

DECLARATION:

I declare that I, Matamela Fulufhelo Beatrice Makongoza, know and accept that plagiarism is wrong. Consequently, I declare that this research project is my own, unaided work, except where specifically acknowledged. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination at this or any other university.

Matamela F.B. Makongoza

Date

ABSTRACT

Background: Intimate partner violence (IPV) is the most prevalent form of violence experienced by women in South Africa. It is estimated that 31.8% of young men aged 15-26 years perpetrate sexual and physical violence against their intimate partner. Studies with women also report high incidents of IPV victimisation from adolescents. The subtle and nuanced social dynamics of IPV are less understood owing to little qualitative research on IPV with youth in Black South African townships.

Research aim and objectives: This study explored how young people aged 15-20 years from Soweto, Johannesburg perceive and experience IPV. The proposed objectives were: To obtain young people's views on IPV, to explore young people's understandings of their experiences of IPV, and to analyse discourses of IPV.

Research methods: Thirteen participants were recruited through snowballing from different townships in Soweto including Pimville as an entry point. In-depth, face-to-face and semi-structured interviews were used to collect audio-recorded data. Thematic Analysis (TA) process assisted to group themes together to enable the researcher to execute the discourse analysis. Discourse analysis was used to analyse the data. To begin the analysis the researcher read each transcript carefully to achieve data immersion. The researcher re-read the transcripts with the aim of coding. The researcher analysed each transcript manually. The supervisor and researcher then went through the codes and agreed on codes to develop the codebook that answer the research aim and objectives. For this study data were analysed separately by gender because the researcher wanted to compare young men and women's similarities and differences about their understanding of IPV and be able to understand social construction of IPV.

Findings: The research contributed to fill a knowledge gap on perceptions and experiences of IPV among young people from a black South African township. Participants reported direct and indirect experiences of IPV. Young men and women perceived violence differently. Men were mostly perpetrators and women the victims. Traditional and cultural beliefs and values of femininity and masculinity seemed to precipitate violence in relationships, as men and women are modelled and ascribed gender roles by their parents and society. Alcohol and drug abuse contribute towards violence in relationships. In this study young people's narratives reported similar findings where men after drinking used violence towards their partners. Victim assistance from onlookers depended on the relationship with the victims. Women with multiple partners or women who confront their partner about their infidelity were reported to fuel violence.

Discussions: This study indicated that young people are exposed to violent behaviour as it was reportedly common to see boyfriends beating their girlfriends either publicly or privately. In addition, young people's exposure to violence was either directly or indirectly. Young people also reported women as victims of violence and men as perpetrators of violence. This was evident as few participants themselves report exposure to partner violence. Through exposure to violence during childhood, young people witness and learn the same patriarchal behaviour that their fathers use when chastising their mothers. Men, who grew up having been exposed to their fathers using violence to discipline their partners, might also use violence in their own relationships. These behaviours legitimise the use of violence against women in relationships. It is possible that young people hold on to the behaviour while transitioning into adulthood. The violent behaviour is precipitated by the construction of hegemonic masculinity. Young people

recognised that violence against women is an unacceptable behaviour and in order to eliminate IPV the constructed harmful ideas of masculinity will have to be challenged.

Recommendations: Young people should be educated on reproductive health, and gender-based violence and intimate partner violence. The implementation of youth friendly facilities by department of health that assist young people in violent relationships by empowering them with education about violence. Encouragement of young people to speak about their violent experiences to eliminate perceptions of IPV as a private matter. Modelling of culture and traditions beliefs by parents and society that promote gender equality and awareness of violence through school curriculums. Young people should be educated about implications of substance use such: contracting HIV and sexual transmitted infections related diseases, unplanned pregnancy and gender based violence. Implementation of police empowerment programmes that deals with intimate partner violence.

Conclusions: This study evidently shows that young people are aware of IPV happening amongst them. Young people indicated that IPV is not acceptable and distanced themselves from the behaviour. This study contributed an understanding of how young black people from the townships perceived and experienced IPV.

Key words: *Qualitative research design, discourse, gender-based violence, intimate partner violence, Soweto Johannesburg, townships, young people, dating violence, social learning theory, patriarchy, socially constructed, adolescence, perpetration and victimisation of intimate partner violence, violence against women, gender roles, inter-personal violence, intimate relationships.*

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Children Learn What They Live with

By Dorothy Law Nolte, Ph.D.

If children live with criticism, they learn to condemn.

If children live with hostility, they learn to fight.

If children live with fear, they learn to be apprehensive.

If children live with pity, they learn to feel sorry for themselves.

If children live with ridicule, they learn to feel shy.

If children live with jealousy, they learn to feel envy.

If children live with shame, they learn to feel guilty.

If children live with encouragement, they learn confidence.

If children live with tolerance, they learn patience.

If children live with praise, they learn appreciation.

If children live with acceptance, they learn to love.

If children live with approval, they learn to like themselves.

If children live with recognition, they learn it is good to have a goal.

If children live with sharing, they learn generosity.

If children live with honesty, they learn truthfulness.

If children live with fairness, they learn justice.

If children live with kindness and consideration, they learn respect.

If children live with security, they learn to have faith in themselves and in those about them.

If children live with friendliness, they learn the world is a nice place in which to live.

Chapter 1: Introduction

A World Health Organization (WHO) study from 15 countries estimates a lifetime prevalence of physical and sexual intimate partner violence among women in general at 15%-71% (Garcia-Moreno, Jansen, Ellsberg, Heise, and Watts (2005). IPV is a global health problem with negative health consequences for women (Gass, Stein, Williams, & Seedat, 2011) such as unplanned pregnancy (K. Wood & Rachel Jewkes, 1997), still-births (Silverman, Gupta, Decker, Kapur, & Raj, 2007), sexually transmitted infections (STIs), HIV (Dunkle et al., 2006; Rachel Jewkes, Dunkle, Nduna, & Shai, 2010), substance abuse and other mental problems (Campbell, 2002a; Hatcher, Colvin, Ndlovu, & Dworkin, 2014) as well as intimate femicide (Abrahams, Mathews, Rachel Jewkes, Martin, & Lombard, 2012).

In South Africa, IPV among young people is reported as a concern in survey reports (Rachel Jewkes, 2002; Russell et al., 2013; Thaler, 2012). A research study conducted in Soweto among 16-44 year-old pregnant women attending antenatal clinics, reported 7% of IPV at the age of 15 (Dunkle et al., 2004). IPV can include physical, sexual and emotional violence and controlling behaviours (WHO, 2012b). A study conducted with a non-clinical sample of young women aged 13-23 years estimated that 42% experienced physical violence from their intimate partners (Swart, Seedat, Stevens, & Ricardo, 2002). In addition, young men and women aged 14-25 years reported violence as mostly perpetrated by young men on their intimate partner (K. Wood, Lambert, & Rachel Jewkes, 2007) and this violence is as a result of their partner's wrong doings according to men's accounts (K. Wood, Lambert, & Rachel Jewkes, 2008).

Prevalence of IPV in South Africa among young people and adults is estimated between 10% -50.5% (Dunkle et al., 2004). In Jewkes et al., (2002) their study reported 19-28% IPV and

5-7% IPV rape among women aged 18-48 years in three South African provinces (Eastern Cape, Mpumalanga and the Northern Province). Violence within some South African families in urban areas is reported at 26% (Leoschut & Burton, 2006). As a result of young people being exposed to parents' violence, violence might be seen as normative and be used to resolve conflicts later in their adulthood intimate relationships (Boonzaier, 2008; Thaler, 2012). Hence, a study in the Western Cape among young people aged 14-19 years reported that for young women being beaten was normal and they regarded violence as an expression of their partner's love (K. Wood, Maforah, & Rachel Jewkes, 1998).

Despite a number of epidemiological studies conducted on IPV among young people in South Africa, young people's views on how they perceive and experience IPV in Black South African townships have not been researched much. There are limited qualitative data reports on IPV (Nduna & Rachel Jewkes, 2012; K. Wood et al., 2008; K. Wood et al., 1998). Most of the research on IPV in South Africa and elsewhere focuses mainly on the adult population and is predominantly quantitative (Dunkle et al., 2004; Hatcher et al., 2014; Rachel Jewkes et al., 2010; WHO, 2012b). IPV is a form of gender-based violence (GBV) affecting young women disproportionately as victims and young men as perpetrators (Dunkle et al., 2006; Russell et al., 2013). This current research explored how young people (15-20 years) from Soweto, Johannesburg, perceived and experienced IPV.

1.1 Rationale of the study

Soweto was chosen as a location of interest because a study conducted between 2001-2002 among 16-44 year-olds attending antenatal clinics in Soweto, highlighted high incidents of IPV among 15 year-old adolescents (Dunkle et al., 2004). This is supported by other studies

conducted in Soweto (Dietrich et al., 2013; Dunkle et al., 2004). This is partly due to young people being exposed to violence at an early age as reported by 16-18 year-olds in Soweto who witnessed and experienced violence between their parents at the ages of 14 and 15 years (Otwombe et al., 2015). Hence, about 25% of males and 19.6% of females view IPV as a normal part of their relationships (Swart et al., 2002). IPV has detrimental effects on adolescents as they suffer from anxiety, depression and poor school performance (WHO, 2012b). Young people in Soweto are affected by some social challenges such as violence, substance abuse including alcohol and early pregnancy (Dunkle et al., 2004). There is little knowledge on how young people from Soweto, between 15-20 years, perceive and experience IPV.

In addition, the researcher worked in a research company that focused on young peoples for five years and the researcher observed problems of violence in young people's relationships. Most importantly the rationale for this study is to fill the knowledge gap that exists in the understanding of IPV as perceived and experienced by young people; this is lacking because subjective experiences of IPV in this community among the younger population are not studied. As a result, not much is known about how young people perceive and experience IPV in Soweto.

1.2 Aim of the study

The aim of this study was to explore how young people aged 15-20 years from Soweto, Johannesburg, perceived and experienced IPV.

Specific Aims

The proposed specific aims of the study were:

1. To obtain young people's views on IPV.
2. To explore young people's understandings of their experiences of IPV.
3. To analyse discourses of IPV.

Research question

What are the perceptions and experiences of IPV among young people from Soweto, Johannesburg?

1.3 Research Paradigm and design

A research design serves as a recipe that guides the researcher throughout the collection of data until the researcher reaches the ultimate objective goal (Delpont, 2006). For the purpose of this study, the researcher chose a qualitative approach as it attempts to describe and understand human behaviour, and analyses social representations in greater detail (Babbie & Mouton, 2004; J. Smith, 2008). An exploratory research design was utilised as it allowed participants to freely express their experiences and understanding of IPV through the participant's lens (Patton, 1980). Exploratory research is flexible and allows the researcher to probe and explore the how, why and what questions. This research design gathers information in ways that could not be easily conducted by other research designs. In addition, exploratory studies assist to collect data on newly or limited research problems or research problems that have never been conducted (Brown, 2006). Furthermore, this research design allows the researcher to gain knowledge about the researched topic.

1.4. Chapter organisation

Chapter one, introduces the context of the study and gives a rationale for both the relevance of the study and choice of the study site. **Chapter two** provides a detailed literature review. A number of epidemiological studies conducted on IPV among young people in South Africa are reported. The chapter also covers several aspects such as: background on violence against women awareness; background on how studies on IPV started from a social perspective; definition of the typology of violence; the ontology of the victim and survivor; young people's experiences of IPV; The use of violence and victimisation by young people, and sexual relationships among young people. **Chapter three** describes in detail the methods used throughout the study; from research design; study setting; study sample; research instruments used; data collection procedure; data management and analysis; ensuring study rigour; study limitations and ethical concerns. **Chapter four** presents research findings of the study separately pertaining to young women and men's perceptions and experiences of IPV; as well research outputs. **Chapter five** provides a discussion and recommendations of the research study. **Chapter six** highlights the conclusion of the study and presents recommendations.

Chapter 2: Literature review

2.1 Background on violence against women

For years, violence against women has been recognised as a problem that affects everyone in the world. The response to this social catastrophe differs. It was only in the 20th century that this was brought to the fore. Martin (1976) reported that the international tribunal on crime against women was held in Brussels in 1976 and women from Brussels stood up against women's oppression and made the world know of their oppression by their partners. For five days women moved around the world announcing their victimisation. Similar tribunals took place in cities such as New York and San Francisco. As a result of this movement wife beating began to be reported on radios, newspapers and television as a social problem. Police stations started to train their police officers on family crisis intervention and State and city hearings were held to measure the prevalence of wife beating and implemented legislation, funding for emergency shelters and social services for wives or victims.

Latin America and a growing number of other countries around the world recognised 25 November as "International Day of Violence against Women". It was also referred to as "No Violence against Women Day" and the "Day to End Violence against Women". The notion of violence was first declared by the first Feminist Encuentro¹ for Latin America and the Caribbean held in Bogota, Colombia (18 to 21 July 1981). At that Encuentro women systematically denounced gender-based violence from domestic battery to rape and sexual harassment, to state violence including torture and abuse of women political prisoners. The date was chosen to commemorate the lives of the Mirabal sisters and originally marked the day that the three

¹ Encuentro in Spanish meaning encounters

Mirabal sisters from the Dominican Republic were violently assassinated in 1960 during the Trujillo dictatorship (Rafael Trujillo 1930-1961). The day was used to pay tribute to the global recognition of gender-based violence as well (WOMENSNET).

In addition, an international domestic violence awareness called grassroots women's group was globally recognised to protect women against violence (Ellsberg, Liljestrand, & Winkvist, 1997). Conventions such as the United Nation Declaration on the Elimination of violence against women (1993) and the Declarations and Platforms for Action were implemented. In 1994 the United Nations in its Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women reported the following:

"In no society are women secure or treated equally to men. Personality's insecurity shadows them from cradle to grave. In the household, they are the last to eat. At school, they are the last to be educated. At work, they are the last to be hired and the first to be fired...and from childhood to adulthood, they are abused because of their gender"

(United Nations, 1993).

As such, the two documents when implemented did not legally bind the government to protect women against violence (Organisation of American States, 1995). The Inter-American Convention for the Prevention, Eradication and Sanction of Violence against Women were drawn in Belem do Para, Brazil 1994 (Organisation of American States, 1995). The documents were approved and signed by members of the Organisations of American States binding the States to protect women against any form of violence privately and by the States. The Convention called for States to form legislations that look mostly at the prevention of violence and assisting women affected by violence. The States were mandated to report regularly on their

progress and any failures by the States were to be reported to the Inter-American Human Rights (The Inter-American Convention, 2001).

After the democratic election in 1994, the South African Constitutional Court implemented a law that protects any South African citizen against injustice and provided women with a full range of rights including the right to be free from violence (The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996). The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa was approved by the Constitutional Court on 4 December, 1996 and became effective on 4 February 1997, Later on the Domestic Violence Act 116 of 1998 was implemented and addressed IPV as a human rights issue in South Africa (Domestic Violence Act, 1998). The Act broadens the scope of cover of what constitutes domestic relationships and domestic violent actions. This Act defined violence against women as including physical violence and other forms such as emotional, economic, threatened violence and stalking. The main strength of the legislation lies in protection orders against perpetrators and the possibility of imprisonment of re-offenders however, the Domestic Violence Act 116 of 1998 failed to give rise to any programmes that supported male offenders as the Act focused more on women's protection (Domestic Violence Act, 1998).

