

Violent Masculinities: A case study of violence among high school boys in Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal



A research study submitted as the full dissertation component in fulfilment of the requirements for the Master of Education Degree in the School of Education, University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa.

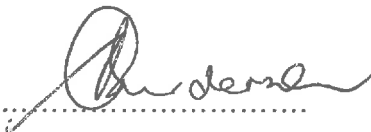
Nombulelo Yvonne Mdladla

Student number: 21 707 8963

Supervisor: Dr Bronwynne Anderson

SUPERVISOR'S STATEMENT

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

Signed: 

Name: Doctor Bronwynne Anderson

Date: 15 May 2019

SUPERVISOR'S STATEMENT

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

Signed:

Name: Doctor Bronwynne Anderson

Date: 15 May 2019

Declaration

I, Nombulelo Yvonne Mdladla, declare that:

- (i) The research reported in this dissertation, except where otherwise indicated, is my original work.
- (i) This dissertation has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.
- (i) This dissertation does not contain other person's data, pictures, graphs or other information, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other persons.
- (i) This dissertation does not contain other person's writing, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other researchers. Where other written sources have been quoted, then:
 - a) Their words have been re-written, but the general information attributed to them has been referenced;
 - b) Where their exact words have been used, their writing has been placed inside quotation marks and referenced.
- (i) Where I have reproduced a publication of which I am an author, co-author or editor, I have indicated in full detail which part of the publication was actually written by myself alone and have fully referenced such publications.
- (i) This dissertation does not contain text, graphics or tables copied and pasted from the internet, unless specifically acknowledged, and the source being detailed in the dissertation and in the references section.

Signed: 

Date: 15 May 2019

Dedication

This piece of work is dedicated to the remembrance and in loving memory of my late father Patrick and my brother Thamsanqa Mdladla who always believed in my abilities.

Acknowledgements

Thank you Almighty God for giving me the strength, courage, determination, wisdom and willpower during the writing of this dissertation. With you by my side, I realize that anything is possible.

I wish to express my sincere gratitude and thanks to the following individuals, without whom the completion of this dissertation would not have been possible.

My gratitude goes to my supervisor, Dr Bronwynne Anderson, for her excellent advice, motivation, patience and guidance throughout my study.

I wish to thank my mother, Lindiwe Mdladla, for her prayers and constant encouragement. I also thank my beloved son, Phiwokuhle Mdladla. Please know that I am grateful to have a son like you, who is always there for his mother. Words cannot express my deepest gratitude for your support and patience while I could not give you enough attention. I gratefully acknowledge my nieces, Nokuzola Mdladla and Nontokozo Gumede, for helping me when I had to work long hours and for being committed to my aspirations. I also thank my grandson, Sandiso Mdladla, who understood when I could not give him my attention when he demanded it. They were collectively patient and enduring when I was “unavailable”. Thank you, Fiona Crooks for editing and proofreading the language of my dissertation. Your effort made it possible for this dissertation to be a success.

To my friend, Thandi Xesibe, thank you for your assistance, invaluable support, encouragement and for believing in me.

Finally, I would like to thank all of the participants who were a part of my study.

LISTS OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Map of Umlazi	40
-------------------------	----

TABLES

Table 1: Number of learners at Sinothando	43
Table 2: Details of Questionnaires	46
Table 3: Details of Interviews	50
Table 4: Participants' Biographical Information	55
Table 5: Participants' understanding of violence	60
Table 6: Home and community environments	62
Table 7: Bullying	65
Table 8: Perpetrators and victims of violence	72
Table 9: Violent spaces	75

TABLE OF CONTENTS

SUPERVISOR DECLARATION	ii
CANDIDATE DECLARATION	iii
DEDICATION	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	v
LIST OF SOURCES	vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vii
ABSTRACT	xii

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY	1
1.1Introduction	1
1.2Background and rationale of the study	1
1.2.1Sexual violence	4
1.2.2Physical violence	4
1.2.3Gender violence in South Africa	5
1.3Definition of terms	8
1.3.1Violence	8
1.3.2Masculinity [ies]	9
1.4 Aims and Objectives	9
1.5 Research Questions	10
1.6Positionality	10
1.7Context of the study	11
1.8Research Method	11
1.9Overview of the chapters	13
1.10Conclusion	14

CHAPTER TWO: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction	15
2.2 Theoretical Framework	16
2.2.1 Theory of Masculinities	16
2.3 Multiple Masculinities: A working definition	16
2.3.1 Hegemonic Masculinity	17
2.3.2 Subordinate Masculinity	19
2.3.3 Complicit Masculinity	20
2.3.4 Marginalised Masculinity	20
Literature Review	21
2.4 Boys' schooling and constructions of masculinities	22
2.5 Masculinity, violence and schooling	24
2.6 Spaces of violence in schools	29
2.7 The impact of home and community on school violence	30
2.8 Corporal punishment and the cycle of violence	31
2.9 Compulsory heterosexuality and homophobic bullying	33
2.10 Gender-based violence	35
CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY	37
3.1 Introduction	37
3.2 Research Design	37
3.2.1 Mixed Methods Approach	37
3.2.2 Case Study	38
3.3 Methodology	40
3.3.1 Context of the study	40

3.3.2 Accessing the Research Site	43
3.3.3 Positionality	43
3.3.4 Sampling	44
3.3.5 Data Collection	45
3.3.5.1 Questionnaire	46
3.3.5.2 Observation	49
3.3.5.3 Individual Interviews	50
3.3.6 Data Analysis	52
3.3.7 Ethical Issues	53
3.3.8 Rigour	54
3.3.9 Limitations	54
3.3.10 Conclusion	54
CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS	55
4.1 Introduction	55
4.2 Boys' perception of violence	59
4.2.1 What is violence? Participant perception, understandings	60
4.3 Community and home violence: (Re) production of violence in school	62
4.4 Forms of violence in school	65
4.4.1 Bullying	65
4.5 Corporal punishment	68
4.6 Constructions of masculinity and gender-based violence	71
4.6.1 Sexual Harassment	71
4.6.2 Boy-on-boy violence	72
4.6.3 Boy-on-boy bullying: "They take our belongings"	74

4.7 Violent Spaces	75
4.8 Homophobia	76
4.9 Participant suggestions on how to combat school violence	79
4.10 Conclusion.....	80
CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION	81
5.1 Introduction	81
5.2 Chapter Summaries	81
5.3 Main Findings	82
5.3.1 Boys' perceptions of violence	82
5.3.2 Community and home violence	82
5.3.3 Bullying	82
5.3.4 Corporal punishment	83
5.3.5 Constructions of masculinity and gender-based violence	84
5.3.6 Violent spaces	84
5.3.7 Homophobia	85
5.3.8 Suggestions on how to combat school violence	85
5.4 Recommendations	85
5.5 Conclusion	87
References	88
Appendices	104
Appendix 1a. Questionnaire Schedule	104
Appendix 1b. Individual Interview Schedule	107
Appendix 2. Letter to Department of Education: Request permission to conduct research	109
Appendix 3. Informed Consent Parents	112

Appendix 4. Informed Consent Learners	115
--	------------

Appendix 5. Ethical Clearance Certificate	118
--	------------

ABSTRACT

This study explores how a group of boys in grades 9 and 12 at an Umlazi high school construct their masculinities in often violent ways. The school is located in a poverty-stricken community. The theory of masculinities is employed as a lens through which to explore both the perceptions of the participants regarding violence and the way they construct their masculinities, which often lead to various forms of violence. The mixed research approach was adopted, utilising questionnaires and individual interviews to generate data.

The findings of the study reveal that the participants have different perceptions of violence. The research further reveals that some of these boys construct their masculinities in situations where corporal punishment is sanctioned, and they bully boys who do not adhere to their notions of hegemonic masculinity and others they perceive as being homosexual. The relationship between hegemonic masculinity and violent behaviour is evident in the data showing boys who assume power and subordinating both other less powerful boys and girls. The findings show that violence is located within conflicting notions of masculinity. It is also evident that there are certain spaces in the school where violence predominantly occurs. This is constructed as normal behaviour, however, there are instances of boys who display non-violent behaviours and attempt to resolve conflict. This suggests that coming from a violent background does not automatically reproduce violent behaviours, or that boys from more peaceful backgrounds might not necessarily be non-violent. Implications for the study are documented from the voices of the participants.

The research concludes that violence in schools, particularly among boys, is a huge social problem. It also demonstrates that gender-based violence is problematic and that it should be dealt with. This study therefore recommends intervention strategies to be designed and implemented by the school management team, teachers, learners, parents and the school governing body, so as to promote a more peaceful and violence-free environment. Awareness campaigns are examples of strategies that can be employed to combat gender-based violence at the school.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

This study has explored and gained insight into the violent behaviour of a group of grade 9 and 12 boys at a high school in Umlazi. The investigation has explored violence that is predominantly perpetuated by boys. Violence, being a gendered phenomenon, is employed as an expression of power and dominance. Violence is associated with power and masculinity. Hence, the vast increase in the incidence of violence at schools in local, national and international contexts will be discussed, with the main focus on South African schools. The study applies Raewyn Connell's (1995) theory of masculinities in order to understand the construction of masculinities and the violence that these boys become engaged with. This chapter will present a brief overview of the study and will begin by providing a background and rationale of the study and a definition of the terms that are commonly used to discuss the relationship between masculinity and violence. The objectives of the investigation, critical research questions and my positionality as an educator will also be presented and discussed. I also provide a brief overview, followed by the research methodology that has been utilised to conduct the study. The chapter will be concluded by an overview of the chapters.

1.2 Background to and rationale of the study

Schools are agents of global and local reproduction or change and also sites with specific gender regimes that influence learners to adopt a certain behaviour that will allow them to fit in (Dunne, Humphreys & Leach, 2006). A school is a place where children acquire the knowledge, skills and values that they need in order to conduct their lives. Further, a school is a place that provides care, support and protection to the learners (South African Council of Educators, 2011). However, research demonstrates that schools are spaces in which violence is prevalent (Bhana, 2012). Millions of children are exposed to violence at schools, which infringes upon their right to education and compromises their safety (Education for All Global Report – GMR Unesco and the United Nations Girls' Education Initiative, Ungei, 2015). This results in schools being viewed as sites of gender violence, affected by unequal power

relations. This is not only ratified through gender, but also by age, authority and many other social distinctions (Dunne, et al, 2006).

Bhana (2013) argues that violence occurs all over the world and is not being attended to. South Africa is facing high levels of interpersonal, self-directed and collective violence, which manifests in physical, sexual and psychological forms (Bowman, Stevens, Eagle, Langa, Kiguwa & Nduna, 2015). As schools have become sites of gender violence, there is evidence that school-related gender-based violence affects millions of children in the world and thus infringes on the rights of children (Education for All Global Report (GMR), Unesco and the United Nations Girls' Education Initiative, (2015). Violence in schools is not a new phenomenon and has become a matter of concern, due to the escalating number of incidents that are reported on a daily basis (Leoschut, 2008). The prevalence of violence in schools interferes with teaching and learning. Teachers find themselves spending a great deal of time solving problems and disputes (Netshitangani, 2014; GMR, Unesco & Ungei, 2015; Ncontsa & Shumba, 2013). According to the report by the National Centre for Injury Prevention and Control (2016), about 486,000 violent incidents among 12 to 18 year-old learners were reported in schools in 2014. Teachers and learners do not feel safe at the institution, as well as on their way to school and on their way back home.

Research reveals that boys are the main perpetrators of violence (Bhana, 2012). Boys tend to demonstrate their manhood through aggression, violence, sexual power and homophobia (GMR, Unesco & Ungei, 2015). According to studies by GMR, Unesco and Ungei (2015), gender norms compel boys to solve their misunderstandings through physical violence and some are influenced by the gender-based violence that they witness, both in their homes and communities. What is experienced or observed at home is copied and implemented at school (SACE, 2011). Teachers are faced with the task of teaching learners who are victims of aggression and violence in their homes and communities, and some boys go on to perpetrate such behaviours at school (SACE, 2011). This results in a cycle of violence that is not always easy to change. Such a situation requires that schools play a vital role in curbing and restraining violent behaviour. These learning institutions should be safe havens for effective teaching and learning. Since learners spend much of their day at school, rather than at home, schools should be safe places that are free from violence.

The South African Council for Educators (SACE) (2011) states that learners who are exposed to crime and violence at home are also at risk of being exposed to school-based violence. Learners who are mostly perpetrators of violence in schools are usually constructed by other learners as heroes, as they wield power over others or exercise it when they feel that their heroism is being threatened (SACE, 2011). Boys produce and reproduce what happens at school and within the community. Witnessing or experiencing violence in the home is perceived by children as normal and that is easily replicated and makes them perpetrators of violence (Ungei, 2015; Burton, Ward, Artz & Leoschut, 2015). Violent experiences and behaviours have a great impact on children and on their development (Burton, et al, 2015). Crime and violence in the communities negatively impacts upon vulnerable children, constructing them to be violent (SACE, 2011). Males in South Africa are associated with problematic and violent attitudes and behaviours, and the abuse of women and children, substance abuse and risky sexual behaviours are all associated with hegemonic masculinity (Morrell, Jewkes & Lindegger, 2012).

Culture dictates that boys and men should exercise hegemony and marginalisation (Connell, 2002). Hegemonic masculinity is defined as relational and oppositional to femininity (Connell, 1995). Masculinity includes the domination of women and also of other men (Connell, 1995). Culturally, boys are pressured to demonstrate power (being tough and strong) and girls are usually victims of violence (SACE, 2011). Connell (1995) states that, among men, gender relations of dominance and subordination are observable between heterosexuals and homosexuals. Homosexual men and boys are regarded as being softies or “womanish”, and are therefore prone to homophobic attacks (Msibi, 2012). Hegemonic masculinity is also considered in terms of exercising control over women and other men, and applying violence (Morrell, et al, 2012). Marginalised masculinities can also be racially constructed, where one race sees itself as superior to another (Connell, 1995). This is supported by Anderson (2009) in her study, where she states that Coloured boys are marginalised because of their race, as a product of the apartheid era. According to Ratele (2015), hegemonic masculinity in Africa is associated with socio-economic status and being financially independent. In the South African context, white men, especially rich ones, possess more power than any other class, race or gender in society (Ratele, 2014). Young black men were seen as being

involved in violence, or they were portrayed as perpetrators of violence. In a study conducted by Pattman and Bhana (2006), they argue that calling black boys “bad” is exaggerated and complex.

1.2.1 Sexual Violence

Sexual violence is another form of gender violence. It is defined as occurring when a person is forced to have sexual relations against his or her will (WHO, 2005). It is estimated that 33% of women around the world, above the age of 15, experience or have experienced intimate partner violence (Devries, Mak, Garcia, Moreno, Petzold, Child, Falder & Pallito, 2013). Ethiopia has been declared as the country with the highest intimate partner sexual violence in the world (WHO, 2005). About 150 million girls and 73 million boys around the world have experienced sexual violence (Parkes, 2015). Gender violence has negative effects on health and well-being. According to the United Nation (2005) study, women who experience abuse are more likely to develop health problems such as obesity, high blood pressure, dizziness and memory loss. If abuse is not reported to the relevant authorities, victims endure prolonged suffering, which affects them emotionally (WHO, 2005). This is because many women are dependent on their abusers for financial support and they believe that by reporting them, they will lose more instead of gaining (Merry, 2005).

Children are not immune to gender violence; they experience it from their parents and teachers, through rape, murder, incest and human trafficking. Some children lose parents through war and they become displaced (Stark & Landis, 2016). In a home, they may experience emotional abuse, corporal punishment, pornography and violent parents. In most cases, those who are abused are powerless to take action against the perpetrators (Decker, Miller, Illangasekare & Silverman, 2013). These behaviours are mostly internalised and they later emulate them as they grow older.

1.2.2 Physical Violence

Physical violence is known as the most prevalent and aggressive behaviour in the world (WHO, 2005). Samoa is the country with the highest physical violence against women by a non-partner, with 65% of women reported as victims of physical violence (WHO, 2005). In Peru, 61% of women have been reported as victims, with the highest prevalence of physical violence against women perpetrated by intimate partners. Most of the violence is initiated by men on women and children also become victims of this violence (Parkes, 2015).

Female learners also suffer derogatory remarks being made about them by both male teachers and their male counterparts in and around school premises. Girls worry about unwanted pregnancies, HIV/AIDS and being deprived of their dignity, but because they feel powerless to negotiate safe sex, they suffer silently (SACE, 2011). Males tend to dictate to girls how and what to wear in and around the school premises. If females do not comply with the standards that are set by both their counterparts and the community, they are verbally abused (Unesco, 2006). According to Burton (2008), children who are exposed to high violence experience a distorted understanding of how the world works. Their sense of safety in the world is reduced and they experience anxiety and fear (SACE, 2011).

1.2.3 Gender violence in South Africa

South Africa has the highest rate of violence in the world (Jewkes & Morrell, 2010). South Africa's murder rate is four times higher than the rest of the world and more than 5,500 women are raped every year (Jewkes & Morrell, 2010). It has been reported that only one out of 25 rapes is reported to the police, thus making its incidence much higher (Russell, Cupp, Gevers, Mathews, LeFleur-Bellerose & Small, 2014). Morrell (1998) and Bhana (2005) argue that gender violence in the school context has been identified as a major concern in African countries and drastic steps need to be taken to curb this violence.

South Africa has a high rate of gender violence. However, such assault against women in South African townships is exacerbated by social and economic conditions that emanate from the apartheid era. It is also unlikely that violence is separated from poverty (Bhana, 2005). Gender and cultural values have a bearing on gender violence at school. Contextual aspects are vital in understanding gender violence in schools (Bhana, 2005). Male dominance that is understood and supported by gender and cultural norms supports patriarchy and perpetuates power imbalances between males and females (Bhana, 2005).

Despite clearly defined children's rights – by UN Conventions on the Rights of the Child around the world (UN, 2006), supported by the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (OAU, 1990) – violence against children is escalating (UN, 2006). In South Africa, children's rights are protected at national level by the Constitution and the Children's Act (SA Constitution,

1996; Children's Act 38 of 2005), yet children continue to experience violence almost daily at school and within their communities (SACE, 2011).

Nationally and provincially in South Africa, several interventions have been initiated to curb violence against children in and around school and promote safe schooling for them, but all have been unsuccessful (Jewkes, Flood & Lang, 2014). The South African Schools' Act 84 of 1996 (SASA, 1996) clearly stipulates the right of the child to free and safe schooling. However, schools are not providing a safe environment for children (SACE, 2011). In fact, they are emerging as one of the most common sites prone to violence (Burton & Leoschut, 2013). Recent research and media reports on schooling in the country suggest that incidents of violence among boys are increasing at an alarming rate. For example, boys may carry life-threatening weapons to school and use them against their peers in times of conflict (Burton & Leoschut, 2013).

Many schools in South Africa are plagued by different forms of violence, which range from stabbing, bullying, verbal abuse and sexual violence. This is supported by the violence that occurred at Richards Bay Secondary, reported on 20 August, 2017, in the *Mercury* newspaper (Wolhuter 2017), where a fight among learners was recorded and shown on television. After this incident, the Department of Education (DoE) visited the school with the police and, after searching pupils, the latter seized a number of weapons, including knives, screwdrivers and pangas. It was alleged that during the fight on the school premises, gunshots had been fired. This violence often occurs between learners and especially among boys, and to a lesser extent, between teachers and learners (SACE, 2011).

Literature reveals that the various forms of violence can be categorised as implicit or explicit (Dunne & Leach, 2007). Implicit violence includes school initiation practices that often occur at private schools. Explicit violence, on the other hand, is likely to take place in township schools and examples include bullying, fighting, sexual assault and other forms of physical and emotional abuse. Girls are mostly the victims of sexual violence, physical abuse and harassment at the hands of their male peers (Bhana, 2002; 2005). This was recently supported by a video that went viral, in which a boy from an Inanda school was seen beating and kicking a girl on the school premises. Both were wearing their school uniforms. The video was shown on television news (ENCA News) and a story was published in the *Daily News*, (Ngema, 2017). The boy was heard saying

“*unamasimba*”, meaning “you have shit”. The girl was kicked on her back and her head and, when she tried to stand up, she wobbled and fell. Traces of blood were seen on the floor where she had fallen when she was being kicked (Ngema, 2017). The school management team did not intervene, until the Department of Education (DoE) minister visited the school. Later, charges of assault were laid and the boy appeared in court and was released on bail. This story highlights how incidents of gender violence are neglected in schools.

According to UNESCO (2013), teachers’ views, beliefs and attitudes towards violence play a vital role in the process of normalising and/or perpetuating violence within schools. Authorities and all other stakeholders within schools need to stand up against violence occurring in and around schools (Bhana, 2005). Sexual abuse and harassment of girls is on the rise in South African schools and adolescent female learners are victims, not only of violence by peers, but also that perpetuated by teachers. Girls are subjected to different forms of violence, such as corporal and sexual abuse by male teachers, and they endure such behaviour in exchange for good marks (SACE, 2011). Further, girls are also victims of lewd remarks and inappropriate touching from male peers, both within and outside school premises in South Africa and in foreign jurisdictions (Smit & Du Plessis, 2011). Male learners behave in such a way in order to gratify themselves and utilise power to intimidate girls into succumbing to this abuse (Le Matt, 2016). Previous studies highlighted the construction of gender within the schools’ physical spaces. Playgrounds have a vital role in enabling learners to create and regulate others’ identities (Bhana, 2008; Clarke & Paechter, 2007). Clark and Paechter’s study (2007) at a London primary school concurs with research conducted by Bhana (2005) at a township school in KwaZulu-Natal, whereby they state that identities are constructed at an early age in the playground.

Studies argue that school playgrounds which are supposed to be spaces of freedom, due to less control being exerted over learners by authorities are dominated by boys, who often set assertive rules that allow them to construct their masculinities through bodily strengths (Bhana, 2005; Clarke & Paechter, 2007). Bhana (2005) argues that boys known as *tsostis* (gangsters) dominate these spaces, while small boys and girls utilise the outskirts of the playgrounds. Bhana (2008) further highlights that girls enact their own agency by challenging boy violence at schools. They refuse to be passive victims and also actively engage in forms of violence.

Therefore, schools are places dominated by power relations (Van Ingas & Halias, 2006). This is supported by the culture of gender power that promotes gender regimes and roles within the school. Schools promote boys as privileged and encourage their dominance through physical and verbal acts of sexual harassment (Smit & Du Plessis, 2011). Research shows that often – even when these acts of violence are reported to teachers – the boys are not disciplined by the authorities (Smit & Du Plessis, 2011). These inequalities tend to normalise gender power-play against girls, which leads to accepted rather than gender violence (Humphreys, 2008).

There are different explanations as to why learners engage in violence, as it does not simply emanate from poverty (Bhana, 2002). It is wrong to assume that violence is directly related to poverty and therefore only poor people commit violent acts. Boys' construction of masculinity is manifested in violence, which affects other people, who then become victims. Violence, however, is engendered in conditions of social and economic deprivation, making boys and men particularly vulnerable as they lose economic power. Schools are not isolated from their communities, therefore, there is a relationship between violence in the community and that between learners at school (Burton, 2008). Against this background, the aim of this study is to explore how and why young male secondary school pupils construct masculinities and the role of violence in this. Mostly, the scourge of gender violence impinges upon learning at schools (Unicef, 2014).

1.3 Definition of terms

1.3.1 Violence

Violence is an act of physical force that causes or is intended to cause harm. The damage inflicted by violence may be physical, psychological, or both. Violence may be distinguished from aggression, which is a more general type of hostile behaviour and may be physical, verbal, or passive in nature. Violence is a common type of human behaviour that occurs throughout the world. It has a number of negative effects on those who witness or experience it and children are especially susceptible to its harmful results. Exposure to violence can increase violent behaviours witnessed in children (Weaver, Borkowski & Whitman, 2008). Violence can manifest physically, emotionally, sexually, verbally and psychologically (Nayak & Suchland, 2006).

1.3.2 Masculinity [ies]

Masculinity is defined by Connell (1995) as a specific position taken by men in gender relations. This is negotiated by men and women through their interactions and how these affect a man's body, personality and culture. Connell (1995) explains masculinities as configurations of practice within gender relations (Connell, 1995). Masculinities are considered to be patterns of social practice that are constructed in relation to others in interaction. Masculinities exist within hierarchical relations, meaning that one type of masculinity is more dominant over another, which is considered subordinate. The four forms of masculinity, as identified by Connell (1995), are hegemonic, subordinate, complicit and marginal.

