack of proper training in addressing IPV as a form of GBV in this campus residence, the RMS used their social constructions of domestic violence in attending to reports of IPV. Through Brian's response we learn how IPV is considered serious by female RMS staff members, where they consider the matter urgent and move quickly, while for male staff members this is normalised social behaviour.

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"…you report it to a female member of RMS, and they lash out the minute they hear. They run, but if you go to a guy err… it's a different reaction. They be like: Oh! They started again. Ooh, ooh what has she done now? So, I wouldn't say that they are trained enough. They just deal with it using their consciousness or their experiences or they apply, I'd say, a societal experiences or common sense or something of that nature." **(Brian, MP 7)**

According to previous studies, violence is learnt through the childhood experiences, where children normalise fathers beating the mothers (Magudulela, 2017) and socialised patterns see nothing wrong with men being violent towards women (Singh & Myende, 2017). In keeping with the lack of confidence that students had in the RMS for assisting victims of IPV, most participants considered the RMS to be inadequately trained, with intimate details and personal information not being kept confidential. This data resonates with Gordan (2016), where unfortunately, the law enforcement officials and health department staff who are critical avenues for assisting IPV victims subject them to trauma equivalent to or worse than the initial experience of abuse.

"I would tell someone in campus management. But not the lecturers. Because I just don't trust them, not at all. Not even RMS". **(Lisakhanya, FP 1)**

While the campus management could be trusted with personal information, students had little faith in the RMS, and only approached them because of protocol and procedure for reporting. In the findings of Patra et al., (2018), victims face challenges in seeking interdicts against perpetrators due to the assumption by law enforcement officers that the parties will calm down and the victims will withdraw the case. During the interview with Mike, one of the greatest challenges in communicating with the RMS was that they colluded with the perpetrators of IPV and justified why the reporting should not be pursued.

"They are guilt-tripped by the RMS because they say to the victim, imagine if you get him arrested, how will his family survive? Where will the family get the money to buy all these things? The family is poor. Pursuing this case is wrong. Believe me it happens, and it ends being no case because the victim has dropped the case." **(Mike, MP 5)**

In this study, guilt-tripping was a mechanism that was used to portray the perpetrator as more important than the victim, using family responsibility to justify why the incident should be overlooked. When the value of women is compromised because it is based on the constructions

of masculinities, it sets the precedence for how women are treated in society, hence intergenerational violence being learned, perpetuated and normalised (Magudulela, 2017). According to the WHO (2012) report, one of the reasons that victims do not access assistance from law enforcement officials is the realisation that they have limited options after seeking help to address IPV in the relationship.

> *"Ok, so what I was saying is that the RMS themselves are people who are actually seeing that justice is not served, because you find that when this girls or these boys, if they are gay, when they report these cases to the RMS, you find that the RMS themselves would be saying, "Why are you flushing somebody's degree down the toilet? Why are you doing this to a fellow human-being? Why do you want to have this person arrested? Look at this. Go back and try and sort out this. We are talking about a person's degree and by saying such things the victims are demoralised."*
> (**Bonga MP 4**)

According to Connell (2012), gender relations have evolved since her 1995 gender and power theory, where non-normative genders were excluded. The revised gender relational theory is inclusive of women and non-normative genders and takes into consideration their vulnerabilities to violence within patriarchal societies, the unequal power positions that deems them to be inferior, and their quest for justice related to violence, including intimate relationships. In this study, there was no response that indicated that IPV within non-normative genders were reported to the relevant authorities, indicating a possible area for future research. Within unequal gender power relations and patriarchal social norms that normalise violence against women and vulnerable genders are reinforced in how cases of IPV go unattended. This sends out a clear message that IPV is not an urgent matter and instead of the university addressing this issue, it is left to a service provider despite the severity of the situation. It is here that we see how university policy and practice do not correlate as transgression of university rules is the responsibility of university management to address.

> *"…we wrote to the statements for the RMS, but the following day, the perpetrator was still there. So, he could have come back and done worse than he had already done to her. To this day, that case has not been resolved, 'til this day we've had an issue last year and they're dragging their feet to address such cases, so you can only imagine the psychological impact this will have on the victim. To see her perpetrator daily and nothing has been done. No justice by the police, because we did go to the police and the questions that they ask, "How long have you been with*

this person? Has he done this to you before? Why are you still around" I'm here to report a case, I have found the strength to report this and you're asking me why I took so long to report this? Am I not going to forgive him again? So, there's no option of support from the institution or the SAPS." **(Amanda, FP 5)**

While democracy and transformation projects itself as serving men and women equally, regardless of their gender, for Amanda, the application of equal rights for all citizens was skewed and deliberately in favour of perpetrators of violence. Instead of applauding women for reporting and utilising the mechanisms that have been put into place for the purposes of curbing violence, law enforcement officials shifted the blame of IPV onto the victim. This resonates with the study of Gordan & Collins (2013), where victims of rape, amongst other forms of violence, are blamed for their abuse, that they should know better than to trust a familiar person who had double standards for men and women. In this study, while participants did indicate that they would approach the RMS for assistance regarding missing items, most participants did not consider the RMS to be adequately trained to address IPV Instead of addressing cases of IPV by following protocol and recording the incident, RMS staff took it upon themselves to dismiss the case with disregard for the suffering endured by the victim. Hence RMS contributed to ongoing IPV in the campus residence as they were able to handle cases where they were familiar with perpetrators.

"RMS was informed, but I'm not sure how it ended, because you know how people are. They have some ways of manipulating situations because for him, he was a post-grad student, so somehow, he knew some people around campus who had some sort of power to talk, you know, so as smooth talk things around. That's what may have happened." **(Brian, MP 7)**

In this study, the RMS and the SAPS who were responsible for assisting students without bias contributed to becoming an obstacle in accessing the rightful support institutional structure. While female students experienced rape and exposure to health issues, law enforcement officials focussed on the reputation and careers of rapists and boyfriends who beat up their girlfriends. Due to their poor training, these officials enforced their own socialisation of how reporting IPV could be demeaning to the perpetrator instead of assuming a neutral stance.

4.9.4. The institution: Protocol and delays in punishing perpetrators

The above discussions suggest that the participants did not have much faith in the people who were responsible in ensuring their safety and welfare. While prominent members of the SRC exploited vulnerable students, the situation was further exacerbated by the RMS and SAPS, who chose not to pursue their mandate to assist affected students. Where students were assured by the institution through the RMS and SAPS that their safety was of high priority, both were known to collaborate with the perpetrators, thereby denying victims of IPV due justice. According to social constructionism, societies reinforce that patriarchal dominance determine how society is treated, with Ngabaza et al., (2013) contending that the way in which female university students are treated is an extension of how broader society treats its women. In this theme, I look at how the institution contributed to the perpetration of IPV while being in an informed position and aware that it occurs in this university campus. While the institution ought to be neutral in the treatment of its students. The participants spoke of their experiences and challenges in receiving retributive justice. Despite having a policy on GBV, this university does not focus on IPV specifically. Hence IPV and GBV are treated equally, and for Amanda, the deliberate way in which policy skirts around the issue of IPV was one of the reasons that students were unaware that they could access assistance.

> *"They honestly not taking it as a serious issue at all, because I, I'm…last year when I was dealing with this issue with my friend, I was also very close with the err…Student Support Services Officer for the Central SRC, I told her about this matter and she tried to, you know, address this issue with the policy that this institution has and she brought it to the attention, to the Executive Directors, the ENC, the Senate Council, she brought it to the attention that there is this policy, it's there in writing, but it's not being implemented. If you're taking, if you're really looking into it, it doesn't necessarily speak to all the different types of violence that are happening within the institution. Students are not aware of this policy."*
> **(Amanda, FP 5)**

Nkosiyazi preferred accessing assistance from independent organisation which were more efficient and addressed the situation of IPV at hand.

> *"I will tell this organisation, which is CHARLSU which I think is more responsible about this issue of our relationships, so they take such measures of such things."*
> **(Nkosiyazi, MP 1)**

Whilst Nkosiyazi was aware that the university had mechanisms in place to address disciplinary issues, he believed that an objective perspective was essential in alleviating the problems surrounding IPV in the university campus residence.

> *"So the university is, it has laws and rules that er...governing that, but those rules and laws are not put into action, so I think that they should reinforce the rules that they already have and they should be strict with them, for instance, they should not be allowing the consumption of alcohol in university residences. And they should not allow a person to gain access into the university residences when they have consumed alcohol, because there's people who tend to do wrong things."* **(Philip, MP 6)**

For Nkosiyazi and Philip, the university was aware that students transgressed the rules of the institution, while Bonga felt that the institution was a brand that had to preserve its reputation. Here the participants were aware of the disjuncture between policy and practice. The lack of enforcing punitive measures sent a message to students that the institution was not serious about acting against students who did not adhere to university regulations. While the university has an obligation towards the safety and wellbeing of all stakeholders, some participants believed the institution valued its reputation more than the welfare of its students especially females as victims of violence.