In addition, the South African Government, together with all sectors of society, annually embarks on the National 16 Days of Activism Campaign to oppose violence committed against women and children. In May 2006, the Kopanong Declaration was agreed to by approximately 260 representatives from all spheres of government, constitutional bodies, trade unions, civil society and faith-based organisations, traditional authorities and international cooperating partners to ensure implementation of a comprehensive 365 Days National Action Plan (WOMENSNET). The awareness of domestic violence both internationally and nationally is

reported to have started in the 20th century. Hence scientific studies on IPV are new and still inadequate to help us understand this phenomenon.

2.2 Background on how the studies on IPV started from a social perspective

In the late 1960s studies on IPV were rare and if studied, research focused on domestic violence and studies were categorised under a medical or mental health perspective, as most of the published papers reported from clinical samples (hospitalised children, patients of psychiatrists or social worker's views) (Gelles, 1973). Recently some researchers still explained violence from a mental health perspective and personality disorder. Hofeller (1982) reports that the combination of excessive intake of alcohol, a low tolerance to frustration, weak impulse control and pathological jealousy constitute a deadly combination conducive to violent response. This view is pathologising use of violence in intimate relationships. Other researchers report that mental health conditions such as depression were diagnosed with men who perpetrated violence and women experiencing violence (Campbell & Lewandowski, 1997 ; Coker et al., 2002).

Hence, some studies in the seventies started to focus their research on domestic violence demonstrating that research could be conducted using nonclinical samples and they came up with appropriate methods and sampling strategies for conducting population-based research on domestic violence (O'Brien, 1971; Straus, 1971). Although some researchers criticised their attempt as they questioned the reliability and validity of social studies (Gelles, 1980). Gelles (1980) attempted to explain the shift from the mental health to studying domestic violence from the social perspective as a result of social and cultural forces. Gelles explained that firstly, it was due to sensitivity of social scientists and the public towards a war that happened in Southeast

Asia, assassinations, civil disturbances and increasing homicide rates in the sixties. Secondly, the collaborations of women's movements highlighted the problems of battered women. Del Martin wrote a book on the first topic of wife battering. In her book she reported that wife battering (in her explanation she referred to any woman beaten by her mate whether legally married or not) is due to women's powerlessness in the patriarchal society. Del Martin also emphasised that violence against women cannot be changed until gender power is dealt with (Martin, 1976). Lastly, she organised and chaired the National Organization for Women (NOW) task force for wife battering and this was an American feminist movement established on June 30, 1966, in Washington, D.C., United States (Gelles, 1980). The term battering "is not an isolated event, but a process in which battered women stay in or return to the relationships in which they are victimized for at least part of the time" (Walker, 1979, p. xiv-xv). The term "battered women" originated in the 1970's.

2.3 Literature review approach

The researcher constantly reviewed the literature as it is normative in qualitative studies to move between data collection and a literature review. For the researcher to meet the goals of this study the following databases were used: Google, Google scholar, Science Direct (Elsevier), JSTOR, PubMed, EBSCOhost and Springer. The following key words were used in the literature search: gender-based violence; intimate partner violence; domestic violence; perceptions and experience of young people; adolescents; dating violence; IPV and South Africa; physical violence; alcohol use; female subordination; masculinity; abuse; gender roles; interpersonal violence, violence against women; risk factors; childhood witnessing violence; culture and tradition; sexual violence; patriarchal society; social construction; young peoples' behaviour;

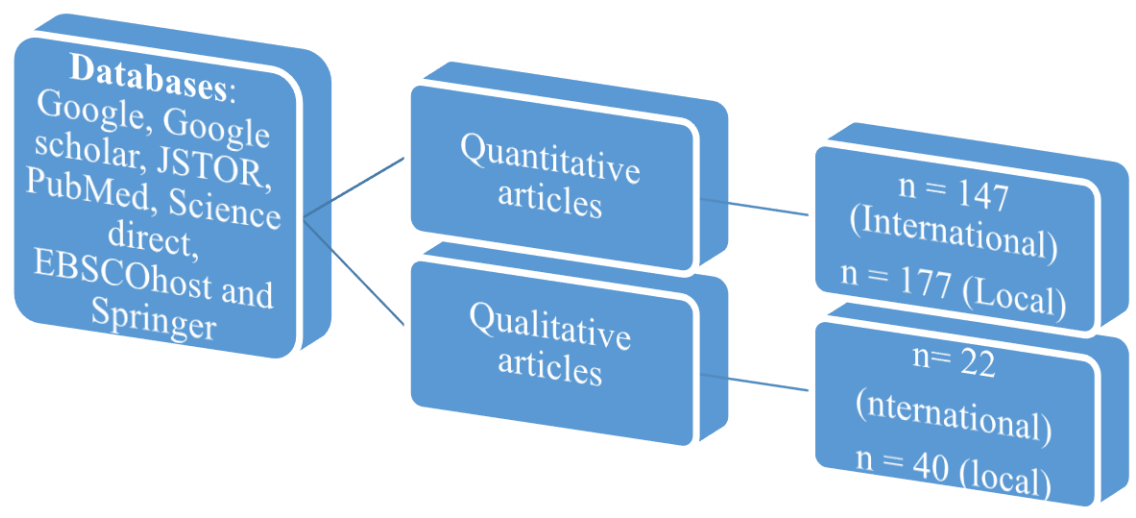
coercion; gender violence, and intimate relationships. The researcher reviewed roughly 386 articles of which 257 articles were selected for the study as these articles had more information about the study. Articles that the researcher reviewed related to the discussed topic were mostly quantitative and a few qualitative studies. Articles on adults' perspectives were also reviewed to give a background of the IPV problem, hence the need to focus on young people's perspectives.

Reviewed articles related to IPV or domestic violence focused on the following:

1. Sexual socialisation
2. Gender construction and gender-based violence
3. Concurrent sexual partners and IPV
4. Communications as an effective method for addressing young people's sexual health
5. IPV and poor general health
6. IPV and risk factors
7. Domestic violence and gang members among young people
8. IPV perpetration and victimisation for both young and adults
9. Bullying among young people as precipitator of violence
10. Effects of witnessing violence at an early age
11. Adolescent intimate relationship
12. Violence against women as public health concern
13. IPV and use of alcohol for young people
14. Physical violence among young people's relationship
15. Poverty, transactional sex and rape among young people,

Below, Figure 1 highlights a summary of articles that were reviewed for the purpose of the study.

Figure 1: Summary of articles reviewed for the study



IPV is a human rights issue, health concern and a social concern hence some articles reported in this research were from health and social perspectives as the two aspects influence each other to a certain extent. For example, a woman who is constantly beaten up by her partner may get injured and have to access health services from a local clinic or hospital due to IPV. In terms of how IPV impacts on economic aspects, it can be in a situation where a woman is beaten and cannot go to work. She would spend most of her time away from work and may end up losing

her job because of absenteeism. Her children will also be affected and may drop out of school and then South Africa will have a generation with low education that cannot contribute towards the growth of the economy. It is for these intersections that IPV stands to draw multidisciplinary research attention.

2.4 Definitions of terms

What is understood by adolescence?

Researchers from different disciplines define adolescents, children, young adolescents, young people, youth and young adults differently depending on the context of the subject (United Nations Children's Emergency Funds, 2009). UNFPA defines adolescence as a period between 10 and 19 years of age marked by the puberty development of physical, cognitive, behavioural and psychosocial change. Adolescents become aware of their bodily changes such as the growing of pubic hair. Girls develop breasts and the menstruation cycle begins. With boys, the penis and testicles grow, facial hair develops and the voice deepens. They also become aware of their sexuality and might start experimenting with sex as they become independent of their parents, growing a sense of identity and self-esteem (Gevers, Mathews, Cupp, Russell, & Rachel Jewkes, 2013; Machel, 1996; UNFPA, 2009).

Adolescents also come across external forces which they have little control over such as: gender roles, globalisation, poverty and HIV/AIDS (UNICEF, 2002). The term adolescent identifying this age group, was coined specifically with an intention to deal with health challenges that adolescents are faced with. Hence, the implementation of Adolescents Sexual Health Reproductive (ASHR) programmes (Laski & Wong, 2010; UNFPA, 2009). In some settings, adolescents prolong entering into adulthood hence some definition of what constitutes adolescence has been extended until the age of 24 years (UNFPA, 2009).

United Nations Children's Emergency Fund and World Health Organization define adolescents as males and females aged between 10-24 years (United Nations Children's Emergency Funds, 2009; WHO, 2012a, 2014d). In addition, the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV and AIDS (UNAIDS) defined young people as individuals between ages 15-24 years (UNAIDS, 2010; United Nations, 2005). The above programmes cater for adolescents and young people aged 10-24 years because the interventions focus on health aspects. It was also important to include this information because the young people who participated in this study were in the same age group, 10-24 years and faced the same health concerns and some of the health concerns result from IPV.

In addition, a youth is often a person between the age when they leave compulsory education and the age at which they find employment (UNESCO, n.d.). Likewise, South Africa's National Youth Policy (NYP) defines youth as being between ages 15-35 years. The youth age has been extended in South Africa because most youths in this age group are unemployed and unable to sustain themselves, relying on their family for survival and if the age is not categorised until age 35 years they will not benefit from the Government's economic developmental interventions (National Youth Development Agency, 2012; The National Youth Policy (NYP), 2009-2014). In South Africa, 36.1 percent of young people between the ages of 15 and 35 are unemployed, which is almost double the 15.6 percent of adults aged between 35 and 64 who are unemployed (The National Youth Policy, 2015-2020). The South African Youth and Adolescent Health Policy refers to young people as aged between 10-24 years (Department of Health, 2012). This policy is in line with the WHO.

However, this research includes young people between 15-20 years because they are vulnerable to IPV. The cut-off age for this study also makes it possible for researchers and policy

makers to have a common understanding when addressing issues related to young people and also implement different interventions targeted at different age groups according to research evidence for that particular age group.

The categories for young people are not necessarily the same for all agencies that have programmes targeted at young people. This is because each of these agencies have specific objectives which may or may not be in line with a particular age group. For example, some agencies work with violence, sexual reproductive health, teenage pregnancy, general health, substance abuse and HIV and this has influenced this age group and how we followed this 10-24 years age group. In keeping with the common understanding the researcher will refer to young people as those between ages 15-20 years.

Definition of the typology of violence

Defining the typology of violence for this study is important as the reader will have a clear understanding of the terms used to refer to violence throughout the study. The word *vis*, meaning violence originated from Latin explaining the use of force and physical supremacy against another human being (Casique & Furegato, 2006). Interpersonal violence is differentiated from violence against women (VAW) in that the type of violence committed encompasses both male and female, including children, while VAW focuses on violence perpetrated against women, mainly by men. **Interpersonal violence** refers to violence that may be physical, psychological, or sexual and may be perpetrated by men, women, family members or someone unknown to the victim (WHO, 2014b). For example, it could be neighbours who went out for a drink at a night club and that some guys in the night club started to make funny comments about how they dressed up. Because the person who made the comments was probably drunk they end

up fighting. Some people at the night club might start to cheer and others might try to intervene and eventually the drunkard would be taken out of the club (Benson & Archer, 2002). It was not easy to find an appropriate definition of violence from the late 1960s as researchers attempted to define violence in terms of physical aggression (London as cited in Gelles, 1980). Some early researchers distinguished between legitimate acts of force between family members and illegitimate acts of violence (Goode as cited in Gelles, 1980). This was because violence was culturally approved and normalised. Years later Gelles and Strauss (1979, p. 549-581) proposed definition of **violence** as "an act carried out with the intention, or perceived intention of physically hurting another person" with an inclusion of spankings, and shoving as well as other forms of behaviour which do not actually typically lead to injury. Gelles and Strauss recognised that the term "violence" was formulated from a political perspectives that regards any aspect of the society politicians did not approve as "violence". In addition, later on researchers viewed violence broadly as "physical force inflicted against another person with the intention to cause harm such as: injury, and death" (Rachel Jewkes, Sen, & Garcia-Moreno, 2002).

When violence relating to women is mentioned in the literature terms like "gender-based violence", "domestic violence", "and intimate partner violence" and "violence against women" are used. The term **gender-based violence** (GBV) is defined differently depending on its use in the context and according to the discipline (Legal, criminology, public health, social sciences etc.) of the research (Abrahams, Martin, & Vetten, 2004). In 1999, the WHO multi-country study (Bangladesh, Brazil, Japan, Namibia, Peru, Samoa, Thailand, and the United Republic of Tanzania) on violence against women (VAW) developed a standardised instrument of Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS) to have an appropriate and formalised GBV definition (Garcia-Moreno et al., 2005). According to this standardised instrument they understood GBV as relating to

experiences of physical or sexual violence by a current or former intimate partner (Straus, Hamby, Boney-Mc-Coy, & Sugarman, 1996). South Africa's Domestic Violence Act 116 of 1998 defines GBV as "Physical abuse, sexual abuse, verbal, and psychological abuse, economic abuse, intimidation, harassment, stalking, damage to property, entry into complainant's residence without consent where they do not share the same residence, or any other controlling, or abusive behaviour towards a complainant where such conduct harms, or may cause imminent harm to the safety, health, or well-being of the complainant" (Domestic Violence Act, 1998, p. 12). A standardised WHO and Domestic Violence Act 116 of 1998 define GBV in similar ways.

The term **GBV**, also known as "traditional discipline", was initiated by the United Nation humanitarian committee to explain VAW and adopted by the General Assembly in 1993 (UNFPA, 2012). GBV was coined to make people understand that violence against woman is gendered-based. GBV has to do with the roles that women are expected to fulfil in the society and these roles are socially constructed to fit women. For example, women have been constructed to be domestic workers, child bearers and home carers. Women constructed men as providers hence men are expected to support their families. If women are not fulfilling their roles as women then gender-based violence happens against women (Manicom, 2010). GBV does not necessarily only happen in intimate relationships, it could happen anywhere. For example, a woman who chooses to work in a male dominated field such as the taxi industry could be discriminated against because of her gender despite her good driving skills (Chuchu, 2012).

Researchers view **domestic violence** as violence between husband and wife, including abuse of children and elderly (Denzin, 1984). Feminist theorists however criticise some researchers' explanation of domestic violence, as they argued that violence against women is gendered as most victims are likely to be women (Dobash, Dobash, Wilson, & Daly, 1992; M.