Constructions of masculinity in terms of how boys are raised can be seen as a contributing factor in the risky behaviour that they engage in, with regard to school-based violence. On the one hand, girls are expected to sweep and keep their classrooms clean and if they fail to do what has been constructed as their duty, they are punished. This means that conformity is rewarded and non-conformity is punished at schools (Connell, 1985). On the other hand, boys are supposed to lift heavy items, to show that they are strong and to prove their manhood (Chadwick, 2010). According to societal beliefs, boys are portrayed as strong and successful (SACE, 2011). Boys' construction of gender takes place in a social environment through interaction and within institutions (Chadwick, 2010). There is growing research on school violence and my contribution will show how boys' violent behaviours are located within conflicting notions of masculinity. The proposed study will try to understand the ways in which the boys' socially constructed norms of their masculine identities are implicated in their behaviours. It is therefore imperative to critically analyse the ways in which constructions of masculinities are implicated in boys' violent behaviours.

1.4 Aims and Objectives

The objectives of this study are:

- To explore the forms of violence that the boys in this study engage in;
- To understand why these high school boys, engage in violent behaviours;

- To explore the ways in which constructions of masculinities are implicated in these boys' violent behaviours; and
- To gain insight into the school authorities' attempts to reduce violence among boys in school.

1.5 Research Questions

- What forms of violence do the boys engage in?
- Why do these high school boys engage in violent behaviours?
- In what ways are constructions of masculinities implicated in these boys' violent behaviours?
- What measures are taken by the school to curb violence or reduce conflict among boys?

1.6 Positionality

As a teacher at this school, I have seen boys ganging up against each other and fighting, both within and outside the premises. There have been many reported cases of violence among the boys in these spheres. If a battle begins at school, it is continued outside the premises. They resort to recruiting friends who are not from the school to help them fight. The battle can be started by two individuals, but will end up being a group fight. Apparently, the boys believe that fighting is the only way to settle their misunderstandings and disputes. The young boys are usually not allowed by the big boys to use the toilets during their break because it is where smoking and drug usage takes place. If the big boys allow the younger boys to come in, they are often robbed. Young boys are able to use the toilets after the older boys return to their classrooms. I have witnessed teachers spending a great deal of time trying to resolve problems instead of educating learners. I would like to understand the reasons that cause such boys to resort to violent behaviour when they have a dispute, no matter how minor the issue, as well as why they choose to target younger boys. Further, I was motivated by various media reports on school violence to gain more insight into the more serious forms of violence that have been occurring recently in schools. One of these concerned an incident in 2012, in which a boy was stabbed to death by another male learner, due to a misunderstanding while they were playing cards on the school premises. I decided to conduct a study at the school at which I am

employed, because it was convenient for me to engage in field work there, as I would not have to worry about transport and gatekeeper access, which I had worked out already.

While the study focuses on boys, my experiences reveal that girls are also involved in violence. I acknowledge this, although these girls are in the minority. Emerging literature and social media demonstrate that they are becoming increasingly violent, but this is not the main focus of my study, which lies with gender-based violence, whereby girls are victims of violent masculinities.

1.7 Context of the study

The study takes place at Sinothando High School (a pseudonym), situated in Umlazi, a township in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal, with a predominantly black African population. The school is about 1,68km close to the informal settlement of Maphungashe (pseudonym). One section of Maphungashe is undergoing development in the form of RDP houses, while the other comprises informal shacks, some of which are still being built. A large part of the school's population is from Maphungashe, a poverty-stricken community afflicted with high rates of unemployment. The majority of households have electricity, some of it derived through illegal connections. Most of the learners come from households that are headed by single parents or grandparents, especially grandmothers. Some learners have been adopted by community members. The belief among community members is that those who adopt or foster children do it to access foster care grants. In some cases, learners may run households because their parents have passed away. The majority of these learners survive on government grants. The school has an enrolment of about 1,030 learners and is a fee-paying school.

1.8 Research Method

Both qualitative and quantitative (mixed) research was used in this study, since they were both relevant to conducting a study of social relations (Flick, 2009). A mixed-research case study is suitable for this investigation, because it explores and gains insight into boys' violent behaviours, as well as provides numerical data. A case study methodology has the ability to probe in-depth and gain an understanding of the studied phenomenon (Cohen, Manson & Morrison, 2011). It allowed me to gain insight into why violence is utilised as a means of settling conflict among these boys.

The research adopted a purposive sampling approach, which was employed to select participants with certain characteristics (Babbie, 2010). The use of purposive sampling increased the usefulness of information gathered from the participants (Creswell, 2007). I was looking for boys who showed interest in the study, were victims or perpetrators of violence, or who were not involved in these acts. The study was also not necessarily seeking boys who were directly involved in violence. The main objective was to also gain deeper insight into how boys perceive, understand and experience violence. The method of data collection for the study was through open-ended questionnaires, observation and semi-structured, open-ended, individual interviews. The intended sample for interviews was 20 participants, although 35 learners had completed the questionnaires. The 20 selected participants were taken from two grades, 9 and 12. These two were representative of both junior and senior boys, thus offering data in terms of variegated experiences for different age-group levels at the school. As a life orientation (LO) teacher, I asked for a grade 9 LO period from an educator who teaches the grade in order to complete the questionnaire and I utilised a flexi period for this purpose for the grade 12 class. This meant that all of the boys were able to participate in completing the questionnaire. The lessons were 55 minutes long and it took 45 minutes to fill in the questionnaire. These were administered and completed first and I then identified the participants for 20 individual interviews. The use of questionnaires was meant to protect participants from being intimidated by others. No other learners or educators were privy to any information contained in the questionnaires.

As an educator at the school, I was able to observe boys, where I watched, heard and understood reality as it was perceived by them (Niewenhuis, 2007). The boys were observed while in their natural setting. They were observed while they were having lunch, going to the toilet or interacting with each other. Throughout this process, I paid close attention to what was taking place and listened carefully, where possible, to the content of their conversations. Therefore, I engaged in non-participant observation, whereby I was not involved in any activity that was taking place. I decided to opt for this form of observation, so that I did not contaminate the results of the study. Observation granted me an opportunity to obtain an overview of the boys' interaction with other boys, with girls and, as study participants, with each other. This process in some way was a preliminary session of what was to be shared by

the participants during the interviews. According to Cohen, et al, (2011), an interview is a two-way discussion that is pioneered by a researcher to gather relevant information on the research conducted. This approach was employed to help to gain insight into the participants' understandings of what violence is and to comprehend the role played by masculinity in behaviour, and how the boys relate to each other. Individual interviews allowed participants to express their personal experiences, beliefs and opinions without feeling intimidated (Cohen, et.al, 2011). Semi-structured interviews allowed flexibility as a researcher, as I was to be guided by the participants' responses, which normally determined the direction of the interview (Babbie, 2010).

In analysing the collected data, the theory of masculinities and gender power was employed as an analytical lens. According to Connell (1995), masculinity is defined as the patterns of practice that are constructed, unfold and change through time. Masculinity construction is shaped and made by the constant change of social life and variation. Masculinities are multiple, changeable and historically contingent (Connell, 1995). This theory was suitable and relevant for this study, as it helped me to understand how township boys constructed their masculinities, including violent ones. The interviews were audio-taped, with the consent of the participants, before being transcribed into textual data. The transcriptions helped to ensure that important information and an accurate record of the interviews were correctly captured (Cohen et al., 2011). Data was categorised through coding and was analysed according to themes that emerged from the data. Literature was utilised to both support and refute the findings of this study.

1.9 Overview of the chapters

Chapter one serves as the introduction to this study and also highlights its background, by assessing the prevalence of violence at schools. It presents a rationale for the study, which is based on the violence that I witnessed among boys at school, and acknowledges the fact that girls are also involved in violence. The chapter further sets out the definitions, rationale and aims and objectives of the study. The research questions and methodology are discussed, as well as the context of the study.

Chapter two provides the theoretical framework that will be adopted for the study. Connell's (1995) theory of masculinities will be adopted as a theoretical lens and relevant literature on masculinities and gender violence at schools will also be reviewed. This chapter primarily covers: violence and masculinity; violence in and outside school; and forms of violence.

Chapter three addresses the research design and methodology employed in order to conduct this study. This investigation will employ a mixed-research design approach, comprising both qualitative and quantitative approaches. Questionnaires and individual semi-structured interviews will be employed to collect relevant and reliable data. The chapter will further discuss the context of the study, gaining access to the research site, as well as the sampling and data collection methods. It will conclude by discussing the way in which data will be analysed, the ethical issues and the limitations of the study.

Chapter four presents an analysis of the data generated through the questionnaires and individual interviews. This will be thematically analysed and the findings presented through both the quantitative and a qualitative approach.

Chapter five concludes the study. It draws on the main findings of the investigation and provides recommendations, particularly based on what some of the learners suggest.

1.10 Conclusion

This chapter serves as an introduction to the research. An outline of this study, beginning with a definition of concepts employed throughout the investigation, is discussed. It then highlights the aims and objectives, research questions and context. Further, the research methodology and background to the study is discussed. The rationale for this study, explaining the reasons for undertaking the research, is provided. In conclusion, a brief overview of the following chapters is presented. The next chapter sets out the theoretical framework adopted for this study and discusses the reviews of relevant literature.

CHAPTER TWO

Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

Violence is seen as the leading cause of premature death in South Africa (Ratele, 2013). The highest rates of interpersonal, violence-related premature deaths in South Africa are observed among older black teenagers and young black adults who reside in poor and low-income communities (Ratele & Suffla, 2011).

There is growing research on school violence and my contribution will add to scholarship that indicates that violence is located within conflicting notions of masculinity. This study explores the ways in which the socially constructed masculine identities of this group of working-class township boys who attend high school are implicated in violent behaviours. The study focuses on how the boys selected for this investigation construct their masculinities and the ways in which their violent behaviours are located within conflicting notions of masculinity. The research attempts to gain an understanding into the ways in which the boys' socially constructed norms of their masculine identities are implicated in their behaviours. It is therefore imperative to critically analyse the ways in which constructions of masculinities are implicated in boys' violent behaviours.

Connell (1995) explains masculinities as configurations of practice within gender relations. Masculinities are considered to be patterns of social practice that are constructed in relation to others in interaction. Culture dictates that boys and men should exercise hegemony and marginalisation (Connell, 2002). Bhana points out that gender violence in schools emanates in gender inequalities shaped by different attitudes and cultural beliefs (Bhana, 2005). Hegemonic masculinity has gained in strength as an accepted cultural norm. The scholars Parkes and Heslop (2011) attest to gender discrimination within communities that exercise gender violence directed at women and homosexuals. Notions of masculinity include the domination of women and also other men (Connell, 1995).

This chapter commences by discussing the theoretical framework underpinned by Connell's (1995) theory of masculinities and the ways in which gender power operates within a hierarchy of masculinities. This framework is an analytical tool employed to understand the construction of masculinities and the violence that boys engage in within a school context.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

2.2.1 Theory of Masculinities

Connell's (1995) theory of multiple masculinities, employed in this study, is an analytical lens through which boys' violent behaviours are explored at the research site. Connell (1995) developed the theory of multiple masculinities to examine how men and boys perform their masculinities. This theory discusses the ways in which men and boys construct and portray masculinity (Connell, 1995). It further explains the power relations, including the domination and exercise of power over women, and the fact that some men dominate other men (Connell, 1995; Connell, 2005). Connell's (1995) concept of multiple masculinities is employed in this study to understand the application of power and violence among township boys attending high school, some boys' complicity in this context, and non-violent masculinities. This theory is appropriate as it provides insight into how these township boys perform violence or not, as they relate and interact with each other. Connell (1995) asserts that masculinities are multiple and changeable, and this is supported by studies by Morrell (2001) and Anderson (2010), which determine that multiple masculinities can be found in any given institution or context.

2.3 Multiple Masculinities: A working definition

According to Connell (1995), masculinity is defined as the patterns of practice that are constructed, unfold and change through time. Masculinity is further described as a stance that men own in gender relations (Connell, 1995) and it can be classified as patterns of social practice constructed in relation to others in interaction (Connell, 2001; 2005). Masculinity is what men ought to be. Masculinity is characterised by power, race, class and culture (Connell, 1995). Masculinities are fluid in all spheres of life and among different cultures and societies. According to research by Connell (1995) and Morrell (1998), masculinity is not static, but is continuously changing, which therefore results in variegated masculinities. It is not stable, but

is constantly being challenged and re-constructed, giving rise to a continuous internal struggle among boys to be the hegemonic male (Bhana, 2005). Furthermore, Bhana (2013) argues that violence occurs all over the world and is not being attended to. In particular, South Africa is facing high levels of interpersonal, self-directed and collective violence that manifests in physical, sexual and psychological forms (Bowman, et al, 2015). Masculinity evolves with history and context, and is explained as configurations of practice within gender relations (Connell, 1995; Connell, 1987). Connell (1995) further identified four categories of masculinity (which is not exclusive), to illustrate the multiplicity of masculinities, namely: hegemonic, subordinate, complicit and marginalised. However, masculinity is not limited to these categories. They do not exist in isolation, but work in collaboration with each other (Connell, 1995). According to Connell (1995), they can be utilised to explain the different ways in which masculinity among men and boys is constructed. These four, according to Connell (1995), are explained as follows:

2.3.1 Hegemonic Masculinity

Hegemonic masculinity is defined as the current configuration of practice that legitimises men's dominant position in society and justifies the subordination of women and other marginalised ways of being a man (Connell, 1995). It further explains how and why men maintain dominant social roles over women and other gender identities that are perceived as feminine in a given society (Connell, 2005). In a social hierarchy, women are regarded as the subordinate group. This therefore puts men and boys in the position of being dominant, while women and girls are placed as being subordinate to men (Mayeza, 2016). Studies show that boys and men are regarded and constructed as naturally problematic (Shefer, Stevens & Clowes, 2010).

In Witt's (1997) study, it has been demonstrated that in constructing masculinities, society both implicitly and explicitly conveys messages that polarise the behaviours of girls/women and boys/men, with boys accorded the status of being strong and powerful, and girls weak and dependent (Witt, 1997). This scholar also indicated that the exposure of girls and boys to gender role expectations is learned from their caregivers (Witt, 1997). According to societal norms, boys are portrayed as strong and successful (SACE, 2011). Boys are usually told to be strong and they grow up with the perception that they are, hence they believe that aggression and

violent behaviour reflects this quality (SACE, 2011). It further indicates that the home plays a role in crafting the beliefs, attitudes and values of children, which in turn influence socially-based sex-role stereotypes. Expectations and cultural beliefs socialise girls to show emotion, whereas boys should display that they are strong and calm, but show anger if necessary (Chaplin & Aldao, 2014). Boys are therefore encouraged not to cry and to be strong and successful. In other words, the concept of hegemonic masculinity is premised on the existence of dominant forms of masculinity and any man who aspires to it must display aggressive and violent behaviour. Some men exercise power over other men, thus demonstrating the subordination and marginalisation of other men (Mfecane, 2008).

According to Morrell (1998) and Ratele (2013), hegemonic masculinity overpowers other masculinities, making it a dominant type of masculinity and causing other masculinities to be less valuable, with culture playing an influential role. Culture dictates that boys and men should exercise hegemony (Connell, 2002). Hegemonic masculinity refers to the men who exercise power and authority over women and other men and apply violence (Connell, 1995; Morrell, et al, 2012). According to Bhana (2005), the hegemonic male is heterosexual and plays sport. Hegemonic masculinity is characterised by heterosexuality, violence, homophobia, patriarchy and racism (Ratele, 2008; 2013). Connell (1995) states that gender relations of dominance and subordination among men are observable in both heterosexual and homosexual men. Homosexuals are a group of men who are subordinates and who seem not to conform to expectations set by heterosexuals (Connell, 1995). They are ridiculed, intimidated, called names and even physically attacked for being homosexuals and behaving in an “unacceptable” manner (Smith, 2007). Homosexual men, also called “gays”, are thought of as being softies or womanish and are the target of homophobic attacks (Dunne, et al, 2006).

Hegemonic masculinity is explained as the dominant type of masculinity, whereby a group of boys or men exercise power and dominance in a social context over women and other men (Connell, 1995). Chadwick (2010) concurs with the notion of authority and control, by saying that boys use threats and intimidation to control and discipline girls. This therefore places hegemonic masculinity in the position of being viewed as the most popular type of masculinity, which gives men power over other men and women. The violence and bullying that occurs in

schools is caused by gender and social norms, whereby gender norms shape men to be dominant over women, who tend to be submissive (Unesco, 2017). Hegemonic masculinities begin by being institutionalized and then they become individualised (Connell, 1995). Hegemonic masculinity is characterised by heterosexuality, patriarchy, racism, homophobia, violence, misogyny and assertiveness (Ratele, 2013; Morrell, 1998).

Since this study occurs within a school context, the masculinity associated with dominance is contingent on context. Subordinate masculinity persists alongside hegemonic masculinity and subordinates are socially marginalised. In my study, boys who display strength and toughness are constructed as hegemonic, while other boys are dominated and socially marginalised by those occupying a hegemonic position.

2.3.2 Subordinate Masculinity

Subordinate masculinity refers to the group of men who do not fit in with what is regarded as perfect hegemony (Connell, 1995). These men display qualities that cannot achieve hegemony (discussed above, with regard to hegemonic masculinity). Effeminate and gay men, mostly known as homosexuals, are examples of subordinate masculinity (Connell, 1995). Boys who are seen as demonstrating behaviour deviant to that of the so-called “real boys” are called homosexuals and denied their rights (Bhana, 2014). Homosexuals are usually belittled, discriminated against, called names, teased, intimidated and at times physically abused (Dunne, Humphreys & Leach, 2007). Homosexuals are viewed as “softies”, “faggots” and often subjected to homophobic attacks (Msibi, 2012). Males who possess feminine attributes are regarded as weak and not “real” men. In the school context, some of the boys who are subordinate are those who do not engage in physical violence, but in alternative masculinities (Connell, 2005).

Heterosexual men are usually perpetrators of violence directed against those who are regarded as non-compliant (Parkes, 2015). Boys who do not get involved in physical violence usually find themselves being victims of abuse and violence. In addition to the above statements, the Unesco report (2017) reveals that people whose sexual orientation does not conform to traditional gender norms are at risk of experiencing gender-based violence that is expressed

because of gender norms and unspoken, unhidden or hidden attitudes that condone gender stereotypes. This is observable when boys are provoked about their lack of masculinity or girls about their lack of femininity (Unesco, 2017). A study carried out in Uganda clearly shows that the manner in which teachers and students perceive acceptable and unacceptable behaviours and interactions is reflected in how the norms of compulsory heterosexuality and homophobia affect students' daily lives (Muhanguzi, 2011). Connell (1995) employs the word *complicit* to describe men who are not frontline troopers of hegemonic masculinity, but who simply benefit from being men. This is discussed next.

2.3.4 Complicit Masculinity

Complicit masculinity refers to men who enjoy the same benefits as dominant men, but do not fit into the hegemonic group (Morrell, 1998; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Connell (2005) further explains that this form of masculinity refers to men who do not live up to the ideal of hegemonic masculinity and do not challenge it, but benefit from its dominant position in the patriarchal order. Connell (1995) terms this the “patriarchal dividend”. According to Connell (1995; 2005), men in this category are not frontline troopers but automatically benefit from the privileges men acquire through patriarchy. The fourth category offered by Connell (1995) is a marginalised form of masculinity.

2.3.5 Marginalised Masculinity

Marginalised masculinity is characterised as the fourth form of masculinity (Connell, 1995). It refers to the group of men who do not fit into hegemonic masculinity, due to certain characteristics such as race, but keep to the norms of hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1995). Men or boys are marginalised for not being able to aspire to race and class notions of hegemony, particularly black working-class men. They are classified as belonging in the working class, while boys and men believed to be in the hegemonic group achieve middle-class status (Connell, 1995). As mentioned earlier, these are not the only forms of masculinity. Multiplicities within masculine identities will be discussed in the findings chapter of this study. In this research, the manner in which masculinities are performed, as discussed by Connell (1995; 2005), has an impact upon the boy's lives at school. The key to gaining deeper insight

into why violence is used to resolve conflict lies in violence being central to their masculine identities. However, when violence is not employed, it is also important to find out what conditions allow peace to flourish (Anderson, 2010).

Literature Review

Local and international scholarship has been consulted for this study on masculinities. The focus is on the global context, but it pays particular attention to the constructions of masculinities in the South African context. Violence is viewed as a global phenomenon and significant health burden (WHO, 2017). According to the WHO (2005), women who experience violence and abuse are likely to manifest health issues, which include obesity, hypertension, dizziness and amnesia. One of the main factors reinforcing the prevalence of gender-based violence is patriarchy, where men are given power over women. Masculinities differ according to culture, country and context. The United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence views gender violence as a product of unequal power relations that is common and a normal practice in the world (Coomaraswamy, 2005). According to the scholars Decker, Miller, Illangasekare and Silverman (2013), one in three women around the world have encountered or are experiencing gender violence – and it is on the increase (Parkes, 2015). In Switzerland, boys and girls are said to engage in violence as either perpetrators or victims (2011). Gender violence is commonly experienced in all societies, irrespective of ethnicity, geography, culture, social and economic situation (Unesco, 2014). It can manifest in different forms, such as physical, sexual, emotional and verbal.

A thematic review of the literature led to the emergence of the following themes:

- Boys' schooling and constructions of masculinities;
- Masculinity, violence and schooling in South Africa;
- Spaces of violence in schools;
- The impact of home and community on school violence;
- Corporal punishment and the perpetuation of violence;

- Compulsory heterosexuality and homophobic bullying; and
- Gender-based violence.

2.4 Boys' schooling and constructions of masculinities

Violence in schools is not a new phenomenon and has become a matter of concern, due to an escalating amount of incidents reported on a daily basis (Leoschut, 2008). Schools in South Africa are becoming more violent, with recent incidents having been reported in the KwaZulu-Natal and North West provinces. In September 2018, *The Daily News* newspaper reported that two learners were stabbed to death at a high school in KwaMakhutha in Durban, while they were trying to separate other learners who were fighting over a cellphone (Masku, 2018). Violence is not only taking place between learners, but between learners and teachers as well. Another incident took place at an institution in Zeerust, North West, where a 17-year-old learner stabbed a 24-year-old teacher in front of other learners. It was speculated that the teacher was attacked for reprimanding the learner for unacceptable behavior exhibited the previous day (African News Agency, 2018). School violence is of concern, because of the escalating number of incidences, despite measures put in place by the Department of Education. In addressing the issue, Minister of Basic Education Angie Motshekga posited that the department had implemented ongoing programmes to deal with it, in conjunction with the South African Police Services and Department of Social Development (African News Agency, 2018).

Violent incidents are reported in the media and also circulate on social networks. Violence has become a global problem; it is part of everyday life at some schools and is largely perpetrated by boys (Dunne, Humphreys & Leach, 2006). Violence in school negatively impacts upon teaching and learning, and learners therefore lose focus (SACE, 2011). For effective teaching and learning to take place, a safe and a conducive environment that is free from violence is required. Schools are agents of global and local reproduction or change and also sites with specific gender regimes that influence learners to adopt certain behaviours that will allow them to fit in (Dunne, et al, 2006).

A school is a place where children acquire the knowledge, skills and values that they need in their lives. According to Burton (2008a), it is thought of as a site at which individuals are

groomed for the roles they are expected to play in society. A school is further defined as a place where children acquire knowledge and learn about themselves, and how they should behave and relate to others (Burton, 2008b). Further, a school is a place that provides care, support and protection for learners (SACE, 2011). However, research reveals that they are spaces in which violence is prevalent (Bhana, 2012). Thus they are viewed as social sites where violence takes place and learners encounter assault, corporal punishment, bullying and sexual assault. This is reiterated in research by Leach, Dunne and Salvi (2014), which posits that schools are now sites of violence where learners experience verbal abuse and bullying.