> *"…the institution itself is a brand and as such they have to maintain the standard. This is our ranking. This is how the entire world sees us and as such, we will not at any point dent our name and give out stats to the public that this is happening in our institution. And when it comes to the institution, I think they should rather seek help outside the institution instead of inside the institution itself."* **(Bonga, MP 4)**

For participants like Bonita and Amanda, policy safeguarded the institution in terms of protocol, but they felt that more tangible mechanisms were needed to be implemented for it to be most effective.

> *"Uh…firstly, if they could enforce security. First, like we've got security guards and all but like, they're just waiting for 6 o'clock so that they can go at 6 o'clock and the others can come in. uh…the security system firstly. Secondly, awareness is not enough. Awareness is about the IPV, like you could have like people coming in and talking to everybody, both male and female, not just the females."* **(Bonita, FP 9)**

"...so, I think...the university is not doing enough to ensure that these issues are attended to, because even the policy on GBV... it's just paper. It's not being implemented. What it stipulates is so shallow on how these issues can be addressed. You can find it and read it as well but it, it, it has never, never have I heard that it was implemented anywhere and whenever you try and question it, you don't get the necessary attention that you need." **(Amanda, FP 5)**

Connell (1995) contends that gender regimes position men as authoritative, with most decisions being patriarchal. Gender relational theory looks at the historic period of a society, which largely determines how men and women are treated. While the university is in keeping with global standards in terms of education and research, there exists gaps in gender relations with regards to IPV, indicating a possible area for further research. Existing research focusses on the victim-perpetrator relationship within IPV, with this study presenting the voices of students who suggest possible ways of minimising IPV in this campus residence.

4.10. Students' suggestions for a way forward

This chapter examined and discussed IPV under the various themes mentioned above. This final theme focusses on what students considered to be important as a way forward in addressing IPV in this university campus residence. The university has a policy in place that addresses GBV, in which IPV is included but alluded to as part of GBV. According to the policy: 4.10. *"The university commits itself to facilitating educational interventions towards raising awareness and developing understanding about gender-based violence, including the contexts of gender power inequalities and normative gender roles and sexualities that shape and legitimise practices of GBV."* (UKZN: Gender Based Violence Policy, 2017, p5). In this study, the participants were aware of IPV being perpetrated in the campus residence, and despite mechanisms being in place to ensure their safety and security, they made several recommendations based on their lived experiences. According to Spencer et al.,'s (2016), students who lived in a campus residence where at a greater risk of experiencing IPV due to the extended time spent with the perpetrator compared to students who left the campus to return home daily. Below are some suggestions that participants made regarding improving the safety and services for IPV victims where the suggestions emanate from their lived experiences and exposure to IPV in this university. For the first suggestion as a way forward some of the responses from participants alluded to the lack of correlation between GBV policy and its implementation. For Lee, outsiders entering the campus was a major concern as the lack of

control over strangers coming into the university was a contributor for violent incidents because they could be in possession of weapons.

> *"I find it difficult to see how people without student cards can enter the campus."*
> **(Lee, MP 3)**

One of the reasons for having certain policies within institutions is to maintain consistency in the behaviour and practices of all stakeholders. However, in this university poor monitoring of persons entering the university jeopardised the safety of students and staff members, hence stricter control needed to be implemented.

The second suggestion made by the participants was for a '*platform*' where students could engage with the institution through dialogue and by working collaboratively, IPV can be addressed in consultation with each other in future.

> *"Err… with what is happening is we can see that there is no platform that kids can use for IPV. The university does not address such violence. We have to talk about this violence."* **(Mike, MP 5)**

For Mike, addressing the issue of gender relations was an important step towards making students aware from where IPV emanates. While the university has a GBV policy in place, it was not considered enough to address the issue of IPV where students were aware of its devastating effects. Using "we", the response indicates a joint effort where the institution and its students address issues of safety and well-being. Hence open communication between students and university management can serve to enhance existing policies related to IPV. While dialogue was important for Mike, documenting incidents of IPV was a concern for Amanda, as there was no evidence that IPV was reported, which makes following up on the matter difficult.

The third suggestion was that participants believed that recording IPV and documenting incidents for future reference where the violence was ongoing was an important step towards addressing this scourge. In the event of seeking counselling, the "paper trail" serve to support the victims' need for assistance where Amanda alluded to counselling for victims whose studies were affected by IPV.

> *"I don't think reporting it is as effective as it's supposed to be, but we need to have a paper trail of 'I did report this". Um, if further incidents had to happen then you*

do have a paper trail of "I did report this issue. They can seek assistance and I'd advise them to maybe do counselling." **(Amanda, FP 5)**

Although the university has structures in place to address student issues, for Amanda, having a system in place to record every incident of IPV was necessary in the event of a victim having to refer to a previous IPV incident.

The fourth suggestion was that students have the proper facilities to report IPV because the common response throughout the interviews with various participants yielded similar responses that the institution did not have an area or room designated for the discreet reporting of IPV. As an extension to the above suggestion students strongly believed that the reporting of IPV should be in an office dedicated for this type of violence only. While IPV is addressed as GBV in this university, students considered intimate details of abuse to warrant privacy in reporting incidents. The findings of this study correspond with Patra et al., (2018) where law enforcement officials do not exercise discretion while documenting sensitive information.

"...there is no office to report this such violence or else they even don't know that there is an intimate partner violence." **(Nkosiyazi, MP 1)**

For Nkosiyazi and other participants, the university did not recognise that IPV was a type of violence that involved personal information which required an appropriate environment or an office to address the reporting process. When IPV was a personal issue in certain cultures and societies, students' perceptions were that this type of violence could not be reported because of its highly personalized nature hence intimate partners should resolve their problems between themselves. Where incidents of IPV took place at home and went unreported, students normalised IPV, so when help was available in the university, the lack of directing students towards assistance reinforced that IPV was a domestic matter.

The fifth suggestion was for students to have a qualified counsellor whom they could confide in.

"I don't know maybe if there can be someone who can talk with the boys and girls… like an in-house social worker. Like report it to that person. And that person can be someone else other than us students." **(Pearl, FP 11)**

For Philip having a psychologist was a preferred option as students

"never feel comfortable talking about it with people they are around. They never really feel comfortable with sharing what they are going through because they fear judgement." **(Philip, MP 6)**

In this university, there is a counsellor who students could contact should there be a need for one. However, the suggestion from Pearl was that there be a counsellor for the students living in the residence building. Considering that peer educators served to counsel other students, this was not considered favorable for confidentiality reasons.

"I'm not gonna sit there and talk about my personal stuff and then I hear it from someone else who was not in that meeting." **(Lindi, FP 14)**

In this study peer educators were generally not trusted with sensitive issue as there was a tendency for that information to be shared with other students in the residence and elsewhere in the campus.

"...she did not continue with her counselling sessions at the school because she felt that they were not helping her, and she felt that her privacy was compromised."

(Bonga, MP 4)

Students were aware of what needed to be done to improve not only access to information but services for affected persons of IPV.

The sixth suggestion concerned the visibility of IPV awareness programmes and although existing policies including IPV was made available to students via student e-mail notices, for Amel seeing the concrete posters with the necessary information was more effective.

"I would like to see more awareness actually. I would love to see posters explaining this and coming up with solutions for this. I would like to see action you know."

(Amel, FP 6)

For Burr (2003), knowledge is constructed using different mediums. While some individuals are content with reading materials only, others prefer learning through interactive methods. For Amel, conscientizing students was one thing and finding a solution was the *"action"* that she wanted to see. While students were aware that there was a policy in place to address GBV, more effort was needed to make students aware of it and how to access the relevant services. Some students may not have been informed of the policy when they entered the campus, indicating gaps in how the policy is cascaded to the student body.

Finally, while male and female participants were aware that surveillance cameras could not be installed for privacy reasons in the students' rooms (bedrooms) where perpetration of IPV

mostly prevailed, they believed that security cameras in the corridors could be a possible deterrent for perpetrators who abused their partners in those areas of the residence.

"… in some corridors there are no cameras, so it makes it harder, like no proof that an incident actually did take place. So, I think improvement of security is important." **(Princess)**

In addition to documenting IPV, concrete evidence of the incident taking place is required for just and fair punishment of the perpetrator, with surveillance cameras to capture perpetrators of IPV being suggested by the male and female students. Where students were aware of being under the constant watch of security cameras, they believed that it would assist in curbing incidents of IPV as the evidence for perpetration would be available for documentation. With a potential review of the GBV policy coming under review shortly, students need to be invited to contribute to such a document, which should then be circulated for public comment on the relevant campuses.