Smith, 1994). Hence the coined term gender-based violence because of abuse of women by their intimate partners should be considered part of violence as it is perpetrated through the subordination of women by men (United Nations, 1995). The term encompasses broader aspects of violence. The UN adapted the term GBV to highlight that “violence against women is rooted in gender inequality and also perpetuates women’s subordinate legal, social, or economic status in society” (WHO, 2012b). In these instances, common forms of GBV include: intimate partner violence, sexual violence, violence against women in humanitarian and conflict settings, human trafficking including forced prostitution, economic exploitation of girls and women and female genital mutilation (WHO, 2012a). A man who is married to his wife will expect this woman to take care of him, cook, make sure that the household is clean and bear children. If she does not fulfil all the expected roles as a married woman, she then gets beaten for that and called names such as barren (Dyer, Abrahams, Hoffman, & Van Der Spuy, 2002). There are different settings where GBV occurs and research suggests that it is mostly in the domestic sphere. In the 1970s, social policy toward female victims of domestic assaults improved on legal responses with the intention to protect women and punish offenders in the United States of America (U.S. Department of Justice, 1995). In 1970 researchers tried to define the term “violence” within the context of family violence. In 1989 the United States emerged as the world's sole remaining superpower after the fall of the Soviet Union. Following his election in 1992, President Bill Clinton oversaw unprecedented gains in securities values, a side effect of the digital revolution and new business opportunities that was created by the Internet. The 1990s saw one of the longest periods of economic expansion (U.S. Department of Justice, 1995). Hence, most of the research papers originated from the US because it was the first country that was regarded as developed. Through continuous research globally, terms like GBV, domestic violence, IPV,

violence against women, and interpersonal violence have been used in the field of gender-based violence for years now. Some terms have been changed over time for researchers to have a universal understanding of violence against women challenges and be able to implement appropriate interventions.

Hence the term domestic violence (DV) refers to gender-based violence perpetrated by a family member against any other family member (whether husband and wife, sister, or brother, grandparents, children, cousins, uncles) because they are in the domestic household (Duvvury, Callan, Carney, & Raghavendra, 2013). For example, a mother who is constantly abusing substance might not have time to take care of her children and at times she might neglect them. In instances like that children end up being taken away by social workers as the mother did not spend time with her children (Rosenbaum, 1979). Another example might be a grandmother who is abused by her children through them taking her pension money and using it instead of buying essentials for the grandmother. This term domestic is typically used by social workers and professional family practitioners during their consultations because most cases that they deal with are family related and happens within the family household (Mullender, 2002).

Violence against women (VAW) refers to “an act of gender-based violence that is likely to result in physical, sexual, and emotional violence including threats, and coercion” (WHO, 2012a). In addition, the United Nation in its Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women provided a broader definition of violence against women as an act of gender-based violence that is likely to result in physical, sexual, or psychological harm, or suffering to women including threats such as acts of coercion, or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in private or public. The United Nation goes on to describe that violence against women includes but is not limited to physical, sexual, and psychological violence occurring in the family, and

community in general, or condoned by the state (United Nations, 1993). For example, a woman works as a medical practitioner, works hard and competes with men to be successful. As a woman employed in healthcare, in kind of a job that is used to be 'reserved' for men, other employees may not like that this woman performs a good job in a male gendered position. Society dictates that certain positions are for men and cannot be done by women (Thenard, 2005). Being a woman in a senior position she might be accused of sleeping her way to the top. This is how a society sometimes condones not physical violence against women. Violence against women can be any other form of violence against women just because they are women.

In 1856 the United Kingdom's (UK) campaign for divorce reform used the term "wife beating" referring to intimate partner violence (Heru, 2007, p. 376). **IPV** has become a common term used by the WHO as reference to women's experiences of physical, sexual and emotional violence by an intimate partner (e.g. belittling the woman, preventing her from seeing family and friends, intimidation, withholding resources, preventing her from working or confiscating her earnings, causing some harm including sexual coercion and mental complications (Krug, Dahlberg, Mercy, Zwi, & Lozano, 2002; Rachel Jewkes & Morrell, 2010). IPV could happen in marriage, a short-term relationship, long-term relationship, current, estranged, or terminated relationships (Harvey, Garcia-Moreno, & Butchart, 2007). Most importantly these relationships are emotionally bonded (Dutton, 2011).

In recent literature the terms IPV and domestic violence are at times used interchangeably. An extreme form of IPV can include **Intimate partner femicide** referring to the killing of a female intimate partner by either a boyfriend or ex-boyfriend, husband or same sex partner (Abrahams et al., 2012). For example, a man dating other women starts to suspect that his partner might be cheating (Shefer et al., 2008). In order to make sure that his partner did not

cheat violence was used against her (Johnson, 1995). During quarrelling violence escalated and ultimately the man killed his partner (Elisha, Idisis, Timor, & Addad, 2010). A review of femicide cases in 2009 among 14 years and older deceased South African females in 38 mortuaries reported that 57.1% of women were killed by their intimate partners (Abrahams et al., 2012). **Physical violence** refers to an act of physical aggression with the intention to cause harm including: slaps, punches, kicks, assaults with a weapon, beating and homicide (Duvvury et al., 2013). **Sexual violence** refers to an unwanted or forceful sexual act including sexual coercion regardless of the next person's (or their victim's) feelings (Heise & Garcia- Moreno, 2002; Krug et al., 2002). In addition, sexual violence is defined as an act of sexual domination, humiliation and authority towards someone who cannot defend themselves (Brownmiller, 1976).

Emotional violence might include any verbal abuse such as being humiliated in front of others, insulted, being intimidated by a form of yelling and smashing things and threatening to hurt someone (WHO, 2014a). However, emotional violence might also include some form of physical harassment with the intention to hurt the partner (WHO, 2014c). **Financial violence** refers to the perpetrator making sure that the victim does not have a way of seeking help; withholding money, basic necessities and preventing the victim from seeking a job; forcing the partner to pay bills (rent, food and transport) and taking the victim's property and selling it without consent (Hanson, McMahon, Griese, & Kenyon, 2014). For the purpose of this study, the researcher included emotional, physical, sexual and financial violence as young people experience all these forms of violence (Dunkle et al., 2006).

The ontology of the victim and survivor

The terms victim and survivor are used to refer to women who have experienced abuse in their relationships. The use of these two terms are sometimes preferred depending on the context. In the field of violence, VAW, GBV and DV, these terms are used to highlight certain experiences (Mathews et al., 2008; Rachel Jewkes, Sen, et al., 2002; WHO, 2012b) Although these women are victimised, the journey of surviving what happened to them continues. Being a victim is considered to mean being trapped in abusive relationships (Dunn, 2005). Victims of IPV might be vulnerable to GBV due to financial constraints within their families (Dunkle et al., 2004). In addition, being the victim of IPV has some negative effects such as physical trauma, mental health and injuries (Hatcher et al., 2014). The term victim is likely to be used in criminal justice context and activists do not prefer to use the term victim because they feel that it makes a victimised person look passive (Mullender, 2002). Other writers also argued that “society should stop looking badly on women who went through violence and use domestic violence services and start to see them as users of the movement services who could also be advocates of what they went through to make awareness in the society” (Hague, Mullender, & Aris, 2003, p. 2). A survivor is someone who came to a decision that despite what he or she went through it is time for new beginnings (Dunn, 2005). The survivor will start to realise that it was not his or her fault that the partner reacted in an abusive manner (Gupta, 2014).

Sexual relationships in adolescence

Intimate partner relationships play an important role during adolescence and influence psychosocial functioning later in young people’s relationships (Collins, 2003). For the purpose of this research study it is essential to define different types of relationships that adolescents engage in to enable the reader to understand the content of the study.

1. Main partner relationship: This type of a relationship is considered when a young man or woman has a romantic sexual relationship with a steady partner (Rachel Jewkes, Morrell, Sikweyiya, Dunkle, & Penn-Kekana, 2012).
2. Casual partner relationship: This type of a sexual relationship is not considered a typical boyfriend or girlfriend romantic relationship, or considered as a primary partner. It is mostly based on physical attraction or transaction (Grello, Welsh, & Harper, 2006; Lewis, Atkins, Blayney, Dent, & Kaysen, 2013). Different words such as booty call, friends with benefits and hook-ups are used to refer to variations of these.
3. Secret relationship (*Makhwapheni*): this is a relationship with someone who is not made public. This type of a relationship may include multiple partners and the other partners are usually unknown to the main partner.
4. Concurrency: people engaged in a new sexual relationship without ending the previous sexual relationship (Epstein & Morris, 2011; Jewkes & Morrell, 2010; SADC, 2006). This can occur with any combination of the above.

Young people engage in all kinds of different relationships putting themselves at risk of sexual assault, unplanned pregnancies, sexually transmitted infections and IPV. As a result of young women engaging in risky behaviour they either become a victim or a survivor of some form of abuse.

2.5 Young people's experiences of IPV in South Africa

One of the greatest challenges facing young people in intimate relationships is violence. A South African study conducted in the Eastern Cape among 1,275 young men aged between 15-26 years among 70 rural villages, estimated that 31.8% of young men perpetrated physical violence against their intimate partner (Dunkle et al., 2006). In addition, in a Stepping Stone study conducted with 1,360 respondents males, reported of 21.3% rape, 8.6% IPV, and 16.2% non-IPV (Rachel Jewkes et al., 2006). A study conducted in Cape Town among 596 male and female adolescents from grades 8 and 11, male adolescents reported 20% IPV perpetration (Flisher, Myer, Merais, Lombard, & Reddy, 2007). This study revealed a high number of IPV as studies among young people in SA revealed younger men are likely to perpetrate IPV and young women being physically victimised by their partners. A recent study by Russell et al. (2013) among 549 (238 boys and 311 girls) grade 8 students in nine schools in Cape Town reported 10% of boys forced a partner to have sex while girls reported 39% IPV physical victimisation. These numbers impact negatively on the quality of young South Africans' lives.

Furthermore, a qualitative study conducted in Butterworth among young people aged 16-22 reported women battering in the backroom² with an increased radio volume so that parents in the main house, would not hear her cry and intervene to help (Nduna & Rachel Jewkes, 2012). A similar situation was observed and reported from different townships in the Western Cape and Eastern Cape where adolescents reported sexual coercion from their partners despite several attempts of pleading with them. Here a boyfriend would lock the door, beat her and force himself on her (K. Wood et al., 2007; K. Wood et al., 1998; K. Wood & Rachel Jewkes, 2009). Women in these situations could scream for help with the hope that someone would intervene. In another

² domestic worker's quarters known today as "back room" was first introduced during apartheid days for black maids

study in Eastern Cape young people aged 14-25 years reported the girlfriend being beaten and stabbed by the boyfriend after refusing to go with him to his room (K. Wood et al., 2008). These studies show how vulnerable young women can be at the hands of their intimate partners if they do not succumb to their boyfriend's demands. As young women are most likely to be subjected to violence, they are labelled as victims and their boyfriends as perpetrators of IPV. More research on IPV awareness among young people is needed in South Africa.

A longitudinal study conducted in Cape Town schools among 2,360 grade eight adolescents suggested 9.1% of girls and 23.5% of boys were victims of IPV in intimate relationships and 27.8% of boys and 17.8% of girls reported they had ever been forced to sex against their will (Mathews. et al., 2009). This research result correlated with other research studies conducted among adolescents of the same age (Flisher et al., 2007; Swart et al., 2002). A study conducted in Soweto with 506 young men and women aged between 16-18 years, suggested that 26% experienced violence (Dietrich et al., 2013).

These studies reported both IPV perpetration and victimisation among young people in South Africa. Studies revealed that mostly young men are the perpetrators of IPV while young women become victims. All results correlated with what other researchers in other countries have reported about young people of the same age in terms of IPV perpetration and victimisation (Baly, 2010; De Koker, Mathews, Zuch, Bastien, & Mason-Jones, 2014). This raises concern as young people engage in violent situations. Existing research has some gaps as they represent young women as if they cannot perpetrate violence and young men as if they cannot be victims of violence. There are few studies that report women as perpetrators for example (Flisher et al., 2007; Frieze, 2005). Also, they mostly represent statistics which only gives us the magnitude of the problem but they do not tell us why we have high numbers of IPV among young people.

Hence, this study aims to explore young people's experiences and perceptions of IPV from a qualitative perspective contributing to limited in-depth knowledge of IPV among young people.

2.6. Young people's violence use and victimisation

Young people experience violence differently and it affects them differently. Certain risk factors become evident as a result of patriarchal social normal behaviour. In addition, it does not matter where you are in the world patriarchy is always there (Lorde, 1984). However, exposure to violence during adolescence might create a normative behaviour resulting in IPV later in adulthood (Heise, 2011). That could lead young people to either perpetrate violence or become victims of physical and sexual abuse. When patriarchy exists there are certain stimuli that can perpetuate the action of IPV which will be discussed below. IPV might be fueled by risk factors such as **alcohol** which leads to sexual assault among young people (Abrahams, Rachel Jewkes, Laubscher, & Hoffman, 2006; Shisana et al., 2009). For example, when women's behaviour is perceived by their partners as contrary to their wishes, violence is used to enforce conformity (Hansen & Harway, 1993). In this context the woman might have been found drunk by her partner who did not approve of her behaviour, hence she got beaten. In this instance power dynamics exist as the perpetrator feels the need to discipline his partner. However, there are instances where power dynamics shift and this is unlikely to happen. For example where a woman beat her partner. There are situations where patriarchy is present and there are no stimuli and in these instances IPV is unlikely to happen. For example, a young couple live together and as a young man and woman there are certain expectations from each other in their relationship. If there are no risk factors that make the environment conducive to IPV then there would not be any IPV although dominance exists in the relationship. The term "risk factors" could be defined

as any attribute, characteristic or exposure of an individual that increases the likelihood of developing a disease or injury (WHO, n.d.).

The title of this thesis links to an important aspect in studies of violence. That is that young people who have **witnessed IPV** between their parents during childhood are more likely to perpetrate violence against their intimate partners later in adulthood (Abrahams, Mathews, Martin, Lombard, & Rachel Jewkes, 2013; Rachel Jewkes, 2002; Reitzel-Jaffe & Wolfe, 2001). That type of behaviour could teach them that violence is acceptable. The implications of witnessing violence in childhood differ according to the gender and personality dispositions of the child. For example, young men tend to perpetrate violence against their partner whereas young women become the victims of violence in their relationships. It is due to this link between early exposure and later use of violence that this research is premised on the social learning theory as an underlying theoretical explanation for use of violence in the intimate partnerships of youth. **Poor parenting** might result in harsh discipline, and lack of emotional support throughout childhood affects young people's social and emotional functioning resulting in violent behaviour (Abrahams & Rachel Jewkes, 2005). In another instance young women might engage in early sexual behaviour because they long for love and support from their partners. In these relationships they might be exposed to some form of violence, retaliate and engage in violence (Russell et al., 2013; Shisana et al., 2009). In another case young people exposed to violence at home might find themselves in violent situations either as perpetrators or victims (Abrahams & Rachel Jewkes, 2005; Bensley, Van Eenwyk, & Simmons, 2003). Young people who were raised through use of violence tend to normalise the behaviour and apply the same disciplining in their relationships (Abrahams & Rachel Jewkes, 2005). Society constructs men and women differently and expects both genders to behave or act in a certain manner. Women are expected to be

courted by the opposite sex, take care of families and be able to give birth, while men also have to take care of their families by being a provider. **Frustration** might result due to men's inability to live up to the expectations to support their family. The frustration might lead to a sense of failure and anger that is misdirected at people closest to them, such as the intimate partners (Rachel Jewkes, Levin, & Penn-Kekana, 2002). For example, a young man who have just been retrenched from work might feel angry and get frustrated as he cannot provide for his girlfriend. He might resort to beating his girlfriend as he does not know how to deal with his frustration. The social learning theory report that people adopt aggressive behaviour by either experiencing the behaviour directly or through observing others (Bandura, 1978). All these risk factors mentioned above could be precipitators of IPV within young people's relationships. As such, awareness and prevention programmes and policies that address IPV among both young people and adults are important as they will reduce violent behaviour in future generations.