Acts of violence at South African schools are regularly shown in the media, particularly social media. Millions of children are exposed to violence at school, which infringes on their right to education and compromises their safety (Education for All Global Report, 2015; Ungei, 2015). Schools are also viewed as sites of gender violence that are affected by unequal power relations not only ratified through gender, but also through age, authority and other social distinctions (Dunne, Humphreys & Leach, 2006). The high prevalence of violence and crime at South African schools has been identified as negatively affecting learning and teaching (Netshitangani, 2014). The scholar Netshitangani further argues that the management of schools is also negatively affected by the high rate of violence and crime, and this leads to a poor quality of education being rendered and achieved (Netshitangani, 2014). Acts of violence that occur at schools seem to be accepted and is not given due attention, which causes learners' safety to be compromised (Leach et.al, 2014). Teachers find themselves spending a great deal of time having to solve problems and disputes (Netshitangani, 2014; GMR, Unesco & Ungei, 2015; Ncontsa & Shumba, 2013). It is feared that the high rates of violence and crime occurring in South Africa will expose children and youth to violent, criminal elements (SACE, 2011). Violence in school causes an increased rate of drop-outs among learners unable to cope with it (Dunne & Ananga, 2013). Teachers are also at risk of violence at school and while they may be constructed as being perpetrators of violence, this may cause them to be viewed victims at the same time (Van Leeuwen, 2008).

Research demonstrates that boys are the main perpetrators of violence against girls (Bhana, 2012; Parkes & Heslop, 2011). Boys tend to demonstrate their manhood through aggression,

violence, sexual power and homophobia (GMR, UNESCO & UNGEI, 2015). Further, gender norms compel boys to solve their misunderstandings through physical violence and some are influenced by the gender-based violence that they witness, both in their homes and communities (GMR, UNESCO & UNGEI, 2015). In a study conducted by Ncontsa and Shumba (2013), the participants blamed older learners, especially boys, for perpetrating violence in schools. In addition to the above, older boys take advantage of their senior status to abuse younger children at school (UNICEF, 2010). Research has revealed that young learners, especially those in grades 8 and 9, are vulnerable to school violence (Ncontsa & Shumba, 2013). Being young, physically weak and vulnerable renders them unable to defend themselves against bullies (Ncontsa & Shumba, 2013). It is evident that hegemonic masculinity is demonstrated in different ways and in various contexts. This suggests that it can manifest through aggressive behaviour and by engaging in risky behavior, which could be through the use of alcohol and drugs. Such a situation requires that schools play a vital role in curbing and restraining violent behaviour. They should be safe havens for effective teaching and learning. Since learners spend more of their time at school rather than at home, schools should be safe places, free from violence. The South African Council for Educators (SACE) (2011) states that learners who are exposed to crime and violence at home are also at risk of being susceptible to school-based violence. Learners who are mostly perpetrators of violence in schools are usually constructed as heroes, as they exercise power over others or when they feel their heroism is being threatened (SACE, 2011).

2.5 Masculinity, violence and schooling

Constructions of masculinity and how boys are raised could be viewed as a contributing factor in the risky behaviour of boys engaged in school-based violence. It is evident that the manner in which young boys construct their masculinities has global similarities (Connell, 2011). Young boys in the UK maintain their masculinity by joining gangs and by being violent (Parkes & Connolly, 2013). In South Africa research has shown that gangs are indications of brevity, protection and belonging (Anderson, 2010). In CNN news on 21 May, 2018, it was reported that there had already been 23 school shootings in the US that year, in which someone had been

hurt or killed. The report further stated that this tallied to more than one shooting per week (Grabow & Rose, 2018).

Contrary to the notion of boys being the main perpetrators of violence, in countries such as Switzerland, both boys and girls engage in physical violence, as either perpetrators or victims (SACE, 2011). In a study carried out in South Africa by Bhana and Pillay, (2011), girls were also found to engage in acts of violence by making fun of others, being involved in physical violence or tormenting other girls. In the same vein, in some communities, girls are known to be weak and vulnerable. Most schools' gender regimes dictate that girls are expected to sweep and keep their classrooms clean and if they fail to do what is constructed to be their duty, they are punished. This means that conformity is rewarded and non-conformity punished (Connell, 1985). On the other hand, boys are supposed to lift heavy items, to show that they are strong. This is one way of proving their manhood (Chadwick, 2010). In other words, in schools, unequal and hostile gendered relations are observed on a daily basis (Leach & Humphreys, 2007). This suggests that boys and girls in schools are not treated in the same way, thus promoting socially constructed gender differentiations. The construction of gender takes place in a social environment through interaction and within institutions (Chadwick, 2010).

Expectations of society and how masculinities are constructed influence boys to engage in violent behaviours (SACE, 2011; Anderson, 2010; Hamlall, 2013). Connell (1995) states that gender relations of dominance and subordination are observable between heterosexual and homosexual men. Connell's notion of hegemonic masculinity addresses the power hierarchy between men (Connell, 1998). In exercising power, some men may choose to protect and provide for those who are regarded as weak or in need, however, sex may be expected in return (Jewkes, et. al, 2012). Hegemonic masculinity is also considered the same as exercising control over women and other men, and applying violence (Morrell, et al, 2012). Boys use threats and intimidation to control and discipline girls (Chadwick, 2010). Perpetrators prefer using violence to exercise control and power over others who become victims (Parkes, 2007). Marginalised masculinities can be racially constructed, where members of one race could see themselves as being superior to another (Connell, 1995). This is supported by Anderson in her study (2009), where she states that coloureds were marginalised due to their race during the apartheid era and

this continues in the post-apartheid era. This also applies to blacks during apartheid and, despite the advent of the new democratic era, many still continue to suffer the effects of poverty and racialisation, which perpetuates marginalised masculine positions (Bhana, 2002; Morrell, 2001; 2005).

A review of the South African literature reveals that black boys' involvement in violence is mainly influenced by the history of a violent past (Bhana, 2002; Morell, 2001). In the South African context, white men, especially rich ones, possess more power than any other class, race or gender in society (Ratele, 2014). Young black men in South Africa have been seen as being involved in violence or are portrayed as perpetrators of violence and initiators of spaces in which violence is manifest.

Boys usually engage in violence by using weapons such as knives, guns and sharp instruments, which they believe is acceptable (Bhana & Pillay, 2011; Hamlall, 2013; Anderson, 2009). A study conducted by Pattman and Bhana (2006) argues that calling black boys "bad" is exaggerated and complex. In their research, black boys are constructed and portrayed as robbers and trouble-makers. They further argue that masculinities and femininities are constructed through relationships and compare the ways boys and girls behave and perform (Pattman & Bhana, 2006). Other research (Ratele, 2013) has determined that black masculinities are the most dominant; further, black boys' vulnerability during their childhood has exposed them to violence (Bhana, 2002).

Masculinities are shaped in and through the social, cultural and economic setting that occurs in schools. Connell (2005) is of the same notion that masculinity is shaped by society and norms. In some communities, violence is understood as a normal exercise, especially in terms of gangs who apply violence to exercise power over others (Parkes, 2007). In addition, in the study carried out by Parkes (2007), it is evident that hegemonic masculinity for boys, especially those who belong to the middle class, is moulded by being a member of a gang and acting aggressively. Violence takes place in social relations and young people are usually drawn to such behavior, which usually results in them becoming either perpetrators or victims of violence (Parkes, 2007). Children from Cape Town, who participated in the study conducted by Parkes (2007), viewed violence as a physical act that took place in their neighbourhood and on the

school playground. In Parkes's (2007) study, violence is interpreted as exercising power over the old or children who are regarded as weak victims and it is again perceived as an act of being heroic if force is used in protecting or defending your loved ones or the "weak". Boys are seen as people who apply violence as a weapon to defend, protect and punish (Parkes, 2007).

The manner in which men behave is shaped by life situations and the environment that they find themselves in (Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Morrell & Dunkle, 2011). Gender violence manifests itself in two forms – implicit and explicit. The implicit form is associated with daily practices that both directly and indirectly promote and support violence, while the explicit form concerns sexualised experiences (Dunne, Humphreys & Leach, 2006). The media regularly reports violent acts perpetuated by boys in schools and this has caused great concern in that violence is used as a way of exercising control. Violence in schools deprives children of their fundamental right to quality education. Violence in South African schools was on the rise in 2017. *The Mercury* newspaper (Wolhuter, 2017) reported that in a high school in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal, a teenage boy brutally assaulted a girl in the school corridors. In another incident reported in the *Isolezwe* newspaper on 22 September (Ngubane, 2017), a grade 9 boy hanged himself after he was beaten by other boys who accused him of stealing a cellphone. In 2018, a further report in the *Sowetan Live* (Masweneng, 2018), concerned a learner in Gauteng who had hit a teacher with a book in class, in the presence of other learners. The video that was taken during this incident was circulated on social networks and went viral. The video clips shown in the Timeline of 28 September, 2017, showed pupils at a school in Richards Bay, KwaZulu-Natal, attacking each other with knives and firing guns, while other learners looked on. The Minister of Education at the time affirmed that the incident was as a result of the prevalence of drugs and gangs at the school (Timeline, 2017). These incidents demonstrate the endemic nature of violence that is directed at learners and teachers at South African schools. The exercising of power or control results in aggressive conduct. Boys and men demonstrate a dominant form of masculinity by engaging in violence (Anderson, 2009).

It is evident that men engage in violence and crime, but this is not the case for all men (Connell, 2000). Anderson (2009) supports this assertion by stating that while the majority of men and boys in her study were inclined to engage in violence, some did not partake in violent acts. She

further states that being either violent or polite depends on the individual. Anderson (2009) explains that some boys find themselves engaging in violence when trying to defend or protect their friends. This can be seen in cases where the victims seek intervention from their brothers and/or friends, either inside or outside school, when those who are targets retaliate against provocation, which leads to violence. Ratele (2013) contends that men at times behave violently when they respond to others' violence and their participation is not always voluntary. He further asserts that in some cases violence functions as a way of dealing with fear and insecurity, or "internal states of vulnerability" (Ratele, 2013). Some boys with non-violent natures find themselves engaging in violent acts because they fear being called names and ridiculed (Wardman, 2016).

It is evident that some men refrain from violence and demonstrate peace by showing the spirit of caring, non-violence and respect (Morrell, 2002; Anderson, 2010). In research conducted by Hamlall (2013), the young male participants revealed it was a choice to either be engaged in violent acts or not. Anderson (2009) asserts that an individual chooses to be violent or more peaceable. The resistance of hegemony that encourages violence is demonstrated in another study in school, in which high school boys believe that not fighting back or not engaging in violence still affords them respect, even if they are derided (Hamlall, 2013). Literature reveals that boys who opt for autonomous positions of masculinity in situations of provocation and violence demonstrate a high sense of self-belief, and regard themselves as different and not subordinate (Hamlall, 2013).

Violence is commonly applied to fix what is constructed as less masculine (Bhana & Mayeza, 2016). Boys who are not constructed as masculine enough are usually bullied and marginalised by others who construct themselves as real boys (Bhana & Mayeza, 2016). When boys want to be seen as masculine, they tend to apply violence, so they will not be viewed as weak. In other words, boys use aggression to gain power and dominate, which is a way of threatening and intimidating their victims. Boys start to construct their masculinities while they are still young by imagining themselves as heroic and they have to live up to such masculinities (Parkes, 2007).

2.6 Spaces of violence in schools

According to Connell (1995), schools serve as social institutions where active construction of masculinities takes place. The school is also viewed by Johnson (2009) as a social space that promotes interactions and a physical space that allows violence to take place. These social and physical spaces allow boys and men to demonstrate their masculinities and how powerful they are in the gender hierarchy (Dunne, 2007). The high rates of violence in schools have caused learners to become fearful and develop low self-esteem (Bhana, 2013; Burton, 2008b). Schools in South Africa are spaces of everyday interaction, in which there is a high level of gender violence and inequality (Chadwick, 2010). On the other hand, two forms of spaces exist in schools, as pointed out by Dunne and Leach (2007) – formal and informal. In schools, popular areas for violence and crime (Bhana, 2012) include toilets, classrooms, playgrounds and passages (Dunne, 2007).

According to research by the Human Rights Watch (2001) and Bhana (2012), there is less or no adult supervision in these areas, known as informal spaces (Dunne & Leach, 2007). Formal spaces are, for instance, classrooms that are always monitored and supervised by adults. SACE (2011), however, has a different view, in that classrooms are spaces in which most violent behaviours take place. When teachers ignore “unacceptable” behaviours or report on such behaviours and promote a culture in which “boys will always be boys” (Kimmel, 2004), they wield their power to allow the gender specific behaviours to take place, which thus promotes male-to-female domination (Dunne et. al, 2006). This is highlighted by Unesco (2017), which points out that in some contexts, violence is viewed as normal, necessary and a justified way of resolving conflict. Taken from a different perspective, classroom spaces can be perceived as areas that promote the negotiation of violent masculinities (Dunne & Leach, 2007). This can be seen when boys ensure that girls sit at the front and boys sit at the back, so as to control, dominate and intimidate girls (Dunne, 2007).

2.7 The impact of home and community on school violence

The environment and life situations that men find themselves in determine how they behave (Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Morrell & Dunkle, 2011). The external environment has a great contributory effect on school violence (Mgijima, 2014). According to SACE (2011), there is a relationship between family violence and school-based violence. In other words, there is a relationship between what is taking place inside school and what is happening outside school. Violence that occurs within communities and between learners at school is related and it is therefore complicated to separate the two (Burton, 2008). Connell (2002) highlights that patriarchal power structures that exist in society are observed in schools.

Largely, violence that is experienced or observed in the home is copied and acted out at school (SACE, 2011). Therefore, educators are faced with the task of teaching learners who are victims of aggression and violence in their homes and communities, and must deal with boys who may perpetrate such behaviour at school (SACE, 2011). This results in a cycle of violence that is not easy to break. As boys grow up, they may witness or experience aggressive behaviour and perceive this as normal and a way of gaining power and recognition (Morrell, Jewkes & Lindegger, 2012).

Witnessing or experiencing violence in the home is perceived by children as normal and this is easily replicated and makes them perpetrators of violence (Ungei, 2015; Burton, et al, 2015). This resonates with a study by Burton and Leoschut (2013), which has determined that the violence that learners engage in at school is mostly influenced by their exposure to violence in both in their homes and outside school. In addition, children who grow up in poverty-stricken communities with high crime rates show a higher propensity for being violent (Ward, 2007), with this exposure likely to lead them to becoming bullies and perpetrating violent acts (Unesco, 2015).

The gender norms that shape boys as aggressive and violent, and girls as submissive to males (Unesco, 2015) give rise to school-related gender-based violence (SRGBV). The high rate of violent occurrences in schools is experienced mostly in poor and vulnerable communities (Morrell & Makhaye, 2006). This concurs with studies by Ward (2007) and SACE (2011) that

have determined that poverty and high crime rates in the environment increase the chances of children becoming violent. In support of the above statement, children who are exposed to environments marked by crime have a greater chance of behaving violently. It must be noted that not all children reproduce violent behaviours at school that have been learned inside the home and within the community. However, learners can reproduce violent behaviours learned at school within their homes and communities. Crime and violence in communities negatively impacts on vulnerable children, constructing them to be violent (SACE, 2011). It is common that in townships where high rates of unemployment and poverty is experienced, young people engage in violence and join gangs as a way of demonstrating their masculinity. In support of this, research by Morrell (1998) and Anderson (2010) points out that violence is most observable in South African townships. Gangsterism is reported to be prevalent in South African schools (SACE, 2011). Joining gangs allows learners to exercise power and be in control over others (SACE, 2011). In the study conducted by Anderson (2010), it was revealed that boys have to seek membership in gangs in order to gain power and get a sense of belonging and acceptance. It is evident that gang violence is more common in schools where gangs, weapons and drugs are easily available (Unesco, 2017).

Literature reveals that inadequate parental care, the poor socio-economic backgrounds of learners, exposure to mass media and peer influence are contributory factors to the incidences of violence (Netshitangani, 2014). Males in South Africa are associated with problematic and violent attitudes and behaviours associated with hegemonic masculinity; they abuse both women and children, and substances, and engage in risky sex (Morrell, et al, 2012). These scholars (Morrell, et al, 2012) further assert that in South Africa, men compete for power through the use of violence, which results in men killing other men.

2.8 Corporal punishment and the cycle of violence

Bhana (2013) argues that the increase in aggressive behaviour that gives rise to gender violence in and around South African schools needs to be researched. Although corporal punishment at schools was outlawed in South Africa in 1996 (Makhasane and Chikoko, 2016), it continues to be a form of discipline there and is a catalyst for gender violence. Corporal punishment is defined as a form of corrective behaviour that utilises physical force with the aim of inflicting

pain and discomfort. It is instituted to punish poor academic performance or correct unacceptable behaviour (Unesco, 2017). In many African countries, Sierra Leone being one of them, corporal punishment and sexual violence have been constructed into a normal and accepted practice at school (Plan Sierra Leone, 2011). Its use is accepted by parents in Sierra Leone and many other countries, including South Africa, as they believe that it is a means of instilling discipline. In Ghana and Botswana, corporal punishment is legal, but only under stipulated conditions (Dunne, 2007). For example, male teachers are not allowed to administer corporal punishment to girls (Dunne, 2007).

It is evident that in South Africa, most teachers still use corporal punishment, despite it having been abolished in 1996 by the South African Schools Act of 1996 (Ncontsa & Shumba, 2013). Research reveals that teachers see themselves as unable to discipline learners if they do not use corporal punishment (Maphosa & Shumba, 2010), and they therefore become perpetrators of violence in classrooms (Ncontsa & Shumba, 2013). Corporal punishment administered by teachers is seen as power exercised over learners and is administered by those in authority with the intention of disciplining learners (Humphreys, 2008). Unesco (2017) argues that social norms that allow teachers to exercise their authority over children may condone violence to be executed when maintaining discipline and control. Teachers seem not to take proper action when acts of violence are reported, which therefore makes violence normal and acceptable (Bhana, 2006). In the same vein, the scholars Burton and Leoschut (2013) argue that learners often do not report incidents of violence, because teachers do not take any action in addressing such occurrences. Literature reveals that both learners and teachers are perpetrators and victims of violence (Mgijima, 2014).

Research has also found that in most situations, female teachers are reluctant to administer corporal punishment, but they tend to use demeaning comments and verbal abuse (Dunne, Leach, Chilisa, Maunden, Tabulawa, Kutor, Dzama & Assamoah, 2005). The learners think that this practice lowers their self-esteem and they may even prefer corporal punishment to be instituted instead (Dunne, et. al, 2005). Chadwick (2010) sees it challenging to have corporal punishment completely abolished, since parents still believe that it is the best way of instilling discipline. Some parents still use corporal punishment as a form of discipline on their children.

Children from such families learn that violence is an acceptable way of instilling discipline and they therefore bring such practice to school (Unesco, 2015). Corporal punishment and fighting and bullying in some contexts are accepted by adults as a normal way of establishing discipline or of growing up. Adults instituting such practices therefore do not realise the harm that this has on education, health and the emotional well-being of children (Unesco, 2017).

2.9 Compulsory heterosexuality and homophobic bullying

Bullying is regarded as the most common form of violence in schools (WHO, 1999). It is defined as an intentional and aggressive behaviour that takes place on repeated occasions against a victim and manifests as a power imbalance, causing the victim to feel vulnerable and unable to defend him or herself (Unesco, 2017). Bullying is viewed as a global problem that causes violence in schools and it affects many children (Ringrose & Renold, 2010). It is one of the causes of violent crime in schools. Bullying includes acts of verbal, sexual and physical assault, which can manifest in the form of hitting, kicking, destroying property, teasing, name-calling, nicknames, theft, spreading rumours and social exclusion (Unesco, 2017). In school, bullying often takes place in areas such as toilets, change rooms, corridors and places that are less supervised by or out of sight of teachers (Unesco, 2017).

According to Ringrose and Renold (2010), bullying is the most common type of violence taking place in school, which presents the most serious psychological developmental problems. Boys are associated with physical violence, while girls are more engaged in psychological bullying (Ringrose & Arnold, 2010). In school, learners who are perceived as not conforming to traditional social or gender norms usually become the victims of violence and bullying (Unesco, 2017). The adverse effects of school violence and bullying in education include victims being unable to participate in and concentrate on school activities, fearing to go to school, missing classes and at times dropping out of school (Unesco, 2017). Unesco (2017) further states that the bullied are more likely than those who are not bullied to experience depression, low self-esteem and have suicidal thoughts or try to commit suicide. The Unesco report (2017) further states that all children are at risk of violence and being bullied, but those who are in compromising situations, which include poverty, social status associated with ethnicity,

linguistic or cultural differences, disability, physical appearance and sexual orientation are more prone to becoming victims.

Bullies often bully others as they themselves are experiencing an underlying problem. In dealing with this, they express their frustration and anger or try to achieve social status by bullying others (Unesco, 2017). In the United Nations (2016) report, two thirds of 100,000 young people in 18 countries reported that they had been victims of bullying. Studies on bullying suggest that boys are more likely to be both bullies and the victims of bullying, which is normally physical, while girls are more likely to engage in situations of indirect bullying, such as teasing or gossip (Carbone-lopez, Esbensen & Brick, 2010).

Being heterosexual is considered the norm (Connell, 1985; Morrell, 1998) and any individual who does not conform to these gender roles and who does not portray hegemonic masculinity, in the form of having a heterosexual relationship, is ostracised and treated as subordinate (Anderson, 2010). Heterosexual relationships have an element of power relations in them, in terms of patriarchy, especially in low-income urban settings (Barker, 2005). Women are seen to be inferior and are expected to conform to gender roles as dictated by society. Girls cannot dictate the terms of sexual relations, as this is related to promiscuity (Barker, 2005), while boys are expected to lead in sexual relations and even prescribe how and when to have sex. Boys who do not conform are called names, such as “faggot” (Msibi, 2012). Therefore, boys who are less violent and do not believe in patriarchy and hegemonic masculinity, but in treating women with respect, are also seen as subordinate. Learners who do not conform to the norms of heterosexuality experience homophobic violence.

Homophobia is regarded as causing the most violence in schools (Wardman, 2016). Homophobic violence targets learners who are perceived as being lesbians or gays – boys who are thought of as “feminine” or girls who are perceived as “masculine”. Cultural beliefs about gender roles related to masculinity and femininity play a major role in influencing homophobic violence. The school establishes learners’ sexuality through different practices and, among other factors, religious convictions that are followed at these learning institutions play a significant role in exposing homosexual learners to homophobic violence (Bhana, 2012b; 2014; Msibi, 2012). Boys are expected to be strong and when they demonstrate violent behaviour,

they are recognised for having demonstrated their masculinity (Hamlall & Morrell, 2012). Such violence can have a detrimental effect on the physical and mental health of the victims.

Due to homophobic violence not being given proper attention, Human Rights Watch (2011) has urged the South African government to condemn such violence and create educational awareness of sexual orientation. In addition to this, Bhana (2012a) recommends that teachers grant learners the opportunity to conduct dialogues about the meaning of sexual equality, the manner in which violence is engendered and the relationship between schooling as well as the role to be played by learners in the development of South Africa's democracy.

2.10 Gender-based violence

According to the study by Unesco (2014), sexual violence and homophobic violence cannot be separated from bullying. Sexual harassment is explained by Morojele (2009) as a behaviour that includes gestures, touches, looks and words directed to girls that can make them feel uncomfortable. Morojele (2009) further asserts that high school girls fear going to school because they are afraid of being harassed. Boys and male teachers are reported to be the perpetrators of sexual harassment in and around school against girls and female teachers (De Lange, Mitchell & Bhana, 2012). Girls are often taken advantage of, due to their poverty status, and are often sexually abused by their teachers in exchange for gifts and higher grades (Parkes & Heslop, 2011). In the same vein, Bhana, (2009) asserts that sexual violence exposes children to HIV (Harber, 2004), especially those who are from poverty-stricken backgrounds. This is reinforced by the belief that boys' masculinity promotes the right to sexual dominance, whereas girls remain vulnerable and the potential victims of sexual violence (Muhanguzi, 2011). Boys feel entitled to girls' bodies and make them believe that all women belong to men (Bhana, 2016; Le Mat, 2016). Boys with multiple partners are perceived as powerful. Having multiple partners or many girls and having control over them attains status in the hierarchy of males (Barker & Ricardo, 2005). Some boys cannot accept rejection by girls, because it challenges the way they are socialised. Further, the dominant masculinities in South Africa mould men and may lead them to demanding unprotected penetrative sex, wanting to control women and having many girlfriends (Hunter, 2002).