4.11. Conclusion

This chapter presented the data analysis of students' understandings, experiences and exposure to IPV in a university campus residence using thematic analysis related to the study objectives. The literature from chapter 2 was used to strengthen the arguments in the discussion of the eight themes that emerged with the further discussion of sub-themes where necessary. This chapter reviewed the findings from the data with respect to the dynamics of gender power relations, politics, social norms, language and how these factors contributed to the prevalence of IPV. While universities are primarily intended for the purposes of receiving an education, this chapter brought to light how dominant partners within intimate relationships suppress gender equality and reproduce violence to maintain   dominancy. The next chapter is the final part of this report where the study is viewed in its entirety, taking into consideration the findings in this study and recommendations for a way forward.

CHAPTER 5. SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. Introduction

This chapter firstly provides a synopsis of the study, presents the key findings, offers some resulting suggestions and advocates for further research in this field. The aim of this study was to explore students' understandings, experiences and exposure to Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) in a university campus residence in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) Province. This qualitative study was carried out within an interpretive paradigm using semi-structured individual interviews with a selected group of undergraduate and postgraduate students in a university in KZN.

The campus, which is in the eThekwini (Durban) Municipality, has day students as well as those who lived in the campus residence during term time, and provides male only, female only and cohabiting living quarters. The study sample comprised of 24 participants who related their understandings of IPV based to a large extent on their lived experiences and exposure to IPV within the residence.

Chapter 1 introduced the research topic, outline my motivation for research related to the phenomenon of IPV in a university campus residence context and my previous study where the findings showed that IPV was perpetrated as a form of Gender Based Violence (GBV) in this university campus residence. I drew on the UKZN: GBV (2017) policy which served as a port of reference for the working definition of IPV in this study and I outlined the study objectives and the critical research questions. I referred to recent fatal incidents of IPV in other South African universities as further insight into the prevalence of domestic violence within universities, and the theoretical frameworks was introduced.

Chapter 2 reviewed the local and international literature related to IPV and detailed the conceptual framework. It detailed how South African universities are not immune to experiencing the social scourge of IPV. While men can be victims of IPV, globally and locally, it is women who are at the greatest risk of being victims. Gendered roles, and the constructions of masculinities and femininities illustrated the unequal power relations based on cultural and social norms, which are further exacerbated by poverty and substance abuse. The chapter outlined the non-reporting and under-reporting of IPV incidents, including social and medical perspectives, which highlights its underreporting by men, women and non-normative genders.

An independent lifestyle, freedom from adult supervision, the decision to cohabit, engaging in transactional and non-normative gender relationships were discussed in this chapter. While transactional relationships offered financial relief for some students, the literature explored the role of Blessers/Sugar Daddies and the material entrapments within transactional intimate relationships, which are often associated with unequal power relations and violence. The chapter included an in-depth discussion of the two theoretical frameworks relevant for this study, namely Connell's (2012) Gender Relational theory and Burr's (2003) Social Constructionism theory, where these theories from a gender lens were used to analyse the data in Chapter 4. The theoretical frameworks detail how social norms defend patriarchal practices and create unequal power positions for men and women globally, these being reinforced by culture, religion, parents, the broader community and state policies.

Chapter 3 outlined the research design and methodology, where this qualitative study within an interpretivist paradigm used a purposively selected sample group of students. Participants were also recruited using snowball sampling, where initial participants conveyed the message of this study to their friends who decided to participate voluntarily. Due to the Covid-19 pandemic, this study had to adhere to the research protocols of maintaining social distancing and using remote means of communicating with participants. The consent forms were e-mailed to the students and outlined the study details and their right to exercise autonomy. Data collection methods such as WhatsApp, voice calls and telephone calls were indicated as the preferred means by students, where interview conversations were audio-recorded with their permission, using pseudonyms to protect their identity. The conversations were transcribed and verified by the participants who received them via e-mail, with changes being made, where relevant, the final transcripts. The data was analysed using thematic analysis to identify themes based on the frequency of participants' utterances. Reflexivity in this study offered me the opportunity as a researcher to reflect on my journey in undertaking this research. While the circumstances surrounding this study with regards to the Covid-19 pandemic proved to be a challenge initially, it presented opportunities for different data collection methods where a study like this one can be carried out using remote data collection methods.

Chapter 4 presented the data analysis after the participants' biographical profiles had been presented. Using the thematic analysis approach, the data was analysed using the theoretical frameworks explained in Chapter 2, that being from gender and social constructionist perspectives, and supported or refuted with the literature presented in Chapter 2. The data

revealed that IPV occurred in this university campus residence, which assisted in identifying some suggestions for a way forward.

5.2. Summary of the findings in this study

The findings are based on the responses elicited from the interviews with students. There were 23 Black African and one Indian participant. These findings are presented in relation to the three research questions:

1. What are university students' understandings of IPV in a university campus residence?
2. What are university students' experiences and exposure to IPV in a university campus residence?
3. How can victims of IPV (if any) access assistance from the relevant authorities to address IPV in a university campus residence?

5.2.1. What are university students' understandings of Intimate Partner Violence in a university campus residence?

One of the key findings regarding students' understandings of IPV in this university campus residence was that it appeared to be a common occurrence, being perpetrated in different ways within the residence. Students understood IPV to be a deliberate act of abuse to control a partner and a socialised way to resolve conflicts, where one or both partners were violent in an intimate relationship. While most participants understood female students to be victims of IPV, male students in gay relationships were also identified as the target population.

The participants' responses indicated IPV perpetrators to be Black African male students who often hailed from deep rural areas and belonged to the isiZulu culture, tending to dominate over other students in the university, including leadership positions. Perpetrators were understood to be steeped in traditional cultural norms that glorified the constructions of masculinities to an extent that they perceived themselves as superior to all other students, regardless of race, gender or class. This finding is supported by Connell's (2012) gender relational theory, where cultures that are rigid do not promote progressive ideologies and maintain social norms that benefit the dominant positions of men. Hence, for the Black African male students who were identified as the perpetrators of IPV, violence masquerading as a social norm was used to control their intimate partners. This finding is also in keeping with Magudulela (2017), where children who learn violence through social structures and family members reproduce it on an intergenerational basis in their own intimate relationships. These findings are also in keeping

with literature related to Ngabaza et al., (2013) and Kheswa (2015), where Black African males assume dominancy within intimate relationships, with the social expectation that women are subservient beings.

The participant's responses indicated a varied understanding of IPV, with three using the terms GBV and IPV interchangeably. This demonstrated their limited perceptions of domestic violence and indicated the confined extent to which they were socialised into understanding and differentiating IPV from other types of violence. This finding correlates with Burr (2003), where phenomena can only be explained and understood through language if it is prevalent in a society. There is a possibility that these participants come from societies that have no specific language for IPV or domestic violence, or even if a definition exists, it cannot be translated to another language. Other participants demonstrated a deeper understanding of IPV, including domestic violence within long distant relationship, where the perpetrator was not necessarily physically present for IPV to transpire.

According to students' responses, the lack of respect that intimate partners had for each other, or one partner had for the other, the lack of commitment to long-term relationships, and low self-esteem for victims were understood to contribute towards the prevalence of IPV. When dominant partners in heterosexual and non-normative gender relationships were unhappy that events in their intimate relationship were not in their favour, they resorted to assaulting their partners, exposing them to verbal and emotional abuse as punishment. This occurred when some Black African female students in dating relationships disapproved of their boyfriends bringing other girls into the residence rooms and then experienced IPV when they addressed this issue with their partners. Participants' responses indicated students' understandings of the different types of IPV perpetrated in the campus residence to be closely linked with the findings of the World Health Organisation [WHO], (2012) report and the studies of Gordan (2016). While most students understood that there were distinct forms of IPV, such as physical violence, sexual assault and name calling (verbal abuse), they also demonstrated a deeper knowledge of the intangible and covert ways in which emotional and psychological violence was perpetrated within heterosexual and non-normative (gay and lesbian) relationships, where female students starved them or withdrew from their friends as a means of self-punishment.

Through asymmetrical gender relations, female students appeared to be more accepting of IPV as normal, specifically those who had witnessed domestic violence in their own homes. When

male students belonged to cultures that glorified their own assertiveness, the female students perceived their intimate partners as being in control of the relationship and merely reinforcing the social norms that they were accustomed to. This finding correlates with Bhana (2013), where men are respected due to social and cultural constructions of masculinities that allow them to control their intimate partners, albeit in violent ways. Hence verbal abuse and being held against a wall were not considered as violence if physical assault or beatings were not involved in the incident, but rather a reminder of social norms where women should submit to men. For some Black African female students, while verbal and emotional abuse was a sign of love and concern displayed by an intimate partner, others considered low self-esteem and poor self-confidence to be reasons why some female students did not challenge violent situations.

