

WHERE DO THE CHILDREN PLAY?

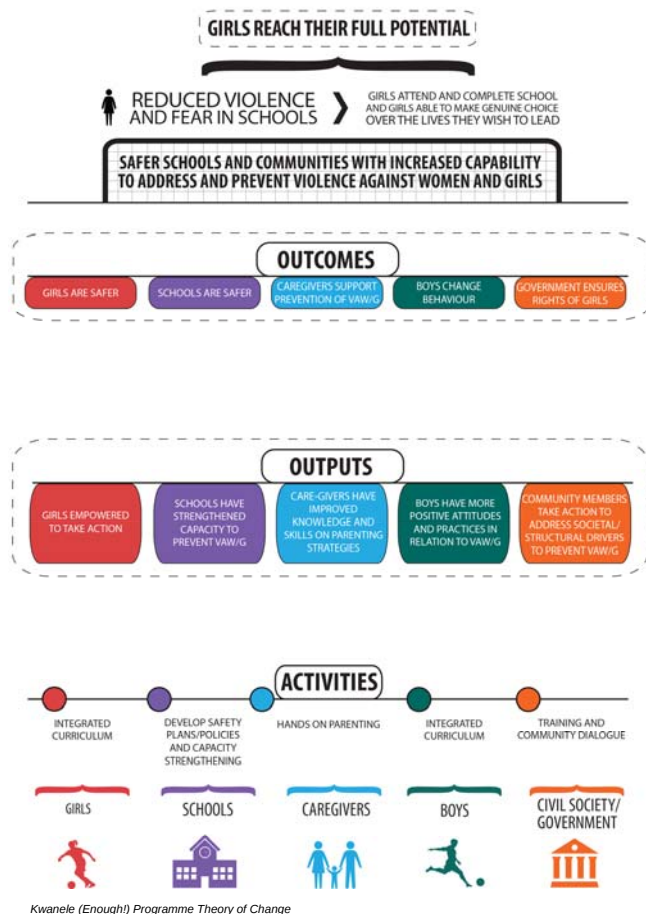
Alarming Levels of Sexual and Gender-Based Violence in Township Schools in Cape Town, South Africa: Baseline Data for a Joint Grassroot Soccer & Soul City Intervention

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BACKGROUND

Kwanele! (Enough!) is a five-year pilot programme working in 20 schools in Khayelitsha township in Cape Town, South Africa to decrease the high level of gender-based and sexual violence in schools, and ensure a safe learning environment for girls. The programme is implemented by Grassroot Soccer South Africa (GRS) and The Soul City Institute for Health and Development Communication (SCI), with support from Comic Relief, as part of the Sexual Violence in Schools in South Africa (SeViSSA) initiative. The SeViSSA programme is a combined intervention from SCI and GRS to contribute to safer schools and communities with increased capabilities to address and prevent violence against women and girls, across South Africa, through holistic behaviour change communication programming for adolescent girls and boys, schools, caregivers, civil society and government stakeholders.



METHODS

By engaging with the school, community and home environment, as well as working directly with learners, GRS and SCI have recognised that addressing the structural and institutional factors that perpetuate Violence Against Women and Girls (VAWG) and Sexual and Gender-Based Violence (SGBV) is critical to creating a safer learning environment. The external evaluation is underway the Human Sciences Research Council with research approval from the Western Cape Education Department. The baseline study was conducted from January to October 2015.

Quantitative methods included surveys delivered to male and female learners (n=2881; female=1684; male=1197) in 20 intervention schools (n=10 primary, n=10 secondary) and four control schools (n=2 primary, n=2 secondary) in Khayelitsha and nearby areas, to ascertain exposure to SGBV and determinants of SGBV. Sample sizes were stratified by school and grade size, and a separate survey was conducted with educators (n=140; female=107; male=33) capturing attitudes and knowledge of school policies towards SGBV. All surveys were conducted on mobile phones using Open Data Kit.

Qualitative methodologies included focus group discussions with learners (n=50, primary school=20, high school=30), parents (n=3) and community members (n=3), as well as individual interviews with members of school governing boards, educators, principals and selected service providers (n=24).

RESULTS

Results revealed very high levels of exposure to violence.

70% of students reported exposure to violence at home (shouting, threatening, hitting) and 60% felt at risk of violence within their communities. Safety on the way to school was of concern to students and educators.

32% of high school students in relationships experienced intimate partner violence (IPV) in the past 12 months. 33% of all high school students experienced non-partner SGBV. 49% indicated perpetrating SGBV, with alcohol and drugs as a key feature of this violence. Non-partner violence was mostly perpetrated by a fellow learner (30%) or teacher (20%) at school. 66% of educators felt schools are safe but only 50% indicated their school has a policy on SGBV.

Primary school students were less likely to be in relationships, but 48% of those in relationships reported experiencing IPV. 65% of primary school students reported perpetration of non-partner related SGBV.

Students experiencing sexual IPV reported it 50% of the time. Only six in 10 learners that experienced sexual IPV felt that the violence they experienced was wrong.

	Experiences of IPV		Perpetration of IPV	
	High School n=1362 (%)	Primary School n=306 (%)	High School n=367 (%)	Primary School n=62 (%)
Threatened to hurt you or someone you care about	15	23	16	29
Slapped you or thrown something at you that could hurt you	10	11	9	18
Pushed you or pulled your hair	7	10	5	6
Hit you with their fist or with something else that could hurt you	3	6	2	2
Kicked you, dragged you, or beaten you up; choked you or burnt you on purpose	3	5	1	2
Threatened to use or actually used a gun, knife, or other weapon against you	2	6	1	2
Physically forced you to have sexual intercourse when you did not want to	4	6	1	0

Learners experience and perpetration of Intimate Partner Violence (IPV)

The qualitative findings showed that SGBV was more often mentioned in response to questions about whether girls feel comfortable in the school environment, as opposed to questions about whether they feel safe. The findings point to how sexual harassment is normalised and bound with accepted performances of masculinity and femininity—with male sexuality associated with sexual conquest, and female sexuality seen as passive and coy.

"And then, mostly here at school, girls are being harassed - it is one thing that is not being attended to by teachers. Sexually we are harassed by boys a lot. You'll find them touching us but we are also afraid because this person is with you in class. You will have him expelled, you end up feeling sorry for him but you would be touched and touched or being called names like we are whores. A person doesn't even know you, but he'll like call you a slut, things like those. You find that we are also being abused, but our teachers don't see it and we also don't take the initiative, in reporting that" (High School Learner, Female)

35% of learners in control and 48% in intervention schools reported repeating a grade. 23% of males and 29% of females in high schools identified as non-heterosexual. Gender non-conforming individuals were found to be more at risk of violence.

CONCLUSION

Learners report alarming levels of SGBV, whether in relationships or not. Primary school learners report higher levels of IPV and non-partner related SGBV than high school learners, reflecting the need for intervention at a young age. This correlates to evidence showing that very young adolescents (10-14) are most at need. Furthermore, many educators do not know how to respond to SGBV and schools lack specific policies to address SGBV. These results will inform a joint GRS and SCI intervention to reduce SGBV in schools.

NEXT STEPS

Midline and endline results will show whether a combined, multi-layered GRS and SCI intervention is effective in preventing and addressing violence. The partners will also investigate whether efforts have changed the school climate and education outcomes. Results will be collated together as part of the SeViSSA project and used to advocate for multi-sectoral responses to SGBV in schools across South Africa.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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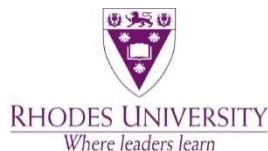
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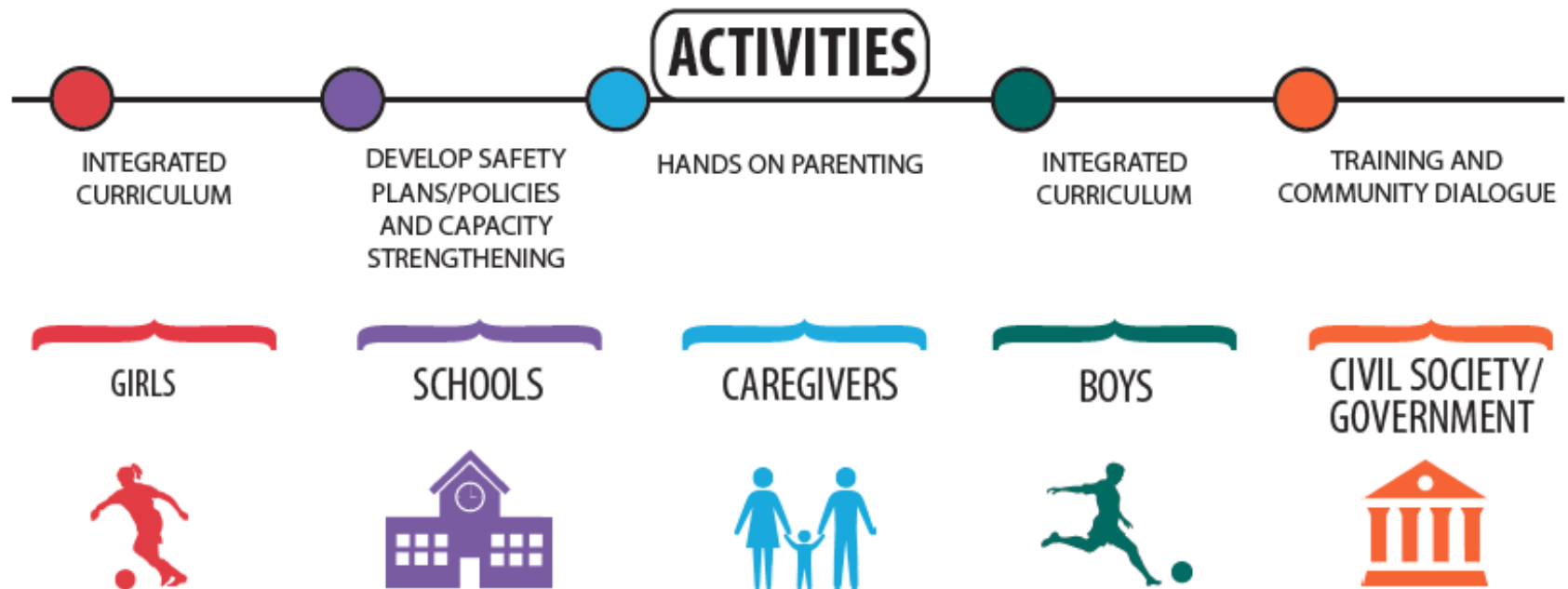
Palesa Mokooane, Lebohang Letsela , Phinah Kodisang

Soul City Institute for Social Justice



Sexual Violence in Schools in South Africa (SeViSSA) initiative

Implementation partners: Soul City Institute and Grassroot Soccer



OUTCOMES

GIRLS ARE SAFER

SCHOOLS ARE SAFER

CAREGIVERS SUPPORT PREVENTION OF VAW/G

BOYS CHANGE BEHAVIOUR

GOVERNMENT ENSURES RIGHTS OF GIRLS

“In the past 12 months...?”

48% (PS) and 23% (HS) learners report some form of **intimate partner violence**

Threatened to use
or used a gun,
knife, other
weapon against
you

Kicked, dragged,
beaten up,
choked, burnt
you on purpose

**Threatened to
hurt you,
someone you
care about**

**Pushed you
or pulled
your hair**

**Slapped you or
thrown something
at you that could
hurt you**

Physically forced
you to have sex
when you didn't
want to

Hit you with their
fist / something
else that could
hurt you

**Multiple selection possible*

“In the past 12 months...?”*

41% (PS) and 27% (HS) of learners report some form of **sexual violence** by a partner

PS: 20%
HS: 14%

Forced to have
sex because
you were afraid

PS: 23%
HS: 17%

Forced to have
sex because
your partner
made you feel
bad

PS: 23%
HS: 10%

Forced to do
something
sexual that was
humiliating or
shameful

**Multiple selection possible*

Dating 'rules'

- **(1) Women provide sex in exchange for men's material and emotional provision**
- **(2) Girls want to be 'pleaded' or persuaded to have sex**

Challenging dating 'rules'

(1) Love comes from the heart and is not proven with sex or money.

(2) If you love someone, you will wait for the person to feel ready to have sex with you.

Researcher: Would you go on dating that girl who tells you straight, 'I am not going to have sex with you. I will have it when I'm ready, you will have to wait for me until I am ready'? Would you dump or beat her?

Hlomela: I would wait for her, if I really love her, I would wait.

Researcher: You, what would you do?