2.7 Social learning theory

Explanation of IPV through the social learning theory

IPV as a socially constructed behaviour is addressed in this study to understand different behaviours that human beings portray and how their social environment contributes to IPV. The Social learning theory embraces an interaction model of causation in which the environment, events, personal factors and behaviour all operate as interacting determinants of each other (Bandura, 1986). In addition, Bandura (1989) elaborated that this causation does not happen simultaneously as different factors do not have the same reinforcements. Hence, certain behaviours are enacted when a person is in a particular situation or surroundings. For example, during a service delivery protest march people will be chanting and singing, throwing the contents of dustbins on the floor, burning tyres, destroying shops and councillors' homes and

they will take whatever they need from the shops and sometimes burn the library. During a normal day those people would not behave in the same way where during the march the surrounding environment was conducive for them to behave in the way they did. For the purpose of understanding the social learning theory in detail in terms of IPV perpetration and victimisation the concepts of modelling, reinforcement and punishment will be discussed below.

The social learning theory gives an important insight into the gender position of women and men and how behaviour is learned through imitating other people. Through the socialisation process, **observation** becomes an important part of people's lives as they grow up interacting with other people. Through their interaction certain different characteristics are exhibited. People learn which characteristics in their environment reward their actions. People pay attention and select behaviour which attracts and seem appropriate to them despite the consequences and discard those which do not attract them. In this instance the environment becomes conducive to learn certain behaviours and in return the action of the behaviour causes the environment. Learned behaviour becomes a person's experiences whether experienced in the past or the future and that influences how they behave (Bandura, 1977b). Through regular interaction with certain people one ends up being observant of certain behaviours and learn the most. The observed and liked behaviour becomes the person's model throughout their lives. A person can model and behave in certain ways because they still remember what they observed and what attracted them. The attraction of the behaviour is influenced by the reward they will gain from observant experiences. Hence the English saying 'wisdom comes through other people's experiences'.

Through remembrance of what they have learned either through visuals or verbally the person is able to act out the behaviour. As a result of repeated exposure to certain stimuli the behaviour is automatically re-enacted and **modelled**. For example, children who grew up having

witnessed and experienced violence at home are likely to model the same behaviour in their relationships (Abrahams & Rachel Jewkes, 2005; Bensley et al., 2003; Rachel Jewkes, 2002) creating a cycle of violence. Through this behaviour violence has been learned and might be observed again if the environment is conducive for the behaviour to be acted out. Then the behaviour is seen as appropriate by the perpetrator in his relationship. This theory conceptualises that violence as a learned behaviour through observation can provide a useful explanation for imitating and transmission of violence (Wallace, 1999, p. 86). When violence is being triggered there is a greater chance of violence being repeated, for example when a jealous violent man who normally accuses his partner of infidelity observes her communicating with another man, it is likely that the man will retaliate. In addition, the theory proposes that young people learn their behaviour through observing and modelling other's behaviour and resort to violence as a way of resolving conflicts.

The social learning theory also argues that behaviour acted out by people can either be **reinforced** positively or negatively. In terms of positive reinforcement people exert behaviour with an intention to feel good about themselves (Bandura, 1977b). For example, a woman gets beaten constantly by her partner and one day she decides that she wants to leave the relationship and then he beats her again for trying to leave him. She decides to stay because when she attempts to leave she gets beaten. Thus her staying is rewarding his behaviour and allowing the beating to continue. The perpetrator observes his own behaviour as appropriate because it is reinforced by her obeying his order afterwards. If she decides to stay she becomes a victim in her relationship. Although women might not condone their partner's behaviour at times women are also socialised not to deviate from their partners wishes or rules (McCoby, 1990). For example, a young person gets married and years later the husband beats her. She thinks back about how her

mother and her childhood friends behaved in the same situation and how after being beaten by their partners they remained in their relationships. These significant others role modelled a response for her. She then realises that being beaten by the partner is acceptable and remains in the relationship. She becomes a victim within her relationship because when the boyfriend beats her he apologises and buys her gifts as a way of apologising and she forgives him only to get beaten again in a few months' time. So she stays in an abusive relationship because she avoided the negative outcome of social disapproval. In negative response the boyfriend beats his girlfriend and then she decides that she would not forgive him because he keeps on beating her. The boyfriend decides to find another partner; immediately that happens she decides to forgive him and then one day he starts beating her again. The girlfriend might experience her boyfriend's behaviour of finding another partner as some form of punishment. As a result of this violent behaviour the perpetrator might experience punishment in the form of being jailed for beating his partner. Sometimes the perpetrator might be isolated by other men who are against partner violence and thus the perpetrator experiences a negative outcome as a result of his behaviour. Bandura and Jeffrey (1973) mentioned that the perpetrator finds it satisfactory if punishment is rewarded or accompanied by some form of consequences.

However, it should be noted that the frequency of beating differs with each perpetrator as some perpetrators modelled constant behaviour and some moderate behaviour (Bandura, 1977a). For example, young people exposed to constant beating will model the same behaviour during conflict, while those who experienced violence moderately will assimilate the same moderate beating towards their partners. In this instance dominance is observed and it is culturally rooted. Men are socialised to dominate and be decision makers whereas women are socialised to be submissive (Shefer et al., 2008). The term "dominance" is defined as the ranking of the sexes in

such a way that women are unequal in power, resources, prestige, or presumed worthless (Long, 2011).

The social learning theory argues that human behaviour is socially learned through environment. This theory was chosen for this study as it gives an understanding that IPV is a learned behaviour modelled through observation, it is reinforced negatively or positively and the outcome becomes a punishment for either the perpetrator or the victim.

2.8 Conclusion

Nonetheless, the reported data are more quantitative; however more qualitative research is essential to give the reader a deeper understanding of IPV among young people. IPV has been a challenge for years for adult populations and recently for young people (Ramphela & Boonzaier, 1988). This could be as a result of young people's exposure to IPV at an early age and as they grow up they model destructive behaviour into adulthood. The social learning theory emphasised that through observation, behaviour is learned and modelled and the environment reinforce the portrayed behaviour. This theory makes an important contribution to our understanding of IPV in young people's lives. Risk factors such as substance abuse and alcohol, witnessing childhood IPV, poor parenting and frustration could influence IPV in young people's relationships. The researcher recognises that this study is heteronormative in its orientation. None of the studies that the researcher reviewed on IPV among young people was based on same-sex couples. However, this does not rule out the possibility of IPV happening amongst youth's in same-sex relationships (Hassounah & Glass, 2008; Kubicek, McNeeley, & Collins, 2014). Throughout this dissertation the reader might notice old references that the researcher used and this is due to limited number of qualitative research conducted with young people in South Africa. In addition, other studies that focused on young people are epidemiological and

quantitative. It is evident that there is a need for future qualitative research on IPV among young people in South Africa.

Chapter 3: Research Methods

3.1 Introduction

This chapter gives a detailed description of the research design and methods that were used to answer the research aims. The study setting in Soweto, specifically Pimville, as a place is described. The purpose of the study was to explore how young people (15-20 years) from Soweto, Johannesburg, perceived and experienced IPV. To achieve the specific aim, the researcher relied on in-depth, semi-structured interviews as a data collection tool; these are also described in detail. This chapter also explains the ethical considerations that the researcher negotiated in the process of undertaking the project and provides details of how scientific rigour was enhanced.

3.2 Research design

A research design serves as a recipe that guides the researcher throughout the collection of data until the researcher reaches the ultimate objective goal (Delpont, 2006). For the purpose of this study, the researcher chose a qualitative approach as it attempts to describe and understand human behaviour, and analyses social representations in greater detail (Babbie & Mouton, 2004; J. Smith, 2008). An exploratory research design was utilised as it allowed participants to freely express their experiences and understanding of IPV through their own lens (Patton, 1980). Exploratory research is flexible and allows the researcher to probe and explore the how, why and what questions. This research design gathered information that could not be easily conducted by other research designs. In addition, exploratory studies assist to collect data on newly or limited research problems or research problems that have never been studied (Brown, 2006). Furthermore, this research design allowed the researcher to gain knowledge

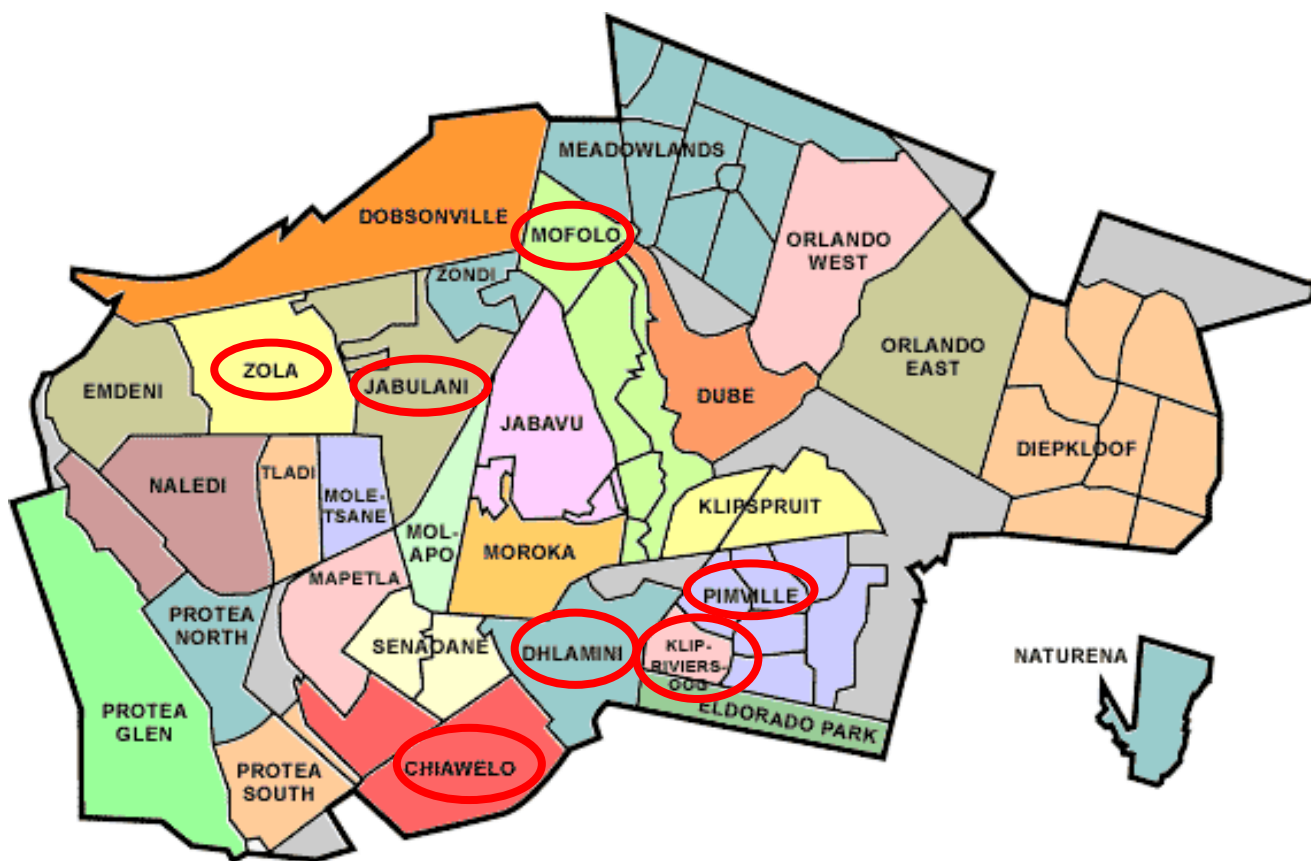
about the researched topic. Other research designs might not have been appropriate for this study as they used a deductive approach. An inductive approach made it possible for the researcher to explore new phenomena and allow participants to express their views regarding the phenomena.

3.4 Study setting

The present study was conducted in Soweto, an acronym for South Western Townships, in Gauteng province, South Africa. The Gauteng province is the economic hub of South Africa, situated in a 18,178 km² (7,019 sq mi) (Gauteng province, n.d.). The name Gauteng is a Sesotho word meaning 'place of gold' and Gauteng was previously part of the Transvaal province (Gauteng province, n.d.). Gauteng province has a high population density as it is comprised of approximately 12.9 million people (City Population, 2014) of which about 2,134,076 were adolescents and young people aged between 15-24 years (Statistics South Africa, 2014). Gauteng has three municipalities which are, City of Ekurhuleni Metropolitan, City of Johannesburg Metropolitan and City of Tshwane Metropolitan. It also has three district municipalities, Sedibeng, Metsweding and West Rand which are further subdivided into seven local municipalities. Sedibeng District is divided into Emfuleni local, Lesedi local and Midvaal local West Rand District into Merafong City local, Mogale City local, Randfontein local and Westonaria local (Gauteng province, n.d.; Seeletse, 2012). The City of Johannesburg is a densely populated, urbanised city that covers an area of over 1,644 km² and comprised of seven regions (City of Johannesburg, 2008). Soweto township forms part of region D in the city of Johannesburg municipality and was developed to accommodate black people (black, coloured and Indians) who worked at the mineral mines (City of Johannesburg, 2015).

Soweto is a peri-urban township 15 kilometres south-west of Johannesburg, with an estimated population of approximately 4.4 million (City of Joburg, 2011). Soweto is comprised of 225,209 adolescents and young people between the ages of 15-24 years (Statistics South Africa, 2011). The map of Soweto is represented below in figure 2 and the red circled areas symbolise the residential townships of the study participants.

Figure 2: Map of Soweto Townships



Source: <https://www.google.co.za/search?q=soweto+map&biw=1093&bih=520&source>

The term ‘township’ also known as ‘location’ or ‘ekasi’ in South Africa refers, “to an urban residential area created during Apartheid times for black migrant labour, usually beyond

the town or city limits. The word Township is sometimes referenced to with a race descriptor such as ‘Black township’, ‘Coloured township,’ and ‘Indian township’ ” (Statistics South Africa: Census, 2001, p. 4-15). Soweto is comprised of 40 townships and new development sites classified by their socio-economic class status (see figure 3 below).