The unreported incidents of IPV in this campus residence resonated with the findings of Gordan (2016), who noted the low rates of reporting to law enforcement officials and healthcare workers regarding incidence of femicide, with South Africa having amongst the highest rates in the worlds. In this study, victims were understood to be ashamed of their abusive partners, denying that they were victims and colluding in their suffering by not reporting IPV as they believed that their intimate partner could rehabilitate. When one partner decided to either leave the relationship or report the abuse, the rejected partner was known to hack their social media accounts, such as Facebook, and harass them publicly. This finding corresponds with that of Brady & Hayes (2018), where rejected intimate partners are known to use technology and social media as remote ways of perpetrating IPV.

The power differentials within intimate relationships in this study demonstrated how female students overlooked their intimate partners' infidelity and violent tendencies for fear of abandonment due to social constructs and perceptions of being feminine as having a male partner, regardless of the harmful ways in which he treated her. This is cause of concern, as some students who identified with these constructs were in leadership and advisory positions, they should therefore have understood issues related to the illegality of GBV and IPV. Some worked as Residence Assistants (RA's), volunteers in Non-Profit Organisations (NPO's), as student leaders, peer educators or on the LGBTQI campus committee. Black African students normalised violence as a form of conflict resolution based on cultural norms, while the Indian participant's experiences of intervening in incidents of IPV, where both partners were Black African students, was regarded as disrespectful and unwarranted by the perpetrator. This coincides with the findings of Kheswa (2015), where being regarded by society and other men

as an *indoda* (man) is threatened when a man cannot dominate over his household and intimate relationship. Hence, the cultural construction of masculinities served as qualifiers for who could intervene in incidents of IPV in this campus residence. The students' understandings of IPV demonstrated their knowledge of who the victims and perpetrators generally were. The issue of race, gender and culture were understood to be drivers for the perpetration of IPV, with Black male students using culture as a reason for the violent ways in which women were treated. Furthermore, the participants' responses showed that they understood the different types of IPV, and how the constructions of masculinities and femininities contributed to underreporting and the victims colluding in their own suffering.

5.2.2. What are university students' experiences and exposure to Intimate Partner Violence in a university campus residence?

Following from the previous responses, while students understood the different types of IPV, here they spoke about their own and peers' experiences and exposure through witnessing incidents of abuse or knowing about friends being victims of IPV. The types of violence that students were aware of in the campus residence included gun violence, physical assault, hitting, bullying and sexual harassment, which correlates with the types of violence indicated in the UKZN: GBV (2017) policy. Considering that gun violence contributes to the femicide statistics in South Africa as well as globally, it was of concern that students in this university campus had access to firearms, and that the security guards were unaware of the dangerous weapons on the premises. The issue of student safety and presence of weapons reiterated the concerns of Masike & Mofokeng (2014), where dangerous weapons and poor security measures in combating violent crimes in universities compromise the lives of students and staff members. Where gender power relations demanded female subordination, male students went to extreme lengths to ensure that they upheld their patriarchal dominant position.

The sexual prowess of male students also contributed to the sexual assault and unplanned pregnancy statistics in the campus residence, which correlates with the findings of Libertin (2017), where female students in dating relationships face a higher risk of IPV. The responses showed that male students were fixated on sexual conquests involving female students who were virgins, with other being subjected to rape and sexual assault if they refused to be sexually intimate. In this study, Black African male and female students regarded sexual assault as being more serious than other types of IPV, specifically when the victim claimed to be a virgin. However, for the Indian male participant, female students, virgin or not, engaging in an

intimate relationship with men from outside the university was a danger to their safety and wellbeing due to their exposure to violence from these men. This finding corresponds with Chisale & Byrne (2018), where female virginity in certain Black African cultures is important, and females are rewarded for maintaining their virgin status. While individuals are entitled to exercising agency for sexual intimacy, some female students in this study valued their virgin status but lived in fear that their intimate partners rather than strangers threatened their status for being virgins.

Alcohol consumption, drug abuse and illegal parties were regarded as factors that contributed to heightened incidents of IPV. Participants were aware of the university rules and the prohibition of alcohol and drugs on campus, yet they were transgressed, with RA's being bribed to allow parties with alcohol in the residence buildings. The high levels of alcohol consumption for male and female students correspond with the findings of Peltzer & Pengpid (2013), who posited that alcohol use in South Africa is amongst the highest in Africa. The participants' responses indicated that alcohol consumption, above other types of substance abuse, was normalised for university students in the campus residence, especially over weekends and after receiving student funding. Students exploit the lack of security controls, when the guards did not monitor student entering the residence building with alcohol or drugs or being in an intoxicated state. While both male and female students engaged in binge drinking, partying and risky behaviour, the female students were admonished by their boyfriends for alcohol intake and returning late to their residence rooms, while male students frequented nightclubs and flirted with strangers without fear for reprisal from their girlfriends or having to adhere to a gender script with social norms for men's socialising patterns.

Risky behaviour in this study also pertained to the transactional relationships that students engaged in within this university campus residence. Where some victims came from economically disadvantaged areas, financial factors limited their independence and their inability to escape from the dominant forces of patriarchal norms, thereby forcing them to remain in abusive relationships. In this residence, male students and Blessers/Sugar Daddies perceived themselves as having power over their dependent female partners often in harsh and violent ways. This finding correlated with Bamiwuye & Odimegwu (2014), as in certain African cultures, men are upheld for their role as a provider, justifying the subjugation of their dependents to violence and subordinate behaviour. While female participants evaded questions related to transactional relationships, male students (Black African and Indian) identified the

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health and safety risks associated in relationships where female students were financially dependent.

In this study, Blessers/Sugar Daddies with access to money and power sometimes engaged in conflict with younger men vying for the attention of female students whom they provided for. If they could not separate students who were in romantic relationships, they used IPV to punish girls who did not remain faithful to them. It is also evident that female students were exposed to physical violence, including being taken away from the university residence by their Blessers/Sugar Daddies against their will, which highlights the safety and security of students, as strangers freely frequented the campus residence. Another finding regarding transactional relationships was the role of male students with access to finances and who occupied prominent positions in the university. Apart from exploiting vulnerable and poor female students, they believed that they were entitled to the girls for whom they arranged student funding and accommodation. Hence female students did not only experience a lack of agency with older men, they were coerced into unsafe sex practices that resulted in unwanted pregnancies, which resonates with Bhana & Pillay (2018), where female agency within transactional relationships was limited due to economic dependency.

Female students were forced to withdraw charges laid against student leaders who perpetrated rape as these men provided them with material comforts. Once again, economic dependency and male dominance in leadership limited female agency and increased their exposure to violence. In this study, female students in concurrent transactional and romantic relationships experienced IPV in both types of relationships. Although they invested their time and emotions in romantic alliances, they experienced IPV by their boyfriends who did not approve of their relationship with providers, especially older and richer men from outside the university. Here male students were aware of the constructions of hegemonic masculinities that contributed to the perpetration of IPV as they battled with providers for dominance. Male students were conscious of the power held by Blessers/Sugar Daddies who were considered more dominant due to their economic status and vented their frustration of being economically challenged on their girlfriends to prove their male dominance.

Male students with access to finances expected their girlfriends to behave like wives, which correlates with Butler's (1990) performativity theory, subjecting them to sexual coercion and controlled the company these girls kept. Female students who were expected to fulfil household

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duties neglected their studies and were not allowed to socialise with their peers. The findings show that male students with access to finances, political power, in leadership and prominent social positions were considered the worst perpetrators of IPV, where bribery, corruption and controlling behaviours including forced abortions. This not only compromised the human rights of the victims, but also increased the risk of sexually transmitted diseases and infections, including HIV, adding to the already burgeoning rate of infection in SSA.

In this study, the female students showed a limited tendency towards exercising female agency. This corresponded with Singh & Myende (2017), who reported that female students are not always accepting of male dominance and devise ways of shattering social norms that render women as weak and dependent beings. Some female students in this study demonstrated autonomy within an intimate relationship by adopting strategies such as bullying a non-violent male intimate partner. Where female students had violent brothers, they learnt how to wield power by bullying an intimate partner and constructing them as weak in the relationship. It is in the phenomenon of bullying where there is scope for further studies on its long-terms effects, as bullying is known to be perpetrated in schools and may affect the perpetrator and victim thereafter.