2.11 Conclusion

This chapter reviewed and explored the relevant literature on gender, violence and masculinities in the school context. The scholarship illustrates that schools are social spaces in which gender inequalities are reinforced and become manifest. It is also revealed that violence taking place outside schools is related to that occurring within schools and the two cannot be divorced from each other. The theory of masculinities is the lens employed to gain an understanding into the manner in which boys construct their masculinities and how they relate and interact with each other. Hegemonic masculinities are forms of masculinity that are constructed as normal masculine behaviour (Connell, 1995). Boys who follow ideas of hegemonic masculinity reject others who display behaviour that they perceive as being deviant (Connell, 1995). Boys who demonstrate such behaviour are ridiculed, demeaned and intimidated. Homophobic acts including teasing, name-calling and labelling are aimed at boys perceived to be acting in a deviant manner (Renold, 2002). The next chapter discusses the methodology employed to conduct this study.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the research design and methodology that is most appropriate in enhancing our understanding about the manifestation of violence and conflicting notions about violence among a group of high school boys in a township in KwaZulu-Natal. With the focus on boys who are largely implicated in violent incidents at schools, it becomes important to investigate the views of those who experience, witness, and/or perpetuate violence in and around schools. This does not in any way suggest that girls do not engage in violence.

This chapter will present a description and discussion on the design and methods employed to address the research questions, as outlined in chapter one. It will further describe the research site, provide the rationale for choosing the case study design and the process that informed it. I provide justification for using qualitative and quantitative research in order to undertake this research. Data collection methods and the analytical process will also be discussed in detail. The research also presents ethical considerations, validity of the study and reliability and trustworthiness. The chapter will conclude by outlining the limitations of the study.

3.2 Research Design

Nieuwenhuis (2007) explains a research design as a plan based on fundamental assumptions in identifying the participants and the methods utilised in collecting and analysing data. Research design is the plan in which data is collected and employed, so that the desired information can be gathered. A research design is also explained by Creswell (2007) as a broad framework that is composed of different and important elements of the study, starting from the philosophical ideas and proceeding through to data collection and analysis procedures. A research design can therefore be understood as a choice of research paradigms and the collection and analysis of data (that is, theoretical framework) to be employed as an analytical lens.

3.2.1 Mixed-Methods Approach

A mixed-method approach was employed for the purpose of this study. According to Creswell (2014, 2009), mixed methods are a combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches employed by a researcher in collecting data. He further explains mixed-method research as an

approach to inquiry that is used in collecting both qualitative and quantitative data, and these two forms of data are combined using designs that may involve philosophical assumptions and theoretical frameworks. Viewed from the same perspective, mixed-methods research is defined as the collection, analysis and integration of qualitative and quantitative data into a single study (Sweetman, Badiee & Creswell, 2010).

A mixed research design was utilised with the aim of gaining more understanding of a research problem than would have been achieved by using only quantitative or qualitative data. It was utilised to gather rich data. For this study, a combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches seems a highly appropriate and effective means of collecting data, as it allows a researcher to gain insight into why violence is used as a means to settle conflict among these boys. According to Creswell (2009, 2014), combining qualitative and quantitative approaches provides a better understanding of research problems than would be the case if one approach, either qualitative or quantitative, were employed.

A mixed-method approach allows a researcher to first conduct a quantitative method, which is later followed by a qualitative method that explains in details the results gathered through the quantitative method (Creswell, 2014). He describes this type of mixed method as explanatory sequential mixed methods, and I have employed this in my study. This means that the explanatory sequential mixed methods include two different methods of data collection, one following the other, with either being used first. In this study, a mixed-method approach was utilised, because it was ascertained that one data resource would not be enough and the initial results would need further explanation (Creswell, 2014). The other reason was that a second method was needed for the purpose of enriching the first method.

The data gathered through qualitative and quantitative approach differs in that the former is rich and can give a researcher an insight into how people think and feel, whereas the latter affords a researcher numerical facts (Creswell, 2009). Both approaches are appropriate in researching social reality (Davies, 2010) and they complement each other.

3.2.2 Case Study

The style of research adopted in this dissertation is the case study. This approach has been chosen because it helps the researcher to gain deep insight to the causes of violence and how

they impact on those experiencing it. The scholars Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011) maintain that a case study is able to establish cause and effect in a real context. There are different views on what a case study is, however. Some scholars view it as an object of study, whereas others understand it as a process of inquiry. However, Zainai (2007) defines a case study as a method that grants the researcher an opportunity to look closely at data and also gain understanding of complex issues. According to Marshall and Rossman (2006), a case study is research that occurs when a researcher is deeply involved in a research setting, with the aim of capturing the participants' lived experiences.

Further, Zainai (2007) states that a case study makes it possible to explore and understand complex issues (Zainai, 2007). Further studies (Creswell, 2012; Fox & Bayat, 2007) agree on the view that a case study attempts to understand social activity by examining the manner in which people make meaning of the world around them. Its methodology has the ability to probe in-depth and gain an understanding of the studied phenomenon (Cohen, Manson & Morrison, 2011).

Noor (2008) submits that a case study is of great help in a situation where deep understanding of a particular problem or situation and identification of rich information is required. In this way, such a study facilitates an understanding into how research participants connect and interact in certain circumstances and what meanings they attach to the investigated issue (Niewenhuis, 2007). However, case studies are considered useful in research as they enable a researcher to examine data at the micro-level. This is further reiterated by Zainai (2007), when she states that the examination of the data is often conducted within the situation in which the activity takes place. Another advantage highlighted by Zainai (2007) is that a case study allows both qualitative and quantitative analysis of data, which therefore makes it relevant to the study being conducted.

As this research investigates the construction of violent masculinities in a school in Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal, case study research was deemed as being most suited to the investigation, as it allowed me to gain deep insight into this phenomenon. I also gained information about the learners' backgrounds, so as to get to know more about them and their socio-economic contexts.

3.3 Methodology

When planning research, it is vital to have clear guidelines as to how the research process will be undertaken. Mouton (2002) defines a research methodology as a plan to apply a variety of standardised methods and techniques in the systematic pursuit of knowledge. In this research, a case study was the methodology utilised and the means of collecting data was through mixed research methods.

3.3.1 Context of the study

The research study took place at a school (Sinothando High School, which is a pseudonym) in Umlazi, a township in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal, which has a predominantly black African population.

Figure 1: A map of Umlazi, in relation to its surrounding areas:



The school is located about 1,68km from the informal settlement of Maphungashe (a pseudonym). One section of Maphungashe is undergoing development in the form of RDP houses that are being built and the other section comprises informal shacks that are being constructed. A large part of the school's population is from Maphungashe, a poverty-stricken community afflicted by high rates of unemployment, crime and HIV/Aids. Most of the

households have electricity, although some of this is derived through illegal connections. The majority of learners come from households headed by single parents or grandparents, especially grandmothers. Some learners have been adopted by community members. The belief among community members is that those who adopt or foster children do it mostly to access foster care grants. Some learners also head households, as their parents have passed away. Most of these learners survive on government grants. In addition to these issues, a busy main road runs in front of the school entrance and some learners have been hit by cars while crossing the road, either going to or coming back from school. Some learners have also been mugged and their possessions stolen while walking to school or waiting for transport to take them back to their homes. There have been a few instances of car hijackings having taken place on this busy main road.

The school has 26 classrooms. The girls' and boys' toilets are separately situated; they are in different buildings that are parallel to each other. The school's library is under-utilised and not fully functional. The school librarian, who is also a teacher, is not recognised by the school as a librarian. She is given a huge number of teaching periods and library duties are never allocated. There is a science laboratory and computer centre, which is only used by learners who are taking computer studies. Behind the classrooms is an open space used as a playground; it is in an isolated area that is not monitored by teachers.

The school is not actively involved in sports and learners only engage in physical education activities during Life Orientation physical education periods. The school is monitored by surveillance cameras that were installed six months ago, but at the time of the study they were removed because of the renovations taking place throughout the entire school. The school infrastructure is poor. Some classrooms are without windows as pupils have broken them, because they could not open, to get air in during the heat of summer. Therefore, in the winter, it is very cold in some classrooms. In other classrooms and school buildings, there are no doors and the roofs are leaking. Security is also questionable. There is just one guard at the gate and, as some of the concrete panels in the fencing have been removed by learners, the school grounds have become easily accessible to outsiders who do not want to use the gate. Latecomers and learners who want freedom of movement use these areas.

The school is headed by a male principal who has been in this position for two years. The principal had suspended and expelled a number of learners, especially boys, for bad behaviour, selling and using drugs, alcohol and violence. The school has a feeding scheme, an initiative of the Department of Basic Education, introduced eight months ago. In all of the preceding years, learners had been bringing their own lunches and there were many who had been unable to bring anything to eat to school. Full meals are served through the scheme, but because some teachers do not supervise their classes at mealtimes, fights sometimes occur between male learners who want to obtain more food than the others. In September 2018, a report went viral on an incident that took place in North West province, in which a 17-year-old male high school pupil stabbed a teacher to death over a “feeding” argument that had happened the previous day.

The school is fee-paying, has an enrolment of 1,013 learners, 490 boys and 523 girls. The school fees are R300 per year and there are many parents who cannot afford to pay for their children’s education. There is one principal, two deputy principals, five heads of departments, 39 educators, one administration clerk and her assistant, and one cleaner. The assistant clerk is paid by the school. Learners who are identified as having psycho-social and scholastic problems are referred to the Life Orientation educator, who also serves as a school counsellor for screening, assessment, support and referral to relevant sources. The high rate of teenage pregnancies and the use of drugs, especially dagga, are of great concern among the school authorities and different stakeholders, including the Department of Health and NGOs, usually address the learners on such matters. Below is a table depicting the number of learners at the school, according to grade and sex:

Grade	Boys	Girls	Total
8	115	115	230
9	99	96	195
10	111	120	231

11	91	103	194
12	74	89	163
Total	490	523	1013

Table 1

3.3.2 Accessing the Research Site

Getting permission to conduct research at a particular site is a requirement for ethical purposes, including making participants aware of what is going to happen and ensuring that the researcher is granted permission to access the site (Marshall and Rossman, 2006). I am an educator and a school counsellor at the chosen site and that made it easy for me to access the site. I approached the principal by briefly explaining the details of the study and the gatekeeper's letter was given to him to sign.

3.3.3 Positionality

In my position as a school counsellor and educator at the site where the research took place made it easy for the participants to identify with me and they felt comfortable discussing their personal stories with me, as I could identify with the issues they were talking about. For trustworthiness, using different methods of collecting data made triangulation of data possible. This was of great importance in confirming and validating the results of the study.

I chose to work with the school at which I teach, since I am familiar with the social context of the institution, which includes poverty, poor attendance and many other issues. This afforded me access to develop and maintain meaningful relationships with the participants during the data collection process. My previous encounter with most of the participants played a vital role in my reflexivity. I tried to be objective, which helped me to reduce any biases as a researcher in my study. As a school counsellor and a Life Orientation teacher, I managed to maintain a beneficial, relaxed and friendly atmosphere with the participants. This was made possible because all of the learners know me, as I visit all of their classes while teaching career guidance and organising career events for them. I also meet with pupils who come to me with various issues, or are referred to me by teachers and the principal for different personal reasons, which may include violence and abuse. I have held sessions with some of the study participants, after having personal encounters regarding violent acts that they had been

involved in, whether as perpetrators or victims. I have referred some of the learners to experts in anger management. Having such a relationship with the participants made them to feel comfortable in my presence, which was required during the individual interview sessions.

This familiarity also helped me to recruit my participants. I realised that learners were keen to participate in my study because we had already built a relationship. Our previous interactions helped to create a beneficial atmosphere during our interview process. Although I teach at the school, my role as a counsellor helped the participants to talk freely to me about their experiences without fear of being judged. I realised that it was easy for them to relax and they felt comfortable telling me about the challenges that were occurring at the school as they were confident about the confidentiality that existed between us.

Being a school counsellor has enabled me to meet with the learners' parents and offer assistance where possible. My encounters with both learners and parents have helped me to understand who they are, their behaviour and how this has been influenced by their home and community background. I have established good relationships with different stakeholders, including non-governmental organisations that offer programmes and projects that deal with learner development, support and other issues that the learners face, both in and outside school. The relationship that I have with the learners is similar to a mother-child interaction, which makes it easy for them to talk to me about anything. This means that they have trust in me and they do not feel intimidated when they are with me. Any possible unequal power relations which therefore may have existed were diffused. It was therefore convenient for me to conduct the study at this school.

3.3.4 Sampling

Sampling is about precisely stating the population on which the study will focus (Cohen, et al, 2011). This means that sampling is about choosing a group of people who will represent a bigger population for a purpose of a study. This is reiterated by Nieuwenhuis (2007) when describing sampling as the procedure utilised to select part of the population for the purposes of a study. To be able to obtain the required data, it is therefore important to select the right participants to answer the research questions.

This study adopted a purposive sampling approach. According to Struwig and Stead (2013), such sampling assists the researcher to select participants who will provide rich data in answering the research questions. Purposive sampling allows a researcher to choose the participants that she/he wants to study, when considering specific criteria (Tongco, 2007). This is similar to Babbie's (2010) opinion that purposive sampling should be employed to select participants with certain characteristics. The use of this type of sampling increases the usefulness of information gathered from the participants (Creswell, 2007). For this study, I looked for any boys who indicated interest, including those who had been involved in school violence and those who had not. The study did not necessarily seek boys who were directly involved in violence – but some of them may have witnessed violence, been victims of violence, perpetrated violence or simply exercised their agency in defending themselves.

The main aim was to help the researcher to gain deeper insight into how boys perceive, understand and experience violence. The participants were taken from two classes, one from grade 9 and the other from grade 12. These grades represented junior (grade 9) and senior (grade 12) boys, with the aim of obtaining different understandings, perceptions and experiences from different age groups. Thirty-five boys filled in the questionnaires and 20 out of those who responded were selected to partake in individual interviews. The researcher distributed informed letters of consent to parents and informed letters of assent to the boys. Those who were interested in participating in the study had the letters signed and returned.

Having this group of learners as participants in the study was influenced by the fact that they had been at the school for about two or more years and therefore had some exposure to the types of violence occurring during school life. The assumption is that boys are more often involved in risky and violent behaviours and this is related to their construction of masculinities. The study attempted to establish how junior and senior grades may or may not be affected by their constructions of masculinity, in relation to violence.

3.3.5 Data Collection

A researcher decides on the method(s) relevant to collecting data, when considering the purpose of the study (Kumar, 2005). Furthermore, data collection is determined by the research questions and design. According to Kumar (2005), data can be collected using different methods:

questionnaires, observation, interviews and document analysis. Since this study is confined to one school, the conclusions will not be generalized to other schools. The methods of data collection for this study are observation, open-ended questionnaires and semi-structured, open-ended interviews.

3.3.5.1 Questionnaire

A questionnaire was employed as a means of collecting information from a wider sample than can be reached by personal interviews (Creswell, 2007). According to Nieuwenhuis (2007), unstructured questionnaires make it possible to obtain richer feedback that may offer insight into explanations for occurrences and participants' opinions, attitudes, feelings and perceptions. Questionnaires have strengths and limitations, and one of their strengths is that they can be used to collect data quickly. On the other hand, questions could be interpreted differently by the respondents (Nieuwenhuis, 2007). A questionnaire is a practical tool to collect information that can be quantified (Rooth, 2005). Below is the table of the learners who participated in completing a questionnaire.

Table 2:

Name of Learner	Grade
1.Kwanele	9
2.Amahle	9
3.Sipho	9
4.Thobani	9
5.Ziphozethu	9
6.Lungelo	9
7.Mawande	9
8.Nkosie	9
9.Thulani	9
10.Themba	9
11.Luthando	9
12. Yamile	9
13. Kwazi	9

14. Khaphela	9
15. Lusizo	9
16. Luvuyo	9
17. Sduduzo	9
18. Phila	9
19.Nkululeko	12
20.Smanga	12
21.Sbonelo	12
22.Owethu	12
23.Nhlonipho	12
24.Menzi	12
25.Siphiwe	12
26.Nsika	12
27.Lwandle	12
28.Sonwabo	12
29.Mzwakhe	12
30.Ntando	12
31.Lubabalo	12
32.Mlungisi	12
33.Mthobisi	12
34.Thandizwe	12
35.Muzi	12

The questionnaires were completed by all of the boys from the two classes, that is 40 learners, but five of them were absent from school and 35 participated. Seventeen boys in the grade nine class and 18 in the grade 12 class participated, which made a total of 35 respondents. The questionnaires included closed and open-ended questions. The latter allowed the respondents to provide more details about the construction of masculinities and the reasons for engaging in violent behaviours. In other words, open-ended questions allowed the participants to express their opinions in their own words (Silverman, 2010). The two classes with the boys who were to complete the questionnaire were classes that I taught.

Questionnaires were administered and completed by me, and I had a total of 20 individuals for the interviews. I developed the questionnaire according to the objectives of the study and on the basis of the literature review. They were administered to the two classes of 35 boys and a high response rate was anticipated. I went through the questionnaire with them. An arrangement was made with another teacher to supervise the girls while I was working with the boys. When the questionnaires were completed, I selected 20 boys in total to participate further in individual interviews. I chose them on the basis of their responses, either as victims, perpetrators or simply where they appeared to offer much information in terms of violence. It was also on a voluntary basis. I selected, using the questionnaires, 10 learners from grade 9 and 10 from grade 12. The grade nine boys were still adapting to high school, while the grade 12 boys were well established at the school. The study aimed to establish how being in either junior or senior grades might or might not affect the ways in which boys responded to violence, by becoming victims, perpetrators, or resisters and how these responses differed or were similar. More than that, it was important to establish how their constructions of masculinity were related to violent behavior.

I utilised one of the flexi periods for each class, as the learners would have been in a relaxed state. The use of questionnaires was intended to protect participants from being intimidated by others. Learners were asked to fill in the questionnaires after permission had been granted by the principal, parents and participants. The questionnaires were in isiZulu, the pupils' first language, so that they would understand the questions better and be able to answer more in depth. Questionnaires were completed in my presence, so that I could ensure that the participants understood the questions. I was hopeful that they would be as honest as possible. They completed the questionnaires in the 45-minute period. Learners wrote their names on that questionnaires that I administered for the

purpose of being selected for individual interviews. After these were completed, they were collected for the purpose of compiling data. Even though the boys had written their names on the questionnaires, I was the only person privy to the questionnaires and the information that they contained. This strategy afforded each learner the opportunity to provide responses to the questions in a safe and confidential manner.

I collated the numerical data, which is presented in table form. The completed questionnaires were collected for the purpose of compiling responses and translated into English for data analysis. I made every effort to present the participants' words as accurately as possible, as I am aware that there are expressions in IsiZulu that cannot be captured in English. Where necessary, isiZulu is presented verbatim. Questionnaires are a common tool to collect quantitative data and this one was used to report narrated data, in conjunction with interview data. It further allowed each learner to provide feedback on their experiences (Nieuwenhuis, 2007), since not all participants would be participating in the interviews. Relevant responses from the questionnaires were utilised in approaching boys for further interviews. These were used to obtain a better understanding of research problems and were an additional approach employed in the study. The interviews will explain in detail the results gathered through the questionnaire (Creswell, 2014).

3.3.5.2 Observation

Observation takes place when a researcher watches and listens to interactions as they occur (Kumar, 2005). Observation is utilised to study activities undertaken by participants in a social setting (Struwing & Stead, 2013). It is another appropriate means to collect data, which affords a researcher the opportunity to see, hear and understand reality as perceived by the participants (Nieuwenhuis, 2007), and to understand the reasons behind their behaviour. Kumar (2005) divides observation into participant observation and non-participant observation. Participant refers to the researcher being part of the activities taking place, whereas non-participant refers to the researcher not taking part, but just watching (Kumar, 2005; Marshall & Rossman, 2006).

For this study, non-participant observation was employed in collecting data, as it promoted objectivity (Caldwell & Atwal, 2005). As a teacher working at the study site, I observed learners on a regular basis. During break time, I walked around the school and watched the learners interacting with each other. I observed their behaviour as they followed their daily routines, such

as when they played, went to the toilets and had lunch. I mainly focused on how boys related to each other, girls and their peers. I was thus able to understand how they interacted with each other in their natural setting and I gathered an overview of their interactions with each other in relation to gender.

Further, this observation allowed me to gain a complete understanding and confirmation of what was later shared by participants during individual interviews (Kumar, 2005).

3.3.5.3 Individual Interviews

According to Cohen, et al., (2011), an interview is a two-way discussion that is pioneered by the researcher in order to gather relevant information on the research conducted. The scholars Brinkmann and Kvale (2014), however, define an interview as “a conversation that has a structure and purpose”. Semi-structured individual interviews involve direct interaction between the interviewee and the interviewer, and an interview is the fastest and most effective form of collecting data. The qualitative research interview allows a researcher to probe deeper for information from the participant (Marshall & Rossman, 2006) and this approach was employed to help the researcher gain much deeper insight and data into the participants’ understandings and experiences of violence, and to understand how constructions of masculinity, that is, the hierarchy of masculinities (hegemonic and subordinate or complicit) play themselves out at this school. The table below provides biographical information on the 20 male participants who were interviewed. All of their names are pseudonyms, in order to ensure the anonymity of the learners.

Table 3:

Name of Learner	Age
1.Luthando	15
2. Yamile	15
3. Kwazi	16
4. Khaphela	15
5. Lusizo	15
6. Luvuyo	15
7. Sduduzo	19

8. Phila	20
9. Menzi	18
10.Siphiwe	17
11.Nsika	20
12.Lwandle	19
13.Sonwabo	19
14.Mzwakhe	20
15.Ntando	20
16.Lubabalo	20
17.Mlungisi	19
18.Mthobisi	17
19.Thandizwe	20
20.Muzi	21

The school has one-hour study sessions in the mornings and afternoons, and the interviews were conducted during these times. Individual interview sessions took 45 to 50 minutes, either during the morning or afternoon session, and were conducted in my office. The individual interviews promoted a deeper understanding of the responses given by the participants. Interviews afforded them an opportunity to share their experiences freely without being over-powered, intimidated or threatened by the others. The individual interviews were captured using an audio recorder, with the permission of the learners. They promoted a deeper understanding for the researcher of the responses given by the participants. Interviews also afforded the participants an opportunity to share their experiences freely without being overpowered, intimidated or threatened by the others. The process allowed them to express their personal experiences, beliefs and opinions without feeling intimidated (Cohen, et al, 2011). The semi-structured interviews allowed flexibility as the researcher was guided by the participants' responses, which normally determined the direction of the interview (Babbie, 2010). Other data, based on what was being done by the school to reduce violence, was collected from the school records kept by the principal. I also asked the learners if they felt that the school was doing anything to reduce violence and they would be given an

opportunity to explain their thoughts. The interviews also allowed me to gather individual, personal interpretations and answers from participants. Questionnaires and interviews were used to complement and enrich each other.

3.3.6 Data Analysis

Data analysis of this study comprised the transcribing, coding and categorising of data obtained through audio-recordings and a questionnaire. The scholars Marshall and Rossman (2006) define data analysis as a means of making general statements about the distinct themes and relationships revealed by the data. In other words, data analysis is a means to find solutions to research questions. The collected data was analysed by employing a mixed-methods approach. Data was collected and analysed separately and two sets of findings were gathered and combined. The findings were combined so as to gain a more complete picture on the study. One type of data was transformed into another type and the combined data was then analysed (Creswell, 2014). A study by Creswell, Plano Clark, Gutman and Hanson (2007), also determined that in a mixed-methods approach, data integration is central to data analysis. Further, Mouton (2002) highlights that data analysis and interpretation is aimed at making a connection between a research problem and the collected data. In analysing the data, the theories of masculinities and gender power were used as an analytical lens. I categorised the data collected through the questionnaire into distinct categories. This was summarised by determining how many times a category occurred and this was integrated with the interview data. The information was then presented through a frequency table, illustrating their ages, how many participants were exposed to violence, were victims (bullied) or perpetrators and the most common in violent behaviours.