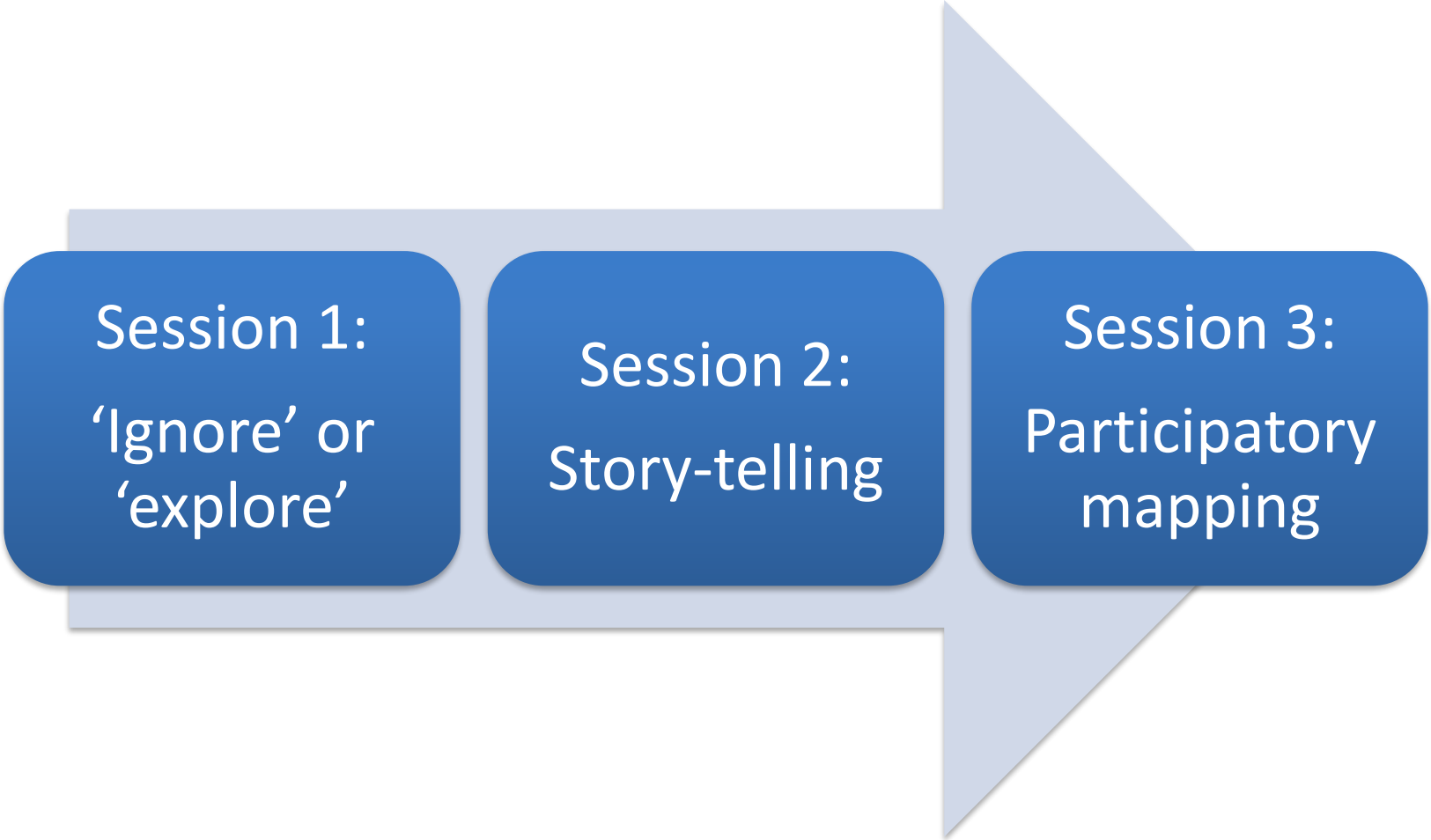
Siya: I would wait for her. [...]

David: I would tell her 'If you love him and he loves you, he will listen to you and wait for you'. (*Grade 9, Male group*)

Research methodology: Mid-term

- *Aim*: To address research questions identified during baseline, specifically vulnerabilities linked to age, and sexual and gender diversity
- Methodology: Qualitative, through two components:
 1. *Participatory learner workshops*
 - Male and female learners, Gr 8-11
 - 42 workshops across 6 schools
 2. *Brokered community dialogue*
 - Educators, parents, community members, learners
 - 125 participants

Participatory learner workshops



Session 1:
'Ignore' or
'explore'

Session 2:
Story-telling

Session 3:
Participatory
mapping



Changes since baseline

Changes in boys' support for male sexual entitlement

Interviewer: So are you saying a boy has to make decisions?

All respondents: Yes [...]

Respondent 2: Girls do make decisions [...] A girl can make a fixed decision for example if you are trying to have sex with her, she can stand firm and say "I meant what I said, I do not want to have sex", or, "I am not ready." At the end of the day, you will have to accept her decisions because she made the decision for a reason.

Respondent 4: You cannot force matters. You have to respect her decision (*High school A, boys, grade 10, session 2*)

Changes since baseline

Girls' resistance to male dominance

Respondent 2: I am saying just because you love him, it doesn't mean that you have to sleep with him [...] These are my rights that I am practising. I'm still too young to have sex with you, maybe the condom might break and I will end up being pregnant. Maybe I'm on my period, or my parents will not want me [to have sex].

Interviewer: OK.

Respondent 2: And then if he says I will dump you, I'll say rather dump me then for what you want us to do [...] I would say it is fine, because you don't know what might happen if I have a baby. You will not look after the child (*Primary school D, girls, grade 6, session 1*)

Changes since baseline

Sexual and gender diversity

Instances of support, normalisation (from learners):

Respondent 2: [If someone is] making negative remarks to them, they will make them feel that they are not being supported, [or] welcome. At the end of the day whatever the gay person is doing, they are doing for themselves and not for anyone else (*High school A, boys, grade 10, session 3*).

Educators, however, not equipped to create safe, inclusive classroom:

Respondent 2: [O]ur class teacher is trying her very best to stop the learner who is a lesbian in our class to refrain from that. [...]

Interviewer: Is the teacher trying to stop her from being a lesbian?

Respondent 2: Yes (*High school A, boys, grade 10, session 1*).

Conclusion and recommendations

Address school safety

- Work with schools, DoBE, community members

Early intervention

- Focused programming regarding IPV

Challenge harmful gender norms

- Challenge 'dating rules'
- Reinforce messaging around mutual respect, love, emotional intimacy

Challenge social norms of authority and obedience

- To make reporting easier

Intersectional SRGBV policy and programming

- Integrate boys' and LGBTI learners' vulnerability

Support educators with clear reporting procedures, resources

Thank You.

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SEVISSA MIDTERM REPORT

An impact evaluation of "Kwanele! Communities ensuring safe learning environments for girls" in Khayelitsha, Cape Town

Part of the Sexual Violence in Schools in South Africa (SeViSSA) initiative

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List of acronyms

CALS	Centre for Applied Legal Studies
CSSR	Critical Studies in Sexualities and Reproduction
DoBE	Department of Basic Education
GBV	Gender-based violence
GRS	Grassroot Soccer
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
IPV	Intimate partner violence
LGBTI	Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex
SCI	Soul City Institute
SeViSSA	Sexual Violence in Schools in South Africa
SGBV	Sexual- and gender-based violence
SIPV	Sexual intimate partner violence
SRGBV	School-related gender-based violence
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNGEI	United Nations Girls' Education Initiative
VAW	Violence against women

SECTION 1: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1. School-related gender-based violence

Schools are meant to be inclusive and safe, yet school-related gender-based violence (SRGBV) is prevalent in schools across the world (Le Roux & Mokhele, 2011; UNESCO & UNGEI, 2015). Research about SRGBV in South African schools indicates devastating consequences for learners and society more broadly. Yet, incidents often remain under-reported and unacknowledged by educators and other stakeholders in school settings (UNESCO, 2016). At an individual level, such violence is a rights violation that undermines young people's development and wellbeing: SRGBV is correlated with lower academic achievement, disrupted studies, school dropout, and economic insecurity (Dunne, Humphreys, & Leach, 2006). A number of studies show that gender-based violence in and around schools is a major barrier to the achievement of quality education (Dunne, Humphreys, & Leach, 2006; Greene, Robles, Stout, & Suvilaakso, 2012; Moletsane et al., 2010; Moletsane, 2010) and has a negative impact on psychological wellbeing and health (Greene et al., 2012; Leach et al., 2014). The heightened risk of HIV infection for young people also has an impact on enrolment and retention. Overall, SRGBV may work to academically exclude those from vulnerable groups who have struggled to get, and stay, in school (Leach et al., 2014).

South African research shows that girls are much more likely than boys to experience sexual harassment, sexual assault, and rape. Boys, on the other hand, are much more likely to be perpetrators of such sexual violence, including within intimate heterosexual relationships—a key site of sexual violence and exploitation of girls and young women. Boys' abusive behaviour is directed at girls and younger or more vulnerable boys and is "part the product of a peer culture which stresses male competition and sexual prowess as part of the process of learning to 'be a man'" (Leach, 2003, p. 385). Further to this, prevailing gender norms contribute to the vulnerability of sexual and gender minority youth in schools (Butler, Alpaslan, Strumpher, & Astbury, 2003; Leach et al., 2014). Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex (LGBTI) youth frequently encounter discrimination, social isolation, and intolerance in schools (UNESCO, 2016). They are also vulnerable to varying types and degrees of violence, including physical or verbal abuse and sexual violence; a recent multi-country study notes that this applies similarly to learners who do not identify as LGBTI but are perceived as not conforming to gender norms (UNESCO, 2016). The heteronormative environment of most schools means that homophobic and transphobic violence often goes unreported, with little assistance provided to those who experience it (Potgieter & Reygan, 2012; UNESCO, 2016).

Moletsane and colleagues (2010) conclude that the existing body of research on violence in schools underlines "a consistent (and unrelenting) theme of gender inequality" (p. 3). While all violence could be said to have a gendered component (Leach & Humphreys, 2007), UNESCO and UNGEI (2015) define SRGBV as "acts or threats of sexual, physical or psychological violence occurring in and around schools, perpetrated as a result of gender norms and stereotypes, and enforced by unequal power dynamics" (p. x). SRGBV includes:

Explicit threats or acts of physical violence, bullying, verbal or sexual harassment, non-consensual touching, sexual coercion and assault, and rape. Corporal punishment and discipline in schools often manifest in gendered and discriminatory ways. Other implicit acts of SRGBV stem from everyday school practices that reinforce stereotyping and gender inequality, and encourage violent or unsafe environments (UNESCO & UNGEI, 2015, p. x).

These forms of violence derive from unequal and antagonistic gender relations that everyday school structures and processes tolerate and even "normalise" (Leach & Humphreys, 2007). The school (in

addition to homes and communities) is a crucial setting for “the construction of gender identities and gender relations built on socially sanctioned inequalities. However informal they may appear, these social institutions are organised by different power and authority structures that describe different roles or social positions and functions for different members” (Leach et al., 2014, p. 4). Schools may reiterate common ideas about what females and males should be like: “Dominant versions of manhood may call for expressions of aggression, violence, competitive sexuality, sexual power over women, and homophobia. Conversely, social expectations of girls can include deference to men and boys, sexual submissiveness, passivity and virginity” (Greene et al., 2012, p. 21). Consequently, as research shows, SRGBV “often takes different forms for girls and boys, affecting their education and life chances differently in turn” (Leach et al., 2014, p. 11).

In addition to learner-on-learner violence, teacher-perpetrated violence and sexual exploitation of learners occur. Reporting barriers mean that it is difficult to establish the nature of and responses to teacher perpetrated-violence and Leach and colleagues (2014) maintain that, “poor levels of accountability, lack of good management and professional integrity in the educational system allow teachers to act with impunity, to the point where in some situations the phenomenon is, if not endemic, a common and even accepted part of school life” (p. 13). Finally, in the Western Cape, as in other areas where gangs are prevalent, stereotypical ideas about masculinity mean that boys are more likely than girls to be involved in violence related to gangs and/or criminal activity (Burton, 2007). Research in the Western Cape indicates that gang-related violent behaviour commonly includes: “a lack of respect for, and threats against teachers; weapons in schools; bullying; and sexual violence and harassment” (Mncube & Steinman, 2014, p. 204).

SRGBV is underpinned by wider structural factors and deep-rooted social norms and beliefs (UNESCO & UN Women, 2016, p. 20). In addition to gender discriminatory norms, social norms that shape authority and control contribute to the use of violence to maintain that authority, thereby reinforcing social and gender norms (UNESCO & UN Women, 2016). Further to this, “structural and contextual factors including conflict, income inequality, deprivation or marginalisation and weak systems” contribute to SRGBV (UNESCO & UN Women, 2016, p. 27). At a broader societal level, SRGBV perpetuates cycles of violence across generations, both through experiencing and being exposed to violence (Burton & Leoschut, 2012). Schools are of course situated within these wider norms and systems and instead of protecting learners, often become sites where learners are exposed to forms of violence that “replicate, reinforce and recreate the norms and power dynamics of the societies, communities and families around them” (UNESCO & UN Women, 2016, p. 27).

Interventions that reduce SRGBV may improve retention and attainment of quality education for girls and young women, ultimately contributing to improved socio-economic opportunities and increased empowerment. “Schools are the place where SRGBV occurs, but they are also the place where it can stop” (UNESCO & UNGEI, 2015, p. 16). As spaces of socialisation (Diko, 2007), schools are “both a producer and a product of gender discrimination” (Council of Education Ministers in Pandor, 2005, p. 23). Yet, they are also key spaces to empower young women as well as to provide education and information pertaining to sexuality and violence (Wood, Maforah, & Jewkes, 1998). The value of targeting young people who are still being socialised has been demonstrated by evaluations of school-based violence prevention programmes and gender transformative programmes (Guedes, 2004).