Female agency was exercised when female students defied the traditional gender norms of waiting to be rescued during incidents of domestic violence. Instead, they demonstrated the fluidity of socially constructed behaviour and how men unlearn negative social roles when gender performativity roles are reversed and when women use violence to exercise agency. The literature on IPV shows evidence of female agency within intimate relationships, with the female students in this study refuting male dominance using physical violence. Hence, female students exercised agency as a defence mechanism as well as to redress social norms that were harmful to their safety and well-being. When female students in this study became aware of how they should fend for themselves, they evolved and adopted violence as a strategy to address unequal gender relations in the broader social context.

Students' experiences and exposure to IPV demonstrated that several factors contributed to its prevalence in the university campus residence. The access to dangerous weapons, transgression of university regulations, alcohol consumption and relationships of dependency were regarded as factors for IPV in this context. Female students experienced IPV in romantic and transactional relationships when male intimate partners exerted their dominance through

violence and the abuse of power. There is evidence of female students exercising agency in this study, where some adopt defence strategies, such as bullying, because they consider non-violent partners to be easy targets to dominate. Female agency in this study was also identified by their engaging in physical violence to reverse the effects of patriarchal dominance.

5.2.3. How can victims of Intimate Partner Violence (if any) access assistance from the relevant authorities to address IPV in a university campus residence?

IPV globally and locally contributes to the high levels of femicide (Jewkes et al., 2009; Gordan 2016), one of the reasons for this being the limited avenues through which to seek assistance. In this study, students spoke about secret intimate relationships in the university campus as a result of the novelty of being free from family members who were unaware of cohabiting and dating relationships. This echoes the studies of Bhana & Pillay (2018), where students cannot report IPV as they are likely to be punished for transgressing social order and family rules, with reprisal from family members or relatives. Non-normative gender relationships as a social taboo is one of the reasons why victims of IPV in homosexual relationships keep their intimate relationship a secret from family members (Sorenson & Thomas, 2009; Edwards & Sylaska, 2013), and in this study, students in gay relationships were secretive about their experiences of IPV. The students' responses showed limited exposure to IPV within the non-normative gender community, regarding them to be elusive about demonstrating and handling IPV in this campus residence.

Another reason for not accessing assistance was that victims did not want to leave the university residence and give up their studies if they were no longer able to stay with their boyfriends due to opening an abuse case against them. This would result in them having nowhere to say and having to return home, which would result in them having limited career choices in the absence of a qualification, which resulted in them being trapped with their perpetrators. The students expressed the various challenges they experienced in accessing assistance from the relevant authorities and offered valuable insight in addressing this issue. Where students approached the university leadership for assistance, they faced bribery and corruption, which resulted in some cases never being heard, their responses demonstrating a need for transparency within student leadership to prevent any interference in such cases, by male students. Student leaders who were perpetrators of IPV colluded with other SRC members, who in turn were perceived as being biased during the disciplinary hearings, hence an urgent need for a staff-run office that student can go to for help.

While the university has an emergency helpline to assist students with GBV related issues, the absence of a walk-in center with the specific purpose of addressing IPV on this campus was highlighted as a concern, where students wanted to be assured that someone who was trained for counselling victims could be approached. Furthermore, participants who were victims of IPV wanted the university management to ensure that policy and practice related to IPV and GBV correlated. Students also discussed the need for a revised policy addressing IPV, the importance of posters as a visible reminder of this phenomenon, and to educate the university community about IPV as a type of violence in its own. Addressing IPV during student orientation programmes was another suggestion, as some participants were unsure if they were adequately educated about how to report incidents or seek help from the university.

The lack of properly trained security staff members and ensuring that protocols were followed were regarded as hindrances, as well as delayed feedback for reported cases of IPV. The unhelpful attitude of the male security staff members demonstrated that their own social norms played a role in how they helped. While female Risk Management Staff members considered IPV incidents to be emergencies, male security staff displayed apathy and reacted without urgency, as this was normalised for them, thus jeopardising the safety of victims and bystanders. As the location for the perpetration of IPV being mostly in students' rooms and the corridors, security cameras were regarded as a reliable deterrent for students perpetrating IPV in the latter. Law enforcement officers were not regarded as be helpful towards female students who were victims, their disregard for their plight being in accordance with their cultural normative gender roles. Male students who were victims of IPV in heterosexual and gay relationships had little recourse for accessing assistance to resolve their abuse, the latter not being regarded as a normal relationship for men and therefore not taken seriously. Therefore, normative gender roles not only oppress women, they do not identify or accommodate individuals outside heteronormativity.

5.3. Recommendations

The following recommendations as a result of this study:

1. In introduction to Gender studies needs to be part of the induction material for all students entering the university, regardless of their level of study, as this will conscientise students about gender relations and their human rights. Through this educational initiative, students will be better informed of the existing policies on GBV (UKZN: GBV Policy,

2017) and sexual harassment (UKZN: Sexual Harassment Procedure and Guidelines, 2017).

2. Perpetrators of sexual assault who are found guilty of such an offence should be disciplined and deregistered from the university. The statistics for rape in South Africa warrant stricter measures for sexual offences and the university has a social responsibility to ensure that their students are not exposed to sexual offenders.

3. The RMS should be trained on the importance of ensuring that all persons entering and leaving the university are thoroughly monitored to prevent people who are not students from accessing the rooms, and for illegal substances and weapons to be confiscated.

4. RMS staff need to be trained to understand the implications of IPV and other forms of GBV in the form of attending ongoing workshops as be part of their service contract.

5. The university should display posters and other forms of print media to sensitise the university community about IPV with emergency contact details that students can access.

6. The university should provide a walk-in office or space that victims of IPV can be attended to in the case of an emergency with the necessary health care and counselling staff on a 24-hour standby.

7. Student leaders do not have access to students' personal information or any authority to influence student funding and accommodation. The abuse of their authority results in their telling students that they were responsible for their being accepted into a residence and therefore owing them favours, including sexual favours from female students who came from disadvantaged socio-economic backgrounds.

8. The university policy should include regulations about addressing IPV specifically and implement strict punitive measures for perpetrators. It should initiate a programme with a roll for sexual offenders that should be made accessible to the South African Council for Educators (SACE).

9. More initiatives concerning IPV as well as GBV related to the LGBTQI community need to be developed and made public, as well as educating students about non-normative genders due to the diversity of students it caters for. This is particularly important, given the traditional cultural context of many of the students, as non-normative relationships are not only frowned upon but actively discouraged or ignored by other students, resulting not only in GBV but IPV in residences.

This small-scale study focused on intimate Partner Violence (IPV) in a university campus residence in KwaZulu-Natal Province, and indicated evidence of the prevalence IPV. While

female students face a higher risk for being victims of IPV, non-normative gender students' experiences also contributed to these statistics. Hopefully the findings of this study encourage similar research in other universities to enhance the safety of all students. While adding to a growing body of research, the intention of this study is to educate and empower victims of IPV giving an added opportunity for the LGBTQI community to live a more open and fulfilled life.

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Appendix A: Letter from Registrar (Permission to conduct research)

UNIVERSITY OF ™
KWAZULU-NATAL
INYUVESI
YAKWAZULU-NATALI

7 May 2019

Miss Simla Dipnarain (SN 9302527)
School of Education
College of Humanities
Edgewood Campus
UKZN
Email: simladipnarain12@gmail.com   andersonB1@ukzn.ac.za

Dear Miss Dipnarain

RE: PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH

Gatekeeper's permission is hereby granted for you to conduct research at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN), towards your postgraduate studies, provided Ethical clearance has been obtained. We note the title of your research project is:

"University students' experiences, understandings and exposure to Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) in a university campus residence in KwaZulu-Natal".

It is noted that you will be constituting your sample by conducting interviews with students on the Edgewood campus.

Please ensure that the following appears on your notice/questionnaire:
- Ethical clearance number;
- Research title and details of the research, the researcher and the supervisor;
- Consent form is attached to the notice/questionnaire and to be signed by user before he/she fills in questionnaire;
- gatekeepers approval by the Registrar.

You are not authorized to contact staff and students using 'Microsoft Outlook' address book. Identity numbers and email addresses of individuals are not a matter of public record and are protected according to Section 14 of the South African Constitution, as well as the Protection of Public Information Act. For the release of such information over to yourself for research purposes, the University of KwaZulu-Natal will need express consent from the relevant data subjects. Data collected must be treated with due confidentiality and anonymity.

Yours sincerely

MR SS MOKOENA
REGISTRAR

Appendix B: Ethical clearance letter (HSSREC/ 00001124/2020)

UNIVERSITY OF ™
KWAZULU-NATAL

INYUVESI
YAKWAZULU-NATALI

17 June 2020

Miss Simla Dipnarain (9302527)
School of Education
Edgewood Campus

Dear Miss Dipnarain,

Protocol reference number: HSSREC/00001124/2020
Project title: University students' understandings, experiences and exposure to Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) in a university campus residence in KwaZulu-Natal
Degree: Masters

Approval Notification – Full Committee Reviewed Protocol

This letter serves to notify you that your response received on 07 May 2020 to our letter of 07 May 2020 in connection with the above, was reviewed by the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (HSSREC) and the protocol has been granted **FULL APPROVAL**

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

This approval is valid for one year until 19 June 2021
To ensure uninterrupted approval of this study beyond the approval expiry date, a progress report must be submitted to the Research Office on the appropriate form 2 - 3 months before the expiry date. A close-out report to be submitted when study is finished.