Figure 3: Map of Pimville in Soweto



Source: <https://www.google.co.za/search?q=map+of+pimville&biw=1093&bih=520>

The South African government’s Apartheid policy played a role in how Soweto communities are currently living. In the 1930s, Soweto townships were created when the South African white government separated black from white people (Ramchander, 2007; South African History Online, 2014). In addition, the infrastructures for black communities were under-

resourced from the start; it constituted poor housing (tiny match box houses), high unemployment, untarred roads, no street lights and backyard shacks (Gunter, 2014; Seeking, 2000). A backyard shack refers to an “informal dwelling makeshift structure not erected according to *approved* architectural plans” (Statistics South Africa: Census, 2001, p. 4-15). Through a rural-urban migratory labour system families were separated as men who moved to the cities stayed in single sex hostels near their working areas. Through this family separation men became the financial providers of their families and women who were often left behind in the rural homesteads took care of domestic chores (Stauffer, 2015). During Apartheid, Prime Minister Jan Smuts, under the South African Government, passed a Native urban areas Act that made sure that African people did not get the same privileges as white people (South African History Online, n.d.). The restrictions put strains on families as black men could not afford to own urban land and they were prohibited to reside in urban areas. Social construction of gender roles in these instances were defined for men and women by the socio-political structure. Gender roles placed men as superior to their wives, backed up by the Apartheid laws that gave men permission to discipline their partners when they regarded them to be misbehaving (Inter-American Convention as cited in Armatta, 1997). Exposure to structural violence during the Apartheid regime might have precipitated men’s use of violence to discipline towards their partners. Structural violence did not only affect adults but young people as well. Hence Soweto was chosen as a study site due to IPV prevalence among young people being reported (Dunkle et al., 2004). As with many townships in South Africa, Soweto has a political history of violent riots, notably one that took place on June 16, 1976. Students were killed by the police protesting against the Apartheid forced use of Afrikaans as a first language for black people (Pohlandt-McCormick, 2000). Political history’s use of violence through police brutality and comrades’

mobilization against apartheid played a role in escalating violence in the contemporary South Africa. Since 1994, a democratic South African government implemented a Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP) policy that was aimed at improving the conditions of living and livelihoods for the Black Africans who were marginalised by the Apartheid government (DWARF, 1994). Progress was made. Evidently, a study conducted by Richter et al. (2009) in 2002-2003 among Soweto adolescents suggests that 92% reported access to electricity. Despite the gains made under the RDP, some parts of Soweto townships are still classified by council houses, shacks and hostels even after the democratic elections in 1994. This is due to rising costs of property ownership, low incomes and inability to apply for subsidised housing (Gunter, 2014; Seeking, 2000) as a result of Apartheid's aftermath that left many African men unemployed and unable to support their families. It is possible, going by the frustration-aggression hypothesis that the majority of men feel powerless and frustrated and discipline their partners to maintain their masculinity.

In 1904, Klipspruit was established to accommodate black only labourers working in the mines and industries (Frankel, 1979). Klipspruit, also known as Pimville, was the first township in Soweto that had newly designed houses with electricity, tarred roads, public transport etc. and this defined a modernised township (Bonner & Segal, 1998). Pimville is approximately 15 km south west of Johannesburg (City of Joburg, 2003). Pimville was chosen for the purpose of this study because of its convenience to the researcher, accessibility and being part of Soweto, as Soweto is generally also affected by violence (Swart et al., 2002). Pimville is regarded as a middle class residential area with better and modern houses. Most of these houses have backyard shacks (see figure 4 below).

Figure 4: Backyard shacks in Pimville – the structure built with corrugated iron and affixed to the main brick house



Source: <https://www.google.co.za/search?q=Backyard+shacks+in+Pimville>

Pimville township was initially considered because of the Mo-Afrikaithlokomele youth organisation that works closely with young people. Due to the sensitive nature of the research topic the researcher anticipated that she might have to conduct research with participants coming

from the organisation but to her surprise, some participants came from other surrounding townships. Some participants resided in the following townships: Chiawelo, Dhlamini, Mofolo, Jabulani, Zola and Kliptown which also forms part of the Soweto. Participants from these townships were black young people who came from the same socio-economic background as the rest of the young people who resided in Soweto. Young people who visited the youth organisation come from the general population and they can access the organisation for voluntary HIV testing and counselling and other sexual reproductive health and rights education services, social services and career guidance. The organisation also provides educational programmes through art performances in Soweto townships. This youth organisation was used as an entry point to the townships. It was established in 2005 and registered in 2006 by six ex-prisoners in order to teach young people about the implication of crimes and these founders were selected on the grounds that they were teachers in jail. These people were robbers, hijackers, gangsters, drug addicts, drug dealers, alcoholics, murderers and thieves. The organisation's vision is to make South Africa anti-violent.

Pimville has many informal businesses such as car washes, saloons, panel beaters, spaza shops or small kiosks, shebeens and taverns. A shebeen in South Africa "means any unlicensed operation whose main business is liquor and sells less than sixty (60) cases of beer per week" (Gauteng Liquor ACT, 2003, p. 11). A tavern refers to "a place whose main business is the supply of liquor, food and various forms of entertainment" (Gauteng Liquor ACT, 2003, p. 12). These are found in almost every street especially the poorer in townships of Soweto. Pimville like any other township has local taxis that operate throughout the day. Residents are exclusively black Africans. Pimville has no police station; rather they are serviced by nearby Kliptown police station. Pimville also has one clinic that caters for both Pimville and Kliptown Townships.

There is one high school (Progress high) and 3 primary schools. Pimville residents accessed other retail facilities in Kliptown (1.5 km away) and Maponya mall (0.5 km away).

3.5 Sample

A non-probability, convenience sampling approach was used to recruit for this study. A sample of 13 participants aged 15-20 years were successfully recruited; seven females and six males participated. Braun and Clarke (2013) pointed out that qualitative research tend to use smaller samples. Therefore, in this study interviews were conducted with 13 participants at which point, the researcher felt that data saturation were reached.

3.6 Recruitment of participants

Some participants were recruited through snowballing using Mo-Afrikaithlokomele youth organisation situated in Pimville as an entry point, some from other townships through friends' referrals and others through the researcher approaching young people on the streets in their townships. The researcher approached the organisation in advance and an appointment was scheduled for a study presentation with the Mo-Afrikaithlokomele organisation's staff. After being briefed about the study potential participants were asked to send a 'please call me' to the researcher's mobile number if they wanted to participate. The researcher called back the potential participants and explained the study to them. If the participants understood what the study entailed the researcher promptly made an appointment with them to read the information sheet. Potential participants were given a chance to ask questions and if they were interested in participating, the consenting process was conducted. Some interviews were conducted on the day of consenting and some were scheduled to suit the participants. Other potential participants were

approached at the local supermarket as young people normally go there to buy food. The researcher approached potential participants as they left the supermarket, introduced herself and explained the study. If potential participants showed interest, the researcher gave them the participant information sheet and consent or assent sheet to read at their convenient time at home. The researcher and potential participants exchanged numbers so that the potential participants could send a 'please call me' when they were ready for participation. Potential participants were then contacted to schedule the interview. Participants who became part of this study was recruited in the following ways: One participant came from Mo-Afrikaithlokomele centre, three participants from the streets and about nine were through snowballing. During her initial contact with the potential participants the researcher asked for an appropriate time to call in order to speak with a parent or legal guardian. Parents or legal guardians were approached during the day when the participants were back from school. After the permission had been granted by parents or legal guardians and the participants, the researcher scheduled the interviews a day after consent to give young people a chance to go through the information sheet again. The table below provides background information on the participants' demographics. Participants were all black except for Thando, Candy and Lebo who identified as coloured. All young women had boyfriend at the time of the interview but Candy. Three of the young men had girlfriend and the other three did not, at least at the time of the interview.

Table 1: Summary of participants' information

Pseudonyms	Age	Gender	School Grade	Language	Family information
Lebo	17yrs	Female	11	IsiZulu	Stayed with mother, father, young sister and her child. They were a family of five. The participant's father worked and the mother did not work. They lived in a two-room backyard shack. The interview was conducted in the researcher's car because of limitation for privacy.
Noma	18yrs	Female	10	Sesotho	Stayed with both parents and her brother and sister. The father worked and the mother did not work. They lived in a four room house which is the main house and they had a backroom where the interview was conducted.
Matshidiso	17yrs	Female	12	Sesotho	Stayed with mother, father, and elder sister in a four room brick house and have one brick backroom for the older sister. The father worked and the mother did not work. The interview was conducted in the elder sister's backroom.
Lebo	16yrs	Female	10	English	Stayed with mother, father and two sisters. It's a family of five and they lived in a four room brick house. The father worked and the mother did not work. The father was strict as children's curfew was at 6:00pm. The interview was conducted in the sitting room
Thando	15yrs	Female	10	English	The participant came from a family of six. She was the second born of three girls. The family lived in a four room brick house. The father worked and the mother did not work. The interview was conducted in the participant's sitting room
Candy	19yrs	Female	12	English	She came from a family of six; mother, deceased father, two brothers and young sister. They stayed in a four room house. Mother did not work only Candy's second brother worked. The father committed suicide before she was born. Interview was conducted at participant's

					friend's place due to lack of privacy.
Vanessa	20yrs	Female	12	IsiZulu	She came from a family of five; mother, father, two young sisters. They stayed in a four room brick house. Mother did not work and the father worked. Interview was conducted outside participant's home on the veranda due to lack of privacy.
Rendani	16yrs	Male	11	Tshivenda	Stayed in a four room brick house with both parents and young sister. The father worked and mother managed the spaza shop that the family owned. The interview was conducted inside the research assistant's car because of limited privacy at the participant's home.
Mpho	15yrs	Male	10	Tshivenda	Came from a family of three, father, mother and the participant. They stayed in a rented backroom. The father worked and a mother did not work. The interview was conducted inside the research assistant's car because of limited privacy at participant's home.
Thabo	18 yrs	Male	12	IsiZulu	He stayed in a four room family house with grandmother and another grandmother and uncles and aunts. They were a family of 12 people. Two of participant's aunts and their children stayed in a backroom. The interview was conducted on the veranda of a neighbour's house because of lack of privacy.
Ayanda	19 yrs	Male	12	IsiZulu	He came from a family of six and stayed in a four room house with two backrooms, one for the participant and the other for participant's elder sister. The father worked and mother did not work. Interview was conducted in participant's backroom.
Sbu	20 yrs	Male	12	IsiZulu	Stayed in a four room brick house with a backroom owned by the participant. They were family of five; mother, father and two brothers. The father worked and the mother did not work. The interview was conducted in a backroom of friend's place (Ayanda) as he came for interview.

Sipho	17 yrs	Male	11	Sesotho	They are a family of five and stayed in a four room house. The mother worked and the grandmother received a social support grant. The interview was conducted in participant's house.
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The above participants' information were collected on the day of the interview during the audio-recording sessions and some were collected before the initial recording interview.

3.7 Research Instrument

According to Creswell (2009), research instruments include questionnaires, interview guides, observations and focus group discussions. For the purpose of this study the researcher used a semi-structured interview guide (see appendix 1) to collect the data on perceptions and experiences of IPV among young people. The researcher developed the interview guide and sent the interview guide to her supervisor for comments. The following were asked during the semi-structured interview: (a) Participants were asked about their interest in the study topic with the hope to initiate a discussion about their understanding of violence, GBV, VAW, DV and IPV in particular; (b) Participants were asked about their responses and views towards the use of violence or fights to resolve relationship conflicts and encouraged to use recent examples and experiences; (c) Participants were asked to share their views on the motivation for conflicts in relationships between boyfriend/girlfriend; (d) and shared their views on ways to resolve conflict in relationships. The researcher and supervisor then came to an agreement that the refined interview guide was appropriate for data collection.

3.8 Pilot Interviews

The interview guide was pre-piloted by the researcher's supervisor with a 20 year-old young woman from Soweto. This pre-pilot was a way of training the researcher on how to appropriately ask and probe during the interview session. The pilot interview session took place in the supervisor's office and lasted approximately 35-40 minutes. The interview was not regarded as part of the main data. After few weeks the researcher piloted an interview with a

young woman aged 17 years in Soweto. The participant was referred by her friend that the researcher approached during recruitment in Soweto. The interview took place in the researcher's car. The researcher started the interview by asking the participant to tell her about herself to build the rapport. The researcher's next question was to ask the participant to share her views on young people's conflicts during their relationships. The interview was conducted using the interview guide as the researcher wanted to determine the approximate time that a typical interview would take in order to prepare for recruitment. The pilot was also to study the flow of the questions in the interview guide so as to make some re-arrangements should a need arise. The researcher also used the pilot interviews to observe the comfortability of the respondents to answer the questions during the interviews as discussions about intimate relations and violence needed to be approached sensitively. As the researcher was undertaking this study for the first time, the pilot interviews also enabled her to learn how to ask the questions with confidence and strategise on the ways to listen, probe and at the same time take some notes. The interview was transcribed and sent to the supervisor for feedback. The researcher and supervisor went through the data and came to an agreement that the transcript was a good start and that there was room for improvement. The researcher had to improve on the probing technique and refrain from asking ambiguous questions. The pilot interview gave the researcher an idea of how to look for probing areas for the next interview.

The researcher made use of a young man as an assistant to conduct the interviews with young men. The researcher and her research assistant met to talk more about the study. They both went through the interview guide, participant's information sheet, informed assent or consent sheet and parent or legal guardian consent sheet. The research assistant was a 23 year-old young man who worked at the research organisation in Soweto. The researcher chose him

because they were former colleagues at the same research organisation. The research assistant reported his pilot interview with a 15 year-old young man to be approximately 16-20 minutes. The research assistant piloted an interview and the following day he started with the main interviews. The research assistant conducted both pilot interviews two months after the researcher's pilot as he was busy with work. After the researcher had transcribed the male data she set up an appointment with the research assistant as she had to give him feedback on the two main interviews that he conducted. The researcher advised the research assistant where to improve for the next interviews. The research assistant could not continue with the rest of the interviews due to unforeseen circumstances. The researcher had to finish conducting the young men's interviews and this could have influenced the kind of data the researcher as a woman received from the young men.

The pilot participants were both eligible (male and female, aged 15-20 years and residing in Soweto) and they were included as part of the final interviews. The piloted interviews gave the researcher a sense of young people's comfort to talk about what happened in their intimate relationships. Secondly, the flow of the interview and young people's response towards the interview guide questions went well. Thirdly, the pilot made the researcher realise that each interview might take approximately 30-45 minutes. Lastly, the researcher was confident in asking questions and listening at the same time while strategising which information to probe from the participants' story. Listening to the audios while transcribing, the researcher realised that there were a few instances where she should have probed but did not.