1.2. The SeViSSA intervention

In response to widespread SRGBV, the five-year Sexual Violence in Schools in South Africa (SeViSSA) programme is being implemented in selected schools in the Western Cape, starting in 2015 and ending

in 2019. The intervention includes ten primary schools and ten high schools in Khayelitsha, a large township in Cape Town.

This programme aims to: empower girls to take action against violence in schools; strengthen the capacity of schools to identify, prevent and address violence against girls and respond effectively to the needs of survivors of sexual violence; improve knowledge and skills of care-givers of learners on non-violent, positive non-sexist, parenting strategies and increase their participation in their child's education; improve the attitudes and practices of boys in relation to violence against girls and foster agency in championing the rights of girls; engage community members surrounding schools and relevant government departments to take action to prevent and address violence against girls and its social and structural drivers in schools and communities. Grassroot Soccer and Soul City Institute are the implementing agencies, with the Human Science Research Council and the Critical Studies in Sexualities and Reproduction (CSSR) research programme of Rhodes University conducting the evaluation.

Grassroot Soccer is an international HIV prevention organisation that uses soccer to implement an interactive HIV prevention and life skills curriculum with youth, through trained peer educators (who are also coaches). Activities by Grassroot Soccer that form part of the SeViSSA programme include *SKILLZ Street* – a 10-session intervention run by female coaches for adolescent girls at primary schools (Grades 6 and 7), as well as *Generation SKILLZ* and *Utshintsho* – a set of two 7-session interventions run by male and female coaches in mixed gender groups of adolescents in Grades 8 to 10.

Parallel to the interventions by Grassroot Soccer, SCI, with its focus on health communication, run *Soul Buddyz Clubs* in primary schools, with male and female learners in Grades 6 and 7. Soul Buddyz Clubs are face-to-face interventions facilitated by schoolteachers, focused on the promotion of children's wellbeing through the provision of health information and skills, especially those which relate to HIV/AIDS and sexuality. SCI also establishes *Young Women's Clubs* in high schools for female learners aged 15 and older. These are peer-led groups in which participants take part in activities around key sexual and reproductive health themes, including HIV/AIDS and gender-based violence. Finally, SCI engages school structures on issues related to sexual- and gender-based violence through advocacy activities with principals and school governing bodies, and engage parents and caregivers through parenting programmes that address, amongst others, issues of HIV/AIDS, gender and sexuality.

1.3. The evaluation study

The purpose of this report is to present findings of the midterm assessment that forms part of the five-year evaluation of the SeViSSA programme. Prior to this midterm assessment, the evaluation team conducted a baseline assessment in 2015 for which the report and other research outputs can be accessed at (Lynch et al., 2016). A summary of the baseline findings is attached as appendix A.

The over-arching aim of the programme evaluation is to assess the extent to which and how the interventions have: improved access, retention and attainment of girls in schools; contributed to the empowerment of girls; and strengthened the capacity of the school and community to both prevent gender-based and sexual violence, and identify and deal with violence where it does occur. Specifically, the evaluation is aimed at:

- Examining the achievement of outcomes and outputs of the SeViSSA programme, accounting for how these results were achieved;
- Highlighting best practices and challenges;
- Exploring what facets of the integrated offering have been most effective;

- Providing suggestions/recommendations on what aspects of the SeViSSA programme should be strengthened or improved;
- Identifying lessons learned from the implementation of the programme; and
- Assessing the adequacy of the programme concept and design in addressing the identified problem

This midterm report provides: (i) a contextualised account of SRGBV in the intervention schools and surrounding communities, thereby contributing formative data to refine programme implementation over the remainder of the evaluation period; (ii) comparative data to assist in evaluating programme impact since baseline; and (iii) responds to research questions identified during baseline, notably around vulnerabilities linked to age and sexual and gender diversity.

SECTION 2: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The evaluation study of the SeViSSA programme includes a quantitative survey and qualitative data collection at baseline as well as endterm. At midterm, data collection relies on qualitative methods only. In what follows we provide an overview of the research methodology that informed this report.

2.1. Research context: Schools in Khayelitsha

The SeViSSA programme is implemented in 20 schools across Khayelitsha. Khayelitsha is a particularly under-resourced area, with poor infrastructure (including housing, water, sanitation and electricity) (Manaliyo & Muzindutsi, 2013). The township has an estimated population of one million, many of whom are migrants from the Eastern Cape looking for employment (White, 2013). In addition to high levels of poverty and deprivation, there is also a high incidence of violent crime, including sexual violence (Nleya & Thompson, 2009). Some of the highest rates of homicide in the Western Cape have been recorded in this township (120 per 100,000 people) (Matzopoulos, Bowman, Mathews, & Myers, 2010). Together these factors make Khayelitsha a difficult place to live, exacerbated by the fact that there is historically a poor relationship of trust between the community and police (Manaliyo & Muzindutsi, 2013).

South African schools are ranked by the Department of Basic Education according to resources and level of poverty in the community where the school is based, with quintile 1 being lowest and 5 being highest. All schools in Khayelitsha fall within poverty quintiles 1-3. Of the participating schools in this study, six are ranked as quintile 3 while the remaining 14 schools are quintile 2. All of the schools are known as “no-fee” schools in that they are entirely state-funded. Many of the schools lack basic resources. For instance, some schools in Khayelitsha lack textbooks and security at schools vary. Schools in poverty quintiles 1 to 3 partake in the National School Nutrition Programme where learners receive one nutritionally balanced meal while at school. For many learners this is an incentive to attend school. It is reported that only about a quarter of Grade 3s can read and write at the benchmark level, and about 42 percent perform at the benchmark level in maths. Both of these outcomes are about half of the performance levels in the top quintile of schools in the province’s wealthiest areas. Matric pass rates are also generally low, which places these schools in the category of “underperforming schools” (Equal Education, 2011; Hasson & Brockman, 2012). The baseline report provides more detailed descriptions of the participating schools.

2.2. Conceptual framework and qualitative design

Using a critical sexual and reproductive citizenship framework, the evaluation study sought to understand the extent to which, and the manner in which, learners' sexual citizenship status (e.g. the right to bodily integrity and freedom from violence) is upheld or undermined; how the school environment enables or restricts the realisation of learners' sexual citizenship; and how agency and empowerment are woven into the lives of young people in the schools.

The study is conducted within a framework of critical sexual and reproductive citizenship where sexual violence in schools is understood as multi-dimensional and thus shaped by individual, social and structural factors that may work to prevent or perpetuate such violence. Such a framework is based on theorisation around the notion of citizenship, which, simply put, deals with who is eligible to be counted as a citizen and who is not. This determines who is included and who is excluded from the entitlements of citizenship (such as safe access to education) as well as justice claims (such as the rights to health and non-discrimination). Sexual and reproductive citizenship theory emphasises the contextual location of people's sexual and reproductive rights and the limitations on these (Macleod & Vincent, 2014; Richardson, 2000a, 2000b). A critical sexual and reproductive citizenship framework emphasises the importance of creating the conditions necessary for comprehensive reproductive and sexual freedom, which includes freedom from sexual violence. This lays bare how, despite the promise of legislation, school policies and interventions aimed at providing a safe learning environment, in many school contexts particular people (disproportionately girls and young women) are excluded from full sexual and reproductive citizenship (Macleod & Vincent, 2014).

A major impediment to effective interventions is the lack of evidence on SRGBV, since "much research on violence against children in schools has neglected to explore the role of gender" (UNESCO & UNGEI, 2015, p. 1). There is a need for research in order to improve our understanding of contextual issues and depth of understanding (Leach et al., 2014)—qualitative research is best placed for this. Knowledge generation is essential to evidence-based programming around the issue. As Leach and colleagues rightly point out, "Understanding the local circumstances, cultures and traditions that produce context-specific manifestations of, and responses to, GBV, is vital if interventions are to be intelligently designed and implemented" (Leach et al., 2014, p. 5).

2.3. Research materials

Data collection during the midterm assessment was designed to be responsive to vulnerabilities related to age and sexual and gender diversity, noting that these were areas identified as important during the baseline assessment. For this reason, the instruments used during baseline data collection were revised. The revised data collection comprises three group-based workshops, incorporating a greater emphasis on participatory data collection methodologies instead of a more conventional focus group discussion. This decision was motivated by the fact that participatory workshops provide for an engaging, non-threatening way for participants to discuss potentially sensitive topics, through focusing the discussion on a common activity instead of probing for personal information from participants (Bannister & Begoray, 2006; Brondani, MacEntee, Bryant, & O'Neill, 2008). This contributed to a more comfortable environment for participants, particularly young participants, and richer data for analysis (Amsden & VanWynberghe, 2005).

The revised instruments were designed to still tap the same study domains outlined in the original research protocol. The three workshops are summarised below and the full instruments used during the workshops attached as appendix B.

Workshops 1: 'Ignore' or 'Explore'

The activity conducted in this workshop is focused on generating discussion and exploring learners' beliefs and knowledge about sex, violence, and relationships. The facilitator prompts the activity by reading out statements addressing topics on sex, violence and relationships to which learners respond by choosing “ignore” or “explore”. Based on their responses facilitators are able to generate discussion in relation to the relevance of the statements in terms of learners’ beliefs and knowledge as contextualised within their community. The activity takes place in small groups of 6-8 learners, guided by the facilitator (adapted from Grassroot Soccer, 2014). The purpose of the activity is to provide information that is formative, not evaluative, by generating insights into aspects of learners' realities that can inform the refinement of intervention activities.

Workshop 2: Story telling

The aim of this workshop is to co-create a story about dating, sex, and love with learners (Lynch, Morison, Gqomfa, Macleod & Goldstein, forthcoming; O'Dell, Crafter, de Abreu, & Cline, 2012). Facilitators co-create a story centred on two characters, chosen by learners, faced with making decisions about their relationship. Learners' participation in the creation of this story allows for further discussion around meanings of love, coercion and sex within relationships. Similar to workshop 1, the purpose of this workshop is to provide information that is formative with the goal of informing refinement of intervention activities.

Workshop 3: Participatory mapping

This workshop relies on participatory mapping and moves away from the immediate context of relationships to take a somewhat broader focus on generating discussion about learners' sense of safety in different areas in their school and surrounding environments (Amsden & VanWynsberghe, 2005; Kramer, Seedat, Lazarus, & Suffla, 2011). Specifically, it explores where learners feel safe/unsafe in relation to sexual violence or harassment (unwanted touching, verbal harassment) in educational spaces. Furthermore, it also identifies sources of support and protection in their environments, as well as possible barriers to such support. Ultimately, the workshop provides information about the impact of the intervention on increasing the sense of safety of learners, and particularly girls, in the school and community spaces in which they are located.

2.4. Sampling and data collection

2.4.1. Participatory learner workshops

For the learner workshops described above, purposive sampling was used to target male and female learners from grade 8 through to grade 11 (Gravetter & Forzano, 2012). Teachers assisted with identifying learners based on age, gender and availability. Similar to the original data collection plan, the same cohort of participants completed all three workshops, in groups of 6-8 learners, separated by gender and age, with the activities being led by two trained researchers. For each grade, a total of 6 workshops were held: 3 with girls and 3 with boys. This resulted in a total of 42 workshops across the 6 schools. Each workshop was approximately 1 hour in duration and scheduled at a time convenient to the schools and learners (typically in classrooms after school). Workshops were predominantly conducted in isiXhosa.

School	Grade	Gender
<i>A</i>	10	Female & male groups (6)
<i>B</i>	9	Female & male groups (6)
<i>C</i>	8	Male learners (3)

	9	Female learners (3)
	11	Female & male groups (6)
<i>D</i>	6	Female & male groups (6)
<i>E</i>	6	Female & male groups (6)
<i>F</i>	6	Female & male groups (6)

Table 1: Overview of participatory workshops (n = 42)

2.4.2. Brokered community dialogue

In addition to data collection activities with learners, the midterm assessment also entailed a brokered dialogue, bringing together educators, parents, community members and learners for an inter-generational discussion of what the various stakeholders see as the difficulties, challenges and benefits of responding to sexual violence in schools through the programme activities (McLaughlin, Swartz, Kiragu, Walli, & Mohamed, 2012). Participants were invited through letters of invitation sent home with learners, followed up by several in-person visits at schools. Transport was made available for all participants. As had been foreseen in the proposal, parental involvement was scant as only a few parents were present. This may be partially explained by the fact that the event took place mid-afternoon on a work day (a Friday). Educators, including principals from 5 primary schools as well as learners and their educators from 3 high schools, attended the event. Overall, a total of 125 participants took part in the community dialogue.