Transcriptions assist in ensuring that important information and an accurate record of the interviews are correctly captured (Cohen, et al, 2011). I personally translated and transcribed each of the interviews. The interviews were conducted in isiZulu and I translated and transcribed them into English. Translation is an interpretive act and that means meaning may get lost in the translation process and validity might be threatened (van Nes, Abma, Jonsson & Deeg, 2010). The interviews were conducted in IsiZulu so as to be able to capture the rich information as the participants expressed themselves in their own native language. The translation process was time-consuming and I tried to ensure that the meaning of the data collected was not misinterpreted. Translations were done verbatim and IsiZulu words that were not easy to be translated in English

were included verbatim in the data. The data were open-coded, which means the data was broken down into smaller units, examined, compared, conceptualised and categorised (Cohen, et al, 2011). Through coding of the data, I was able to identify similar information and to trace data with items with similar codes. After coding, analysis according to themes that emerged from the data was conducted. Both qualitative and quantitative data were reviewed separately and thereafter integrated. Integration allowed me to draw comprehensive conclusions from the study.

3.3.7 Ethical Issues

Ethics is the most important consideration when planning to conduct research among human participants. The researcher ensures that ethical issues are identified and addressed in the most appropriate manner. According to Kumar (2005), ethics is defined as behaviour that is considered as proper and does not cause any harm to anyone. Before collecting data, ethical clearance was sought from and granted by the University of KwaZulu-Natal Research Ethics Committee, which afforded me permission to do the study (see Appendix 5). I then approached the principal of the school, who also granted permission for the research to be conducted at the institution. Thereafter, I approached the learners who were prospective participants, explained the study and gave them informed consent and assent letters for both their parents and themselves to sign. The letters to the parents were written in isiZulu, in order to accommodate parents who did not understand English and to ensure that they made informed decisions regarding their consent.

The volunteers were assured that the information they provided would remain confidential and they were informed about their right to withdraw from the study at any point if they no longer wanted to participate. They also had the right not to answer any questions. The participants were also informed that should intervention be required; they would be assisted by a counsellor. Regarding the issue of anonymity, they were assured that their names and that of the school would not be disclosed. In addition, they were told that their real names would only appear on the consent forms and not in the study, which would give them pseudonyms. According to Cohen, et al, (2011), anonymity is the evidence provided by the researcher to the participants that their real identities will not be disclosed. Confidentiality was maintained at all times and was also emphasised in the consenting process and throughout the study.

3.3.8 Rigour

In order to achieve rigour, the researcher examined the credibility, dependability and trustworthiness of the study (White, Oelke & Friesen, 2012). For it to be credible, the researcher read the transcriptions to the participants to confirm and verify whether they were a true version and reflection of what they had said or meant. To ensure dependability, this researcher documented the boys' real-life experiences, personal anecdotes and observations.

3.3.9 Limitations

All studies have limitations and every researcher is confronted by problems that may affect the quality of the findings (Nieuwenhuis, 2007; Marshall and Rossman, 2006). The school is undergoing renovations and the learners are grouped and then moved to unaffected classrooms, which affects the timetable. This sometimes caused difficulty for me to meet with the participants as planned, according to the schedule that I had drawn up for the interviews. However, I managed to work around the participants' availability. The writing of examinations also affected the interview process, because some of the participants would not attend school if they no exams and, after they had finished writing, they would return home. The exams caused a break in my research, but I continued with it when the school re-opened after the holidays. The other limitation was that my office was next to the kitchen and while the interviews were being conducted, the cooks talked loudly, sang and laughed, which thus interfered with the audio-recording. I overcame this by drawing the boys closer to me and ensuring the Dictaphone was turned on loud. I also asked the boys to speak louder at times.

3.3.10 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the research design and methodology that was employed for this study. Both qualitative and quantitative methodologies were utilised to collect and analyse data for this research. The purposive sampling method was used to select the participants. The research site was described. Data was collected by means of questionnaires and individual interviews. The chapter concluded by highlighting the issues of ethical considerations and the study's limitations. Analysis of the data collected for this study will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

The research methodology and design employed for this study were discussed in the previous chapter. This chapter presents an analysis of the data collected, which was generated through semi-structured, open-ended, individual interviews and questionnaires. The data collected through the questionnaire was analysed according to the questions asked and the responses given. Each question had responses from all 35 participants. The interviews were recorded in isiZulu and transcribed verbatim, before being translated into English. Thematic analysis was undertaken to identify themes in terms of how they addressed the research questions (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Below is the table that provides the biography of the participants in this study. All of the names are pseudonyms, in order to ensure the anonymity of learners.

Table 4

Name	Age	Family structure	Home environment
1. Luthando	15	Stays with an aunt whom he calls mother because his biological mother died. He also stays with his uncle. His biological father stays in Johannesburg and had never played a parental role in his life.	There is peace at home.
2. Yamile	15	Stays with both parents and his three siblings.	It is a peaceful home.
3. Kwazi	16	Stays with his mother, a stepfather and four siblings. His mother and biological father separated when he was still young and they were not married. His father is unemployed and the stepfather is good-hearted and takes good care of the family.	It is a loving family.

4. Khaphela	15	Stays with the aunt and his father. His mother stays at the farm.	They have good relationships.
5. Lusizo	15	Stays with both parents and three siblings.	There is peace at home.
6. Luvuyo	15	Stays with an aunt who is his mother's sister, his sister and brother, and two cousins who are sisters. Both parents have died.	They do not relate well at home. He is ill-treated by the aunt and a cousin.
7. Sduduzo	19	Stays with his mother, younger brother, uncle's wife and her children. They stay in the same yard, but in separate houses.	They go to sleep without food at times and the aunt refuses to help when they ask for it. The mother and the aunt argue most of the time, which creates animosity and tension in the home.
8. Phila	20	Lives with his mother and a stepfather.	There is good communication and peace at home.
9. Menzi	18	Stays with his mother and uncle. He has four siblings. His father died in 2007. He was drunk and was injured badly in a fall, which resulted in his death. His mother is not educated and works as a domestic worker.	Life is not easy at home, as the mother does domestic work. There is also tension and misunderstanding between his two brothers. It is a religious home.
10. Sphiwe	17	Lives with both parents and four siblings.	They relate well as a family. Both parents are very supportive of each other and to their children. His mother is a good role model and likes to see them happy.

11. Nsika	20	Stays with his mother and two siblings; one is still a very young child and the other is deaf and dumb.	It is a good family and there is peace.
12. Lwandle	19	Stays with an aunt who is his mother's sister and two siblings. His mother died.	It is a peaceful home.
13. Sonwabo	19	Stays with both parents and younger sisters.	There is peace at home and he has never seen his parents fighting.
14. Mzwakhe	20	Stays with an aunt, his sister and cousins.	There is peace and his home is used as a worshipping place (church) for Zionists.
15. Ntando	20	Stays with his mother and five siblings. His father left them and he lives with another woman.	It is now a peaceful home. They used to have fights when they were still living with their father. When their father was drunk, he used to beat their mother.
16. Lubabalo	20	Stays with both parents and three siblings.	It is not completely peaceful, because his sister and brother tend to fight with each other.
17. Mlungisi	19	Stays with his mother, grandmother and brothers. During the week, his mother stays at work. She leaves home on Tuesday and comes back on Saturday. His aunt and cousins stay not far from where they live.	There is peace in the home, but what happens in his aunt's house does not make them happy. His cousin is always causing trouble and the police are always after him.
18. Mthobisi	17	Stays with his mother and younger brother.	There is peace at home.

19. Thandizwe	20	Stays alone. He is an orphan. His sister lives with her husband.	He sometimes feels lonely and wishes that his mother was still alive to give him guidance and blame/discipline him when he had done something wrong. He befriends older people, who advise him on different things.
20. Muzi	21	Lives with his mother and sister.	His mother and sister used to argue.

Gaining information about these boys' family backgrounds and the surrounding community provides a glimpse into their lives outside of school and possibly the impact that violence has on them and how it is reproduced in school. Family structure and background have either a positive or negative influence on the behaviour of some of the children (Barthassat, 2014). Problematic backgrounds do not necessarily mean a problematic learner and a good home does not mean a good learner. Scholars believe that violence observed in schools is influenced by family and the school community (Burton & Leoschut, 2013; Harber, 2001). In other words, children become familiar with violence as they are socialised into it during their childhoods and are conditioned into accepting coercion, harassment and violence as being normal (Marinova, 2003); they may thus display hegemonic masculinities towards against each other during early schooling (Bhana, 2005).

Connell's (1995; 2005) theory of multiple masculinities was employed in order to analyse the findings in the data. It was used as an analytical tool to discuss the data that is supported and/or refuted by previous research in the field of masculinities among school boys. The study focuses on power relations and constructions of masculinities, as described in the literature review chapter. Men are regarded as brave, strong and powerful in most of their social encounters at home, work and in public places (Morrell, et al, 2012). Boys exercise power over girls (Bhana 2012), as they are influenced by the patriarchal nature of society, which encourages men to use power against women and dominate them. The categories of masculinities offered by Connell (1995), but not exclusively, and used as an analytical tool are: hegemonic, subordinate, complicit and marginal.

Analysis was achieved thematically using the data generated from interviews and questionnaires. Thematic analysis as a method of analysing data was employed to organise and describe data in detail (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The following themes that emerged from the data were analysed and interpreted, and formed the basis for discussion in this chapter:

- Boys' perception of violence;
- Community and home violence;
- Forms of violence;
- Corporal punishment;
- Constructions of masculinity and gender based violence;
- Violent spaces;
- Homophobia; and
- Suggestions on how to combat school violence.

4.2 Boys' perception of violence

Violence in schools is an obstacle to children and young people's fundamental right to a quality education. The data highlights that violence manifests in different ways and boys engage in violence for different reasons. Violence has become of great concern in South African schools in particular and is not a new social problem (Mgijima, 2014). According to Parkes (2007), it is interpreted in different ways, depending on the participants' encounters. Boys provoke and cause conflict as a means of asserting dominant masculinities at school (Hamlall & Morrell, 2012).

In this study, a qualitative and interpretivist research design was employed to gain more understanding of the research problem. It was used to gather rich, in-depth data. In addition, a questionnaire was utilised to gather data, suggesting a mixed-method data collection technique. Combining qualitative and quantitative approaches provides a better understanding of research problems than using one approach, either qualitative or quantitative (Creswell, 2009, 2014). Below are the responses of the participants, displaying their understanding of violence.

See Appendix (1a) for questionnaire.

Table 5: A table depicting the participants’ understanding of violence:

Know	Partially/ not	Total
29	6	35

Out of 35 participants, 29 revealed an understanding of violence and the remaining six stated that they were not sure. This meant that 29 had a perception of violence and 17 did not have a clear understanding. Participants perceive violence as fighting, vicious acts, aggression, inflicting pain, causing injury, hitting others, abuse and being deprived what belongs to you. The concept of violence is defined by the World Health Organisation (2002) as “the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against a group or community, which either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, mal development or deprivation” (WHO, 2002).

4.2.1 What is violence? Participant perceptions, understandings

Sundaram (2013) points out that violence manifests through screaming, verbal abuse, jealousy, pushing, arguments and name-calling. In the individual interviews, I asked the participants what they understood about violence and their responses were as follows:

R: *What do you understand about violence?*

Luthando: *I understand violence as what is done by people, like abusing others, for example parents abusing children who are not theirs biologically, forcing them to do things and letting their own children do nothing, and in school, older learners sending young learners to the shop and if they refuse, beating them. They also take their homework and copy it or they demand that they do it for them.*

Yamile: *Violence is when learners fight among themselves.*

Khaphela: *It is when people fight over a minor thing and they get injured*

Phila: *It is to harass someone, cause pain and stop taking your responsibilities, beating others for no reason, speaking ill of someone and undermining others.*

Lubabalo: *I understand violence as being what happens when a person troubles you and threatens you that when you report him, he will beat you up. These are things I personally experienced when I was still new in the school.*

Mthobisi: *Violence is about a person who does whatever he/she likes, anytime he/she wants, e.g. inflicting pain on others and making others cry.*

Different understandings emanated from the data from participants regarding violence. The above responses illustrate the participants' understandings of violence as acts of aggression, fighting, harassment, inflicting pain, beating and causing injury, and verbal abuse. Some participants view violence as taking place at school, while others mention incidences that occurred in the home among families. Luthando refers to the abuse inflicted on children by their guardians. It can be concluded that these boys' understandings of violent acts reinforce and are reinforced by hegemonic forms of masculinities (Swain, 2000), whereby dominance appears to be the driving force behind violent behaviours. An analysis of qualitative and quantitative data illustrates that the two approaches complement each other.

R: *Have you ever been violent at school? Explain.*

Nsika: *There was a boy with whom we did not see eye to eye and the boys who stay in my neighbourhood said we will have to wait for that boy outside school because if we fight here at school, we will be expelled. Another boy intervened and we made peace without fighting.*

The above response demonstrates that despite the anticipation of violence taking place after school, peaceful solutions were embraced with the intervention of another boy. This extract is an indication that not all boys are violent and some are more peaceable, as illustrated in Anderson (2010). Hamlall (2013) points out that some boys believe that if they do not fight back or engage in violence, they are still respected, even if they are called derogatory names. Nsika's friend demonstrated that they did not have to show a need to be accepted and to aspire to a hegemonic form of masculinity that existed at their school. Nsika's friend demonstrated that his friends could choose to respond violently or exercise peace when provoked. This assertion resonates with Anderson (2009), who posits that an individual chooses to either be violent or peaceable.

4.3 Community and home violence: (Re) production of violence in school

In some communities, violence is understood as a normal way to resolve conflict, especially with gangs who use violence to exercise power over others (Parkes, 2007). Boys in schools tend to imitate and exercise the violent behavior that they witness in adult males (SACE, 2011). SACE (2011) further states that children in South Africa are exposed to violence and mismanagement within families. This means that there is a relationship between family violence and school. Two studies – by Burton and Leoschut (2013) and Dunne (2007) – highlight that the violence that takes place in school is influenced by risk factors that occur both within the family and community. This is further reiterated by Bhana (2005), when she mentioned that boys construct masculinities from the early stages of their growth, as they are influenced by their families and the environment they find themselves in.

Table 6

Violent Environment			Peaceful Environment
Community	Home	No response	Community/ Home
9	5	1	20

The above table presents the home and community environments that the study participants come from. Most of the boys come from homes where there is no violence and are from peaceful communities. From what is presented in the table, it can be seen that not all learners are exposed to violence in their homes and communities; some of those who are may become violent, yet others who are raised in peaceful environments may not necessarily be non-violent. It is common knowledge that schools and communities do not exist in isolation of each other. What happens in communities is often reproduced in schools (Harber, 2001) and gang violence often spills over into schools.

R: *What is the situation like in your home? Is it peaceful or there is violence? Explain.*

Luvuyo: *It is not a good situation. We don't live well with each other.*

R: *Does it mean that there is no peace at home?*

Luvuyo: *Yes.*

R: *What causes this bad situation?*

Luvuyo: *My mother, the one we stay with, started by chasing away my brother when he was still schooling. My brother started to do part-time jobs so as to be able to buy things that were needed at school till he passed matric. My sister too passed matric and it is now myself. It is the three of us from my biological mother. My aunt has two girls. It was 2 February, 2015, when I left food in the fridge and forgot to eat it till it went off. My mother (aunt) forced me to eat it and I had no choice because she is an adult. There are many things that are happening, like I get delayed in the morning and I get a hiding at school for late-coming. I wake up early at about five and I am not allowed to bath before her daughter, who is in grade 12 in another school. We will end up having a fight with this girl because she is the one who does not allow me to bath before her. When fighting with her, I will beat her and when she cries, her mother will take her side and I don't like that.*

Kwazi: *There is violence. We stay in tin houses which are joined together. So on Fridays and the weekends, most people get paid and get drunk. At night they start fighting and you can hear what is happening in the neighbourhood, there is no privacy because of the kind of houses we live in. They even stab each other.*

Sduduzo: *There are always arguments; there is no peace. They argue over minor things. For example, you will find that my uncle's wife will have a washing hanging on the line and her young children will play and break the pegs. My mother will also hang her washing and when my uncle's wife come to fetch hers, she will assume that my mother took her pegs, then the argument will start.*

R: *How do you feel about your home situation?*

Sduduzo: *I feel bad since I am still growing up. This is a situation I am not supposed to see. I would like to see my family happy and everything going smoothly.*

R: *Do you experience any form of violence in your community? Explain.*

Phila: *Yes, there was a burglary at home and before the burglary there was a caucus and they said my mother was a witch. She was taken to prison and when she was away they came to my home because I am the only boy and the eldest. This is what made me feel hurt and I don't want to go back to it because I was beaten and sustained injuries.*

R: *What forms of violence have you seen in your community?*

Phila: *There is a lot because a friend of mine was even killed for his money in front of me. If I remember well it was the 7th of July 2015 when my friend gave a boy a R10 note and sent him to the shop. On his way to the shop, this boy met a guy who had issues with my friend and he asked this boy whose money it was. When this guy learned that the money belonged to my friend, he took it. The boy came back and told my friend that the money was taken by that guy. Out of anger, my friend went there to fetch his money and this guy was swearing at him and threatened to shoot him and he then shot him dead. I did not take that well and my family took me to the psychologist.*

In the above responses, the participants revealed that violence is prevalent in their families/homes and communities. Luvuyo, who lives with extended family members after his mother passed away, feels vulnerable and is a victim of violence. There is a desire for peace in the home, which is not always possible and, as Sduduzo indicates, he has no control over what happens in his home. Kwazi knows that on Fridays, when people in his neighbourhood get drunk and stab each other, this may cause him to become traumatised. This is in contrast with Phila's experience, when his parents took him to a psychologist after he witnessed his friend being shot to death by a male whom he had issues with. A parent has to be emotionally and physically available and provide attention, comfort and encouragement in ways that a child will accept. The parents' intervention will help to prevent the onset of traumatic stress symptoms (Williamson, Creswell, Fearon, Hiller, Walker & Halligan, 2017) and Phila might not become violent in future, as his parents saw the need to seek psychological help for him. Violence and crime around school impact negatively on the functioning of the school, according to a study by Mncube and Harber (2013). They further stated that a child who grows up in an unstable family may become violent at school and/or after that. This is supported by Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Morrell & Dunkle (2011), when they pointed out that the environment and life situations that men found themselves in determined how they behaved.

R: *Do your parents or any family members fight?*

Phila: *Old as I am, I have never seen my parents fighting.*

Again, Phila comes from a family in which he has never seen his parents fighting, and this has resulted in him becoming a person who believes in peace, as noted in the discussion that we had.

4.4 Forms of violence in school

4.4.1 Bullying

Bullying is one of the causes of violent crime in schools (Nthathe, 2017). It is defined as “a subset of aggressive behaviour characterized by repetition and an imbalance of power” (Ringrose & Renold, 2010; Unesco, 2017). Bullying at school is constant aggressive behaviour that is meant to inflict pain on learners by their peers. Research conducted by Ncontsa and Shumba (2013) revealed that young learners, especially those in grades 8 and 9, were victims of bullying. They found it difficult to defend themselves against bullies because they were young, physically weak and vulnerable. Victims of bullying tended to demonstrate their inability to participate and concentrate at school and in class activities. They feared going to school, missing classes and sometimes dropped out of school (Unesco, 2017). Bullying behaviours can manifest in the form of hitting, kicking, destruction of property, teasing, name-calling, nicknames, insults, theft, threats, the spreading of rumours and social exclusion (Unesco, 2017). The table below reveals that bullying is the most common form of violence that occurs at the school. Twenty-two participants had been bullied, while five had never been bullied. This suggests that bullying is rife at the school.

Table 7

Bullied	Never Bullied	No response
22	5	8

Participants who were bullied mentioned that older boys made them dance or polish their shoes if they had mistakenly stepped on their shoes. Bullies take their food and money.

R: *Have you ever been bullied? If so, explain.*

Menzi: *I think that having your money taken without your consent is bullying. When I was in grade 9, there was a group of boys who were taking money from most of the learners and they also took mine.*

R: *Have you ever seen others bullied?*

Menzi: *I have seen others being bullied, especially in the toilets, where they take money from other learners.*

R: *Who bullies them?*

Menzi: *They are bullied by learners who are in the higher grades, grades 11 and 12.*

Bullying manifests as aggression in the form of physical, verbal and emotional abuse. In the above extracts, it is clear that older boys often bully younger boys where they forcefully take their money and lunch. According to Mayeza and Bhana (2017), such a practice is mostly experienced in township schools. The participants in this study are aware of what it feels like to be bullied and they pity others who are treated in this manner, but they cannot help them as they get into trouble with the perpetrators of violence. Other boys befriend the bullies in order to be protected from being bullied. The victims do not report being bullied, because they fear that they will experience more bullying outside school and be called names. Wardman (2016) highlighted that many boys had the tendency not to report the perpetrators of violence to teachers, as they wanted to avoid being called names. Boys were conditioned to accept that when they were new at the school, they had to be bullied, as it was a form of initiation.

Sphiwe: *They are bullied by the boys who take drugs like dagga and when they have smoked, they feel big and having power over the young boys. They take them for granted and abuse them emotionally. They also smoke cigarettes and take pills.*

On the other hand, occurrences of violent behaviour are reported to have been reduced because the school has installed surveillance cameras. The bullies fear that they will be captured by the cameras. The cameras serve as monitoring tools that cause incidences of bullying to be reduced.

R: *How do you feel when you see others bullied?*

Menzi: *I feel bad and sorry, and I find myself unable to help because I know the pain that they go through.*

R: *Who do you think are most bullied? Why?*

Menzi: *The grade 8 and 9 learners. Most of the boys in grade 10 begin to smoke and become closer to the troublesome boys so that they become protected and they want to feel having power over others. Boys in other grades who are quiet are also victims of bullying.*

Sphiwe: *The learners in the lower grades and those who are doing well in their studies. They envy them and say they are boring.*

In the above discussion, young boys are mostly the victims of bullying. The older boys are displaying their hegemonic masculinity by subordinating young boys and others who are quiet. Hegemonic masculinity is always identified with heterosexuality (Connell, 2005). Both the quantitative and qualitative data stress that incidences of bullying at the school are high, as 82% of the boys had experienced it.

R: *How did they react (the bullied)?*

Sphiwe: *They feel unhappy to be at school. We are here to learn and make our dreams come true.*

R: *How do you feel when you see others bullied?*

Sphiwe: *I don't feel good because we all have to be united and fight against violence that takes place in school. When a person comes to school, he/she has a vision to change their family background and make it better and when that does not happen, a person becomes disappointed.*

Despite the huge issue of endemic bullying occurring at the school, it is heart-warming to have boys like Sphiwe, who do not approve of it and who want peace and for everyone to be given a chance to pursue their studies in an environment that is conducive to learning.

R: *What about boys in higher grades and boys in lower grades? Is there bullying among them? Explain.*

Lwandle: *The old boys have started to behave and they don't bully the young ones anymore, ever since we had a new principal. They are afraid that they will be expelled from school if they are reported or found to be bullying others.*

The participants see incidences of bullying and violence as having been reduced at the school, due to the fact that the principal is strict. The principal, as the authority figure, is exercising his power,

which leads to a reduced number of learners misbehaving. The older boys are now warier of bullying others due to the consequences.

4.5 Corporal punishment

Corporal punishment, despite being abolished in 1996, according to the South African Schools Act (1996), continues to be administered by teachers (Makhasane & Chikoko, 2016; SACE 2011). The community members, teachers, SACE and the Department of Education differ as to how they view or perceive corporal punishment. In the study conducted by Makhasane and Chikoko (2016), it was either viewed as an acceptable, tried and tested disciplinary measure, or as a form of violence and thus a thing of the past. Corporal punishment is defined as the deliberate infliction of physical force with the aim of causing pain and not injury (Mncube & Harber, 2013). It is applied as a physical force to inflict pain and discomfort. Section 10 (1) of the South African Schools Act states that no person may administer corporal punishment at a school, against a learner. Despite its abolition in this Act, corporal punishment remains a reality at some schools. Banning corporal punishment has never stopped teachers from using it. It is indeed a cause of concern to have teachers instituting corporal punishment, as this makes them perpetrators of violence, while they are expected to be exercising authority against violence (Francis & Mills, 2012).