3.9 Data collection Procedure

The venue for the interviews varied to accommodate the participants' comfort and depended on availability; interviews were conducted at participants' homes or in the

interviewer's car. Upon arrival at the participant's respective homes, the researcher was welcomed. She would introduce herself to the participant. The researcher read the consent or assent information sheet for the participant using English while the participant followed the reading because he or she had the copy. Participants preferred English during the consenting process and the participants' mother tongue was used in instances where participants needed clarification. The participants were given a chance to ask questions before signing the consent or assent sheet. The participants were asked to sign two consent or assent sheets and the researcher also signed. The participants were given one signed copy and the researcher kept the other copy.

The researcher would start with the interview after the consenting process. The interview guide with open-ended questions was used as a guide for the researcher not to go off course during the interview. An audio-recorder was used to collect the data during the interview. The researcher used an ice breaker question at the beginning for example, 'please tell me more about yourself?' The researcher used this question to make the participant feel at ease. The interviews took approximately 30-45 minutes depending on each individual's engagement during the interview. During the interviews the researcher would open the discussion using the participant's local language (isiZulu, Sesotho and Tshivenda) and some participants would respond in English and then the researcher followed the lead and switched to English. Most interviews had lots of language switching between the participants' mother tongue and English as they preferred. Interviews were gender matched to make the participants feel comfortable to narrate their stories because of the sensitive nature of the study topic (Byrne, 2004). Some of the young men were interviewed by the researcher and that might have influenced the kind of data the researcher received. Participants might have felt uncomfortable and hide their feelings or they might have exaggerated when telling their stories during the interview.

3.10 Interview preparation

The following information given by the researcher will make the reader understand briefly what happened when the researcher arrived at participants' homes for interviews. Lebo (17, female) was with her mother during the consenting process and the father was at work. The researcher spoke with the father on the phone and he mentioned that the mother would be available for parental consent. Parental consent was necessary as the participant was a minor. The interview was conducted inside the researcher's car as the researcher and participant could not get a private room for an interview. With Noma (18, female) both parents were available when the researcher arrived for the interview. The researcher introduced herself to both parents and they directed her to where the participant and the researcher could conduct an interview. An interview was conducted in the backroom. Matshidiso (17, female) came to fetch the researcher not far from where she stayed as the researcher did not know her house. At home both parents were available and the researcher and participant went inside the main house for the consenting process.

During the consenting process; the mother, participant and researcher were reading the consent forms and the father was sitting in the kitchen able to hear every discussion that went on. He did not take part in the consenting process. Lebo (16, female) mentioned during the interview that she came from a close knit family. When the researcher arrived at her participant's home she was with her sister and her mother. The siblings were doing their homework. The mother was present during the consent process because her daughter was a minor. The mother had to sign a parental permission for her daughter to take part in the study. The interview was conducted in the living room. The father came back from work during the interview process. After the interview

the researcher introduced herself to the father and explained the purpose of being at his house. The researcher then left because the interview was finished.

Thando (15, female) mentioned during the interview that she came from a loving family. Upon the researcher's arrival the father was available for consenting. The researcher was welcomed at the house and explained to the father her reason for being there as initially the researcher spoke with the mother about the study. The mother and elder sister were not present. The researcher, participant and the father went through the consenting process and then he signed the parental consent sheet. The participant and the researcher conducted an interview in the sitting room. In South African context a sitting room can also be referred to as a 'TV room' or 'dining room'; a place where household members sit or where visitors are welcomed. Candy (19, female) was at home when the researcher arrived and she took her to a friend's place for the interview. An interview was conducted at her friend's place because of privacy limitations at the participant's house. Candy stayed in a three room shack and we couldn't guarantee privacy as family members were still busy; the interview was conducted in the morning. Getting to Vanessa's (20 female) home was a struggle as the researcher did not know the place very well. The researcher had to ask other young people on the streets. Upon the researcher's arrival Vanessa's younger sister was present and she had to call her to come meet the researcher. The researcher greeted the participant and because of limited privacy, the researcher and participant sat on the veranda, also known as a patio, facing the street with people passing by. Though auditory privacy could be maintained, visual privacy was compromised. As a 20 year-old the participant signed the consent form and an interview was conducted. The research assistant went for consenting to the participants' homes as both were under age and needed parental permission. The research assistant conducted interviews with Mpho (15, male) and Rendani (16, male) in his

car due to limited privacy at participants' homes. Due to unforeseen circumstances the researcher conducted the rest of the interviews with the young men. A young man Siphiso (17 male) was present with his mother when the researcher arrived. The researcher introduced herself to the mother and the granny as they were sitting together. The researcher, participant and mother went through the assent and parental consent sheet. The parent and participant signed the consent form. The researcher and participant went into a private room where the interview took place. The researcher met Thabo (18 male) on his way home on the day of the interview. When the researcher arrived at Thabo's place, the grandmother, uncle and children were available and she greeted them. The interview was conducted on the veranda of a neighbour's house because of lack of privacy. Ayanda (19) was sitting on top of the blue Eskom street electricity meter box outside his home when the researcher arrived. An Eskom box refers to the electricity cable container that controls the electricity of certain streets. The researcher got lost during the day of the interview as she was not familiar with the area. She introduced herself and they sat outside. At home the participant's mother and sister were present and the researcher greeted them. During the consenting process people entering the participant's home interrupted the researcher and participant. The researcher asked the participant if they could get a private place for the interview and they ended up conducting the interview in the participant's backroom. After the interview the participant's friend, Sbu (20 male), came into the backroom as he was waiting to be interviewed. The researcher and Sbu started the interview. After the interview the researcher left the participant's home. In brief, the researcher walked the streets of Soweto to conduct interviews with the above mentioned participants.

3.11 Data management

During the interviews all participants were given pseudonyms to protect their identity. After the data collection, the researcher transferred the audio-recordings to the computer and saved the files in one folder. The researcher protected the folder using a password. All audios were transcribed and simultaneously translated into English from the local language, where this was applicable. The whole transcribing and translation process took two days for each transcript. The researcher created a word document with each participant's pseudonyms, typed the date of the interview, the age of the participant and whether it was a young woman or young man's transcript. The researcher listened to the recordings, paused and then type what the participant has said. During the interview participants switched between their mother tongue and English sometimes in one sentence. The researcher decided to then transcribe the data in English. Transcribed data were made available to the supervisor to read.

3.12 Data analysis

To begin the analysis the researcher read each transcript carefully to achieve the data immersion. The researcher re-read the transcripts with the aim of coding. The researcher analysed each transcript manually. The supervisor and researcher then went through the codes and agreed on codes to develop the codebook that answer the research aim and objectives. For this study data were analysed separately by gender because the researcher also wanted to compare young men and women's similarities and differences about their understanding of IPV and to be able to understand how IPV was framed within social construction. Analysing the data by gender was methodologically consistent with other studies of GBV where men and women experienced IPV differently as men tend to be seen as perpetrators and women as victims

(Abrahams et al., 2009; Abrahams & Rachel Jewkes, 2005; Dunkle et al., 2006; Shefer & Foster, 2010). A Thematic Analysis (TA) process assisted to group themes together to enable the researcher to execute the discourse analyses process. Discourse analysis helped the researcher understand the social constructions of IPV. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) focuses on how “social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in social and political context” (Dijk, 1998, p. 1). Furthermore the term ‘discourse’ refers to how language is used to construct particular events or objects (Parker, 1992). Language was also explained as “part of social life which is dialectically interconnected with other elements of social life” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 2). For the purpose of this study, discourse analysis was used to assist the researcher to understand social constructions of IPV perpetration and victimisation. It helped to examine the language deployed by young people to describe certain incidences and experiences. It further helped to link this understanding to prevention and intervention and opened opportunities for new research questions.

3.13 Ensuring study rigour or measures to ensure trustworthiness of data

To establish trustworthiness of the data credibility must be ensured. The researcher undertook the following aspects to ensure trustworthiness of data: matching of interviewer-interviewee gender; triangulation; peer-debriefing support group; reflexivity and member checking (Shenton, 2004). In addition, a semi-structured interview guide was developed and presented to the supervisor for comments. The interview guide was piloted with two young people (a 15 year-old male and 17 year-old female) from Soweto before the actual interviews were conducted. Piloting the interview guide gave the researcher a sense of how respondents might react and establish the approximate time interviews might take. In addition, use of an audio-recorder was implemented to ensure accurate capturing of the data. Both the researcher

and research assistant are familiar with the townships and the language used by participants. They also understand the culture and were once employed by a research company that conducted research among young people in Soweto.

Matching of interviewer-interviewee gender

During the interviews the researcher interviewed young women while the research assistant interviewed young men. Matching the interviews by gender was important as gender and perceptions of masculinity and femininity might have influenced the kind of data collected. In addition, matching interviewer-interviewee by gender is crucial in eliminating power dynamics between the researcher and the participant (Redman-MacLaren et al., 2014) as it makes it possible to gather information which could not be obtained if gender was not matched (Byrne., Brugh, Clarke, Lavelle, & McGarvey, 2015). For example the researcher believed that if she had interviewed young men, they might not entirely be honest or might try to impress her during the interview. Similarly, if the research assistant interviewed young women they might not have felt comfortable to share their intimate information due to the sensitive nature of the research topic.

Triangulation

Data triangulation through using more than one researcher to interpret the data is important for validation of the research study (Cresswell & Miller, 2000). The term triangulation comes from military navigation at sea where sailors triangulated different distance points to determine their ship's bearing (Jick, 1979). In this study the researcher engaged the services of her supervisor as the second data coder and interpreter. This helped to triangulate the results and examine possible areas of bias. To execute this process, the researcher made an appointment with her supervisor to go through all the transcripts. The researcher came to the sessions with the transcripts already coded. The researcher and the supervisor re-coded similar transcripts and came to an agreement of what the participants' accounts represented. Then the researcher wrote the research findings. The whole process of validating the data between the researcher and supervisor took eight sessions throughout 2015. This process is in addition to the feedback sessions from the peer debriefing support group and presentations.

Peer-debriefing support group

A peer debriefing support group is a process whereby "peer reviewers provide support, plays devil's advocate, challenges the researchers' assumptions, pushes the researchers to the next step methodologically, and asks hard questions about methods and interpretations" (Cresswell & Miller, 2000, p. 127-29). In addition, this process helped the researcher to talk more about her study, to get an understanding and establish loopholes in the research through peers' feedback. The researcher had a chance to be part of the peer debriefing support group meetings that took place once a week for three-hours. These meetings were held throughout the year and gave MA and PhD students an opportunity to present their research projects to their

peers under the supervision of the professor who supervises the students. These students formed part of the research team called Father Connections (FACT). FACT was established in 2011 to conduct research on absent fathers in South Africa. Through these peer-debriefing support meetings the researcher presented the following throughout the year: (a) protocol of the study, (b) results of the pilot study, (c) field work experiences (d) the preliminary findings, (e) and the final study findings. The researcher went on and presented her study at four local conferences in South Africa throughout 2015. Comments and suggestions from the attendees helped the researcher to understand and interpret the findings.

Reflection on data collection

The researcher's interest in this topic was to understand how young people perceive IPV in their own or other young people's relationships and to create an awareness of IPV on young people through talking to them. The fact that the researcher was a young black woman and smaller in stature, might have influenced young people's participation in the research because they might have seen the researcher as their peer. Having prior experience in working with young people and being familiar with Soweto, the researcher did not experience any problems during the recruitment process. During data collection the researcher was aware that she had to be neutral and non-judgmental during the conversations. For example, during one of the interviews the participant talked about her father being abusive towards her mother and that she was beaten just because she was present. Every time the mother was beaten she was also beaten. The researcher was aware that building rapport with young people was important throughout the study as the study involved collecting sensitive information. For example, the researcher introduced herself and politely asked the participants if they wanted to be part of the interview.

During the interview the researcher and participant had casual conversation before the start of the interview. By the time the interview started the participant was relaxed. During the interview the researcher also tried to speak in the participant's mother tongue although some participants preferred speaking English. In addition, although the researcher is not fluent in speaking IsiZulu, she understands the language very well. The researcher came across two male participants who switched between IsiZulu and English during the interview; it was a bit of a challenge as the researcher was not that fluent in the spoken language although she tried to engage in IsiZulu. These two male participants were also conversant in Sesotho and where the researcher could not respond in IsiZulu she would use the Sesotho language.

During the interviews participants felt free to talk about what they went through in their lives. The researcher allowed the participants to tell their stories and she would probe on questions related to the study. After three interviews the researcher no longer used the interview guide as she became confident and comfortable asking questions related to the study. The researcher listened to the participants' stories and at times was shocked yet she sympathised with the participants as some stories were overwhelming. The researcher also realised that during their story telling young women became free to narrate IPV as it happened to their friends or people they knew and not just their personal IPV stories. Compared to young men, they were excited to speak with the researcher and narrate their journey of life. With some participants the researcher constantly had to bring them back to the focus of the study. The researcher felt that during the interview young people, especially young men, used the interview session as a platform to narrate their personal lives. The researcher would like to note that interviewing young men in their own backroom was not comfortable although the researcher knew that the participant's family members were nearby. Hence gender matching during interviews is important as it

minimises power dynamics. The researcher acknowledged participants' courage to make time and share their perceptions and experiences of IPV.

The researcher experienced mixed emotion during each individual interview. Having once worked with young people in Soweto she knew that young people were exposed to some form of violence in their lives. Having heard how young people narrate their stories the researcher realised how deeply affected young people are as they are constantly exposed to IPV in their daily lives. The researcher hoped that through this research's findings other researchers might want to focus their research on young people from black townships. Although the study participants showed that violence was not good and that they would not engage in IPV other young people in Soweto that the researcher did not get a chance to interview might not have the same opinion when it comes to disciplining or chastising their intimate partners. This study made the researcher realise that it might take a while for young people to realise the consequences of violence if there is no awareness. Other young people have chosen to be free of violence in their intimate relationships. As a young woman in the dating stage, the researcher realised how easy it is for young women to be victims of IPV as emotions are involved and how disempowered young women are as they justified young men's perpetration of violent behaviour.

3.14 Possible limitations of the study

Although the interviews were conducted by an experienced researcher all interviews were conducted in the vernacular however, there was a lot of language switching as some participants chose to use English during the interview although the researcher could hear that they were not competent. Similar, situations were reported by the researcher's colleague during her MA research study (Kruger, Unpublished data). For example, the researcher always started the interview using the vernacular to make the participant feel comfortable and then some

participants would respond in English. The researcher followed their lead when it came to language use. Young people did not express themselves fully when narrating their stories. It is not known why young people preferred to speak English: the researcher can speculate that it might be because they attended schools where they were taught in English which is their second language at home. Although they might have used English at school they did not tell their story fully and confidently owing to language incompetence. Maybe they spoke English because they wanted to show the researcher that although she came from the university and they were still in high school they were able to communicate in English (Rudwick, 2008).