2.4.3. Fieldwork reflections and challenges

As with all research, this study encountered a number of challenges. Due to the high crime rate in the Khayelitsha area, many schools do not accept any programs that keep learners on the school premises after school hours. This often made it challenging for researchers and fieldworkers to negotiate appropriate times to conduct sessions with the learners. Fieldworkers managed to address this by maintaining a flexible schedule and extending hours to weekends as well as ensuring safe premises where sessions could be conducted. In addition, principals were at times reluctant to assist with recruitment. As a result, fieldworkers instead negotiated with the principal to delegate this to a staff member who could be in direct contact with fieldworkers. This strategy was eventually adopted throughout the remainder of data collection. In some schools, it was difficult to keep learners motivated to come to sessions. This was partially due to two reasons: little support from school staff even with researchers and fieldworkers meeting with school principals before data collection; lack of reward for participation. In this instance, fieldworkers and researchers had to re-emphasise the importance and benefits of the research in addition to offering enticing snacks during the sessions. There were two disclosures of abuse, which fieldworkers handled well. Fieldworkers contained the emotions expressed, sensitively removed the learners from the sessions so that they did not have to continue talking about material that was potentially upsetting, referred them to the school social worker and provided them with contact details for Simelela centre in Khayelitsha and Child Line.

Hosting the community dialogue was also not without its challenges. There were difficulties reaching the identified schools, as emails went unanswered even after those email addresses were supplied by the schools on the phone. The attempts to call school numbers listed on the Western Cape Department of Basic Education database further proved to be ineffective, which necessitated numerous visits to the

schools to obtain their participation. This was often time consuming, however, it proved a better method of reaching schools.

The reality of lack of safety in schools was greatly highlighted to the team during this time, as we were confronted with what learners had been sharing with us during data collection activities. A different venue for the community dialogue had to be secured at the last moment due to stolen electrical cables that left the initial host school without electricity for over 4 weeks. Although we were able to obtain an alternative venue, the hall that we were meant to use was broken into and the equipment stolen just two days before the event. Another break in at a primary school was also reported during the same week. Issues of ethically engaging with schools that have been victims of criminal activity meant that as a team we either had to decide to carry on with the event as a way of showing solidarity with their plight or postponing the event to allow the school time to process the trauma they were undergoing. Faced with the two options, and after consultation with the schools, the team opted to go ahead with the event to communicate our commitment to be part of what is happening in the community.

2.5. Data analysis

The data collection recordings were transcribed verbatim and translated from isiXhosa. Transcriptions and translations were checked and corrected where needed by the relevant interviewer, with further quality control by the project manager. Thereafter, the data were coded and analysed using thematic analysis – a method for identifying, analysing and reporting themes and patterns within data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The analysis was guided by Braun and Clarke's (2012) six phases of thematic analysis, namely: (i) familiarisation with the data set through repeated readings; (ii) initial code generation; (iii) construction of preliminary themes; (iv) refinement of themes through comparison with coded extracts and the entire dataset; (v) naming and defining themes; and (vi) generating the narrative report of the findings. We approached the analysis from a deductive, critical, and constructionist approach standpoint (Braun & Clarke, 2012). After coding and classifying the data according to themes, the resulting thematic structures were interpreted using theoretical and analytical concepts drawn from the conceptual framework of critical sexual and reproductive citizenship.

2.6. Research ethics

The participatory activities were developed in accordance with established guidelines for sexual and reproductive research with this age group (age 12 to 18 years) (World Health Organisation, 2011). Researchers abided by the ethical principles and procedures outlined in a protocol approved by the Human Sciences Research Ethics Committee. Ethical approval was also provided by the Western Cape Education Department. Given that minors are involved in the study, the researchers adhered to the HSRC's *Informed Consent Guidelines regarding Minors (including orphans and vulnerable children (OVC)) and Parental Substitutes*, as well as the *Standard Operating Practice* pertaining to any disclosures of physical or sexual abuse. As minors, learners were required to provide written permission from legal guardians for their participation, as well as written assent. However, parental permission could not override the learner's decision, and there had to be consistency between the parent's permission and the learner's decision to secure participation. All participants were assured of anonymity and confidentiality at all times and informed of their right to withdraw from the study at any time. Participants were informed of the limitations to confidentiality in a group setting and advised not to disclose personal information that they did not want known.

2.7. Limitations

The study adopted a qualitative participatory research approach. While this approach is useful in surfacing people's experiences, how they make sense of their lives, and interactions and structures within the world, the extent to which these patterns apply across the whole population cannot be estimated. Thus, the findings of the study cannot be generalized to a wider population. This is because the findings of the research cannot be tested for statistical significance. Furthermore, despite the usefulness in fieldworkers' community knowledge and understanding of language, the sensitivity of the topic may have limited the type of information we obtained from participants, as fieldworkers may have overlooked certain areas for further probing. Also, even though the participatory research approach was adopted to dilute power dynamics and anxieties, social desirability may have played a role in participants' responses. As a result, some participants may have provided the "appropriate" answers out of fear of being judged/labelled by peers and facilitators.

SECTION 3: FINDINGS

In what follows, we first present findings that relate to learners' school and community context, before narrowing in on gendered forms of violence, highlighting persisting forms of violence, but also pointing to shifts in gendered norms.

3.1. School and community climate

The findings in this section focus on contextual factors in schools and surrounding communities, given that SRGBV is complex and multi-layered, and shaped by power relations that operate at different levels and cannot be dealt with in isolation from other social factors (Guedes, 2004). To this end, this section deals with contextual influences in learners' environment that can either perpetuate, or mitigate, cultures of violence.

3.1.1. Material conditions that exacerbate vulnerability to violence

A key concern remains school security. At baseline, learners and educators made suggestions to improve security, for instance through ensuring secure fencing, security personnel that control access, and involving community policing forums in ensuring safety at schools. Aspects of this are present at some of the schools and learners indicated that having community policing forum members at the school gates helped them feel safer. Further to this, learners indicated that areas on the school grounds where teachers are present feel safe. However, security arrangements at the different schools vary considerably. Slack security arrangements in some schools, contribute not only to theft and vandalism, but also expose learners to bullying and harassment by out-of-school youth in the community who wish to take the food learners receive as part of the National School Nutrition Programme. Further to this, poor access control contributes to instances of sexual violence, where outsiders who do not have legitimate reason to enter the school commit crimes, including sexual violence. Below learners share a disturbing incident where someone who gained entry to the school raped a learner on the school premises:

Interviewer: OK, I see your map [that you drew] and you said that it is unsafe at the back of the classes. Tell me why you said so?

Respondent 1: Because there are people that we don't know that can gain access to the school by jumping the yard [...] They burn stuff, there are trees there and something bad happened to another learner there [...] She was raped here at the school yard (*Primary school D, girls, grade 6, session 3*)

A concern highlighted by both teachers and learners in the baseline report is that of learners' safety travelling to and from school. Learners shared frequent experiences of muggings and theft that left them feeling "threatened and helpless" (*High school B, boys, grade 9, session 3*) - to the extent that it is understood as an everyday part of life:

All respondents ((talking over each other)): Beyond the school, there is a bush. There are thugs there and they smoke drugs in that bush as well.

Respondent 1: The thugs like being there and they wait for people when they come out of school [...]

Respondent 4: They mug you for your phone [...]

Respondent 2: They will rob you or hit you.

Interviewer: They hit you and rob you?

Respondent 2: Yes, miss.

Interviewer: Children your age also get robbed?

Respondent 1: Yes, miss.

Respondent 2: They take our milk and bread.

Respondent 4: When they are high miss they want money so that they can go and buy Tik (a drug) (*Primary school D, boys, grade 6, session 3*)

Interviewer: So the road to and from school is safe?

Respondent 2: The road is not safe because there are many short turns where bullies and muggers stand in groups waiting for school kids to rob them. They can rob your phone or branded school bags and we end up carrying our books with plastic bags as a result [...] We're tired of that, we're losing our school bags on a daily basis (*High school C, boys, grade 11, session 3*)

Gang violence remains common and spills into schools when there are fights by the school gates or in the streets surrounding the school. Boys spoke about how membership of a gang offers protection from being robbed or bullied, emphasising their vulnerability to these specific forms of violence and how this links up to their socialisation into violent masculinities:

Interviewer: Where could a person go for help? What can be done to stop this [being robbed] from happening?

Respondent 1: Teachers cannot help you here, you'd better be connected with a certain group or gang, just like me. When I was a new comer they used to abuse me but I ended up joining a group that will protect me from being bullied (*High school C, boys, grade 8, session 3*)

The lack of capacity in terms of mental health professionals (psychologists and counsellors) and social workers in schools remains a concern. This was emphasised during the community dialogue where teachers, learners and parents highlighted that, in the absence of mental health professionals, it often falls to schoolteachers to offer social support to learners. Schoolteachers, however, do not always have the necessary skills or resources to adequately respond.

3.1.2. Bullying and sexual harassment at school

Similar to findings at baseline, learners found it easier to identify and talk about sexual harassment when asked about what makes girls feel *uncomfortable*, instead of asking what makes girls feel *unsafe*. Girls shared instances of unwanted touching, humiliation and sexualised comments made by boys:

Interviewer: OK, what do boys do that makes girls feel uncomfortable?

Respondent 3: When a boy touches you at your private parts and bum. Also kissing you when you don't want to. You don't feel comfortable but then they threaten you not to tell (*Primary school D, girls, grade 6, session 3*)

Respondent 4: Boys touch you in places when the teacher is not in class. And then when it is break time they go through your bag and they find [your menstrual pads] and open it and play with it. When you come back, when you try to take it they pass it amongst themselves, throwing it [...] They would put [the pad] in between their legs and then tease you saying you are wearing a nappy [...] The girl that they were teasing cried (*Primary school D, girls, grade 6, session 3*)

Interviewer: So when boys are tapping your butt or teasing you, what do you do about that and how does that make you feel?

Respondent 4: I would feel small (*High school C, girls, grade 11, session 3*)

Respondent 1: Most of the time boys sit near the toilet. That is their smoking area. That is where they judge girls who go in and out of the toilet (*High school C, girls, grade 11, session 3*)

Respondent 5: Boys like to look at girls' private parts under the table, pretending as if you are picking something up from the floor (*High school B, boys, grade 9, session 3*)

The most common form of sexual harassment shared by girls is harassment perpetrated by peers. Less frequent were accounts of harassment by teachers, e.g. "some teachers like to stare at our bodies" (*High school C, girls, grade 11, session 3*) and dating relationships with teachers: "Respondent 1: Some of us enjoy it [when teachers touch us] as we like dating teachers" (*High school C, girls, grade 11, session 3*). This was linked to status that is afforded to girls who are able to be noticed by a teacher - "we want to show off to other learners" - or benefitting materially from such a relationship where "if you need something, then you can always ask the teacher you're dating to get it for you, for example buying you lunch". Parents shared a concern with inappropriate during the community dialogue: "[We need] more awareness and education on sexual behaviours by educators" (parent, group 7).

Boys spoke of frequent and severe bullying, particularly where older learners victimise younger learners. What underpins the violence and harassment experienced by boys, is access to resources and the drawing of boundaries around 'in' and 'out' groups. The violence described includes not only instances of direct abuse (such as being beaten up) but also demeaning 'pranks' such as forcing someone's head into a toilet.

Interviewer: Why do you also say it is not safe in the boys' toilet?

Respondent 4: You can go in there and get beaten and no one will stop that.

Interviewer: OK.

Respondent 1: Bullies start fights between the boys and they will close the doors so that no one sees there is a fight going on (*Primary school D, boys, grade 6, session 3*)

Interviewer: Why did you mark the boys' toilets as unsafe?

Respondent 1: The problem is that boys are smoking there and if you are a new comer at the school, the smoking boys will 'welcome' you in different ways like being forced to smoke, you can also be beaten up as well, they can also send you to go buy cigarettes (*High school B, boys, grade 9, session 3*)

Interviewer: What else is happening there?

Respondent 2: [...] Some boys may throw water on top of you as you sitting on the toilet. They have done that several times. [...]

Respondent 5: Others may force your head into the toilet (*High school B, boys, grade 9, session 3*)

Interviewer: Why is the kitchen marked unsafe?

Respondent 3: The queue at the kitchen is uncontrollable and congested to a point where you cannot be able to breathe, it is always full, senior learners are violent, they can even walk stepping on the heads of other learners.

Interviewer: Oh no man, so the queue to the kitchen is not safe?

All Respondents: Yes

Respondent 2: You end up being robbed from the queue; seniors may take your food and money without your permission, especially if you are being resistant to them (*High school B, boys, grade 9, session 3*)

As mentioned above, some boys resort to joining gangs for protection from bullying, particularly so since they do not feel that teachers acknowledge or respond to reports of bullying.

These experiences of violence traumatise boys and because gang membership offers the promise of protection from robbery and bullying, serve as a transition into the socialisation of boys into violent masculinities (Barker & Ricardo, 2005). The findings underscore that boys are not unaffected by SRGBV; instead, younger boys in particular are targeted when they "do not conform to dominant ideals of manhood, [or] are seen as effeminate" (Morison, 2014, p. 50). This illustrates the manner in which gendered violence "function[s] as a way of reinforcing and maintaining a hetero-patriarchal gender order" (Morison, 2014, p. 50). During the community dialogue, an educator underscored the need to include boys in gender transformative programming: "we would like the Rise Clubs [implemented by Soul City Institute] to be for all genders" (group 7).