R: *When teachers administer corporal punishment, how do you take it?*

Menzi: *I don't have a problem with teachers instituting corporal punishment, but there are situations where a teacher beats a learner harshly, like a donkey, and you feel sorry for the victim. There are instances where you feel like you are punished as a learner and a situation where you feel you are punished like an adult.*

R: *How are learners who engage in violent behaviour punished in school?*

Menzi: *There had been times where when you reported a perpetrator to the teacher, you found that the teacher also feared that perpetrator and there would be no action taken against the culprit, and the parents would not be called to school. The teacher would simply say the matter must be discussed and you must forgive each other because he/she fears that they may wait for him/her outside the school gates.*

R: *How are learners who engage in violent behaviour punished at school?*

Lwandle: *They are expelled from school or suspended for at least three weeks, or allowed to only come back to write examinations. They are also given a hiding.*

R: *How do you feel about the punishment given?*

Lwandle: *It is right because a person deserves it since he has done something wrong or has acted against the school rules.*

R: *Does punishment reduce the occurrences of violent acts? If it does not work, what do you suggest?*

Lwandle: *The situation is not like it was previously; the punishment is working. In 2016, the rate of violence was very high. Learners were fighting over minor issues and there were gang fights.* Menzi and Lwandle believe that corporal punishment is a normal practice and is working, as the occurrences of violent acts have been reduced. In the above responses, one can learn that corporal punishment is inflicted at the school as a way of maintaining and correcting unacceptable behaviour. According to Morrell (2001), corporal punishment is used by teachers to exercise power and authority, as they feel they have no other way of disciplining learners. The teachers and the principal believe that even though corporal punishment has been abolished, it is still a useful tool in curbing violence at the school. However, contrary to this, Menzi describes a situation in which a teacher cannot institute corporal punishment because he fears for his safety and his life. This suggests that such punishment is an illegal act instituted by teachers that in turn perpetuates violence. In the light of corporal punishment being administered, other boys fail to distinguish between other learners and teachers. This is demonstrated in the extract below.

R: *Are only boys violent? Girls? Teachers? Talk about it.*

Thandizwe: *Girls, too, are violent. Teachers are also violent, especially the males. I had an incidence where I nearly fought with one of the teachers who grabbed me in front of the other learners and I was angry and I also grabbed him. I lost it and forgot that he was a teacher.*

Thandizwe grabbed the teacher by his collar when the teacher was disciplining him in class, as Thandizwe saw corporal punishment as an attack on his masculinity. He wanted to save face among his peers, so he attacked the teacher (Anderson, 2009) in order to protect his dignity. In a recent incident, in Zeerust, North West province, a 17-year-old boy stabbed a teacher to death in

front of other learners for reprimanding him the previous day. Thandizwe said he “lost it” and forgot that the man was a teacher. In this instance, the teacher was exercising power, but Thandizwe resisted it and attempted to redeem himself by being violent. Power is usually resisted by the victims and they employ various means to protect themselves, including retaliating with violence (Parkes, 2007). This demonstrates how corporal punishment can exacerbate violence. It is therefore imperative to acknowledge that violence begets violence.

R: *How are learners who engage in violent behaviour punished at school?*

Lubabalo: *When I first came to the school, learners were given corporal punishment, but since such punishment has been abolished, the principal simply expels a learner who has been found to be violent in the school.*

R: *How do you feel about the punishment given?*

Lubabalo: *I think this is the right punishment. If a person has been given a corporal punishment, he will pay revenge on the person who reported him. When a person is expelled from school, it keeps him thinking (about) and regretting (what he has done) when he is alone at home.*

R: *Does punishment reduce the occurrences of violent acts? If it does not work, what do you suggest?*

Lubabalo: *When I compare the present with the past, I can give it 70%. It has been reduced drastically. As boys, we are now able to maintain good relationships irrespective of the grade you are in. We are now able to talk without engaging in a fight. The people who were most violent are no longer at the school, because they were expelled by the principal.*

The above extract reveals that, due to the abolition of corporal punishment, the principal found expulsion to be an alternative way of reducing violent occurrences; in this way he rid the school of perpetrators of violence. They were told to bring their parents to school and if they failed to do so, they could not come back. This alternative form of punishment should be studied further and the correct procedures clarified in order that the rights of the perpetrators to education are not unnecessarily violated. In the South African Schools’ Act 24 of 2005, it is stated that only a head of department is allowed to expel a learner at a public school, after the matter had been discussed by the school governing body. Lubabalo views the expulsion of troublesome learners as the best

way to promote peace among the learners who remain at school, as they manage to maintain good relationships with each other.

4.6 Constructions of masculinity and gender-based violence

There is a high rate of gender violence in schools and the boys are portrayed as perpetrators of such violence against girls (Bhana, 2012; Parkes & Heslop, 2011). In addition, boys, girls and teachers are viewed as perpetrators of gender violence in schools (Bhana, 2008; Burton & Leoschut, 2013). Enactments of power and socially constructed values and beliefs result in gender-based violence occurring at schools. Violence is about power and it is gendered (Bhana, 2005). Violence is a multifaceted phenomenon that manifests in different forms.

4.6.1 Sexual Harassment

Sexual harassment is described as a behavior that includes gestures, touches, looks and words that are directed at girls, which may cause them to feel uncomfortable (Morojele, 2009). In the study conducted by Unicef (2006), it is revealed that sexual harassment that is directed at girls is rife worldwide.

R: *Explain in detail boy-on-girl violence and girl-on-boy violence.*

Luthando: *Boys usually threaten and instil fear in girls who do not want to fall in love with them. They demand them to love them and they touch them forcefully, and also touch their private parts. I haven't seen girl-on-boy violence.*

Boys often use sexual violence to demean and humiliate girls. This is reiterated by Chadwick (2010) when it is stated that boys use threats and intimidation to control and discipline girls. It is clear from the above extract that girls experience sexual harassment. Violent boys demand that the girls have intimate relationships with them and the boys touch their private parts. It can be noted that this is one way in which boys demonstrate their power as they view this inappropriate behaviour as being the norm. This clearly states that girls are vulnerable to sexual violence from boy learners. Boys who are violent towards girls are seen as being superior and this confirms their hegemonic masculinity. They are viewed as being boys with power and who are dominant at the school. Boys apply power over girls (Bhana, 2012), as they are influenced by the patriarchal nature of society, which promotes the dominance of men over women. Their masculinity is validated and

they feel gratified by these acts. However, some boys talk to girls politely and date them without being violent. In this context, they are seen as subordinate to the hegemonic, violent group (Connell, 2005, 1995; Morrell, 1998). Thus, a patriarchal society encourages hegemonic masculinity, which activates and normalises men's domination of women (Jewkes & Morrell, 2012).

4.6.2 Boy-on-boy violence

Boys in the school engage in violence for different reasons. They fight over minor issues and in some cases this escalates into violence. Older boys provoke or instil fear in younger boys. Gender violence emanates from unequal power relations, boys being the main perpetrators of violence against girls and other boys (Leach, Dunne & Salvi, 2014; Parkes & Connolly, 2013). The table below indicates that most boys are victims of violence. Twenty-five boys had the experience of being such victims, while two were perpetrators, four had neither been victims nor perpetrators, and four did not respond. This suggests that these boys are subordinates and they find themselves submitting to hegemonic behaviour. Having been victims, however, might cause them to be perpetrators in the future. The table below shows the number of boys who are victims and perpetrators of violence.

Table 8

Perpetrator	Victim	Neither	No response
2	25	4	4

The victims said they were slapped, insulted and provoked into fighting. The “Neither” group avoided fighting, which meant they opted for alternative masculinity. This group of boys preferred peace.

According to the extract below, some of the study participants felt pressured to demonstrate hegemonic masculinity by being defensive or fighting back when they were provoked. Thus, they engaged in violent acts in order to prove how brave, strong and powerful they were. Fighting is considered as a way of demonstrating power, strength and manhood. Power is resisted when these boys resist being bullied by retaliating against boys who think that they are superior. They state that they claim power back by fighting violent boys, who seek to make them subordinate. They

demonstrate their hegemonic masculinity by fighting back and gaining their own power. Those who decide not to fight are belittled and called cowards.

R: How do you defend yourself if you are a victim?

Sonwabo: In a situation whereby I have been hit by an older person, I apologize, even if I did not do anything wrong, because I don't like reporting the matter to other people who can take my side, as it can lead to a bad fight and it will be something that will not stop.

Earlier, one of the boys said that they reported the perpetrators so that they could be disciplined, however, Sonwabo said that doing so would merely perpetuate the violence. Sonwabo is displaying a peaceful form of masculinity. He even prefers to apologise when he has not done anything wrong, so that he can preserve his dignity. He chooses not to partake in violence, since being either violent or polite depends upon the individual (Anderson, 2009).

R: Have you personally experienced being a victim or perpetrator of violence at school?

Lubabalo: I was a victim, which I think caused me to fail a class. It was 2014, when I was doing grade 10; there were boys who were older than us who always wanted money from me because they said that I owed them and I had to pay them all the time they saw me. This started after a boy I used to sit with lost his bag (branded) and I was accused of stealing it. I was afraid of these boys and I started not to come to school. I would leave home and stay with people who were out of school. I did that for almost three months.

From the above responses, it can be deduced that older boys are powerful and have taken control, and that younger boys are weak and helpless. Hegemonic masculinities can be dangerous, as in the case of Sonwabo, who believes that he failed because he feared coming to school. Sonwabo resisted the power that was demonstrated by these boys by staying away from school. However, by doing so, he was succumbing to subordinate masculinity. Boys take advantage of being senior by abusing younger children at school (Unicef, 2010). When boys want to be seen as masculine, they tend to apply violence, so that they will not be viewed as weak. Subordinates are socially marginalised and, in this study, the older boys displayed strength and toughness and were constructed as hegemonic, and dominated the younger boys. This study revealed that older boys used power over younger boys through intimidation and violence.

Sonwabo: *If you do not fight back, others take you as someone who is a moron and a coward.*

Sonwabo and other participants believe in peace and the above extract presents Sonwabo as a person who is aware of the consequences of violence. He therefore refrains from it. In addition, Phila expressed regret after hitting a boy. He reflected upon his behaviour and realised that he had violated the rights of the other boy. Boys who do not engage in violent behavior and those who do not fight back, however, are called cowards and morons. This suggests that refraining from or resisting violence relates to an alternative masculinity. Sonwabo and a few other boys do not want to be accepted in the group that possesses hegemonic masculinity at their school, as they believe that if they don't retaliate or engage in violence, they are still afforded respect (Hamlall, 2013), although they may be called names. Other boys are pressurised into fighting back or engaging in violence, in order preserve their manhood (Bhana, 2005; Connell, 1995). Other boys escape being victimised by reporting to older brothers or relatives who are often feared by the perpetrators of violent acts. It is therefore deduced that boys engage in violence so as to enforce their dominance, maintain their reputations and acquire some form of social status, as explained by Anderson (2009).

4.6.3 Boy-on-boy bullying: “They take our belongings”.

Younger boys find themselves bullied for their money and their belongings, which may include cellphones, pens and lunch.

Sonwabo: *I have seen incidences of violence in the school, especially among boys. They will fight over a pen because some boys grew up knowing that you have to fight with other boys; they have to fight for what they want, or for their belongings. There are boys who believe that when another boy takes you for granted, beat him.*

It has been established in this study that there is high rate of drug use in the school. The vandalised school fence allows intruders to enter the grounds and do as they please to learners. The intruders intimidate and instil fear in them. They also steal the learners' belongings, after being tipped off by their friends at school. Therefore, it can be stated that the community is implicated in school violence, due to easy access to the school afforded by the broken fences.

4.7 Violent spaces

Schools are seen as having social spaces that promote interactions and physical spaces that allow violence to take place (Johnson, 2009). This is reiterated by McCarry (2010), who points out that school spaces are considered unsafe. In schools, there are sites where violence and crime take place (Bhana, 2012). These are areas in which children construct their identities, but such places are isolated due to little or no adult control being exercised there (Bhana, 2009; Human Rights Watch, 2001).

Table 9

Classrooms	Toilets	Other
5	24	6

The table above depicts the violent spaces in the school. The responses of the respondents in the table above concur with Abraham, Mathews and Ramela's (2006) study that reveals that toilets are constructed as dangerous spaces. Out of the 35 respondents, 24 identified that the toilets were the main sites of violence. In interpreting the above responses further, five identified classrooms and six other areas, such as passages and the tuck shop, as areas of violence.

R: Which are the most dangerous spaces in the school where violence occurs?

Lwandle: *The classes in the lower block we call "ezimayini" (the mines).*

R: Why?

Lwandle: *There is a broken fence behind these classes, which makes for easy access for outsiders, who are usually invited by learners in the school. They get into the classes through the window openings because there are neither burglar guards nor glass. These classes are held in an area that is not visible enough and the teachers are also not visible. The staffroom and the offices are far from this block.*

Sonwabo: *When entering the toilets, we used to pay, whether you liked it or not. Some boys used to beat their girlfriends if they had arguments or misunderstandings. I feel bad when a boy beats a girl, since a girl does not have the means to hit back. There are boys who carry knives to school, but they use them to threaten others. Others use them outside school.*

***Sonwabo:** In the toilets, boys smoke and it is known that teachers do not go there. When young boys enter the toilets, they are pushed in and stupid things are done to them, like making them take off their pants or pouring water over them. Also in the classes in the lower ground, learners normally find themselves on their own because teachers hardly go there. Other learners call their friends from outside to come and rob other learners of their phones and other belongings. Access into these classes is possible, because there is a vandalised fence next to them.*

The violent boys dominate the toilets with their hegemonic masculinity and prevent boys from entering them when they are in need.

***Mzwakhe:** It is mainly in the toilets. Older boys would want the younger boys to pay when getting in and failure to do so will cause a younger boy to be not allowed to use the toilet and if he is already in, he will be locked inside. Smoking causes boys to misbehave.*

The above extracts clearly show that the toilets are the main sites of violence. Young learners mostly feel unsafe when going there, because older boys, playing cards and smoking in the toilets, demand money from the younger boys when they want to make use of the facilities. Learners' toilets, especially boys' toilets, are often used for smoking and gambling, and this helps to support the high rate of drug abuse reported at the school. Mzwakhe believes that smoking causes the boys to misbehave and bully others. The victims are demeaned and embarrassed when they are made to take off their pants. Because the toilets and classes in the lower block, called "ezimayini" (the mines), are areas in which no monitoring takes place by the teachers and other adults at the school, this makes it easy for learners to become victims of violence and bullying. Stoudst (2006) highlights that violence commonly takes place in areas that are not monitored by people in authority. Scholars have pointed out that hallways, playgrounds, classrooms and toilets are areas where violence manifests (Human Rights Watch, 2001; Dunne, 2007; Bhana, 2012). As violence and bullying normally takes place during lunch time, teachers do not monitor the lower level classes, as they take a lunch break as well.

4.8 Homophobia

Violence in schools is mainly believed to be caused by homophobia (Wardman, 2016). Homophobic violence is common at South African schools and the safety and protection of every

learner is not enough (Bhana, 2014). Heterosexuality is regarded as the norm (Connell, 1985; Morrell, 1998) and homophobic violence targets learners who are, or perceived to be, lesbian, gay, bisexual or transgender. In this study, some of the boys demonstrate hegemonic heterosexual power, which is shown in the extracts below. Heterosexual boys gain power by marginalising other boys who they believe are not real men. This is reiterated by Msibi (2012), who points out that in South African townships and schools, the rights of lesbians, gays, transgender people and bisexuals are violated by heterosexuals. Boys whose gender expression is perceived as not fitting societal norms and expectations become targets. Gay masculinity is the common form of a subordinate masculinity (Anderson, 2009).

R: How do boys feel about homosexuality?

Lusizo: *They don't feel good (about it) and nor do I ... I don't like them (shaking his head). I prefer not to speak with them and if they pass by me, they must not touch me. I don't have a specific reason, but I don't like to be associated with them.* Hatred displayed by Lusizo towards homosexuals suggests that he had constructed a violent form of hegemonic masculinity and he marginalises those who he perceives as “not real men”.

R: How are same-sex attracted or effeminate boys treated by others at the school?

Lwandle: *They are treated badly and some are beaten. Those who are heterosexual believe that the homosexuals speak ill of them to the girls (whom they are proposing love to) because they are usually close to the girls. They are discriminated against and they are also called names (izitabane).*

In the above response, “izitabane” is widely used as a derogatory isiZulu word to demean, humiliate and intimidate boys who display effeminate traits or are perceived to be gay (Msibi, 2012; Bhana, 2014).

Lwandle: *I feel sorry for them because they do what is in them; they did not create themselves.*

Sonwabo: *They discriminate them and make them feel unacceptable and the homosexuals will then look for people who do not discriminate, who, in most cases, are girls. Homosexuals are never treated well; they are called names like isitabane [laughs] and criticised in every way.*

R: Are you homophobic? Explain.

Sonwabo: *I can say I don't have a problem with them, but I don't want to be closer to them because what if I am tempted to be like them? I don't hate them and I talk to them.*

Sonwabo wants to distance himself from the so-called gays because he feels as if being “gay” may be infectious. He points out that if he is close to them, he might behave like them. Boys who hate “gays” do not want to be associated with them (Bhana & Mayeza, 2016). There is a myth that homosexuality is contagious (Brakefield, Medrick, Wilson, De Neve, Christakis & Fowler, 2014).

Lubabalo: *As boys, we tend not to befriend such boys. Homosexuals are taken as being stupid for being too close to the girls and they are called izitabane. We feel as if they are demeaning us as boys, as they spend a lot of time with girls, not knowing what they are talking about. If you haven't been seen with a girlfriend, they will conclude that you are isitabane and you will be hated.*

Lusizo and Sonwabo marginalise other boys, whom they believe are gay. They have said that they don't like them and don't want to be near them or be touched by them. These boys and many others demonstrate a violent form of hegemonic masculinity as they express their hatred of boys who are perceived as, or known to be, effeminate or homosexual. Other boys are perceived as being homosexual, because they are always seen in the company of girls and are ridiculed, disrespected, despised, intimidated and mocked. According to Msibi (2012), learners who are seen in the company of gays are perceived as being part of this marginalised group.

Lubabalo: *I am not and never had a problem [with homosexuals] because as people we are created differently and have different lifestyles. It might happen that a person decides to spend more time with girls [and therefore], when he is with other boys, they always criticise him and when [he is] with girls, they might be able to help him with whatever he is going through. The girls are able to help you when you are having a problem and the boys are unable to do that. The boys are sometimes insensitive; they laugh at you when you share your problems.*

Despite literature revealing the high rate of homophobia, my study shows another aspect of boys being accommodating, friendly, supportive and sympathetic to young males who are homosexual. This is suggested by responses that infer that “gays” did not create themselves to be what they are or are perceived as. Some boys pity the “gays” when they are ridiculed and called names. Some

have friends and relatives who are homosexual and they do not have a problem with them. Sduduzo has a younger brother who is “gay” and it hurts him when others call him *isitabane*. His understanding of his brother being “gay” is that he likes to stay at home and play with girls. This suggests that some boys are victims of homophobia due to misinformation about homosexuality. This is reiterated by Msibi (2012), who highlighted that being misinformed is one of the causes of homophobic violence, as homosexuality is not talked about openly. Homosexuals are hated by some heterosexuals who believe that “gays” influence girls into not falling in love with heterosexual boys. The fact that some boys do not want to be associated with “gays”, indicates their display of a dominant form of masculinity as they marginalise the “other”. Men and boys who belong in the hegemonic group take subordinate masculinity as a form of masculinity that does not fit in with their ideals (Connell, 1995). Hegemonic masculinity is sanctioned by compulsory heterosexuality (Anderson, 2010) and anything other than that is constructed as “abnormal” by society. This has to do with gender roles and patriarchy that is supported and entrenched by society.

4.9 Suggestions on how to combat school violence

Learners have different views on how to combat violence at the school. It is clear that not all learners enjoy it.

R: What do you think can be done to stop violence in school?

Lwandle: *The cause of violence is that teachers do not go to class and the learners start to provoke each other. If there is a teacher in class, there will be no time to fight. When learners are on their own, they even start insulting each other.*

Sonwabo: *Older learners should be taken out of school because they do violent acts to young learners. They should be progressed to the next classes so that they exit school. Security should be tight. Learners should not bring money to school. Classes should be divided according to boys in their own classes and the same with the girls.*

Mzwakhe: *I think the school will have to invite people who will come and talk to the learners about the importance of stopping the violence. The punishment should be intensified and learners who do violent acts should be expelled from school without having their parents called to school.*

Ntando: All the learners should be assembled in one place and be warned against causing violence. They should be given examples of the learners who used to be violent and were expelled and be told that it will also happen to them if they engage in violent acts.

From the above responses, one can deduce that teachers are one of the causes of violence when they abandon their classes. When learners are not supervised, they provoke each other and easily engage in violent acts. Sonwabo believes that if older learners are pushed up into the next classes, despite the fact that they might not qualify, this will create peace, as they will soon be out of school. Educators can play an important role in encouraging and promoting alternative masculinities, for instance, by teaching learners about how to resist violence and that this does not make one a coward, but rather a person who maintains his or her dignity. Inviting people to speak about violence and its consequences at the school is another way, as suggested above, that the school can counter this negative behaviour.

4.10 Conclusion

This chapter analysed the collected data according to the themes that emerged. The findings were discussed in relation to the literature reviewed in chapter two. This chapter discussed how boys construct violent masculinities through an analysis of their perceptions of violence, the violence that they experience at home and within the community, corporal punishment, bullying, violent spaces and homophobia. Through this analysis, it has been revealed that violence is an ongoing behaviour that seems acceptable to other learners, with some learners choosing to resist violent acts. This suggests that not all boys are violent. In their construction of masculinity, some boys do not represent subordinate masculinity and are referred to as “other”, meaning that they are different from them. According to Anderson (2009), those in the “other” category is deemed to be targets and not agents of violence. Due to gender roles being supported by society and heterosexuality the accepted norm, homosexuals are seen as lesser men and are not accepted in the community.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

This study explored how boys understand violence and construct their masculinities at a high school in Umlazi. This chapter provides a brief summary of this research by reviewing the previous chapters. It also integrates the study's main findings and provides recommendations based on the research findings.

5.2 Chapter Summaries

Chapter one introduced the study. It presented the background and rationale of the study, its definition of terms, aims and objectives, as well as the research questions. Thereafter, the context of the study and the research methodology were discussed. The chapter finally concluded with positionality.

Chapter two presented a review of the literature that pertained to the investigated phenomenon. It began by discussing the theoretical framework adopted in this study. Following this, it defined masculinities according to different scholars. The study further examined boys' schooling and construction of masculinities; masculinity, violence and schooling; spaces of violence in school; the impact of home and community on school violence; corporal punishment and the perpetuation of violence; and compulsory heterosexuality and homophobic bullying. The chapter concluded by examining gender-based violence.

Chapter three discussed in detail the research design and methodology utilised to generate data. It went on to explore the mixed research approach. A combination of questionnaires and individual interviews was used to collect data. The chapter further discussed the context of the study, how access was gained and sampling. Finally, it set out how data was analysed, ethical issues, rigour and concluded with the limitations of the study.

Chapter four presented an analysis of the data collected for the study. These were thematically presented and investigated. The following themes emerged: boys' perceptions of violence; violence within the community and at home; bullying ("they take our belongings"); corporal

punishment; gender-based violence; violent places; homophobia and suggestions on how to combat school violence.

5.3 Main Findings

5.3.1 Boys' perception of violence

The research discovered that these boys understand violence in different ways. Boys described violence that ranged from abuse, fighting, harassment, inflicting pain, acts of aggression, beating and causing injury. This indicates that these boys possess various understandings of violence, ranging from mild to serious forms. Having a good understanding of this goes a long way in ensuring that they are somewhat aware of the impact and/or consequences thereof. However, those without a full comprehension of what violence is are prone to engaging in it themselves. It is clear, through other research, that it is an onerous task to try to teach learners who engage in violence that manifests in screaming, verbal abuse, jealousy, pushing, arguments and name-calling (Sundaram, 2013).