The mistake that the researcher acknowledges was to allow the research assistant to immediately conduct the main interview without the researcher going through the piloted audio for feedback. The research assistant had a challenge of focusing more on the interview questions and not allowing the participants to narrate their stories. The research assistant did not probe more on what the participants said during the interview and this affected the data the researcher received. More information could have been gathered for both interviews as the participants narrated good stories in relation to IPV. In addition, the research assistant only conducted two male interviews and the rest of the interviews were conducted by a young female researcher. This might have biased the data collected from the young men. Although participants were told about confidentiality they might not have trusted the interviewers completely to have told them if they experienced IPV personally, hence they reported mainly about their friends rather than their own experiences. It is possible that some of the narrated stories could have been their own experiences and that they were too embarrassed to share the stories as their own. Perhaps this resulted from discomfort, as young men in a study conducted in Soshanguve reported being uncomfortable during the interview as they regarded some questions to be sensitive and personal.

Hence some participants reported that they did not tell the truth during the interview for fear of being judged or perceived negatively by the researcher (Sikweyiya & Rachel Jewkes, 2012). Some participants might not have been truthful about their beliefs regarding the topic at hand because they did not want to be judged and seen as supportive of violence.

3.15 Ethical considerations

Ethics are moral principles that guide individuals or groups on whether an action is right, correct or appropriate (De Vos, Strydom, Fouche, & Delport, 2005). Ethical clearance (Appendix 7) was obtained from the University of the Witwatersrand, Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical). This research study was structured in accordance with the Declaration of Helsinki (last updated: October 2013). This study abided by the World Health Organization's (WHO) published guidelines to address ethical and safety issues in GBV research (Ellsberg & Heise, 2005).

Informed consent process: Individually, the researcher and the participant first went through the information sheet (Appendix 2). The information sheet informed the participants of who the interviewer was; the purpose of the study, the aim, benefits, risks, who to contact should they have questions or issues related to the study and reimbursement for participants' time and transport. The research participants were provided with consent or assent forms (Appendix 4 and 5) depending on their age. The interviewer gave the participants a copy of the information sheet and informed assent/consent sheet for them to read. The researcher read both the information sheet and assent/consent sheet verbatim for the participants and summarised it in vernacular. The researcher gave potential participants an opportunity to comprehend the given information, a choice to decide whether they want to take part in the study or not, and asked them to communicate back their understanding of the study and to ask questions. After the potential

participants agreed to take part in the study, they were asked to sign the consent/assent sheet. Two copies of all documents were signed by a participant and the researcher. One copy was for the researcher to keep and the others were given to the participants as a proof of their participation in the study.

The researcher ensured that confidentiality was maintained throughout the research by making sure that no one outside the research team had access to the data, respecting and protecting participants' rights. There were three main reasons to ensure confidentiality: Firstly to improve the quality and honesty of responses; secondly to encourage participation in the study and finally to protect participants' privacy (De Vaus, 1996). In this study the researcher assured participants that information given will be treated with confidentiality as no one else besides the interviewer and supervisor would have access to the data.

The researcher kept in mind the possible vulnerability of the participants as some might be vulnerable due to their socio-economic status because they were a minority group in a particular setting, a family member might be infected with HIV, being Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT), or being an uneducated person, etc. Considering all that, the researcher was extra careful when formulating the research questions. Given the sensitive nature of the research, the participants were made aware of free counselling sessions offered at Chris Hani Baragwanath hospital, the Perinatal HIV Research Unit (PHRU) and ZAZI clinic. The ZAZI clinic is a centre that offers free Voluntary Counselling and Testing (VCT), CD4 tests, sexually transmitted infection (STI) screening, reproductive health services, specialised counselling services for couples and men etc. The researcher came to an agreement with the manager of ZAZI clinic during the initial contact that any distressed participants could be referred for free counselling at ZAZI clinic. The researcher was given an approval letter of the

agreement to refer the study participant at ZAZI clinic. Contact details of counselling services were provided in the invitation letter to the participants. The participants were informed that the researcher would not be able to render counselling to them. During one of the interviews the researcher came across a participant who grew up being emotionally and physically abused by her brother when she was younger than 18 years. Although at the time of the interview the participant reported that the abuse no longer happened there were other challenges that she faced in her life. During the interview, any discussion related to her family would have her in tears. The researcher offered to stop the interview but she was determined to continue. Participants' willingness to complete an interview despite distress is similar to situations reported in other studies (Manyatshe, 2013; Nduna & Rachel Jewkes, 2012; Nduna, Sikweyiya, Khunou, Pambo, & Mdletshe, 2015). After the interview the researcher and participant talked and she agreed to be referred for counselling. The researcher made an appointment for her and made sure that she went for the session. After the session she told the researcher that it really helped her.

The study participants were each incentivised with R50.00 for their time and sharing their stories with the researcher. This could be used as reimbursement if there were any costs incurred otherwise it was a thank you gift. This amount was modest and has been issued in other study for years (Sikweyiya & Rachel Jewkes, 2013). Participants younger than 18 years and willing to take part in the study provided a signed parental/legal-guardian consent sheet. To ensure the safety of the researcher and participants, precautions were taken to ensure that the research was conducted on the premises of the participants' private homes or any other place mutually agreed upon. All the audio-recordings of participants' interviews were kept by the researcher. During the initial contact of consenting the participants were told that the audio-recording was kept for 2 years if the results were published and for 6 years if there was no publication. As such the

participants had no access to their recordings and the audio would be kept at the University of the Witwatersrand.

3.16 Conclusion

This chapter covered information on the research design, research study setting and sampling process. A semi-structured data collection tool was utilised and discussed in detail. Discourse analysis was used to assist the researcher to understand social constructions of IPV perpetration and victimisation. Data management was also discussed as well as the limitation of the study. In conclusion, steps to ensure study rigour were discussed in detail and ethical considerations that guided the researcher throughout the research were also described. The next chapter gives detailed findings of the research study.

Chapter 4: Research findings

Introduction

The analysis for this study unpacked direct and in-direct experiences of young people with IPV. Direct experiences were narratives of own personal experiences whereas indirect experiences were related to IPV witnessed either from friends, parents or others in the community. At the beginning of the interview an introductory question was asked of the respondents to tell the researcher about themselves followed by a question about their understanding of IPV. In this chapter, the research findings are presented separately for young women and men. Young men and women reported some similarities and differences about IPV. The researcher presents young women's findings in 4.1 and young men's findings in 4.2. Young women's findings communicated the discourses of 1) Chastisement, 2) Silence and rejection of IPV, 3) Intervention or lack thereof during IPV. Young men's data mainly demonstrated the discourses of Infidelity wrong doing and rejection of violence against women are also presented.

4.1 Young women's discourses of IPV

The following discourses are discussed in this section: discourse of chastisement, silence and rejection of IPV and intervention or lack thereof during IPV. Within the discourse of chastisement a sub discourse emerged which discusses young women's reasons for staying in their relationships. These discourses are fully discussed below.

4.1.1 Discourse of Chastisement

As participants were already sexually active, there was a discussion in some of the interviews about sex and initiation of sex. Participants revealed that sex in a relationship was initiated by men. Sexual initiation in this study referred to an action conducted by someone that led to sexual activity between the couple. Lebo (17) was the only participant who shared that she experienced direct IPV from her boyfriend. Lebo reported that she was nearly raped by her 23 year old boyfriend. This happened because he made sexual advances and Lebo did not want to have sex with him at that particular time. The encounter, according to Lebo happened at his home. At the time of the interview Lebo mentioned that she was dating two boyfriends. Lebo explained that she and the main boyfriend who was the father of her child were in a long distance relationship. Lebo went on to describe her relationship with the father of her child in the followings way,

...we are still in love but we verbally fight a lot and I do not think we will work out...when I ask him about when he will be sending the money for the baby he becomes angry as if he is not supposed to be supporting the child...

It might seem from Lebo's description of her experiences that she experienced multiple forms of violence; emotional, physical and sexual. Lebo's second boyfriend who lived in the same township was referred to here as *makhwapheni*. According to Lebo's words he was, "*the one who is not the father of the baby...is the one who beat me*"

Lebo told her story, and said,

...I have experienced that [smiling, tone of voice little bit down]... with my boyfriend. He was forcing me to have sex with him while I do not want to, he beat me, slapped me... then I went off and I went back home...

Forceful sexual advances that were demanded through physical violence point to a familiar phenomenon where Lebo's boyfriend might have felt that he owned her. And as his girlfriend she had no choice but to satisfy his sexual desire. Lebo's shy tone of voice indicated her embarrassment when she talked about her boyfriend's actions of nearly raping her and beating her for refusing to have sex with him. She said she covered her face from the punches with her hands while crying and then she rushed home. Lebo consequently expressed that she felt that her refusal to have sex with her boyfriend might have given the boyfriend an impression that she did not love him as Lebo narrated, "...he became angry and he thought that maybe I do not love him because I do not want to have sex with him..." Lebo's narration reconstructs the complexities of experiences of IPV in young people's relationships. The experience was tangled with emotional ties and a need to want to prove love to one's partner; where the demonstration of love was not done in a way that submits to one's partner, this could be seen as not demonstrating reciprocal love and gave the man a reason to chastise her.

This experience came unexpectedly to Lebo and she went on to say, "*I was so hurt because I never thought he will do what he did to me...*" Judging by their young age and length or time of dating relationships, young people may be more vulnerable and ill prepared to deal with an incident of violence and ill equipped to respond. In this case Lebo's reaction of rushing home immediately after being slapped by her boyfriend could be an indication that she felt unsafe in her boyfriend's presence. At the beginning of the interview Lebo used the word "*beat me*" and then Lebo deflected to using the word "*slapped me*" throughout the interview. Lebo might have realised that 'beaten' was serious word to use and the word 'slapped' might tone down the seriousness of boyfriend's behaviour. It can be said that Lebo might have changed the seriousness of the situation by using different words so that the researcher did not judge her

boyfriend. Lebo's choice of words "*slapped me*" might have reflected her ability to be in control of her violent situation. Lebo's boyfriend called her later to apologise and in the same conversation Lebo confronted her boyfriend about his behaviour. She said, "*...I said why, as if you and I will never have sexual intercourse...there was nothing that should have made you upset and then he just told me so many stories that did not make sense...*" This suggested that Lebo was also puzzled by her boyfriend's behaviour as they have been intimate sometimes. The fact that she did not want to have sex with him on the day and got beaten for that, and the boyfriend's use of 'chastisement' might have been viewed as unacceptable. According to Lebo her boyfriend's explanation of why he beat her, did not make sense.

There seemed to be pressure on young men in this society to maintain certain standards when it comes to dating relationships. The stereotypical sexual scripts of men being the initiator of sex put men in danger as they might interpret their girlfriend's refusal as rejection. This was highlighted in that Lebo's partner used chastisement to control her responses to his sexual needs. When men act violently, it is possible that men too express behaviour that demonstrate that men are victims of patriarchy; an ideology, which positions men as dominant and with authority. When men felt that their dominance and position of authority were challenged, for instance by a partner's refusal to concede to their requests or demands, as Lebo did, this raised frustration on men's side. As a result of men's beliefs, they might be motivated to maintain gender dominance in intimate relationship and this might fuel the occurrence of sexual coercion.

Most of the young women in this study talked about indirect experiences of IPV. Young women's indirect experiences of IPV were that of having witnessed it either from their parents, neighbours, friends or strangers. Noma (18) talked about her friend who dated two young men simultaneously and these men fought over Noma's friend in the street. During the interview

Noma was not clear whether her friend had an intention to continue dating these young men concurrently or not. In this instance the researcher interpreted the other boy being referred to here in the quote, as a *makhwapheni*. Noma's friend denied the other boy in the presence of her boyfriend when Noma's friend was asked by her boyfriend who the other boy, unknown to the boyfriend, was. According to Noma, "...*the girl was in a relationship with her boyfriend and their relationship went well and then the girl went and proposes the other boy and they started dating...*" Normatively girls are courted by boys and not the other way round; here was a girl who approached a boy she liked and broke the normative and stereotypical sexual scripts. Noma's friend's behaviour might have been viewed as unacceptable by these two young men. Further she hid her new boyfriend and dated him as *makhwapheni*.

Noma's friend might have been honest at the beginning of the relationship with her boyfriend when he first confronted her. The story went like this, "...*the (main) boyfriend saw them once standing together one day. He asked the other (makhwapheni) boy what was happening; the girl mentioned that he is just a friend...*" It might have been that since the first confrontation the status of Noma's friend and the *makhwapheni* changed and the two became boyfriend and girlfriend without the knowledge of the main partner. The relationships were complicated and jealousy and a sense of entitlement might have happened at some point. The main boyfriend confronted the 'unknown' man; this might have been his way to show ownership over his girlfriend. The second confrontation might have been when the *makhwapheni* got aggressive and beat the girl as she was seen to be unfaithful to both partners. Because young people tend to date in the same neighbourhood it was inevitable that a clash might happen one day. A clash in township terms is a rivalry meeting of people who date the same partners. And that was not a good experience.

Noma explained the event,

...he saw them together again he went and confronted the boy. He asked him what was happening because he has been seeing him with his girlfriend many times. When the boy is confronted he told the boyfriend that this is my girlfriend, oh do you have any problem? Then the girlfriend intervene and say no he is just a friend and then the other boy said do not deny me because now you are seeing him. That is when the other boy beat the girl and then the boyfriend got angry and started beating the other boy...

The two men that Noma's friend dated found out that they were dating the same girl simultaneously. The makhwapheni might have been upset to be denied publicly. The fight between the two men started when the makhwapheni beat the girl and then the main partner beat the makhwapheni in defense of his girlfriend and of his honour. Incidents like these, where two men fight, were seen and characterised as IPV by respondents because they involved a girlfriend(s) and a boyfriend(s). The fights were based on men's control and access over women. This made sense when taking into account the description of the fights; they were about masculine expression of gender power. This adds to and extends the definition of IPV that exists in the literature, to include two men fighting over a girlfriend. This was described (by the respondent) and categorised (by the researcher) as 'witnessed' violence.

It was interesting to have observed from this data that when young women were cheated on by their boyfriends' they did not resort to violence; instead they remained in their relationships. This was highlighted in Vanessa's friend's reaction when she caught her boyfriend cheating with another woman in his backroom. Staying in a relationships despite being cheated on might be because of the pressure that women faced in their society to make the relationships

work (Boonzaier, 2008). Vanessa's (20) statement proposed that young women stay in abusive situations to make their relationships work despite their friends' advice. She went on to say,

*...yah but physically...I have my friend *[participant friend's name]...she once caught his boyfriend cheating with another girl in his backroom. She was fine with it...the fact that we told her to leave this guy...she said they are still together...I feel like she is brave, she is brave.*

This snippet implied that Vanessa's friend experienced physical and emotional abuse in her relationship. Vanessa's friend's dignity and respect was undermined by her boyfriend who brought another woman into their space. Owning a backroom gave young men privacy, as documented in other studies (Nduna & Rachel Jewkes, 2012; K. Wood et al., 1998). Despite Vanessa's unsuccessful attempt to make her friend leave her boyfriend, Vanessa felt that her friend was brave to have remained in the relationship. Vanessa might not have taken into account that her friend might have had other reasons for staying in the relationship but never told her.