3.2. Learners' perceptions of parental responses to SRGBV

Gender dynamics in relationships, discussed later, tie into how boys are socialised to be independent, have authority and perform 'successful' masculinity by pursuing girls, while girls' independence and sexual agency is curtailed. Girls have to hide their relationships: "Respondent 8: [A girl] doesn't want to be seen [dating] by her parents and uncles" (*Primary school E, girls, grade 6, session 2*), since community norms dictate that "a girl who spends time with her boyfriend in public is regarded as being disrespectful" (*High school A, boys, session 2*). In contrast, learners described how many parents regard it as appropriate and desirable for boys to date and have girlfriends over, to the extent that their growing independence is acknowledged by allowing boys a room separate to the house:

Respondent 4: It is very rare to find a girlfriend that has her own private house while staying with her parents still. Boys mostly are the ones, since when they reach puberty, they build a shack at the back of the main house so that they can have privacy (*High school A, boys, grade 10, session 2*)

Interviewer: Who determines the location [when spending time together, as a couple]?

Respondent 2: Most of the time it is the boyfriend that determines the location because he has a shack at the back, a girlfriend is likely not to be allowed by her parents to build a shack, she has to sleep in the room in the main house with other family members. Boys at the age of 16 or 17, get to have a shack (*High school A, boys, grade 10, session 2*)

Adult disapproval of girls' relationships, however, limits the support available to girls should they experience violence from a boyfriend. Girls are blamed for such violence based on the argument that by disobeying parents' admonishments to avoid relationships with boys they 'invited' it to happen. The anticipation of blame makes it difficult for girls to speak to parents should they need support or guidance, which is exacerbated by taboos about talking to elders about matters of sex. For this reason, learners generally said they would turn to a peer if they experienced violence in a relationship:

Interviewer: So for example if you were raped, who do they tell?

All Respondents: A friend.

Interviewer: A friend.

Respondent 3: Telling a parent is hard; a friend is easier

Interviewer: Why is it hard to tell a parent that lives with you?

Respondent 3: The problem is that your mother will not believe you and ask a lot of questions.

Respondent 4: It would be worse if it is your boyfriend because she will ask who taught you to date, and ask you a lot of questions, and you will be hurting at that time (*High school A, girls, grade 10, session 2*)

In the section that follows we further unpack gender norms in learners' relationships.

3.3. Power relations, gender and violence

The findings in this section focus gender stereotypes drawn on by learners that shape normative femininities and masculinities and have implications for how sexual violence becomes normalised in learners' relationships.

3.3.1. Boys' sexual entitlement

Learners' discussions point to rigid, stereotypical views of masculinities and femininities, which support and allow for the justification of violence. For both girls and boys, these stereotypes create an expectation for them to be sexually active, although this plays out in highly gendered ways with different implications for boys and girls. For boys, stereotypes about masculinity rely on a male sexual drive discourse, where boys are seen as "sexually insatiable and male sexuality as naturally an uncontrollable drive" (Hollway, 1984, p. 63). For example, learners stated that "boys love sex", (*Primary school E, girls, grade 6, session 2*) and "get horny every single minute" (*High school A, girls, grade 10, session 2*). This male sexual drive discourse was also prominent at baseline (Lynch et al., 2016) and represents a common societal view of male sexuality (Hollway, 1984). Boys described how not conforming to this stereotype results in them feeling ashamed and embarrassed, creating pressure for them to 'live up to' such an expectation of hyper-sexuality:

Interviewer [reading a statement for learners to respond to]: 'It's easy to say to the person you are dating that you don't feel ready for sex.' In other words, you're not ready to have sex...

Respondent 4: No, it is not easy, because it'll be like you are hiding something, [...] perhaps you have a certain disease, [and] you're also afraid of your girlfriend going around talking about you. For example, telling friends about you not being ready for sex, or being a church [boring] person who doesn't want to explore, waiting to get married in order to finally have sex, etc. All that bad stuff being said about you behind your back (*High school A, boys, grade 10, session 1*)

This resonates with research conducted by Macleod and Jeary-Graham (2016) in relation to youth sexualities in the Eastern Cape, where "having sex and being able to talk about sex allowed young people to feel valued and to fit in, the flip side of which was being labelled, shamed, or embarrassed". The above extract demonstrates how this results in boys having to 'prove' their virility through sexual activity, or risk being socially excluded.

3.3.2. Girls' sexual modesty

For girls, stereotypes about sexual activity centred mainly on maintaining a reputation as sexually modest. Girls who have a lot of sex are seen as 'ruined' or 'spoilt'. Learners described how one could identify a girl who is considered promiscuous by changes to her body - a common belief in their context: "you see, if a girl dates many boys, she'll attract herself some diseases and her body will also lose shape, her bums will shake as she is walking [laughing] and you could tell that something is wrong" (*High school A, boys, grade 10, session 1*). Such an expectation of sexual modesty means girls have to carefully manage their reputations, in order to avoid being considered a 'whore', as one learner explained: "When a girls wants it [sex] all the time, it seems like she is a whore" (*Primary school D, boys, grade 6, session 1*). In the excerpt below girls describe such a dynamic, where sex centres on boys' desire for it, while girls are positioned as passive and as lacking in sexual desire:

Interviewer: Can a girl initiate sex most of the time?

All Respondents: Big no! NEVER!

Respondent 1: Can you imagine me asking for sex? No, no, no, no!

Interviewer: What is so funny about that, because you two are dating?

Respondent 1: Being horny [laughs].

Interviewer: Say again?

Respondent 1: The fact that you crave for sex, as a girl.

Respondent 2: I am not sure if girls are able to notice themselves when they want sex.

Interviewer: But they do have sex?

Respondent 2: Yes, they do.

Interviewer: Why do you have sex then when you are unsure...?

Respondent 1: Because the boy is in the mood and horny at the same time (*High school A, girls, grade 10, session 2*)

Interviewer: OK what would happen or what would the boy do if the girl first said that she wants sex?

Respondent 4: I don't think a girl would do that.

Interviewer: Hmm, why do you say?

Respondent 4: Because a girl likes to be begged and chased, playing hard to get (*Primary school E, girls, grade 6, session 2*)

Respondent 2: Some [girls] want you to beg [for sex] and they don't want the boy to think that they are easy (*Primary school D, boys, grade 6, session 1*)

Respondent 6: When a boy ask for sex you do not agree immediately, otherwise he is going to think that you are cheap or you do not value yourself (*High school A, girls, grade 10, session 1*)

As illustrated in the above excerpt, maintaining one's reputation is difficult since despite expectations of sexual modesty, girls are simultaneously expected to please their boyfriends by providing sex. This dovetails with the male sexual drive discourse: if boys have an uncontrollable desire to have sex, then girls need to please their sexual needs if they wish to keep the relationship. For girls, having and keeping a boyfriend provides them with social status and acceptance, and not having sex with one's boyfriend puts this at risk. A male learner explained, "a girl that gives you sex is the one that really loves you" (*High school A, boys, grade 10, session 2*). Along this reasoning, "men could easily obtain sex from other women and so women have to ensure that they keep men happy sexually [...] and not be relegated to a 'side chick' or be dumped" (Lynch et al., 2016, p. 45).

3.3.3. Ambiguous consent

A similar gender norm is evident in older learners' accounts, and was also identified at baseline. The extract below illustrates how sexual modesty expressed in young learners' discussions becomes intertwined with ambiguous notions of consent, where a girls' refusal to sex can be interpreted as insincere. "In constructing consent as ambiguous, sexual coyness and male persistence can be mobilised to support not only female respectability and dignity, but also used to justify forced sex" (Lynch et al., 2016, p. 48):

Respondent 2: 'No's' can be interpreted in many different ways [respondent was changing his voice to give a clear understanding of these different 'no's']. For example, 'no' - very soft with a smile on her face, or 'no, no, no' - here the girl is really playing hard to get but enjoying the touches from the boy, or 'NO' - here there is no smile at all, the voice is also very loud and her facial expression is serious (*High school A, boys, grade 10, session 1*)

Interviewer: Sometimes you want to date this girl but then she says no, does she really mean "No" or she is just pretending?

Respondent 2: Sometimes they are pretending but you just need to keep on pleading to show that you are serious (*High school B, boys, grade 9, session 1*)

3.3.4. Sexual coercion and violence

The above constructions of male and female sexuality create a sexual double standard in which boys are permitted and even expected to aggressively pursue sex, while girls are expected to be sexually passive and modest. Together these stereotypes allow learners to justify sexual coercion (in that boys are entitled to sex, and that girls should provide it) which serves to normalise sexual violence (in that girls who refuse to meet boys' demands are seen as 'deserving' victims of violence). In that manner, these gender norms create the possibility for sexual violence to be seen as 'normal'. Commenting on youth sexualities, Hampshire and colleagues (2011) state "some degree of scripted coercion (and even physical force) is commonplace in sexual relationships in South Africa and is not seen to be incompatible with love" (p. 226). The interaction below demonstrates the persistence of such a love-violence narrative in learners' accounts:

Interviewer: Oh, so does that [intimate partner violence] usually happen to many people?

Respondent 3: Yes, worse here in Khayelitsha.

Interviewer: To people your own age?

All respondents: Yes, yuuu!

Interviewer: So you endure being beaten up, girls endure being beaten up?

All respondents: It's love.

Respondent 4: Maybe by doing that, the love is getting stronger (*High school A, girls, grade 10, session 2*)

3.3.5. Younger learners' support of restrictive gender norms

Younger adolescents are typically overlooked in programmes and policies responding to SRGBV, but based on the findings share in many of the gendered norms and beliefs that underpin such violence. At baseline, the survey findings indicated that although many younger learners (age 10-14) are not in relationships, girls in this age group who *are* dating are experiencing disproportionately high rates of intimate partner violence, compared to their older counterparts (Lynch et al., 2016). Considering that rates of perpetration by male learners of the same age correspond with girls' experiences of IPV, it is reasonable to assume that this form of violence mainly occurs in relationships between peers.

Throughout the above discussions of gender norms and stereotypes about male and female sexuality, the voices of primary school learners were also present, indicating their familiarity with these norms. These norms curtail girls' agency in negotiating the terms of the relationships and ultimately, the timing circumstances of sex. Moreover, younger learners' discussions seemed to support notions of male control and authority in relationships, which put them at risk for violence. As a grade 6 learner explained, boys have "more power than girls" (*Primary school E, girls, grade 6, session 2*). The excerpts below demonstrate how younger adolescents are made vulnerable through unequal relationship norms:

Interviewer: When decisions are being made in this relationship, who takes them? Or who decides in the relationship? Looking at the relationship of Zimasa and Siyabonga [the fictional characters learners created]?

Respondent 2: It is the male that makes the decisions.

Interviewer: Male, Siyabonga.

Respondent 2: Yes.

Interviewer: Why do you say it is Siyabonga?

Respondent 2: Because a girl cannot tell a boy what to do [...] Because the boy always wants to be in control of the girl, in order for the things he wants to happen. If she does not do as she is told the boy will hit the girl (*Primary school D, boys, grade 6, session 2*)

A grade 10 learner described this more bluntly, and tied this dynamic to his motivation for dating girls that are younger than him:

Respondent 2: I have to be in charge, which is why there is also an age gap, [because] I do not date girls the same age as me. I have to date a younger girl than me, so that I can control her
(*High school A, boys, grade 10, session 2*)

Younger learners are often regarded as sexually naïve, with adults' responses to their sexuality education underpinned by a desire to preserve a notion of "childhood sexual innocence" (Bhana, 2007, p. 431). Yet the above findings demonstrate that younger learners' understanding of "dating, relationships and sexual practices is informed by the broader socio-cultural discourses around normative masculinity and femininity" (Lynch et al., 2017). This means that learners across age groups share in similar relationship norms and beliefs, including unequal gender norms that make violence possible. Consequently, when younger learners start entering relationships they are already socialised into relationship norms that are premised on unequal gender norms.

3.4. Shifts in power relations and gendered norms

The gender stereotypes discussed above are widespread and entrenched, and consequently difficult to transform. They are not only shaped by social contexts but also fuelled by longstanding cultures of violence and broader socio-economic inequities (Morison, 2014). While, as the preceding sections show, learners' discussions largely reflected the persistence of inequitable gender norms, there were instances where learners resisted and challenged such beliefs. Significantly, these instances were largely in boys' accounts. This contrasts with the baseline findings where instances of resistance to destructive gender norms, by girls or boys, were uncommon. At mid-term, it was possible to identify incremental shifts in gender norms and power relations in learners' talk.

3.4.1. Boys challenging male sexual entitlement and coercion

During the discussions boys at times challenged each other on views that depicted women as having to capitulate to boys' 'right' to have sex, and normalising beliefs about sexual refusal being obtained through coercion. These views are supported by traditional gender norms of male control and female subservience, which normalise the unequal power relationships and make intimate partner violence possible (Wood, Lambert, & Jewkes, 2007). For example, boys' challenged widely familiar norms about male sexual entitlement (as discussed above). In the excerpt below a learner challenges another participant on his assumption that having undergone traditional circumcision and/or being economically independent means readiness to have sex.

Interviewer: The right time to have sex is...

Respondent 3: 18 years, after you have been circumcised.