5.3.2 Community and home violence: (Re) production of violence in school

The findings of this study determined that some boys experience violence in their homes and communities, while others live in more peaceful environments. Some boys, however, are made vulnerable due to their circumstances, which may include living with extended families and this might cause them to become violent in the future. This is supported by Mncube and Harber (2013), who point out that growing up in an unstable family may encourage a child to be violent at school and also in the future. However, it is interesting to note that growing up in an unstable environment might not lead a child to become violent, as he or she could by nature be a peaceful person. The same goes for a child who grows in a peaceful environment; he or she could either be peaceful or violent. This means that environment and life contexts might or might not determine their behaviour.

5.3.3 Bullying

In this study, bullying has been discovered to be a major problem at the school. It transpired that older boys bully younger boys for their possessions, including money and food. This takes place in their classrooms, the schoolyard and in the toilets. Young boys find it difficult to defend

themselves against bullies, because they are immature, physically weak and vulnerable. The victims of bullying often do not report this, because they fear being further bullied outside school. According to Wardman (2016), boys do not report bullies to the teachers, because they do not want to be called names. The older boys demonstrate power over younger boys when they demand money from them and, if they do not have it, the bullies make sure their victims understand that they owe them. By having power over other boys, hegemony is created. This makes bullies to feel that they are in control, in charge and own violent spaces.

While bullying has been seen as a problem at the school, the study participants reported that occurrences of bullying and violence have reduced, because the school authorities installed surveillance cameras and the strict new principal expels bullies.

5.3.4 Corporal punishment

Corporal punishment remains a reality in schools, despite its abolition in 1996, and teachers continue to use it to establish control in schools, as established in this study. At the study site, learners who behave in an unacceptable manner are taken to the principal's office, where they are beaten with a pipe. It is believed that corporal punishment is administered to punish and control behaviour. Some boys have complained of harsh punishment, but others feel that it is effective in correcting unacceptable behaviour. However, Menzi stated that other teachers do not execute corporal punishment because they fear making themselves targets. This suggests that corporal punishment is violence that leads to another type of violence. This is evident in the incident in which Thandizwe failed to distinguish between other learners and the teacher. He grabbed the teacher by a collar when he was punished in class. Thandizwe viewed corporal punishment as an attack on his masculinity. Connell (2005) argues that it is normal for boys with hegemonic masculinity to rebel and resist power because they regard themselves as superior and others as possessing subordinate masculinities. Therefore, if their power is threatened, they resort to aggression. As Thandizwe wanted to save his face among his peers, he attacked the teacher (Anderson, 2009).

5.3.5 Constructions of masculinity and gender-based violence

Boys display masculine tendencies through violence that occurs among themselves and is inflicted upon girls. By doing so, they construct their gender identity. Violence is about power and is gendered (Bhana, 2005). This study demonstrated boys sexually harass girls. Girls are forced to have love affairs with violent boys and their private parts are touched. A study by Morrell, Bhana and Hamlall (2012) posited that gender violence occurred through boys who displayed power over girls and demanded subordination from them. In this manner, they were able to preserve their hegemonic masculinities, which are coupled with patriarchy.

This research further discovered that boys fought to demonstrate their power, strength and manhood. Some who were targeted fought back to protect both themselves and their friends. The participants regarded having such power as normal behaviour and a way of avoiding being called names such as moron or coward. This suggests that boys feel pressurised to demonstrate hegemonic masculinity by being defensive and protecting their manhood. Other boys are pressurised to engage in violence, with the aim of preserving their manhood (Bhana, 2005; Connell, 1995). Interestingly, the study also revealed that not all boys are violent. Some study participants, however, do not believe in fighting or being violent, despite being called names. This suggests that boys who refrain from violence resort to an alternative idea of masculinity. The study also revealed that the broken fence allowed intruders to gain access to the school in order to intimidate and humiliate learners.

5.3.6 Violent spaces

In the context of this study, it was discovered that there were spaces that allowed violence and crime to take place. Bhana (2012) has pointed out that there are sites within schools at which violence and crime take place. It is evident in this study that the toilets are the main sites of violence, crime and bullying. The classes in the lower block – known at “*ezimayini*”, or the mines – have also been identified as spaces of violence. These classes and toilets have become sites of violence, because they are not monitored by teachers. Stoudst (2006) has asserted that violence mostly occurs at sites that are not monitored by people in authority. Hegemonic masculinity is about exercising power by controlling space and dictating to those who are seen as having subordinate masculinities as to where to operate – in the lower block (*ezimayini*).

5.3.7 Homophobia

The study revealed that there were participants who displayed a violent hegemonic masculinity to express their hatred and disgust of boys whom they believe act contrary to constructions of masculinities that require heterosexuality. Homosexuals and “gays” are called derogatory names in order to belittle and demean them. Some boys in the study feel that homosexuality is contagious and they want to avoid “gay” boys (Bhana & Mayeza, 2016). This study revealed that some boys accommodated and were friendly, supportive and sympathetic of boys who were “gay”. They felt that the ‘gays’ did not create themselves.

5.3.8 Suggestions on how to combat school violence

The study revealed the boys’ different views and feelings about the ways they see fitting in combatting violence in the school. Boys expressed their concern about teachers who do not honour their teaching periods because their absence in class cause learners to engage in violent acts. They therefore suggest that learners should not be left unattended. They further suggested that teachers should encourage and promote alternative masculinities by teaching them how and why they have to resist violence. The study indicated that most of the boys do not like violence and they believe that a school is supposed to be a safe haven where peace prevails.

5.4 Recommendations

A school is a place that offers care, support and protection (SACE, 2011), however research shows that schools are spaces where violence is widespread (Bhana, 2012). According to Burton (2008a), schools are sites where individuals are groomed for the role they are expected to play in their respective societies. For effective teaching and learning to take place, a safe and conducive environment which is free from violence is required. The school management team, teachers and parents have a big role to play in creating awareness about violence, gender inequality and safety in the school. It is important that all interested parties in the education of a child and the peaceful running of the school work collaboratively in creating a safe and an environment that allows effective teaching and learning to take place. Below are the recommendations on how to address school violence:

- The department of education should organize workshops for teachers, parents and learners on gender violence in schools, how to prevent harassment, including cyber and homophobic bullying.
- The study revealed that sites regarded as violent spaces are not monitored by teachers, therefore the school authorities should ensure that there are enough teachers who monitor such areas. Stoudt (2006) affirmed that violence is widespread in the sites that are not monitored. Interestingly, the school has installed surveillance cameras which have resulted in a reduction of violence incidences. The two will work well in combatting violence.
- The school management team needs to be proactive in developing a school code of conduct ensuring that teachers, parents, school governing body and the learner representatives are involved and have input. The school code of conduct will let all the stakeholders involved in the school to know what to and what not to do and the consequences thereof.
- The school must teach learners alternatives to violence including peaceful conflict resolution and positive interpersonal relationship skills. This should be done by the school management team and the school counsellor.
- Learners, both girls and boys need to be afforded equal opportunities in class thereby advocating gender equality. No one should be made superior over others but opportunities should be equally given to all the learners.
- Teachers should be held accountable for misconduct.
- Violence in schools usually reflects violence taking place at home and in community which is a result of patriarchal dominance. Patriarchal power structures that exist in society are reflected in schools (Connell, 2002). Therefore, parents and guardians need to maintain good partnership with the school in disciplining their children and be involved and show interest in their education.
- With regards to homosexuality, school based intervention programmes that will promote restoration and respect of their dignity should be established and implemented (Bhana, 2012).
- The school needs to create educational awareness of sexual orientation.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter concluded by summarizing the findings of the study as well as providing recommendations for parties involved in the education of children in a high school at Umlazi. Educational intervention programmes should be developed and implemented in addressing school violence. Addressing violent masculinities, gender inequality, homophobia and promoting alternative forms of masculinity will combat violence in schools. Teachers and management team need to understand that violence is gendered and if not well monitored it can cause harm. Especially where hegemonic masculinity is concerned, boys resort to violence to preserve their masculinities and in return they suppress and force other boys and girls to submit to their dominance.

REFERENCES

- African News Agency. (13 September, 2018). Teacher stabbed to death by pupil at Zeerust School. *The Citizen*.
- Anderson, B. (2009). 'Coloured' boys in 'trouble': *An ethnographic investigation into the constructions of Coloured working-class masculinities in a high school in Wentworth, Durban* (Doctoral thesis - published). University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban.
- Anderson, B. (2010). "Coloured" boys talk: Constructing heterosexual masculinities in a working-class high school context. *Journal of Psychology in Africa*, 20(4), 635-645
- Babbie, E. (2010). *The practice of social research*. Twelfth Edition. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- Barker, G. (2005). *Dying To Be Men: Masculinity and Social Exclusion*. London: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group.
- Barker, G. & Ricardo, C. (2005). Young men and the construction of masculinity in sub-Saharan Africa: Implications for HIV/Aids, conflict and violence. *Conflict, Prevention & Reconstruction*, 26.
- Barthassat, J. (2014). Positive and negative effects of parental conflicts on children's condition and behaviour. *Journal of European Psychology Students*, 5(1), 10-18. doi:<http://doi.org/10.5334/jeps.bm>
- Bartholomaeus, C. (2013). Colluding with or challenging hegemonic masculinity? Examining primary school boys' plural gender practices. *Australian Feminist Studies*, 27(77), 279-293.
- Baxter, P. & Jack, S. (2008). Qualitative case study methodology: Study design and implementation for novice researchers. *The Qualitative Report*, 13(4), 544-559
- Bhana, D. (2002). *Making gender in early schooling: A multi-sited ethnographic study of power and discourse from grade one to two in Durban*: University of KwaZulu-Natal: Durban.
- Bhana, D. (2003). Children are children: Gender doesn't matter. *Agenda*. 17(56). 37- 45.

- Bhana, D., (2005). *Violence and the gendered negotiation of masculinity among young black school boys in South Africa*. In: Ouzgane, L., Morrell, R. (eds). *African masculinities*. Palgrave Macmillan: New York, 205-220.
- Bhana, D. (2008). Beyond Stigma? Young children's responses to HIV and Aids. *Culture, Health and Sexuality*, 10(7), 725-738.
- Bhana, D. (2008b). "Girls hit!" Constructing and negotiating violent African femininities in a working-class primary school. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 29(3), 401-415.
- Bhana, D. (2009). "Boys will be boys": What do early childhood teachers have to do with it? *Educational Review*, 61(3), 327-339.
- Bhana, D., (2012). "Girls are not free" – In and out of the South African school. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 32, 352-358.
- Bhana, D. (2012b). Understanding and addressing homophobia in schools: A view from teachers. *South African Journal of Education*, 32(3).
- Bhana, D., (2013). Gender violence in and around schools: Time to get to zero. *African Safety Promotion Journal*, 11(2), 38-47.
- Bhana, D. (2014). "Managing" the rights of gays and lesbians: Reflections from some South African secondary schools. *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*, 1-14.
- Bhana, D. (2015). Learning gender in the early years of schooling in South Africa. *Handbook of Children and Youth Studies*, 279-288.
- Bhana, D. (2016). Virginity and virtue: African masculinities and femininities in the making of teenage sexual cultures. *Sexualities*, 1-17.
- Bhana, D. & Mayeza, E. (2016). We don't play with gays, they're not real boys.... They can't fight: Hegemonic masculinity and (homophobic) violence in the primary years of schooling. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 51, 36-42

- Bhana, D. & Pattman, R. (2011). Girls want money, boys want virgins: The materiality of love amongst South African township youth in the context of HIV and Aids. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, 13(8), 961-972.
- Bhana, D., & Pillay, N. (2011). Beyond passivity: Constructions of femininities in a single-sex South African school. *Educational Review*, 63(1), 65-78.
- Bowman, B., Stevens, G, Eagle, G., Langa, M. Kramer, S., Kiguwa, P. & Nduna, M. (2015). The second wave of violence scholarship: South African synergies with a global research agenda. *Social Science & Medicine*, 146, 243-248.
- Brakefield, T.A., Medrick, S.C., Wilson, H.W., De Neve, J.E., Chrisstakis, N.A. & Fowler, J.H. (2014). Same-sex sexual attraction does not spread in adolescent social networks. *Archives of Social Behaviour*, 43 (2), 335-344.
- Braun, V. & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, (32), 77-101.
- Brinkmann, S. & Kvale, S. (2014). *Interviews: Learning the craft of qualitative research interviewing* (3rd ed.). Los Angeles: Sage.
- Burton, P. (2008a). *Merchants, skollies and stone. Experience of school violence in South Africa*. Monograph Series, 4. Cape Town: Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention.
- Burton, P. (2008b). *Dealing with school violence in South Africa*. Issue paper 4. Cape Town: Centre for Justice and Crime prevention, Cape Town.
- Burton, P. & Leoschut, L. (2013). *School violence in South Africa: Results of the 2012 national school violence study*. Cape Town: Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention.
- Burton, P., Ward, C.L., Artz, L. & Leoschut, L. (2015). *The optimus study on child abuse, violence and neglect in South Africa*. Cape Town: Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention.
- Caldwell, K. & Atwal, A. (2005). Non-participant observation: Using video tapes to collect data in nursing research. *Nurse Researcher*, 13(2): 42-54

- Carbone-lopez, K., Esbensen, F.A. & Brick, B.T. (2010). Correlates and consequences of peer victimization: Gender differences in direct and indirect forms of bullying. *Youth Violence Juvenile Justice*, 8, 332-350.
- Centre for Applied Legal Studies. (2014). *Sexual violence by educators in South African schools: Gaps in accountability*. New York: Centre for Applied Legal Studies, (CALS).
- Chadwick, R. (2010). Gender, sexuality and South African childhoods: A child rights approach. Unpublished report: Rapcan.
- Clark, S. & Paechter, C. (2007). Learning gender in primary school playgrounds: Findings from the tomboy identities study. *Pedagogy, Culture and Society*, 15(3), 317-331
- Grabow, C. & Rose, L. (2018). *The US has had 57 times as many shootings as the major industrialized nations combined*. CNN News. Available at: <https://edition.cnn.com/2018/05/21/us/school-shooting-us-versus-world-trnd/index.html>
- Cohen, L., Manion, L. & Morrison, K. (2007). *Research methods in education*. London: Routledge.
- Cohen, L., Manion, L. & Morrison, K. (2011). *Research methods in education* (7th Ed). New York: Routledge.
- Connell, R.W. (1987). *Gender and power: Society, the person and sexual politics*. Sydney, Australia: Allen & Unwin.
- Connell, R.W. (1992). A very straight gay: Masculinity, homosexual experience, and the dynamics of gender. *American Sociological Review*, 735-751.
- Connell, R.W. (1993). The big picture: Masculinities in recent world history. *Theory and Society*, 22(5), 597-623.
- Connell, R.W. (1995). *Masculinities*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Connell, R.W. (1996). Teaching the boys: New research on masculinity, and gender strategies for schools. *Teachers College Record*, 98(2), 206-235
- Connell, R.W. (1998). "Masculinities and globalization". *Men and Masculinities*, 1(1): 3-23.

- Connell, R.W. (2000). *The Men and the Boys*. Maryborough: Australian Print Group.
- Connell, R.W. (2002). *Gender*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Connell, R.W. (2005). Men, masculinities and gender equality in the global arena. *Signs*, 30(3), 1801-1825.
- Connell, R.W. (2011). Gender, health and theory: Conceptualizing the issue, in local and world perspective. *Social Science & Medicine*, 10, 1-9.
- Connell, R. W. (2012). Gender, health and theory. Conceptualizing the issue, in local and world perspective. *Social Science & Medicine*, 74 (11), 1675-1683.
- Connell, R.W. & Messerschmidt, J.W. (2005). Hegemonic masculinity: Rethinking the concept. *Gender & Society*, 19(6), 829-859.
- Coomaraswamy, R. (2005). Human security and gender violence. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 4729-4736.
- Creighton, G. & Oliffe, J.I. (2010). Theorising masculinities and men's health: A brief history with a view to practice. *Health Sociology Review*, 19: 409-418.
- Creswell, J.W., Plano Clark, M.L., Gutmann, M.L. & Hanson, W.E. (2007). Advanced mixed methods research designs. In Tashakkori, A. & Teddlie, C. (Eds), *Handbook of mixed methods in social and behavioural research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Creswell, J.W. (2007). *Qualitative enquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches*. London: Sage.
- Creswell, J.W. (2009). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods approaches*. (3rd ed.) Los Angeles: Sage
- Creswell, J.W. (2012). *Educational research: Planning, conducting and evaluating quantitative and qualitative research*. (4th ed.) Boston: Pearson.
- Creswell, J.W. (2013). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: choosing among five approaches* (3rd ed.). London: Sage.

- Creswell, J.W. (2014). *Research design: qualitative, quantitative and mixed approaches*. (4th ed.) Thousand Oaks, California: Sage.
- Decker, M.R., Miller, E., Illangasekare, S. & Silverman, J.G. (2013). Understanding gender-based violence perpetration to create a safer future for women and girls. *The Lancet Global Health*, 1(4), 170-171.
- De Lange, N., Mitchell, C. & Bhana, D. (2012). Voice of women teachers about gender inequalities and gender-based violence in rural South Africa. *Gender and Education*, 24(5), 499-514.
- Devries, K.M., Mak, J.Y., Garcia-Moreno, C., Petzold, M., Child, J.C., Falder, G. & Pallito, C. (2013). The global prevalence of intimate partner violence against women. *Science*, 340(6140), 1527-1528.
- Dunne, M. (2007). Gender, sexuality and schooling: Everyday life in junior secondary schools in Botswana and Ghana. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 27(5), 499-511.
- Dunne, M., Humphreys, S. & Leach, F. (2006). Gender violence in schools in the developing world. *Gender and Education*, 18(1), 75-98.
- Dunne, M. & Leach, F. (2007). Gender conflict and schooling: Identity, space and violence. In F. Leach & M. Dunne (Eds). *Education, Conflict and Reconciliation*, 187-202. Oxford: Peterlang.
- Dunne, M. & Ananga, E.D. (2013). Dropping out: Identity conflict in and out of school in Ghana. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 33, 196-205.
- Dunne, M., Leach, F., Chilisa, B., Maunden, T., Tabulawa, R., Kutor, N., Dzama, F. & Assamoah, A. (2005). *Schools as gendered institutions: The impact on retention and achievement*. London: Taylor & Francis.
- Dunne, M., Humphreys, S & Leach, F. (2006). Gender violence in schools in the developing world. *Gender and Education*, 18(1), 75-98.
- Flick, U.W.E, (2009). *An introduction to qualitative research*. Fourth edition. London: Sage.
- Flick, U.W.E. (2014). *An introduction to qualitative research*. Fifth edition. London: Sage.
- Fox, W. & Bayat, M.S. (2007). *A guide to managing research*. Cape Town, South Africa: Juta.

- Francis, B. & Mills, M. (2012). Schools as damaging organizations: Instigating a dialogue concerning alternative models of schooling. *Pedagogy, Culture and Society*, 20(2), 251-271. doi: 10.1080/14681366.2012.688765
- Hamlall, V., (2013). Constructing peaceful masculinities in the face of conflict among high school boys. *Social. Science*, 36(3), 255-267.
- Hamlall, V. & Morrell, R. (2009). "I know I could have walked away but there were people around there". Masculinities and fights between boys at a Durban high school. *Agenda*, 22(80), 68-79.
- Hamlall, V. & Morrell, R. (2012). Conflict, provocation and fights among boys in a South African high school. *Gender and Education*, 24(5), 483-498.
- Harber, C. (2001). Schooling and violence in South Africa: Creating a safer school. *Intercultural Education*, 12(3), 261-271.
- Harber, C. (2004). *Schooling as violence: How schools harm pupils and societies*. New York: Routledge.
- Human Rights Watch, (2001). *Scared at school: Sexual violence against girls in South African schools*. New York: Human Rights Watch.
- Human Rights Watch, (2011). *We'll show you you're a woman: Violence and Discrimination Against Black Lesbians and Transgender Men*. New York: Human Rights Watch.
- Humphreys, S. (2008). Gendering corporal punishment: Beyond the discourse of human rights. *Gender and Education*, 2 (5), 527-540.
- Hunter, M. (2002). *Masculinities and multiple sexual partners in KwaZulu-Natal: The making and unmaking of Isoka*. Berkeley: Department of Geography, University of California at Berkeley.
- Jewkes, R. & Morrell, R. (2010). Gender and sexuality: Emerging perspectives from the heterosexual epidemic in South Africa and implications for HIV risk and prevention. *Journal of the International AIDS Society*, 13(1), 1-11. Jewkes, R. & Morrell, R. (2012). Sexuality and the limits of agency among South African teenage women: Theorising femininities and their connections to HIV risk practices. *Social Science and Medicine*, 72, 1729-1737.

- Jewkes, R., Sikweyiya, Y., Morrell, P. & Dunkle, K. (2009). Understanding men's health and use of violence: Interface of rape and HIV in South Africa. *Cell*, 82(442), 3655
- Jewkes, R., Sikweyiya, Y., Morrell, R. & Dunkle, K. (2011). Gender inequitable masculinity and sexual entitlement in rape perpetration South Africa: Findings of a cross-sectional study. *PloS One*, 6(12).
- Jewkes, R., Morrell, R., Sikweyiya, Y., Dunkle, K. & Kekana, L. (2012). Men, sex and the provider role: Crime, violence, correlated psychological attributes associated with South African men's engagement in prostitution and transactional sex in South Africa. *Plos One*, 7(7): 1-10.
- Jewkes, R., Flood, M. & Lang, J. (2014). From work with men and boys to changes of social norms and reduction of inequalities in gender relations: A conceptual shift in prevention of violence against women and girls. *The Lancet*, S0140-6773(14), 61683-4.
- Johnson, S. L. (2009). Improving the school environment to reduce school violence: A review of literature. *Journal of School Health*, 79(10), 451-465
- Kimmel, M.S. (2004). *The Gendered Society*. (2nd ed.) New York: Oxford University Press.
- King, N. & Horrocks, C. (2010a). *Interviews in a qualitative research*. London: Sage.
- Kumar, R. (2005). *Research methodology: A step by step guide for beginners* (2nd ed.). London: Sage.
- Leach, F. E. & Mitchell, C. (Eds.). (2006). *Combating gender violence in and around schools*. London: Trentham.
- Leach, F., Slade, E. & Dunne, M. (2012). Desk review for concern: Promising practice in school related gender based violence (SRGBV). *Prevention and Response Programming Globally*. Brighton: University of Sussex.
- Leach, F., Dunne, M. & Salvi, F. (2014). School- related gender-based violence; A global review of current issues and approaches in policy, programming and implementation responses to school-related gender-based violence (SRGBV) for the education sector: Paris: United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (Unesco).