All research conducted during the COVID-19 period must adhere to the national and UKZN guidelines.

HSSREC is registered with the South African National Research Ethics Council (REC-040414-040).

Yours faithfully

....
Professor Dipane Hlalele (Chair)

/ms

Appendix C: Informed consent letter

Dear Student

INFORMED CONSENT LETTER

I am a M. Ed (Masters) student in the School of Education at the University of KwaZulu-Natal specialisingin Gender Studies. I invite you to participate in a study that I am undertaking for my degree requirements.

A brief description of the study is as follows:

Title: **University students' understandings, experiences and exposure to Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) in a South African university campus residence in KwaZulu-Natal.**

This research aims to explore both male and female students' understandings, experiences and exposure to Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) in a University campus residence. This study forms part of the Masters Research Programme for the completion of the Master's in Education degree. As a participant, you do not necessarily have to be a victim of IPV. Your views and concerns regarding this topic may contribute to further research on this study. The method of data collection is a semi-structured interview which will be conducted via a video call and at a time that is suitable to your convenience. The interview will be voice recorded using an electronic device to gather information. Due to the university guidelines and safety measures against the Covid-19 pandemic, social distancing will always be maintained. Your contribution to this study is highly appreciated and ultimately this research may be published or presented as part of a paper.

Please note that:

- Confidentiality and anonymity will always be upheld.
- You must complete and return this consent form to simladipnarain12@gmail.com and only thereafter will you be interviewed.
- The interviews will last for approximately 25 minutes. These times can be altered to suit your convenience.
- Data will be stored in secure storage and destroyed after 5 years.

- You have a choice to participate, not to participate or stop participating in the research at any time that you feel that you no longer want to continue. You will not be penalized for taking such an action.

- Your involvement is purely for academic purposes only, and there are no financial benefits involved.

- An audio recorder will be used (of which permission will be requested from you first) for interview sessions. An audio recorder is useful to capture your exact words, strengthening the trustworthiness of the study.

- After collection of data recordings and transcriptions will be validated with you by sending through both the transcripts and recordings of both the sessions.

- A report on the findings will be e-mailed to you.

- The study is not designed to create any stress or anxiety but if your participation gives rise to any anxiety or stress then you are advised to call ER24 on 084124 or contact UKZN counseling and support services via e-mail: studentservices@ukzn.ac.za

- You may also contact the psychologist who is based at the Edgewood Campus. Her name is Lindi Ngubane and her telephone number is 031-2603653. E-mail address: ngubanel@ukzn.ac.za

- You may contact the university via e-mail at ukzn@tip-offs.com to report incidents of sexual harassment on a confidential basis.

- The Ethical Application Clearance certificate number is **HSSREC00001124/2020**. Participants may also contact the HSSREC Research Office for any complaints /concerns via this e-mail address: Hssrec@ukzn.ac.za

- For further information, you may contact my supervisor, Dr B.M. Anderson. Her telephone number is 031-2604093 or e-mail her on andersonB1@ukzn.ac.za

Thank you for your contribution towards this research.

[Full name]:   Simla Dipnarain

Email address: simladipnarain12@gmail.com   Tel/ Cell: 0837926516 /0610546117

Appendix D: Participant's declaration and consent

<u>DECLARATION</u>

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 this research project.

Consent ☐

Do not consent ☐

Audio recording and video calling of the interview session. YES ☐ / NO ☐
(Please mark your selection with an **X**)

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

SIGNATURE OF PARTICIPANT: DATE:

_____   _____

Appendix E: Interview schedule

Semi-structured Interview schedule:

University students' understandings, experiences and exposure to Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) in a university campus residence in KwaZulu-Natal.

By

Dipnarain Simla

As fulfilment for the requirement of the degree for Master's in Education (M. Ed), Gender Studies.

University of KwaZulu-Natal (Edgewood Campus)

Supervisor: Dr B.M. Anderson

Interview Schedule

Participant: _____ (Pseudonym) MP/FP ___

Section: 1

Biographical Data

1. What is your age? ☐ Years.

2. Year of study? _ year   Postgrad ☐   Undergrad? ☐

3. Where are you originally from? ☐

4. Describe the financial and social conditions at your home.

5. How long have you been living in this campus residence? ☐

Section: 2

University students' understandings of Intimate Partner Violence (IPV).

1. What is your understanding of the term Intimate Partner Violence?

Are you aware of any incidents of IPV on campus residence? Explain

2. What form/s of IPV are you aware of or witnessed at residence?

3. Are these incidents occurring in cohabiting residences or single sex or both? Explain.

4. What is your understanding of why this is occurring, and do you think it is increasing?

5. Which areas in the campus residence does IPV mostly occur?

6. Who are mainly the victims and perpetrators of IPV? Does IPV take place in heterosexual relationships only or can it happen in same sex relationships too?

7. Do you think residence students are able to cope living in these situations?

Section: 3

University students' experiences and exposure to Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) in a university campus residence

1. Have you ever observed any form/s of IPV incidents in the campus residence?

Would you like to tell me more about it?

Who was involved?

Where did it occur?

What happened in that incident?

Was the incident reported to any authorities either RMS, SAPS, Campus Management staff?

Was there any accountability? Justice?

2. When is the most common time for incidents of IPV to take place? After parties/ over weekends or any other specific times?

Are you aware of anyone in the campus residence who has been a victim of any form of IPV? Even if the incident was on a verbal level. Who was involved in this incident?

3. **Would you intervene, or have you ever intervened in an IPV situation? Why or why not?**

How do victims and perpetrators of IPV interpret intervention of any sort?

<u>**Section: 4**</u>

<u>How accessible is assistance from the relevant authorities to address IPV in the campus residence?</u>

1. Would you report IPV happening in the campus residence to the relevant authorities either RMS, a lecturer or a campus management staff member? If not, why? If yes, why? Do you know if victims of IPV report their experiences or do they consider it to be a domestic issue? Why or why not?

2. Are you aware of anyone who has been punished for being a perpetrator of IPV in this campus residence?

What happened in this case?

Why do you think the issue was dealt in this manner? What was your personal reaction to this?

Do you think that the relevant authorities consider IPV a serious issue in this residence facility? Explain

Do you have any other concerns relating to IPV?

3. What recommendations would you suggest for students who may be in a relationship and experiencing IPV to seek assistance?

4. What changes would you like to see taking place in this campus to create a difference?

<u>Confirm that no trauma was caused during the interview. None caused.</u>

<u>NB</u>: Additional follow up questions were asked, where appropriate, for different participants to extract as much information in a sensitive and approachable manner.

Appendix F: Sample of an interview transcript

<u>Semi-structured interview schedule:</u>

University students' understandings, experiences and exposure to Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) in a university campus residence in KwaZulu-Natal.

By

Dipnarain Simla

As fulfilment for the requirement of the degree for Master's in Education (M. Ed), Gender Studies.

University of KwaZulu-Natal (Edgewood Campus)

Supervisor: Dr B.M. Anderson

<u>Participant:</u> _____(Pseudonym):

<u>Section: 1</u>

<u>Biographical Data</u>

1. What is your age? ☐ Years.

2. Year of study? year Postgrad ☐ Undergrad? ☐

3. Where are you originally from? ☐

4. Describe the financial and social conditions at your home. Working full time to pay for studies.

5. How long have you been living in this campus residence? ☐

Section: 2

University students' understandings of Intimate Partner Violence (IPV).

6. What is your understanding of the term Intimate Partner Violence?

So…umm. My own understanding of what is Intimate partner Violence with the violence between people who are in a… err a relationship err I'd say a much deeper relationship where people would refer to each other as lovers in one case. When I talk of IPV there would be a scenario where we have one partner who is being abused by the other partner. It can be physical. It can be emotional. It can be mentally and it could be psychological and, and when I ….to further explain it's when I my understanding of IPV it's whereby one partner is in a relationship where they are being abused but they are not doing anything in…in…bout the situation and rather stay in that relationship hoping for the best and that one day the partner would stop doing what he or she is doing to the other partner.

Ok so what you are saying basically is that an Intimate partner is a romantic relationship and there is abuse within that.

Yes…yes.

7. Are you aware of any incidents of IPV on campus residence? Explain

Yes, yes, yes. I have quite a lot in fact.