Interviewer: OK.

Respondent 2: I totally disagree with him because at the age of 18 you are still at high school completing your grade 12, you still need to go to varsity. So that is why I suggest the age of 21, even your parents give you freedom to do all that you wish. When you are 18 and have already been circumcised, that does not mean you are now a man [and] you can go do your own thing while you are still at school, it's not right. You cannot be able to maintain a child while you are still at school. One of the two [partners] is going to fail, after that you don't have a bright future
(*High school A, boys, grade 10, session 1*)

Further to this, in the discussion below two male learners emphasise that boys have to respect girls' refusal to have sex, also challenging the dominant norm of male sexual entitlement.

Interviewer: So are you saying a boy has to make decisions?

All respondents: Yes [...]

Respondent 2: Girls do make decisions [...] A girl can make a fixed decision for example if you are making attempts to have sex with her, she can stand firm and say "I meant what I said, I do not want to have sex", or, "I am not ready." At the end of the day, you will have to accept her decisions because she made the decision for a reason.

Respondent 4: You cannot force matters. You have to respect her decision (*High school A, boys, grade 10, session 2*)

Respondent 5: No, it not good to get angry about that [when your girlfriend goes out with her friends without letting you know], because maybe the girl feels the need to connect with her friends or spend free time with her friends. It's up to you if you like it or not, but the girl loves and enjoys spending time with her friends. It's not something [that is] wrong [...] (*High school A, boys, grade 10, session 1*)

In the first extract, the assertion that "Girls do make decisions" challenges traditional constructions of female passivity and acquiescence to male authority. Instead Respondent 4 denounces male coercion, arguing that a girl's refusal of sex must be respected. Similarly in the second excerpt, respondent 5 offers a challenge to the normalisation of male jealousy and control. Such challenges were at times directly linked to the notion of rights, as, for instance, when a grade 8 boy stated, "She also has a right to do anything she wants with her body". These kinds of alternative responses construct women's rights as valid and as equally important as men's. It is therefore possible to see some changes in boys' perceptions about girls regarding relationships, sex, and violence.

Continuing in this vein, the infringement of a woman's right to refuse sex was overtly named as a criminal act - as rape - as shown below.

Respondent 7: And again Miss, if the girl says no [to having sex] and you - the boy - do it anyway, it is the same as rape (*Primary school D, boys, grade 6, session 2*)

Respondent 4: Yes, it [sexual assault] does happen, because maybe a girl has been dating with a boy for approximately 7 months and the boy has been asking for sex ever since, so the boy becomes angry and then decides to rape the girl.

Interviewer: So when a girl refuses to have sex does that mean she has to be raped?

Respondent 3: No.

Interviewer: Why do you say no?

Respondent 3: Raping someone is regarded as forcing someone to have sex with someone who is not ready and refuses as well or without their permission. You can also be arrested for that (*High School C, boys, grade 8, session 1*)

Naming coercive sex as rape provides an important counter-narrative to the normalisation of men's sexual violence in intimate partnerships by means of the male entitlement script. Also noted at baseline was the ways that this normalisation occurred by drawing on ideas of romantic love, which framed coercive practices in the rhetoric of romantic conquest, creating a love-violence nexus in which "sexual coercion, love and sex are intricately related" (Bhana & Anderson, 2013, p. 29). However, there was evidence of a change in the perceptions of some boys about their role and experiences in sexual relationships as they envisaged more positive roles for themselves rooted in ideals of love, care and emotional intimacy, as illustrated in the following extracts.

Respondent 2: As you are asking how the relationship is going. If there's no sex involved, I think the relationship is just doing fine. Sometimes as a guy you just want to read your girlfriend and learn exactly what is it that she really likes from what we are doing in this relationship. I'm going to tell her when I am ready to have sex; we just love each other not only for the purpose of

having sex or falling pregnant. Just to be there for one another always (*High school A, boys, grade 10, session 1*).

Respondent 3: It's not OK like to be in a relationship where I am beating up my wife because it's not part of showing love; it's not good to correct her mistakes by beating her up. It's better to sit down and talk about any issue that we face. A female cannot be beaten up as a result you might end up in jail, you may also lose your wife and kids forever. The kids will grow up under those conditions and might see it as a right thing to do (*High school A, boys, grade 10, session 1*).

Respondent 7: Not all boys just want to have sex - those that want have sex they have small brains, but some would want to have sex when they are working and if it happens that he has a baby he will take care of it because he loves her. And the one with small brains will have sex and leave (*High school B, boys, grade 9, session 1*).

These extracts offer alternative gendered narratives about love, relationships and sex that challenge the intertwining of love and violence, commonly identified in research about young people's accounts of their relationships (Hlavka, 2014). The enmeshment of love and violence, also identified in other research (Wood, Lambert, & Jewkes, 2007), was a prominent theme at baseline and midterm where learners repeated tropes about male violence 'proving' love. These boys contest the idea that violence is a means of "showing love" (Respondent 3). Importantly, they resist the male sex drive discourse which dictated that "all boys just want to have sex" (Respondent 7). These narratives offer alternative, positive versions of masculinity to those that privilege male control and sexual gratification. Men who adopt stereotypical masculine ideals contained in the male sex drive discourse are derided as having "small brains", implying that those who adopt more positive masculine norms are savvier. This challenge is partial, in that when countering the male sex drive discourse learners are drawing on another stereotype of masculinity - that of the rational breadwinner. However, such challenges to dominant gender and relationship norms remain significant. By drawing on a love-violence nexus, young people normalise violence to the extent that it becomes an expected part of relationships.

Counter narratives such as those presented in this section indicate the potential contribution to change of programmatic messaging focused on consent, girls' agency, and respectful relationships.

3.4.2. Girls' resistance to male dominance

While not as common as boys' resistant accounts, girls similarly reflected on and to some extent challenged social norms that uphold men's power over women, and the associated violence and abuse. In the discussion below participants describe power relations in heterosexual relationships as a careful dance where women need to assert themselves in their relationships, but without evoking anger and violence from their male partner:

Interviewer: So a girl in a relationship, can share her opinions? Can you share your opinions with your boyfriend? [All respondents: Yes.] Or just speak the way you want to speak?

Respondent 1: No, you can't. You cannot answer him disrespectfully; you must have a way of talking to him or to a boy. But when they raise their voice out of anger you would need to do the same, so that he does not take disadvantage of you, tell him that he has power and so do you.

Interviewer: So do you think things will be settled when one raises their voice and you do the same?

Respondent 2: Nothing will be settled or solved because between the two - one has to be calm. Especially as a woman, you would get angry but be calm again.

Interviewer: So you would get angry and be calm.

Respondent 2: Yes.

Interviewer: Why do you have to calm down?

All respondents: He will hit you.

Respondent 2: Then you will be asking for a beating. You can't carry on shouting when the man is quiet (*High school A, girls, grade 10, session 2*).

The interaction above demonstrates the complexity of navigating dominant gender norms that impact forcefully on girls' lives. It highlights the emotional labour that girls are required to invest in relationships to avoid violence, which is not equally expected of boys. It also, however, points to awareness among girls of how power relations in heterosexual dating relationships are skewed and their careful attempts to challenge this.

There were some instances where girls were more direct in their challenges to dominant gender norms. In the interaction below girls reject the manner in which love and financial provision is tied up in expectations of sexual exchange, i.e., the trope that money buys sex:

Respondent 5: Or sometimes a boyfriend may demand things from you in the name of the money he gives to you. It means that the boy is literally buying sex from me.

Interviewer: What if he just gives you money out of his heart? And he loves you.

Respondent 5: Then in that case he must not mention money matters when he wants sex and I refuse. Why does he have to mention money?

Respondent 2: If he really loves you?

Respondent 1: What if the boy gives you money and spent most of his time with you, how come you refuse sex?

Respondent 1: Not every day we must have sex then! If I am not in the mood for sex then my boyfriend must understand and we will not have sex, finish!

Interviewer: Clearly you guys are saying money does not buy sex?

All respondents: Exactly miss (*High school A, girls, grade 10, session 1*)

In the exchange below, learners have a heated discussion about girls' right to refuse sex, drawing on notions of human rights:

Respondent 5: It is not easy [to say no to sex]. You do love him and he also loves you, but that does not mean that since you don't want to have sex with him that you don't love him. It is your right. Everybody was given rights to choose what they want, even Mandela said that before he died.

Interviewer: OK wait a minute. Respondent 2?

Respondent 2: I am saying just because you love him, it doesn't mean that you have to sleep with him [...] These are my rights that I am practising. I'm still too young to have sex with you, maybe the condom might break and I will end up being pregnant. Maybe I'm on my period, or my parents will not want me [to have sex].

Interviewer: OK.

Respondent 2: And then if he says I will dump you, I'll say rather dump me then for what you want us to do [...] I would say it is fine, because you don't know what might happen if I have a baby. You will not look after the child (*Primary school D, girls, grade 6, session 1*)

The above excerpt demonstrates how rights-based arguments are finding traction among learners. At baseline, learners did not engage in spontaneous discussions about their rights within relationships. Instead, their mention of rights was only in response to interviewers explicitly asking about this (as part of a subset of questions in the interview guide). At midterm, learners emphasised the right for girls to refuse sex, but still offered reasons for why refusal should be considered 'legitimate'. Similar to the baseline findings, this creates a set of conditions under which girls' refusals can be heard and require further work to ensure that girls' sexual refusals are seen as legitimate in their own right.

3.4.3. Changes in talk about sexual and gender diversity

Many South African communities still uphold a culture of silence around sexual and gender diversity, often accompanied by hostility and even violence against LGBTI persons and consequently, sexual and gender diversity remains a 'taboo' topic in schools. While the schools in this study can be described as largely heteronormative, findings at midterm challenge the assumption of universal homophobia in South African school settings. On the one hand, continued homophobia was identified among educators and some learners. Learners shared instances of teachers mistreating or discriminating against LGBTI learners, as illustrated below.

Respondent 2: [O]ur class teacher is trying her very best to stop the learner who is a lesbian in our class to refrain from that. [...]

Interviewer: Is the teacher trying to stop her from being a lesbian?

Respondent 2: Yes (*High school A, boys, grade 10, session 1*).

At baseline, the survey results indicated that "educators had gender equitable view in most areas related to their gender beliefs with the exception of homosexuality and gender views related to men and women's responsibility within the home, that were extremely skewed" (Lynch et al., 2016, p. 58). The fact that teachers continue to exhibit homophobic views and behaviour is concerning, particularly considering their important role in shaping learners' beliefs about gender and sexuality and providing a safe and inclusive classroom environment. Similar homophobic and heterosexist views were echoed by some learners. For instance, one of the grade 6 girls maintained that same-sex sexuality is "wrong and God does not want that" (*Primary school D, girls, grade 6, session 1*).

On the other hand, as far as learners are concerned, the findings generally stand in contrast to baseline findings. At baseline, although a significant percentage of learners identified as LGBTI, overall learners avoided talking about sexual and gender diversity or responded with hostility when interviewers asked about their opinions (the interview guide had specific subsets of questions related to same-sex sexuality and SRGBV) (Lynch et al., 2016). In contrast, at midterm learners' discussions about dating, love and sex were interspersed with references to LGBTI peers. For instance, during the activity where learners were asked to construct a dating narrative about a couple, irrespective of sexual orientation and gender identity, learners spoke freely not only about heterosexual but also same-sex couples. One of the groups based their fictional story on a lesbian couple, 'Anitha' and 'Thembi', who fell in love and started dating (*High school A, girls, grade 10, session 2*). Similarly, the learners below offered a male same-sex couple - 'Ta Siphe' and 'Mkhululi' - as one of their fictional couples:

Interviewer: Who else has a story [...] about a couple, where they met, how old are they and where do they spend their time together doing what? Hmm?

Respondent 2: Ta Siphe and Mkhululi were walking in the same road and direction and Mkhululi looked at this guy and the guy said 'you're good-looking', and he replied 'you too'. They met again, they walked together while having a conversation about love [and] they ended up in a shack where they talked.

Interviewer: Whose shack is that?

Respondent 2: Ta Siphe.

Interviewer: Mkhululi is a girl?¹

Respondent 2: He is gay (*Primary school E, girls, grade 6, session 2*).

As these examples show, learners' discussions about same-sex relationships demonstrated a measure of normalisation of other-than-heterosexual relationships. LGBTI couples were depicted as doing familiar activities of adolescent dating and coupledness. Learners discussed how gay or lesbian couples might

¹ The groups were conducted in isiXhosa, where there is no distinction between 'he' and 'she', explaining why the fact that this is a same-sex relationship may not be immediately obvious to the interviewer.

spend their time, for instance: "in the park, chatting about their own things, enjoying each other's company" (High school, A, boys, grade 10, session 2); getting "to know each other better and more, for example what type of a person you are, what do you like most, [whether you are a] soft-hearted person or not"; "exchang[ing] gifts like flowers or chocolates" (*High school A, boys, grade 10, session 2*); and kissing or having sex (*Primary school E, boys, grade 6, session 1; High school B, boys, grade 9, session 2*).