- Le Mat, M.L. (2016). Sexual violence is not good for our country's development: Students interpretations of sexual violence in a secondary school in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. *Gender and Education*, 1-19.
- Leoschut, L., (2008). *School violence: What makes learners vulnerable?* Claremont: Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention.
- Lindegger, G. & Maxwell, J. (2007). Teenage masculinity: The double kind of conformity to hegemonic standards. In *from Boys to Men*. Cape Town: UCT Press, By Sheffer T. et.al. 94-112.
- Makhasane, S.D & Chikoko, V. (2016). Corporal punishment contestations, paradoxes and implications for school leadership: A case study of two South African high schools. *South African Journal of Education*. 36(4).
- Maphosa, C., & Shumba, A. (2010). Educators' disciplinary capabilities after the banning of corporal punishment in South African schools. *South African Journal of Education*, 30, 387-399.
- Masku, S. (2018). August 28. Cellphones blamed for KZN school faction fighting. *Daily News*. <https://www.iol.co.za/daily-news/cellphones-blamed-for-kzn-school-faction-fighting-16761962>
- Masweneng, K. (2018). March 9. Pupil who hit her teacher with a book facing disciplinary action. *Sowetan Live*. <https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/south-africa/2018-03-09-pupil-who-hit-her-teacher-with-a-book-facing-disciplinary-action>
- Marinova, J. (2003). *Gender stereotypes and the socialization process*. Brasilia, Brazil: United Nations.
- Marshall, C. & Rossman, G.B. (2006). *Designing Qualitative Research*. California, US: Sage.
- Mayeza, E. (2016). "Girls don't play soccer": Children policing gender on the playground in a township primary school in South Africa. *Gender and Education*, 1-19.
- Mayeza, E. & Bhana, D. (2017). Addressing gender violence among children in the early years of schooling: Insights from teachers in a South African primary school. *International Studies in Sociology*. Doi: 10.1080/09620214.2017.13119288

- McCarry, M. (2010). Becoming a “proper man”: young people’s attitudes about interpersonal violence and perceptions of gender. *Gender and Education*, 22(1), 17-30. doi: 0.1080/09540250902749083.
- Merry, S.E. (2005). *Gender violence: A cultural perspective*. West Sussex, UK: Blackwell Publishing.
- Mfecane, S. (2008). “Living with HIV as a man: Implications for Masculinity”. *Psychology in Society*, 36, 45-59
- Mfecane, S. (2012). Can women “refuse” condoms? Dilemmas of condom negotiation among men living with HIV in South Africa. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*. 15 (3): 269-282
- Mgijima, M. N., (2014). Violence in South African schools: Perceptions of communities about a persistent problem. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, 5(14).
- Mncube, V. & Harber, C. (2013). *The dynamics of violence in school in South Africa. Johannesburg, South Africa*: University of South Africa.
- Mohale, B. (2017). September 22. Cosas wants teachers who administer corporal punishment to be imprisoned. *Isolezwe Newspaper*: p.14
- Mohammed, K. (2011). Refashioning the local: Black masculinity, class and clothing. *Agenda*, 25(4), 104-111. doi: 10.1080/ 10130950.2011.630578.
- Morojele, P. (2009). Gender violence: Narratives and experiences of girls in three rural schools in Lesotho. *Agenda: Empowering women for gender equity*, 23(80), 80-87.
- Morrell, R. (1998). Of boys and men: Masculinity and gender in Southern African studies. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 24(4), 605-630.
- Morrell, R. (2001). Corporal punishment in South African schools: A neglected explanation for its existence. *South African Journal of Education*, 21(4), 292-299.
- Morrell, R. (2002). Men, movements and gender transformation in South Africa. *Journal of Men’s Studies*, 10(3), 309-328.

- Morrell, R. (2003). Silence, sexuality and HIV/Aids in South African schools. *The Australian Educational Researcher*, 30(1), 41-62
- Morrell, R. & Makhaye, G. (2006). Working not blaming: masculinity work with young African men in KwaZulu-Natal. In F. Leach & C. Mitchell (Eds), *Combating Gender Violence in and around schools*. (pp. 153-161) London: Trentham
- Morrell, R., Bhana, D. & Hamlall, V. (2012). "I'm not scared of the teacher – I can hold him – I can hold him with my bare hands": Schoolboys, male teachers and physical violence at a Durban secondary school in South Africa. In *Rethinking School Violence* (pp. 111-128). London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Morrell, R., Jewkes, R., Lindegger, G. (2012). Hegemonic masculinity/masculinities in South Africa: Culture, power and gender politics. *Men and Masculinities*, 1-20.
- Morrell, R., Jewkes, R. & Lindegger, G. & Hamlall, V. (2013). Hegemonic masculinity: Reviewing the gendered analysis of men's power in South Africa. *South African Review of Sociology*, 44(1), 3-21.
- Mouton, J. (2002). *Understanding social research*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- Msibi, T. (2012). "I'm used to it now": Experiences of homophobia among queer youth in South African township schools. *Gender and Education*. doi:10.1080/09540253.2011.645021
- Muhanguzi, F.K. (2011). Gender and sexual vulnerability of young women in Africa: experiences of young girls in secondary schools in Uganda. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, 13(6), 713-725.
- National Center for Injury Prevention and Control. Division of Violence Prevention. (2016). *Understanding School Violence*. Available at: <https://www.cdc.gov/violenceprevention/pdf/DVP-researchsummary.pdf>
- Ncontsa, V. & Shumba, A. (2013). The nature, causes and effects of school violence in South African high schools. *South African Journal Education*, 33(3). Pretoria
- Netshitangani, T. (2014). Causes of school-based violence in South African public schools: Application of normalization theory to understand the phenomenon through educators' perspectives. *Mediterranean journal of Social Sciences*, 20(5).

- Ngema, T. (2017). August 30. Watch: School unrest rocks KZN. *Daily News*.
<https://www.iol.co.za/dailynews/watch-school-unrest-rocks-kzn-10969959>
- Ngubane, N. (2017). September 22. Kusolwa ingxabano yeselulaa esikoleni ngozilengise kubo. *Isolezwe Newspaper*. P.3
- Nieuwenhuis, J. (2007). Qualitative research designs and data gathering techniques. In K. Maree (Ed), *First steps in research* (pp. 47-122). Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.
- Noor, K.B.M. (2008). Case study: A strategic research methodology. *American Journal of Applied Sciences*. 5(11): 1602-1604.
- Nthathath, P. (2017). School Violence: How can we make the classroom a safe haven for learning? *Daily Maverick*.
- Parkes, J. (2007). The multiple meaning of violence: Children's talk about life in a South African neighbourhood. *Childhood*, 14(4), 401-414.
- Parkes, J. (Ed). (2015). *Gender violence in poverty contexts: The educational challenge*. Oxfordshire, UK: Routledge.
- Parkes, J., & Heslop, J. (2011). *Stop Violence Against Girls in School: A cross-country analysis of baseline research from Ghana, Kenya and Mozambique*. London: Actionaid.
- Parkes, J. & Connolly, A. (2013). How teenagers cope with inner city threats and risks. *Female First*. Oxford, UK: Routledge.
- Pattman, R. (2005). Boys and girls should not be too close: sexuality, the identities of African boys and girls and HIV/Aids education. *Sexualities*, 8(4), 497-516.
- Pattman, R & Bhana, D. (2006). Black boys with bad reputations. *Alternations*. 13(2), 252- 272.
- Plan Sierra Leone (2011). Girls' access to and completion of lower secondary education in Sierra Leone: PPA Building Skills for Baseline Report.
- Ratele, K. (2013). Masculinities without tradition. *Politikon*, 40(1), 133-156.
- Ratele, K. (2014). Currents against gender transformation of South African men: Relocating marginality to the centre of research and theory of masculinities: *International Journal for Masculinity Studies*, 9(1), 30-34. doi: 10.1080/18902138.2014.892285.

- Ratele, K. (2015). Working through resistance in engaging boys and men towards gender equality and progressive masculinities. *Culture, Health and Sexuality*, 1-15.
- Ratele, K. & Suffla, S. (2011). Violence, masculinity and well-being in Africa. In Kondlo, K. & Ejiogu, C. (eds). *Africa in Focus Governance in the 21st Century*. Cape Town: HSRC Press
- Renold, E. (2002). Presumed innocence: (Hetero) sexual, heterosexist and homophobic harassment among primary school girls and boys. *Childhood*, 9(4), 415-434.
- Renold, E. (2004). "Other" boys: Negotiating non-hegemonic masculinities in the primary school. *Gender and Education*, 16(2), 247-265
- Renold, E. (2007). Primary School "Studs": (De) constructing young boys' heterosexual masculinities. *Men and Masculinities*, 9(3), 275-297.
- Ringrose, J. & Renold, E. (2010). Normative cruelties and gender deviants: the performative effects of bully discourses for girls and boys in school. *British Educational Research Journal*, 36(4), 573-596.
- Rooth, E. (2005). *An investigation of the status and practice of life orientation in South African schools in two provinces*. (Doctoral dissertation.) Cape Town: University of Cape Town.
- Russell, M., Cupp, P.K., Gevers, A., Mathews, C., LeFleur-Bellerose, C., & Small, J. (2014). Intimate partner violence among adolescents in Cape Town, South Africa: *Postgraduate education research*. *South African Journal of Higher Education*, 25(2), 301-321.
- Shefer, T., Stevens, G. & Clowes, L. (Eds). (2010). Special issue: The social construction of masculinities in Africa. *Journal of Psychology in Africa*, 20, 511-652.
- Silverman, D. (2010). *Doing qualitative research: A practical handbook* (3rd ed.). London: Thousand.
- Smit, D. & Du Plessis, V. (2011). Sexual Harassment in the education sector. *PER/PELJ*. (14) 6
- Smith, J. (2007). "Ye've got to 'ave balls to play this game sir!" Boys, peers and fears: The negative influence of school-based "cultural accomplices" in constructing hegemonic masculinities, *Gender and Education*, 19(2), 179-198.

South African Council for Educators (SACE). (2011). School-based violence report: An overview of school-based violence in South Africa. Pretoria: South African Council for Educators.

South African Schools Act (SASA). (1996), Act No. 84 of 1996. Pretoria: Government Printer.

Stark, L. & Landis, D. (2016). Violence against children in humanitarian settings: A literature review of population-based approaches. *Social Science & Medicine*, 152, 125-137

Stoudt, B.G. (2006). "You are either in or you're out": school violence, peer discipline, and the (Re) production of hegemonic masculinity. *Men and Masculinities*, 8(3), 273-287.

Struwig, F.W. & Stead, G.B. (2013). *Research: Planning and designing and reporting*. (2nd ed.). Cape Town: Pearson.

Sundaram, V. (2013). Violence as understandable, deserved or unacceptable? Listening for gender in teenagers' talk about violence. *Gender and Education*, 25(7), 889-906.

Swain, J. (2000). "The Money's Good, the fame's good, the girls are good": The role of playground football in the construction of young boys' masculinity in a junior school. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 21(1), 95-107.

Sweetman, D., Badiie, M. & Creswell, D. (2010). Use of transformative framework in mixed methods studies. *Qualitative Inquiry*. 16(6): 441-454.

Swidler, A. & Cotts Watkins, S. (2007). Ties of Dependence: Aids and transactional sex in rural Malawi. *Studies in Family Planning*, 38(3): 147-162.

The Criminal law (sexual offences and related matters) Amendment Act 5 of 2015. http://www.gov.za/sites/www.gov.za/files/38977_Act 5 of 2015 Criminal Law. Accessed 15 July 2017.

TIMELINE. (2017) September 23. School violence in SA: More Richards Bay school violence videos emerge. Available at: <https://www.enca.com/south-africa/timeline-school-violence-in-sa>

Tongco, M.D. (2007). Purposive sampling as a tool for informant selection. *Ethnobotany Research and Applications*, 147-158.

Unesco. (2013). *A global review of current issues and approach in policy programme and gender based violence (SRGBV) for Unesco Education Sector*. Available at: <http://www.unesco.org>.

Unesco. (2015). Education for all. *GMR Policy Paper 4*. Paris: Unesco.

Unesco. (2017). School Violence and Bullying. *Global Status Report*. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation.

Unesco & Ungei. (2015). School-related gender-based violence is preventing the achievement of quality education for all. *Education for All Global Monitoring Report (GMR)*. New York: Unesco and the United Nations Girls' Education Initiative.

Unicef. (2010). Too often in silence: A report on school-based violence in West and Central Africa. *SCF, Action aid, Plan International*. Unicef.

Unicef (2014). *Hidden in plain sight: A statistical analysis of violence against children* (pp. 1-206). New York: Unicef Publications.

Unesco. (2014). *School related gender based violence in the Asia-Pacific Region*. Available at: <http://www.unesco.org/open-access/terms-use-ccbby-en>

United Nations, (2006). *UN Secretary General's study on violence against children*. United Nations: New York.

United Nations. (2016). *Protecting children from bullying. Report of the Secretary-General*. United Nations: New York.

Van Ingas, C. & Halas, J. (2006). Claiming space: Aboriginal students within school landscapes. *Children's Geographies*, 4(3), 379-398.

Van Leeuwen, T. (2008). *Discourse and practice: New tools for critical analysis*. United Kingdom: Oxford University Press.

Ward, C. (2007) Young people's violent behaviour: Social learning in context, in Burton, P. (ed), *Someone stole my smile: An exploration into causes of youth violence in South Africa*. CJCP Monograph 3, Cape Town, 9-35.

- Wardman, N.P. (2016). "So you can't blame us then?" Gendered discourses of masculine irresponsibility as biologically determined and peer-pressured in upper-primary school contexts. *Gender and Education*, 1-17.
- Weaver, C.M., Borkonski, J.G. & Whitman, T.L. (2008). Violence Breeds Violence: Child Exposure and Adolescent Conduct Problems. *J. Community Psychol...* 336 (1): 96-112. Doi: 10.1002/jccop. 20219
- White, D.E., Oelke, N.D. & Friesen, S. (2012). Management of a large qualitative data set: Establishing trustworthiness of the data. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 1(3), 244-258.
- Williamson, V., Creswell, C., Fearon, P., Hiller, R.M, Walker, J. & Halligan, S.L. (2017). The role of parenting behaviors in childhood post-traumatic stress disorder: A meta-analytic review. *Clinical Psychology Review*, 63, 1-13.
- Witt, S.D. (1997). Parental influence on children's socialization to gender roles. *Adolescence*, 32(126), 253-249.
- Wolhuter, B. (2017). Gender violence shock: 'Brutal' school assault slammed. *The Mercury Newspaper*
- World Health Organisation. (2002). *World report on violence and health*: In E.G. Krug, I.L. Dalberg, J.A. Mercy, A.B. Zwi & R. Lozano. (Eds.). Geneva: WHO
- World Health Organisation, (2005). *WHO multi-country study on women's health and domestic violence against women: Summary report of initial results on prevalence, health outcomes and women's responses/authors*: Claudia Garcia- Moreno [et.al.]. Geneva: World Health Organisation. <https://www.who.int/iris/handle/10615/43309>
- World Health Organisation. (2017). *10 facts about violence prevention*. Geneva. Available from: <https://www.who.int/features/factfiles/violence/en>
- Zainai, Z. (2007). *Case study as a research method*. Jurnal Kemanusiaan: Malaysia.

APPENDIX 1a: QUESTIONNAIRE

Answer the following questions as honestly as possible in the space provided. Please understand that this questionnaire is completely confidential.

Name..... In which grade are you?

What do you understand about violence?

.....
.....

Which forms of violence have you experienced in the school?

.....
.....

Have you ever been violent at school? Why?

.....
.....

Were you a perpetrator or victim?

How did it happen? What did you do?

.....
.....

Have you ever been bullied? If so, explain.

.....
.....
.....
.....

Have you ever seen others bullied? Who bullies them? How did they react (the bullied)?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

How do you feel when you see others bullied?

.....
.....
.....
.....

Who do you think are the most bullied? Why?

.....

.....

.....

How do other learners react towards the most violent?

.....

.....

.....

.....

How are the most violent perceived by you and the others?

.....

.....

.....

How are learners who engage in violent behaviour punished at school? How do you feel about the punishment given?

.....

.....

.....

.....

Does punishment reduce the occurrences of violent acts? If it does not work, what do you suggest?

.....

.....

.....

Do you feel safe at school?

Which are the most dangerous spaces in the school where violence occurs? Why?

.....

.....

.....

.....

Do you experience any violence in your community? Explain.

.....

.....

.....

.....

Is there any violence taking place at home? Explain.

.....

.....

.....

What do you think can be done to stop violence at school?

.....

.....

.....

APPENDIX 1b: INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

What is your name? How old are you?

Where do you live? Who do you live with?

What are the ages of the boys in your school?

What is the situation like in your home? Is it peaceful or is there violence? Explain.

How long have you been a learner in this school?

Are there incidents of violence in this school? Explain.

What do you understand about violence?

Have you personally experienced being a victim or perpetrator of violence in school?

How do you defend yourself if you are a victim?

If you are unable to defend yourself, how are you perceived by others in school?

Which forms of violence have you experienced in the school? Are weapons used?

Have you ever been violent at school? Explain. Why?

Have you ever been bullied? If so, explain.

Have you ever seen others bullied? Who bullies them? How did they react (the bullied)?

What about boys in the higher grades and boys in the lower grades? Is there bullying among them? Explain.

How do you feel when you see others bullied? Who do you think are the most bullied? Why?

How is violence perceived by you and the others?

Is it only boys who are violent? Girls? Teachers? Talk about it.

How are learners who engage in violent behaviour punished in school? How do you feel about the punishment given?

What steps are taken by the school when violence occurs?

Does punishment reduce the occurrences of violent acts? If it does not work, what do you suggest?

Do you feel safe in school?

Which are the most dangerous spaces in the school where violence occurs? Why?

Do you think boys' masculinity and social status in the school has anything to do with the violence?

Is there gang violence?

How do boys feel about homosexuality? How are same-sex attracted or effeminate boys treated by others in the school?

Are you homophobic? Are teachers homophobic? Explain.

Explain in detail boy-on-girl violence and girl-on-boy violence.

What kinds of activities are boys in your school mostly engaged in?

Do you experience any form of violence in your community? Explain. What forms of violence have you seen in your community?

Do your parents or any family members fight? Have they ever been violent with you?

Do you have sisters and brothers? Do you fight with each other? How do you resolve your disputes?

When your sibling or friend fights with someone, what do/would you do? Why?

Is there bullying in your home?

What do you think can be done to stop violence at school?

Appendix 2: Letter to the Principal Asking for Permission to Conduct Research at School



The Principal

Igagasi High School

U 798, Umlazi

Igagasi Avenue

4031

Date: 13/10/2017

Dear Sir

Re: Permission to conduct a research study in the school.

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

My study will fall under this project but will focus on boys and the title of my study is: **“Violent masculinities: A case study of violence among boys at a high school in Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal”.**

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

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

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely

A handwritten signature in black ink on a light green background. The signature is stylized, starting with a large 'N' and ending with a long, sweeping horizontal stroke.

Nombulelo Yvonne Mdladla

Cell: 0842597070

Email: bulemdlada@webmail.co.za

My supervisor's contact details are:

Dr. Bronwynne Mardia Anderson, PhD

School of Education

College of Humanities

University of KwaZulu-Natal

Private Bag X03

Cnr Marianhill & Richmond Roads

Ashwood

3605

South Africa

Tel: +27 (0) 31 260 2603

Fax: +27 (0) 31 260 3793

You may also contact the **Research Office** through:

Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)

HSSREC Research Office Tel: 031 260 3587/ 8350/4557

PRINCIPAL'S INFORMED CONSENT REPLY SLIP

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

The times and dates of the research will be at the sole discretion of the principal.

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

.....

SIGNATURE OF PRINCIPAL DATE

SCHOOL STAMP

Appendix 3: Informed Consent Letter to Parents/Guardians



Date:

Dear Parent/Guardian

Re: Request for permission for your child/ward to participate in a research study.

I am writing to request your permission for your son to participate in a research study titled: **“Violent masculinities: A case study of violence among boys at a high school in Umlazi, KwaZulu- Natal”**.

My name is Nombulelo Yvonne Mdladla and I am currently studying towards my Masters in Education degree at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN). As part of the requirements of this degree, I am required to conduct research that will be used in my dissertation. This study seeks to investigate the boys’ violence and construction of masculinities in high school. This study will also explore the ways in which factors such as substance abuse, poverty, gangs, unemployment and the violence that takes place, both in school and within the wider community, contribute to the violence taking place within the school premises.

I require boys from grades 8 to 12. I would be grateful if you would consent to your son participating in the study. If you choose to allow your son to participate in this research, he will be invited to participate in an individual interview. This will be done during the break or at times when the learner is available, without interfering with his learning in any way. The interviews will be audio-taped with you and your son’s permission. The data collected will be transcribed and made available to your son, to ensure that all information has been captured correctly. The tapes and transcripts will be kept in a secure storage and destroyed after five years.

Confidentiality and anonymity will be maintained at all times, in the analysis of the data and the completion of the dissertation. Your son’s identity will remain anonymous throughout the study and in the various publications we will produce from it (we will not use their real names or the name of the school). While every precaution will be taken to maintain the confidentiality of the

participants, there will be limits of confidentiality. Should there be a disclosure/s which indicates that your son's or someone else's well-being is being compromised or at risk, the researcher will seek his/their consent in addressing the matter. In addition, his participation in the study is voluntary and he may decide not to participate without any penalty. He is also free to withdraw from the project at any time during or after data collection without penalty.

Kindly discuss your son's participation with him, if you both agree and you give his permission, fill the form below and return to me.

I may be contacted at:

Tel: 0842597070

My supervisor's contact details are:

Dr. Bronwynne Mardia Anderson, PhD

School of Education

College of Humanities

University of KwaZulu-Natal

Private Bag X03

Cnr Marianhill & Richmond Roads, Ashwood, 3605

SOUTH AFRICA

Tel: +27 (0) 31 260 2603

Fax: +27 (0) 31 260 3793

You may also contact the **Research Office**

Westville Campus

Govan Mbeki Building

Private Bag X 54001, Durban, 4000

KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA

Tel: 27 31 260 4557/ Fax: 27 31 2604609

Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

CONSENT FORM

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

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

.....

SIGNATURE OF PARENT/GUARDIAN DATE

Appendix 4: Letter seeking assent from participants for permission to interview them for the study



DATE: 14/03/2018

Dear Participant

Re: Request for permission to participate in a research study

I am writing to request your permission to participate in a research study titled:

“Violent masculinities: A case study of violence among boys at a high school in Umlazi, KwaZulu- Natal”.

I am Nombulelo Yvonne. Mdladla and currently studying towards my Masters in Education Degree at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN). As part of the requirements of this degree, I am required to conduct research that will be used in my dissertation. This study seeks to investigate the boys’ violence and construction of masculinities in high school. This study will also explore the ways in which factors such as substance abuse, poverty, gangs, unemployment and the violence that take place both within school and in the wider community contribute to the violence taking place within the school premises.

I will require you to participate in the filling in of a questionnaire and an individual interview. With your permission, the interview will be audio-taped and the tapes will be transcribed. Transcriptions will be made available to you to ensure that the information had been correctly captured. This is aimed at gaining an understanding of your views and experiences of school violence.

Your identity will remain anonymous throughout the study. Your real name or the name of the school will not be used. While every precaution will be taken to maintain the confidentiality of the participants, there will be limits of confidentiality. Should there be a disclosure/s which indicates that your or someone else’s well-being is being compromised or at risk, the researcher will seek his/their consent in addressing the matter. In addition, your participation in the study is voluntary

and you may decide not to participate without any penalty. You are also free to withdraw from the project at any time during or after data collection, without penalty.

I may be contacted at:

Tel: 0842597070

My supervisor's contact details are:

Dr. Bronwynne Mardia Anderson, PhD

School of Education

College of Humanities

University of KwaZulu-Natal

Private Bag X03

Cnr Marianhill & Richmond Roads, Ashwood, 3605

SOUTH AFRICA

Tel: +27 (0) 31 260 2603

Fax: +27 (0) 31 260 3793

You may also contact the **Research Office:**

Westville Campus

Govan Mbeki Building

Private Bag X 54001, Durban, 4000

KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA

Tel: 27 31 260 4557/ Fax: 27 31 2604609

Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

PARTICIPANT'S INFORMED ASSENT REPLY SLIP

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

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

.....


SIGNATURE OF PARTICIPANT

DATE

Additional consent, where applicable:

I hereby provide assent to:	Please tick	
Audio-record my interview	YES	
	NO	

Appendix 5: Ethical Clearance

 **UNIVERSITY OF
KWAZULU-NATAL**
INYUVESI
YAKWAZULU-NATALI

27 November 2016

Ms Nombulelo Y Mdladla 217078963
School of Education
Edgewood Campus

Dear Ms Mdladla

Protocol reference number: HSS/1433/017M
Project title: Violent Masculinities: A case study of violence among high school boys in Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal

Full Approval – Full Committee Reviewed Protocol

In response to your application received 11 August 2015, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application 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.

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

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

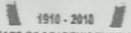
Yours faithfully


.....
Dr Shamila Naidoo (Deputy Chair)
Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

/pm

cc Supervisor: Dr B Anderson
cc Academic Leader Research: Dr SB Khoza
cc School Administrator: Ms Tyzer Khumalo

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee
Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)
Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building
Postal Address: Private Bag X54001, Durban 4000
Telephone: +27 (0) 31 260 3587/6350/4557 Facsimile: +27 (0) 31 260 4606 Email: ethics@ukzn.ac.za / ethics@ukzn.ac.za / ethics@ukzn.ac.za
Website: www.ukzn.ac.za/ethics

 1910 - 2010
100 YEARS OF ACADEMIC EXCELLENCE

Campuses: Durban Westville Edgewood Howard College Medical School Pietermaritzburg Westville