3. Are these incidents occurring in cohabiting residences or single sex or both? Explain.

Mmm. Mostly this type of violence takes place in the residence where you find both males and females because that is when er..er …when mostly intimate partners form relationships.

Would you say that IPV takes place within heterosexual or same sex relations?

Er…I'd say in both, in…in both. My experience has been in both. In the… in both. But I'd say it does take place in both.

4. What is your understanding of why this is occurring, and do you think it is increasing?

Er…I'd say that a lot of reasons why a few years such, such because you find that when these young men and women come into the institution, they come into the institution er…er…from different homes. They come into the institution from different backgrounds. Some are…some don't have money. Some, some grew up seeing and understanding that for a woman to be a woman or to qualify to be called a woman they have to be in a relationship with a man and when they come into the university, into the institution err…they have those understanding that for me to be a woman I have to have a man by my side and no matter that condition or the

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situation that the person might find themselves in but they, they continue to stay in such relationships. You find that when first years mostly come to the institution then they don't know er…the space, they don't have money and they have a lot of challenges that they face.er…they come into the institution. They don't have money to register. They don't have money to pay for residence and as a result they are err…seeking ways of, of ensuring that they stay in the institution to the extent that some form intimate relationships with people that they don't initially love but just to ensure that they have a place to stay, they have food in their stomachs, that they cannot go back home because of poverty, because of lack of a lot of things. They find themselves staying in these relationships. And also the lack of funding in the institution becomes a huge problem there because people cannot stand on their own and as such they need people to support them and they form these. They form relationships and they and they stay in those relationships.

5. Which areas in the campus residence does IPV mostly occur?

Well I'd say mostly it's in the rooms but it does spread out to other places and you'd find that, people arguing in the LAN and find a guy in the LAN where you have a lot of people saying stand up. Go and cook for me now and so you understand, it does take place in the parts of space. It does spill to other places in the campus.

6. Who are mainly the victims of IPV?

Mainly the females, the females.

And the perpetrators?

The perpetrators are the males.

7. How do you think residence students are able to cope with living in these situations?

Er…but I would have to have two sentiments on that one because I believe that 9, eighty percent are coping because they are used to this campus, some come from backgrounds where a man slapping a woman is a norm and they don't see anything wrong with that. You understand that?

Yes.

You find that twenty percent come from a home where there is respect, where the person treat the other with respect and when they come to the institution and they are seeing such things you , you find that they are unpleasant to such an extent that last year when I was a Res Life Assistant in one of the campuses, you find that a lot of parents, not a lot probably around ten percent will take their kids out of residence and choose to, to have them travelling from home

to school because of the environment and , and, and the new experiences that their kids they are being exposed to.

Section: 3

University students' experiences and exposure to Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) in a university campus residence

2. Have you ever observed any form/s of IPV incidents in the campus residence?

Yes, I have a lot, a lot, a lot.

Would you like to tell me more about it? Who was involved? Where did it occur?

What happened in that incident?

Ya. For sure. In one instance, umm cos as I said I was in RA. This is my second term in the RA so last year I was in the RA Life Assistant and I was based on campus and I was in charge of a resident that was consisting of males only but I had one that was what we call a sleepover meaning that a person is allowed to bring their partners three times for per month. The first instance I experienced that in February during the registration this thing where this guy brought this girl into the residence and after I think, it was after eight, and then and then in the evening I was called by the student who is a neighbour to this guy and what I was saying is RA come into this room. I think that's something wrong because I was hearing like loud movements and stuff like that. So I went to the room and when I went to the room I knocked and when nobody was opening the door but could feel that people are inside because of the radio that was playing and so I have, we have what we call the master key, so a master key double locks even if the door is locked by the student. And even me too, I have access into the room. So when I got to the room it was dark and I switched on the lights and I find these two people err…this guy is half dressed and there is blood on the floor and, and, and you can see that this girl who is sitting on the bed was being beaten up because the blood was coming out of her nose and her mouth and when I tried to understand what was happening the guy said RA please leave. This is my room. This is my woman. I said and I just said that how can you say this is your woman because you don't own her. You are not married and as such even if you were married to this lady that does not entitle you to abuse her and actually lay your hands on this woman. And to my surprise the girl shared the same sentiments. She said RA its fine. You know RA its fine. Please leave because you know if you don't leave you will end up in even more.

Was the incident reported to any authorities either RMS, SAPS, Campus Management staff?

Um…I did. I filled in an incident report and I sent it to the RMS and their responsibility is to further escalate the case to the Proctor at Westville campus.

Was there any accountability? Justice?

No. There hasn't.

2. When is the most common time for incidents of IPV to take place? After parties / over weekends or any other specific times?

I'd say that it's weekends and most definitely when we have parties, at campus. And students do host parties in their own rooms although it's not allowed.

What is the contributing factor?

Err…mostly the guys are drunk, and they don't have full control of their minds. Err…the girls in most cases are also drunk and you know that you find that they disagree on things and then they start fighting and then there's blood. There's stabbing. There's a lot that take place after that.

Are you aware of anyone in the campus residence who has been a victim of any form of IPV?

Yes, yes, yes. I have. I have this friend and I don't know if I should say her name but.

No, you don't. You can give her a fake name.

Ok. I have this friend Zandile* who we grew up together and went to the same high school and then we went to UKZN University together.

Even if the incident was on a verbal level. Who was involved in this incident? Was she a victim?

Ya, she's been a victim, but I wouldn't say it's continuing now because er…this year she's currently working and she's cutting all ties with the guy.

3. Would you intervene, or have you ever intervened in an IPV situation? Why or why not?

Yes, I would intervene to stop the situation but it becomes difficult because when you are, when are trying to put a stop to such a thing you need both people to come to an understanding that this is a problem and as such action needs to be taken but in our students in, on campus they don't see this as a problem because it's become a norm, you understand.

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Yes.

So it happens no, so it….one would intervene to stop the problem but the biggest problem that we are facing in trying to assist and in trying to put a stop to this is that young people have , have internalised this has become a norm. They don't see anything wrong in it.

How do victims and perpetrators of IPV interpret intervention of any sort? Do they see you as the bad guy?

No, the victims do see that I, Zandile saw that I was a good person, that I was trying to tell her that friend try and get out of this relationship err…this relationship but there were things that were halting her into the relationship. One thing that she did not have funding, and such depended on the guy who was a Funza-LuShaka bursary so for the Funza-LuShaka bursary you get a lot of money monthly so the guy was able to support himself and also support Zandile. So Zandile did see that this was the problem but now how do I get out because I do not have enough funds to sustain myself?

How do the perpetrators see you?

The perpetrators ah… Yo!...they fight back to such a point that when I was trying to solve that problem that took place in the residence in the room, the guy actually wanted to physically, you know, physically push me out because he himself did not see that what he was doing is wrong and he sees me as somebody who is trying to come in that relationship and putting out things that are wrong, that both of them he and the girl do not see as wrong and I was becoming a villain trying to break up their relationship, to ruin their lives and stuff like that.

And would you say when it comes to intervening, would the perpetrator try to hit you and see you as trying to take his girl away?

Yes, in, you know in most cases you find that although they understand that you are friends with this girl and you have been friends with this girl and they know they, that you have been friends with this person because even before they got involved with this person, you were on of the people they were asking, "How is she? Is she nice, is she kind, is she polite?" but when you find that you are coming in and saying, "Friend get out of this relationship", that all changes. They see you as a bad person to such an extent that they hate you. They will say a lot of hates words towards you and some would even fight you.

I know that we spoke a little about people visiting, people who are visiting their friends or their partners on campus, do you have the situation where Sugar Daddies and Blessers come to the res.?

Yes, yes, we do. Right now, I'm in a res. where there accommodate approximately 600 students and what I've seen is yo! It's just not good.

Right and the Blessers and Sugar Daddies contribute to the problem or incidents that take place?

Yes. They do but we had one gentleman in I'd think in his mid-fifties who was actually came to the res to visit the girl and the proper documents filled in, but we find that he was actually dragging the girl out of the residence and saying, "Get into my car. We are leaving now, now, now." And the girl did not want to leave and when we tried to intervene and ask, "Why are you dragging her out of residence without her actually….without having her agreeing to leave with you?" and you find that the answers are like, "I pay for this residence. I pay for the food she eats. I buy her clothing. I own her."

Ok, so that's as if you have complete control over her life?

Yes, because you are financing you know her life.

Section: 4

How accessible is assistance from the relevant authorities to address IPV in the campus residence?

1. Would you report IPV happening in the campus residence to the relevant authorities either RMS, a lecturer or a campus management staff member? If not, why? If yes, why?