There appears, therefore, to have been an overall positive shift in the ways learners speak about sexual and gender diversity. This departure from dominant societal discourses suggests a greater ease and familiarity with sexual and gender diversity among learners, compared to the findings at baseline. Accordingly, learners shared their experiences of sexual diversity in classroom and school ground interactions, as well in the community more broadly. They expressed sympathetic accounts of discrimination against LGBTI learners in schools. For instance, while discussing gay and lesbian learners in their class they explained the psychological impact of bullying on LGBTI learners:

Respondent 2: [If someone is] making negative remarks to them, they will make them feel that they are not being supported, [or] welcome. At the end of the day whatever the gay person is doing, they are doing for themselves and not for anyone else (*High school A, boys, grade 10, session 3*).

The learners' discussions often echoed a rights-based approach to issues of sexual and gender diversity. They, for instance, emphasised LGBTI learners' right to "live the lives they are living" (*High school A, boys, grade 10, session 1*). Such claims suggest that Life Orientation and broader messaging about constitutional rights might be having some impact on learner attitudes, similar to the discussion above in relation to girls' right to refuse sex. Overall, midterm findings indicate a measure of visibility and normalisation of LGBTI learners' relationships, where learners integrated non-normative sexualities into their understandings of romantic relationships. If not a blanket acceptance of such diversity, this shift certainly denotes an awareness of the need for LGBTI learners to be protected against violence and discrimination.

3.5. Programme acceptability and perceptions of impact

Before concluding with recommendations based on the findings, this final section shares participants' perceptions of the acceptability and impact of the programme activities to date. Overall, learners, parents and educators responded positively to the programme activities, with educators noting that the youth-friendly nature of the programme appeals to learners. Educators also commented on the relevance of the themes addressed: "The learners love these programmes because they talk about the youth's daily challenges" (*Educator, group 4*).

Educators and parents noted that in addition to providing a safe space for learners to discuss issues relating to sexual violence, the programme also provides good role models for learners as it relates to gender-based violence and sexual and reproductive health. Educators and parents further expressed an appreciation for how the programme activities encourage learners to value teamwork and access support to deal with issues of SRGBV. Both educators and learners emphasised that the programme contributes to shifts in harmful gender norms, providing support for related findings from the learner workshops:

Respondent: The programme has changed young people's attitudes and they have become better in class. Confidence has been developed in girls because Grassroot Soccer does not exclude girls in soccer (*Educator, group 2*)

Respondent: Grassroot Soccer helped me a lot in terms of thinking and being able to come out, because I used to attend the programme just to hear other kids talking about issues. Then I

realized that this is a safe space for me to open up about my problems and I shared my story with them and got helped. I learned to believe in myself, gain confidence and I know how to say NO. I learned how to handle peer pressure (*Learner, group 5*)

SECTION 4: RECOMMENDATIONS

This report first provided an overview of themes that were present at baseline and persisted at midterm, followed by more in-depth discussion of themes that point to shifts in gender norms since baseline. Based on these findings, this section presents an overview of ongoing issues that require attention as well as shifts that can be leveraged by the programme for further change.

4.1. Issues requiring ongoing attention

4.1.1. School safety

The challenges described in relation to the material conditions that compromise school safety do not fall within the immediate ambit of intervention activities. However, considering their relevance to SRGBV, it might be valuable to address this dimension through partnerships with related non-government organisations and community-based organisations. There is a clear need for social contexts to provide material, symbolic, and relational support to foster conditions conducive to social change (Campbell & Cornish, 2010).

4.1.2. Sexual harassment

Unwanted touching, humiliation and sexualised comments directed at girls, as well as instances of teacher-perpetrated harassment and exploitative relationships remain primary concerns and require continued efforts to address.

4.1.3. Parent and community barriers to reporting

Interventions to address adult and community gender norms that disadvantage girls and inadvertently discourage reporting of sexual violence remain important. This points to the continued value of including a peer educator model in intervention activities, where learners indicated that in many instances they are more likely to report sexual violence to a peer than to an adult.

4.1.4. School-setting barriers to reporting

There is a clear need for continued efforts to improve reporting systems and capacity for schools to respond to such reports. It is important to ensure that schools have a SRGBV policy in place, that educators are familiar with it, and that there are resources for implementation. This policy should incorporate the issue of bullying of boys and contain a clear understanding of the gender norms underpinning this issue. School SRGBV policies also need to speak to sexual and gender diversity.

4.1.5. Younger learners' vulnerability to violence and coercion

Findings regarding younger learners' vulnerability to intimate partner violence, as well as younger learners' familiarity with and repetition of inequitable gendered norms challenges views of young adolescents as naïve. There is a clear need to focus on violence and dating as important issues in younger adolescents' relationships.

4.1.6. Boys' vulnerability to violent crime and bullying

Boys' vulnerability to crime in and around school as well as through persistent and severe bullying warrants the continued inclusion of boys in intervention activities.

4.2. Entry points for further change

The following four areas are where programme impact could most clearly be identified, offering entry points for further change:

4.2.1. Changes in boys' support for male sexual entitlement

Messaging around consent, male sexual entitlement, sexual violence and male authority and control is having an impact on boys' positive attitudes towards sexual refusal by girls, and should be continued. The programme can further strengthen these shifts in gender norms by capitalising on the counter-narratives that were offered by boys. These relate to messaging about mutual respect, love and emotional intimacy being desirable.

4.2.2. Girls' resistance to male dominance

Girls drew on arguments about human rights to challenge gender norms about male violence and female subservience, indicating that a sexual and reproductive health and rights framework to addressing unequal gender norms shows promise. The girls' group discussions show how collective agency can be built in groups. As other research on sexual violence has shown, groups can provide safe spaces for women to explore their sexuality and desires and to discuss their rights. Such collective spaces can also help girls and young women to recognise shared concerns and lived experiences (Logie & Daniel, 2015).

4.2.3. Sexual and gender diversity

The findings indicate that while homophobic and transphobic attitudes persist, there are shifts towards greater normalisation of sexual and gender diversity. Learners indicated familiarity with LGBTI learners in their contexts and drew on arguments about human rights to explain their acceptance of peers who identify as LGBTI. There were, however, accounts of victimisation of LGBTI learners by educators and continued work is necessary to assist educators in creating safe and inclusive classrooms for LGBTI learners. In a review of South African research, Glover and Macleod (2016) note that "teachers often express difficulty with integrating topics around sexual diversity into their curriculum as they are offered little guidance on how to conduct such sessions, or because it is in conflict with their socio-cultural values" (p. 4).

4.2.4. Intersectional SRGBV policy and programming

In light of findings that underscore male learners' vulnerability to bullying, and the need to respond to violence and discrimination based on sexual and gender diversity, adopting an intersectional approach when addressing SRGBV is helpful. To this end, and as indicated above, policy and programming that respond to SRGBV can integrate issues that relate to boys' and LGBTI learners' vulnerability.

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APPENDIX A: SUMMARY OF BASELINE FINDINGS

1. Overview

The research design informing the baseline study is cross-sectional and mixed methods. Quantitative methodologies included a survey with learners from the intervention schools and control schools, and a survey with educators from the intervention schools. Sampling consisted of multi-stage stratified sampling along the dimensions of schools, grades and gender. Qualitative methodologies included focus group discussions with learners, parents and community members, and individual interviews with members of the school governing boards, educators, principals and selected service providers. Ethical guidelines as outlined by the Human Sciences Research Council were followed.

The quantitative component of the study measured a number of broad indicators among learners, namely, learner demographics; educational outcomes; exposure to similar programme activities; gendered norms; exposure to different forms of violence (household violence, intimate partner violence, sexual- and gender-based violence (SGBV) perpetrated by someone other than an intimate partner); perpetration of violence; reporting behaviour and perceived empowerment; relevant aspects of the school and community context; and selected determinants of violence. The survey completed by educators measured six indicators, namely, educator demographics; gendered norms; responsiveness to SGBV; relevant aspects of the school and community context; knowledge of SGBV; and delivery of SGBV education.

The qualitative component of the baseline assessment was focused on exploring the broader school climate to gain an understanding of the extent to which the school environment enables or constrains girls' agency and possibilities for safety. Further to this, we also explored learners' intimate relationships to better understand how learners account for sexual violence and coercion, as well as gender norms more broadly. The qualitative data collection thus functions to not only give nuance to the findings of the school survey, but also explore domains that the survey cannot respond to.

2. Quantitative findings: Conclusions and recommendations

The analysis indicates that the intervention and control schools were drawn from similar demographic and socio-economic communities with similar exposures to violence. The selected schools also appear to have similar learner performance. *This provides a good basis for the evaluation of the intervention at the end of the implementation period.*

Learners' exposure to SGBV programmes in the past is relatively high (high school: 60%; primary school: 71%). *It is therefore important that any evaluations or assessments of the intervention specifically refer to the current intervention.*

Roughly 70 percent of learners reported experiencing violence at home. At a broader community level, roughly 60 percent of learners felt that both boys and girls were at risk of violence in their communities. Primary school learners felt that girls were at slightly higher risk of experiencing violence (65%) in their communities compared to boys (55%). *This confirms that the selection of schools for this intervention is fitting. It also indicates that interventions need to be designed with the systemic nature of violence in mind.*

Reports of ever having a partner were higher for high school learners compared to primary school learners, as expected (78% and 48% respectively.) However, for those from whom data were collected, experiences of IPV and SIPV were substantially higher amongst the primary school level learners sampled (of the 'ever had a partner' sample from whom data were collected, P.S-I: IPV – 48%, SIPV – 41%, H.S-I: IPV- 32%, SIPV – 27%) which *supports the idea of early intervention*.

For both groups, the IPV experienced most was being threatened with violence rather than physical experiences of violence, which again supports the idea of intervening early before threats materialise. In terms of age differences in experiencing IPV, learners from 12 years old and older share similar levels of experiencing IPV, *indicating the need for interventions focused on partner violence for learners as young as 12*. This is a group not typically responded to in interventions and further research is required to better understand the nature of early adolescents' experiences of IPV; data collection at midterm can explore this further.

Roughly half of those learners who experienced SIPV reported the incident to anyone. This impacts on teachers' and parents' ability to identify and intervene in such circumstances. The decision to report sexual violence experienced is likely to be influenced by the fact that only 6 in 10 learners that experienced SIPV felt that the violence they experienced was wrong. *Interventions should incorporate nuanced understandings of sexualities so that learners can start to unpack SIPV*.

More learners, in terms of absolute numbers, experienced some form of non-partner related gender-based violence (roughly a third) at both levels of schooling levels. *This indicates that any potential interventions should not only focus on building healthy partner relationships but broader gender equitable interactions*.

Non-partner related sexual violence was mostly perpetrated by other learners (35%, for both high school and primary school) and by teachers (high school: 13%, primary school: 20%). *These findings support the use of schools as sites of intervention, and including teachers as well as learners in the interventions*.

Also noteworthy is the finding that alcohol use contributed to the vulnerability of learners to experience IPV and non-partner related GBV, not only for high school learners but also for primary school learners. Coupled with the finding that a majority of learners (80%) reported perpetrating non-partner GBV while under the influence of alcohol or drugs, *decreasing substance use remains significant in curbing gender-based violence*.

When considering perpetration of violence, again higher levels of perpetration of non-partner related GBV was noted for the primary school sample compared to their older counterparts (H.S-I: 49%; P.S-I: 65%). Again, reported acts were primarily threats of violence.

Learners' intervening in violence witnessed is influenced by the type of violence they witness. Reports of intention to intervene were higher for incidents that are sexual in nature (roughly 60%) compared to other forms such as bullying/pushed around (roughly 50%) and these levels were slightly lower at primary school level. *Clear protocols concerning unacceptable interactions and how to intervene could form part of interventions*.

Overall, learners feel safe within the school environment (H.S-I: 77%; P.S-I: 81%). However, a more challenging issue to address is that of travel to school where more than half of the sampled learners indicated they do not feel safe (H.S-I: 64%; P.S-I: 57%). Educators echoed their concern with this area of safety.

Educators play an important role in shaping the learners they teach and their viewpoints are therefore likely to impact on the beliefs and behaviours of their learners. Educators had gender equitable views in most areas related to their gender beliefs, with the exception of homosexuality and gender views related to men and women's responsibility within the home - these were extremely skewed. Given the fact that a significant minority of learners indicated that they identify as bisexual, lesbian, gay or "another sexuality", the heterosexist attitudes of teachers are worrying. *Interventions should tackle LGBTI rights within the country and how they apply in the school context.* In addition, as shown in the qualitative findings, narratives that justify coercive sex are deeply rooted in gendered understandings of masculinities and femininities (e.g. the male provider and female 'gold digger' positions). *Working with teachers concerning assumptions of gender roles in the domestic realm could go some way towards starting to unpack gender inequities.*

Just over half of the surveyed educators indicated that their school has a policy on how to respond to sexual- and gender-based violence within the school. Intervening is usually in the form of talking to both parties to understand what transpired and telling the perpetrator to stop. Learners indicated that when they did report violence, it was generally helpful. When witnessing sexual related violence, some educators report additional intervention steps of reporting these incidents to the principal and parents. Without clear policies for intervening, educators' personal beliefs and views are likely to impact their response to violence, official documentation of such incidences may not be accurate, and learners are not guaranteed they will receive the appropriate referrals for support. *The establishment of clear policies, protocols and records in terms of dealing with violence in the schools need to form part of any intervention. It is also important that the adults identified as receiving such reports from learners are trusted (noting that in the qualitative findings, learners mentioned adults as potential barriers to reporting violence). The policies and protocols should deal carefully and clearly with teacher violations within the disciplinary code of staff (bearing in mind that 13% of high school learners and 20% of primary school learners reported having experienced sexually-related gender-based violence from teachers). Clear professional conduct documents that specify the boundaries between teachers and learners may also help.*

It seems that SGBV is perpetrated mostly in the classrooms, fields and toilets, presumably at times when there are not a lot of people around. *Protocols concerning when these areas may be accessed may assist with reducing the incidences.*

3. Qualitative findings: Conclusions and recommendations

The qualitative findings indicate that concerns about gang violence and physical violence in and around schools are real, and need to be dealt with. Teachers made a number of suggestions around secure fencing, security personnel that control access, and how best to involve community policing forums in ensuring safety at schools. Given the fact that from our descriptions of the schools, it is clear that not all of these are taken care of, an easy starting point would be to *ensure that issues of security at schools are dealt with. The research findings could be used to assist schools to lobby the Department of Basic Education to attend to these concerns.*

It is noticeable that there are more female than male learners in all but one of the high schools. While the reasons for this are not clear, it is possible that many of the males have been expelled and/or joined gangs. The qualitative data indicated that girls are involved in gangs through a romantic involvement with a gang member. *Discussions of gangs and the meanings in terms of masculinities and femininities in the area are important.*

While gang violence and physical violence are important, it is worrying that SGBV is not given as much

cognisance, and is almost normalised. SGBV is seen as private matter and people are reluctant to bring incidents out in the open because of victim-blaming. *Unpacking the meanings of sexual encounters and what does or does not count as SGBV, as well as the need to support the victim, should form part of the interventions. Undermining narratives of victim-blaming is also important.*

Safety on the way to school was also mentioned as an area of concern in the qualitative data. Learners also indicated a lack of trust in the police. *Conversations between principals, school safety committees, community policing forums and police regarding these matters are needed.*

Our findings with regard to teenage women's sexuality echo those of Bhana and Anderson (2013), revealing "both agency and complicity with male power ... Agency was ambiguous however and constrained by the need to protect sexual reputations [and] complicity in violent gender relations.... which serves to advance male sexual opportunities and power" (p. 25). It is clear that, by and large, learners reproduced rather traditional gender stereotypes of what women and men are (or should be) like. These largely serve to reinforce male dominance and to constrain female agency, yet this does not mean that girls and young women were completely without agency. *Understanding power as a complex process of negotiation assists in going beyond a simple view of the male villain and female victim. Nuanced understandings of masculinities and femininities and of sexual interactions need to be included in interventions.*

Although female learners indicated that SGBV did not specifically make them feel unsafe, it was implicated in their sense of belonging. However, where teachers were the perpetrators, then the female learners indicated that they felt unsafe at school, particularly if there was an inadequate response from the school. *Questions of belonging and assurances of protocols regarding teacher violations need to be addressed.*

Teachers indicated that they had difficulty navigating their way through talk on sexualities, particular as some subjects are seen as taboo. *Interventions should facilitate processes whereby teachers can engage in safe environments with how to talk appropriately and in empowering ways about sex with learners.*

The qualitative findings highlighted complex masculinities and femininities, ambiguous understandings of consent, and multiple stories of love, sex and desire. *It is important that the interventions engage with the narratives that learners themselves are telling about being male/female, being in intimate relationships and how to navigate these relationships.*

Related to this, both male and female learners drew on notions of love and egalitarian relationships, in their descriptions of an "ideal" relationship. *Programmatic interventions can benefit from mobilising these narratives to provide a framework of supportive relationships that does not rely on potentially harmful gendered norms.*

Much of the current messaging in relation to child abuse remains centred on "stranger danger" but the findings indicate that i) children report that sexual violence is often perpetrated by someone known to them, and ii) socio-cultural norms bind girls and young women to obedience to elders thus complicating young female learners' ability to resist violence. *Programmatic responses will benefit from challenging norms of female subservience and obedience, to explore ways in which girls and young women can navigate expectations of obedience and resist violence. Interventions with adult caregivers will also benefit from content that challenges such norms.*

It is noteworthy that girls were able to identify the notion of human rights as something that could assist with navigating sexualities. However, human rights did not come up spontaneously in their talk, indicating that the notion has not had much traction amongst learners. *Further exploration of sexual-*

and reproductive rights may assist learners. In addition, the question of “responsibilities” attached to rights and what this may mean, particularly for girls, would need unpacking. The question of victim-blaming and shaming could be linked to human rights (for instance the rights of women to refuse sex even after benefitting materially from men). Considering that for parents and community members, rights were often seen as undermining parental authority over children, interventions with these target groups will benefit from clear engagement about the importance and relevance of sexual- and reproductive rights for girls and women.

Learners and educators indicated that parents do not always believe reports of SGBV experienced by their children, or punish children who report such violence. *Interventions targeting parents should build on parents’ abilities to be supportive and responsive to reports of SGBV.*

APPENDIX B: REVISED DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENTS

PARTICIPATORY WORKSHOPS

Activity 1: 'Ignore' or 'Explore'

This activity is focused on generating discussion and exploring learners' beliefs and knowledge about sex, violence, and relationships. The activity takes place in small groups of 6-8 learners, guided by the facilitator (adapted from Grassroot Soccer, 2014). The purpose of the activity is to provide information that is formative, not evaluative, by generating insights into aspects of learners' realities that can inform the refinement of intervention activities.

Materials needed:

- 'Ignore' or 'Explore' placards, made with cardboard and markers

Procedure:

1. Facilitator introduces activity and hands out cardboard placards to each participant. The placards have a thumb up reading “explore” and a thumb down reading “ignore”, to indicate whether participants think a particular statement is an issue worth discussing, or not.
2. The facilitator explains that the activity is not a test, but rather an interaction discussion or debate through which the group will share their opinions.
3. After the facilitator reads out each statement, participants are asked to respond to statements by lifting either “ignore” or “explore” placards.
4. This is followed by the facilitator probing why participants responded in a particular way, asking participants to explain or discuss their viewpoints and ensuring that differing points are also brought into the discussion. The main focus of the activity is necessarily participants' initial response using their placards, but rather the resulting discussion that is stimulated through the placards.
5. Participants should also be given an opportunity to add to the list, based on other knowledge and beliefs they have heard about.

Statements for discussion:

Sex, relationships and rights

1. Boys like girls who are...
2. Girls like boys who are...
3. A same-sex relationship means...
4. Most people your age prefer a relationship which people are more independent of each another.
5. When your girlfriend or boyfriend spends time with friends and doesn't let you know about it, it's OK to get angry about it.
6. It's easy to say to your girl/boyfriend that you don't feel ready for sex.
7. Sex strengthens relationships.

8. The right time to have sex in a relationship is...
9. Boys who can't get (many) girlfriends are...
10. Girls who have many boyfriends are...
11. Sex is enjoyable when...
12. If a boy has spent time and money on a girl, he has earned sex.
13. Boys / girls can get whatever they want in a relationship...
14. If a girl is serious about her boyfriend, then she should...
15. It's OK for boys to tell all their friends about their sexual experiences with their girlfriends/partners.

Dating / partner violence

1. You are in an abusive relationship when...
2. Sexual assault cannot occur in a relationship (between a girlfriend and boyfriend).
3. Girls who dress sexy are more likely to be sexually harmed.
4. If a boy harms his girlfriend, it's because ...
5. When a girl says, "No," she is just playing hard to get.
6. It is OK/understandable if your partner threatens to cheat or leave if sexual needs are not met.
7. Dating violence doesn't exist in same-sex relationships.
8. Some girls like abuse, that's why they stay in such relationships.
9. Girls can be abusive, commit sexual assault.

Activity 2: Story telling

The focus of this activity is to co-create a story about dating, sex, and love with learners (Lynch, Morison, Gqomfa, Macleod & Goldstein, forthcoming; O'Dell, Crafter, de Abreu, & Cline, 2012). The purpose of the activity is to provide information that is formative, not evaluative, by generating insights into aspects of learners' realities that can inform the refinement of intervention activities.

Materials needed:

None

Instructions for participants:

1. Today we are going to talk about dating in Khayelitsha. We want you to help us tell a story of this couple, it can be a girl and a boy, two boys, or two girls who are in a romantic relationship and live here in Khayelitsha. In the story we'll talk about where they spend time, what kinds of things they do together and how their relationship progresses.
2. We will not be asking you to share personal details about your life and experiences, but rather asking you to talk about your understanding of these issues in general by referring to the story".
3. Let's give our characters names and also talk about how they met.

4. How old are they? Are they the same age, or not? Are they both in school?

Probing questions during storytelling try and find the following information:

1. Why do they spend time in that particular space? Who determines the location and how often do they meet?
2. Why do you think it is the boy or the girl who determines where they meet/spend time? Is that how things often happen in relationships around your community?
3. If there is an age gap: Why that age gap? Is that the normal age gap between couples around your community?
4. Why did they meet in that particular location, is that the way most girls and boys meet in your community?
5. Who initiated/ approached the other first? Is that how things normally happen in your community?
6. What does the girl like about the relationship, what is it that she does not like (Same question for boys)
7. How would the couple tell if their relationship is getting serious?
 - a. Do couples still talk about taking the relationship to the 'next level'?
 - b. Does the couple start getting physical? When do they start getting physical? How far do they go? Do they start having sex? If the couple does not engage in physical touching/ does not have sex, what do they do when they are together?
8. How long might it take for the couple to start having sex? If they have sex, who initiated it? If they say the boy - ask what would happen if the girl initiated sex?
9. If there are decisions to be made in the relationship, who makes them? Who makes the most decisions in the relationship and why? Why do you think they make the most decisions?
10. Is the couple happy together? What makes them happy-what makes the girl happy, what makes the boy happy? If one is unhappy, what makes them feel unhappy?
11. Is the girl free to assert herself in the relationship, is the boy free to assert himself in the relationship? Why and why not?
12. Does the girl feel safe in the relationship? Does the boy feel safe in the relationship?
13. Would it be easy for the girl to dump the boy if she wanted to? (Same question for boys)
14. How likely it is that one can make their partner do things they do not feel comfortable doing?
15. Partners might touch one another inappropriately without consent? Why do you think it happens in relationships, do people in your community find it acceptable?
16. Some behaviour might be considered inappropriate in a relationship, does this happen among partners around your community? What type of behaviour would be considered inappropriate?
17. What are some of the things that would lead to violence in the relationship? Who is more likely to be violent, is it the boy or the girl?

18. If one of them experienced any form of violence from the relationship, what would they do? Would they tell someone about it? If so, who would they tell? If not, why would they keep quiet? Is it easy or difficult to tell someone about something like that?
19. Is it likely that one of them would cheat, why and why not?
20. How does the partner who is being cheated on feel? How do you think she/he should handle this?
21. Overall, how does the couple resolve any form of conflict in the relationship?

Activity 3: Participatory mapping

This activity relies on participatory mapping and moves away from the immediate context of relationships to take a somewhat broader focus on generating discussion about learners' sense of safety in different areas in their school, and to a limited extent, community environments (Amsden & VanWynsberghe, 2005; Kramer, Seedat, Lazarus, & Suffla, 2011). Specifically, it explores where learners feel safe/unsafe in relation to sexual violence or harassment (unwanted touching, verbal harassment) in educational spaces. Furthermore, it also identifies sources of support and protection in their environments, as well as possible barriers to such support. Ultimately, the activity provides information about the impact of the intervention on increasing the sense of safety of learners, and particularly girls, in the school and community spaces in which they are located.

Materials needed

- Large sheet of paper (A1)
- Coloured markers
- Prestik to stick completed map on wall

Instructions for participants:

1. After explaining the purpose of the activity to participants, they are provided with a large sheet of paper and different coloured markers.
2. Participants are asked to draw a map of their school, taking care to indicate all the buildings / areas on the school ground and immediate surrounds learners spend time in. They are then asked to mark on the map where young people their age might experience different forms of harassment or violence (including bullying) or feel safe / unsafe. The facilitator reiterates that the aim of the activity is not to solicit personal information, but rather to engage learners in discussion about the issue in general.
3. During the second stage of the activity, participants are asked to extend the map to other spaces in their community, and similarly indicate where young people their age might feel safe / unsafe (exploring, for example, violence on the way to school or on the way home from school).

General probing questions:

- Why is the area you marked unsafe / safe for young people?
- In general, who is the person experiencing (sexual violence / harassment / etc.)? Who is the person doing that to them? (Another learner, a boy or girl, a teacher, etc.)

Draft 2: Not for circulation

- What kinds of things might boys say/do that make girls uncomfortable? What kinds of things might girls say/do that make boys uncomfortable?
- What do girls do when this happens? What do boys do when this happens? What do teachers do?
- Where could the person go for help / what can be done to stop this from happening?
- Are there actions the school can take to help learners to feel safe at school?