There is a procedure that so now you did it you…one would like to say, "Let me just escalate the matter and send an e-mail to the Dean", but you find that the Dean would read the e-mail and send the e-mail to the RMS because there are protocols that need to be followed when trying to address such an issue.

So, the Dean is aware of this?

Well, ya…ya. I'd say he is.

Do you know if victims of IPV report their experiences or do they consider it to be a domestic issue? Why or why not?

Umm…you know what people do report the matter to the RMS and you find that RMS to an extent is also part and parcel of people to ensure that justice is served. From my own personal view, what I've seen, what I've observed.

Remember this interview is about your experiences and understandings and that is what I'm looking for. So, I like the way the answer is going.

Ok, so what I was saying is that the RMS themselves are people who are actually seeing that justice is not served because you find that when this girls or these boys if they are gay, when they reprt these cases to the RMS, you find that the RMS themselves would be saying, "Why are you flushing somebody's degree down the toilet? Why are you doing this to a fellow human-

being? Why do you want to have this person arrested? Look at this. Go back and try and sort out this. We are talking about a person's degree and by saying such things the victims are demoralised to actually pursue the case because now, the objectives in a way has changed or what they wanted to achieve because the views that they come with when they come into the offices are completely different that the views they will be having when they leave. Er…er…those offices.

2. Are you aware of anyone who has been punished for being a perpetrator of IPV in this campus residence?

Uhm…yes, yes. I have err...you know in 2017, we had a girl who was dating an SRC member and who was abused by this, this, this SRC member and actually err… reported the matter to the RMS and…and…there was like it was like there was movement towards addressing the case but in the end, nothing was done and we find that there was a lot of hate that was coming er…to the student from other students on social media. To be specific on her Facebook page, they do this.

What happened in this case?

Many people were saying that, "You are lying. You wanted this. Why do this? You're a drama queen. Stop this. You know there was a lot, a lot, a lot of bad things that were being said towards this girl who came forward and said, "I'm being abused by my partner and I want justice."

Why do you think the issue was dealt in this manner?

I think it was addressed in this manner because of the amount of power and the office that the guy occupied.

What was your personal reaction to this?

Well, my personal reaction really was that I was, I thought for the girl. I even spoke to the girl once when we were doing our studies together and I spoke to her because I felt that what was happening to her was unfair because er… she was now being abused for…for something that she did not deserve to be abused for. So, I felt that she deserved more and less was being done because I believe that the institution itself should have proper if not thorough procedures in addressing such cases. We find that people came into the institution in 2016 and have been violated by their boyfriends and girlfriends and you find that the case is …is, was reported to the RMS and the case was further sent to the Proctor at Westville but till today there has not been a hearing by the Proctor to actually hear what was actually wrong and provide a verdict.

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Do you think that the relevant authorities consider IPV a serious issue in this residence facility? Explain.

They look at it as a domestic thing. They are not prioritising. They are just not prioritising it because you know we …we had a GBV seminar last year, that was hosted by the Edgewood campus.

In September.

Yes. One girl actually stood there and said, I reported that my…my boyfriend was physically abusing me, and nothing was done and actually asked the Dean, "How do you think I feel seeing this person each and every day. When I go through the lectures, when I go the LAN. How do you think I feel?" And she even pushed it a further step by saying that, "How dare you call me eight months after reporting the case and saying that after eight months, you are now actually saying that I must come for a hearing?" And that actually it said to me that nothing actually is being done by the institution, they are not viewing this as a serious issue, as a matter of urgency. But it's just being seen as a domestic thing that you know…it happens. So it…life continues normally. Yes.

So as you said, it's expected to become a norm. I do remember, she also said that the SRC is not a full representation of what's happening with regards to GBV on the campus.

Yes, yes. And I'm not sure if I'm out of context but I'd like to say that the most people who are actually involved in the IPV in our campus are the SRC members because of the power they hold, because of what they can provide for our sisters. I turn, they abuse them, and nothing is being done because of the amount of power that they hold.

3. What recommendations would you suggest for students who may be in a relationship and experiencing IPV to seek assistance?

I'd say that the first thing is that they should identify this as a problem, as a major problem. The second thing is that when they seek help, they should ensure that they seek help in such a way that their understanding their perceptions of the issue are not changed by anybody at any given point. **Are the SAPS of much assistance?**

As much as they are not of much assistance, but having the SAPS involved pressures the institution to act.

Is it because the SAPS have a reported case?

Yes, it does put the university under pressure, a lot of pressure because you find that time to time the SAPS will be requiring a report from each division to close the case that has been opened in the police station so that makes the university act swiftly to attend to this matter.

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Are there any cases where someone took the girl to SAPS and got her to close the case?

Ya, there are cases of such and this happens because you find that you, you…people are working within the institutions who are umm…brothers to these people, who are fathers, mothers to these people and as such they will go out of the way to ensure that when such cases are brought to the front, they are just to be dismissed. A lot of girls…hey…I'm not sure I'm …I'm going out of context but I was the Chairperson of the Peer Education Programme last year and we were, we had this awareness of IPV on campus and actually we educating people that no matter how small you feel that somebody is doing to you, that is IPV. Whether they are shouting at you, whether they are saying a lot of things to you, such things need to be reported and you need to find help and you need to get out of that relationship. There was one incident where a student was actually raped. The student raped a girl, he raped the girl because he was providing money and stuff to that girl. And that girl reported the case and there was progress. The case included the SAPS and the institution and when time went on, we actually asked the girl how far are you with the case and she said that, and she said that the boy's parents had promised to pay an amount of R10 000 to have the case dismissed.

Was that for damages or was that for having the case dismissed?

That was for having the case dismissed. No, no, no. They were not interested in paying for damages. They didn't even want to talk about that. They were saying that we will give you one, R10 000 upfront. Make sure that you go to the SAPS, you go to the institution and say that you were wrong…er… and, and you want to discontinue testifying and pushing this case further. In this case the boy's parents were a pastor you know a Christian one at that, so they don't believe in actually…actually paying damages or believe that you have to pay for damages or this or that and stuff. It was about that we have to protect our reputation. We have to protect our son, you know. We also have other siblings who are working for the institution, so we don't want our name to be dented in any way so take this R10 000 and ensure that this case is dismissed with immediate effect.

Imagine the price of someone's life is R10 000.

And what was so sad is that the girl was actually a virgin and had never had sex before and to actually find that your first time, you know, you are raped and to such an extent that where the girl was telling us her story, she said that the guy raped me you know and I fainted and I fell on the floor and to wake to twenty minutes later and find him on top of me, yo! It was, it was so bad, it was so bad.

This is so sad. And did she receive any trauma counselling?

Er…she did but she did not continue with her counselling sessions at the school because she felt that they were not helping her, and she felt that her privacy was compromised in a way…in a way.

And did she eventually take the R10 000 and call the case off?

Yes, she did.

Alright. And did she eventually complete her studies more importantly?

Well (sighing sound), she didn't unfortunately. After this incident, you know under IPV a lot of things changed, you know to this individual. Emotionally they change, physically some are, some are abused. Some have stab wounds. Some are thrown from down the stairs. Some become paralysed. They leave the institution some are internally hurt you know and no longer function in the same way that they function daily. Some become emotionally wrecked to such a point that they even say that I will never fall in love again. I will never love a man gain. I don't want to be love you know. A lot of things happen and the change that takes place results in the destruction of these girls.

That is so sad because that is what is happening to people who speak about their trauma. And what about those who don't speak and take it a step further too suicide, now that is irreparable damage don't you think?

That is irreparable. If you actually receive the number of stats where people who are trying to do that, trying to overdose, trying to do things in our campus is shocking. We find that girls are drinking tablets, lots of stuff is happening.

4. What changes would you like to see taking place in this campus to create a difference?

And when they come to the institution, I think they should rather try to address or find help outside the institution because I feel the institution is not doing enough to address the matter. And they must remember that the institution itself is a brand and as such they have to maintain the standard. This is our ranking. This is how the entire world sees us and as such, we will not at any point dent our name and give out stats to the public that this is happening in our institution. And when it comes to the institution, I think they should rather seek help outside the institution instead of inside the institution itself.

<u>Confirm that no trauma was caused during the interview. None caused.</u>

NB: Additional follow up questions were asked, when appropriate, for different participants to extract as much information in a sensitive and approachable manner.

Zandile*- Not her real name.

Appendix G: Editor's Letter

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Durban
South Africa
24 January 2021

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To whom it may concern

Title: University students' understandings, experiences and exposure to Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) in a university campus residence in KwaZulu-Natal Province.

Student: Simla Dipnarain

I have edited the document and provided comment to the student for her to address. I am satisfied that my comments have largely been addressed and that the document is ready for submission.

Regards

Ms Carrin Martin
Academic Editor
MSocSci, PGDPH

Appendix H: TurnItIn report