Young women were exposed to intimate violence in relationships as it was common to see a boyfriend beat his girlfriend. Participants reported young people's fights to have happened in the public domain. The following are statements of evidence to these findings:

Thando (15) recalled an incident at school where, *"...there was this boy and this girl at our school, I do not know what they were fighting for there was violence and he really beat her badly..."*

Lebo (16) provided an explanation as for why boys beat their girlfriends,

...I have seen lots of fights and some boys get jealous when they see a girl with another boy whether is a brother or cousin they do not even know. They either [beat] them (girls) on the stomach and some girls might stab the boys...

Candy (19) also added to the reasons why women were beaten by their partners and said,

...yah I have seen a boyfriend and girlfriend at the jazz festival on Sunday. This guy beat his girlfriend just because she did not want to go home...

In Matshidiso's (17) story more reasons for boyfriend's use of violence were discussed as she said in the case of her friend,

...she was pregnant and then she went to tell the boyfriend, he just became aggressive. He beat her and she fell down on her knees...

In other cases the reason behind the violence were unclear or concealed. For instance Vanessa (20) also related her friend's experience,

*...and then * [participant friend's name] comes with bruises and I asked her when he beat you what does a boyfriend family say about that. She never said anything about that she just cried things like that you see...so now she is pregnant...and you can see that she is not happy at all...*

The above quotes presented the witnessed violence between a boyfriend and a girlfriend by the participants. The data suggested that young women's errant behaviour deserved being disciplined. Some forms of violence were viewed by women to be extreme because young women were beaten to a point of being bruised and some being stabbed by their partners. These forms of violence implied that young women were likely to be injured badly or in extreme cases they would die at the hands of their partners. Young women were also blamed for violent actions by their partners. Some of the reasons behind the use of violence within relationships were not valid according to participants' accounts. Though it might seem irrational on the side of the victims and or onlookers, the person who used violence might feel justified to 'correct wrong behaviour' such as suspected partners' infidelity. There was a sense from this data that when

young women challenged their partner's authority, violence became the solution. Young men's violent behaviour might be due to patriarchal beliefs that constructed men as the disciplinarian.

Young women's pregnancies were another reason women were beaten by their partners, young women were held responsible to prevent pregnancies, as young men perceived pregnancy prevention as a woman's duty (Hanson et al., 2014; Pleck, Sonenstein, & Ku, 1993), hence in this data young women were somewhat blamed for falling pregnant by their partners. Society seemed to put too much pressure on women when it comes to pregnancy prevention and with no repercussions for the men. The fact that participants' friends were beaten for being pregnant might be interpreted that their friends' boyfriends distanced themselves from their responsibilities. Men's irritable response to an unexpected pregnancy led to aggression and projection of his resentment for not having prevented the pregnancy of his partner (Campbell, 2002b).

Young women remaining in IPV relationships

This section presents the direct and indirect experiences of IPV. Forgiveness topic was dominant in this section. Some participants mentioned that forgiveness was the reason for women to stay in physically violent relationships. Although in some participants' excerpts forgiveness was not clearly mentioned and they reflected that their friends might have stayed in violent relationships for different reasons. For example participants talked about material gain, boyfriend's family approval and pregnancy. Boyfriends' apology seemed to have contributed to girlfriends' forgiveness of their boyfriend's violent behaviour. The boyfriends' actions were indicated in the following excerpts:

Lebo (17) said that her boyfriend, after they had the fight,

...he kept on calling, calling and calling as I was not answering his phone and when the phone just kept on ringing, it ends up irritating and then I answered. He apologized telling me the way he loves me and that his family knows me...and his family will not allow him to come with another girlfriend, I mean a lot to him. Then I realised that maybe he has changed and it was not his intention to hurt me and yah I forgave him...

According to Noma (18) her friend mentioned that she loved her boyfriend and she cannot live without him. Noma went on to say,

...when she leaves the boyfriend ask for forgiveness and she will forgive him and then the relationship goes on...she said she loves him so much and she cannot leave without him...sometimes he buys her clothes and sometimes he gives her money...I think it was about the money and clothes...she is forever having some scars and I will talk to her...

Vanessa (20) also related her friend's experience of enduring the beating,

*...yah but physically...but I have my friend *[participant friend's name] she has been through a lot with this guy like she once caught his boyfriend cheating with another girl in his backroom. She was fine with it but I do not know why...I could not understand why she was okay and she went back to him. So now she is pregnant...*

Young women were reported to have been confronted with violence in their relationships. Participants' accounts suggested the significance of apology in any wrong-doing situation. The study indicated that young men apologised to their partners in different ways; as some partners apologised immediately after the incidents and some telephonically after the girlfriend has left

the boyfriend's presence and went back home. The fact that these women forgave their boyfriends might symbolise that love or the need for the relationship outweighed the negative incidents of their beating or being cheated on.

Participants seemed to have been puzzled by their friends' reasons for enduring abuse. Participants came up with their own accounts of why their friends stayed in spite of violent behaviour, which, might not have been the truth. Participants might have advised their friends about leaving their partners but the decision remained with their friends. After unsuccessful attempts to break up their friends' relationships, the participants might have realised that their friends loved their boyfriends. Breaking the bond might be difficult unless the abused partner makes a decision to leave the relationship. The feeling of being welcomed by the boyfriend's family also put young women in a dilemma as they might feel this is a positive aspect of their relationship, despite the violence. This was the case with Lebo as she reported that her boyfriend told her that his family knows her already and her boyfriend's family would not allow him to bring another girlfriend to the house.

Contrary to some participants who remained in abusive relationships after being cheated on, Thando and Candy were assertive about where they stood regarding being cheated on by their partners. Thando (15) talked about her own reaction to her situation of her boyfriend cheating on her in the following way,

...there was this boy I used to date...he used to cheat and stuff. He almost slept with my best friend...I really did not care about him (boyfriend) I just left him there. So there was this day he ended up coming to me and asked for love back. My friend actually told me that no, do not take him back and stuff. So I never took him back...

In another relationship, Candy (19) ended her relationship due to cheating. She said,

...we had a fight and I thought I was pregnant and I told him and he said that if I am pregnant and then I must have an abortion. And then I find out that I was not pregnant and then we were alright, after that he changed. We started having fights and I saw him with other girls and I decided that I am not going to do this and I told him I don't want him anymore yah...

From the data, there seemed to be a sense that young men had multiple partners. This might be because of the patriarchal behaviour that seemed to represent real men as people with multiple partners. Thando and Candy's boyfriends cheated on them with other women. Their boyfriends' cheating behaviour might not have been for the first time as was indicated by Thando and Candy. Young women's narratives also related that the young women relied on their friends for support. In this instance, Thando valued her friend's advice as she might have known what Thando went through with her boyfriend. Thando's friend might have influenced her decision-making as Thando ultimately decided to leave her boyfriend. Thando and Candy had reasons to leave their partners as Thando said she did not care about him. This might have reflected that Thando distanced herself from her boyfriend emotionally and that made it easy for her to leave the relationship. On the other hand Candy might have been emotionally hurt by her boyfriend's behaviour. During Candy's confrontation with her boyfriend about the possibility of her being pregnant, the boyfriend did not support her. These two reasons might have made Candy to break up with her boyfriend with no hassle.

In addition to Thando's decision to break up with her boyfriend, Thando's decision might have been influenced by the fact that her boyfriend nearly slept with her best friend and she could not handle the betrayal from her partner and her friend. Thando went on to say,

...my heart was sore...I did not want to talk about it or see her because I was really hurt. I did not expect that from her and we were not talking to each other for months...I decided to make peace...we promised each other that it will never happen and we would not stab each other on the back...

Thando mentioned that she and her best friend were close at some point until her boyfriend nearly slept with her best friend. Thando's statement proposed that she did not expect the betrayal from her boyfriend and best friend. And Thando also said that she was emotionally hurt. For Thando to take an initiative to make peace with her friend after being wronged might have reflected that, as she mentioned, she wanted to move on with her life in peace.

4.1.2 Silence and rejection of IPV

Young people chose when and with whom they felt comfortable to disclose their experiences of violence. While there was a tendency from participants to denounce violence against women, when it happened to them they were not prepared to break the silence. Only one participant felt uncomfortable to share her problems with her friends and felt disappointed when her friends did not share their problems. Lebo (17) shared that she had acquaintances that she went out with for shopping. Lebo reported that she and her boyfriend had an incident where her boyfriend physically beat her because she refused him sex at that particular time. Although Lebo had acquaintances she did not have someone that she could confide with. Lebo went on to say that she did not have a best friend "*...no one, I am a secretive person...yes, what happened in Vegas stays in Vegas [Laughing] ...*" Lebo presented as a typical young woman in a violent relationship with fear of losing her partner as a result of 'public' disclosure. Lebo might have found it hard to share her experience of violence because of her introverted personality. As the interview progressed Lebo also shared that she and her baby boy spent most of their time together. Lebo

said “...*I enjoy spending time with my baby...he is 8 months...*” It can be interpreted that Lebo, who was still at school at the time of the interview, had her mother taking care of her baby boy. Lebo might have refrained from sharing with her mother about her boyfriend’s violent behaviour. She mentioned that,

...we (her and the father of the baby) are still dating but he does not live here he lives in Cape Town. So we talk through the phone...we are still in love but we verbally fight a lot and I do not think we will work out...he does not want to send the money for the baby...

Lebo’s account implied that her mother knew “...*the father of the baby...*” and she had not yet introduced her new boyfriend to her mother officially. Lebo told her mother in passing about her boyfriend “...*yes I will just give her some hint [laughing] ...*” Lebo might have chosen not to share her experience with her mother and her acquaintances to avoid the embarrassment that friends might get an insight into her violent life. Also, this boyfriend was unknown to her family and possibly her friends.

Women in abusive relationships disclosed strategically and this was what Matshidiso and Lebo’s stories suggested. Instead of disclosing their experiences of violence to their family members they chose to disclose to others, usually their friends. This was especially so for young people for whom telling family and professionals might have confirmed that they were in a sexual relationship when they should not be. Lebo and Matshidiso had friends who have been physically beaten by their boyfriends as they had observed their bruises. Matshidiso’s friend’s beating took place in the public domain while Lebo’s friend’s violence happened privately at the boyfriend’s place. Clear examples of this follows:

Matshidiso (17) related,

...it was my friend and his boyfriend, I think by then it was two years back...she was pregnant and then she went to tell the boyfriend and he just became aggressive. He beat her and she fell down on her knees...she could not have told her granny as she is sick, she even have the pacemaker. I think if she could have told her, her heart was going to stop...she only told us her friends only...

Lebo (17) said her friend,

...she did not want to tell us because she knew that we will tell her that 'you leave him friend' that's why she did not tell us...however later she was the one who told us that the [boyfriend] beat her up, when we were at the toilets. She showed us her bruises, her thighs were bruised yoh. She was beaten up by the belt as if she was beaten by her dad uh huh yoh...

It seemed from the data that sometimes young people expected their friends to have told them everything that happened in their life and when they did not disclose to them they expressed disagreement and disappointment with this choice. A question that begs further exploration was the role of support from friends and whether friends were capacitated to provide that support. Lebo's friend's silence was broken; it was not clear what facilitated this. The data suggested that it was probably after a while as Lebo said, "*...she did not want to tell us...*" From this statement it appeared that the social norm amongst Lebo and her friends rejected violence in relationships and they saw opting out of an abusive relationship as an option. It is this option that might make women, like Lebo's friend, not to tell their friends, should they want to hold on to their relationships.

Furthermore, Matshidiso's friend used her granny's sickness as a reason not to open up about being in an abusive relationship. The participant used an expression, "...yoh..." to reflect the damage that might have been caused if the granny knew that her granddaughter was beaten by her boyfriend. Perhaps it was not until the extent of Lebo and Matshidiso's friends' physical abuse had heightened that their friends broke the silence and showed them their marks of how they were beaten. This is consistent with silence-disclosure as observed in other settings as well. Women wait until the gravity of the problem threatens their lives (Morris, Kingi, Gelsthorpe, & Hayden, 2014). Violence perpetration and experience happened within a larger context which influenced perceptions thereof. When Lebo referred to what they saw as resembling what a father might do to his daughter, the resemblance behaviour located relationship violence within the sociological context of child-parent power dynamics. A 'father' by virtue of his older age, male gender, provider role and ownership of his child was presented as justification to beat his child to the extent that Lebo's friend was beaten by her boyfriend. Lebo's statement likening a boyfriend's use of violence to that of the father, reflected a social acceptability of the male figure as being a disciplinarian.

At times the data suggested that the silence was broken when impromptu violence happened or when the battering was severe. When Matshidiso and her classmates arrived at one of their classmate's place, they were confronted with the classmate's parents fighting. Matshidiso (17) recited their experience as follows,

...and then when we arrive there, his mother is someone who is drunk. When we arrived and greeted her, she [shouted] at us and asked us what we want in her place. She was talking something that's not nice...they were both drunk and he just hit her all of sudden...

Matshidiso expressed disappointment and surprise at the behaviour the mother portrayed. The manner in which her classmate's mother spoke, "...she [shouted] at us and asked us what we want in her place..." puzzled Matshidiso. Society has perceptions that it is normal for every couple at some point in their relationships to experience conflict. Matshidiso and her classmates might have felt awkward because they witnessed IPV and that this kind of fight should have happened behind closed doors. Matshidiso and her classmates witnessed violence and did not know how to react because of their youth and being strangers in the house. As onlookers, Matshidiso and her classmates knew it was wrong and unjust as the father of their classmate, "just hit" his mother all of a sudden. They also used a discourse that potentially justified the context of violence by suggesting that it was because the parents were both drunk. Alcohol fueled domestic violence (Peralta, Tuttle, & Steele, 2010); yet when young people viewed violence in this manner it might normalise the use of violence amongst couples when they became drunk.

Despite some silence that was observed in the data, other young women opted to reject violence. Thando (15) and Noma (18) understood violence against women as unacceptable and their accounts represented that they did not want to continue to be onlookers. Thando and Noma echoed each other as they advised their friends to break up with their boyfriends because of what they have observed in their friends' relationships and concluded that they might be better off without their boyfriends. In her story Thando mentioned that,

...there was one of my friends, she used to date this boy and he had short temper and got angry easily and he will [beat] her and stuff. So we were there to stop him and stuff...she will keep on going back to him. And we will try and talk to her that there is someone else better than him because he is going to hurt you...

A similar response came from Noma, who believed that,

...it is wrong, she must just leave him...I mean there are lot of boys who will love her more than him, someone who will not beat her...

Thando and Noma's accounts were biased because they wanted their friends to leave their boyfriends because they were violent. Thando and Noma, as onlookers, might not have understood their friends' behaviour as yet; they might have thought that their friends had to leave their boyfriends. Thando and Noma did not realise that emotions were involved in these romantic relationships. The challenge with peer support in terms of their capability to give and what type of support, was raised earlier. When advice was given, the receiver had a choice to accept or reject it. In these instances Noma and Thando felt disappointed that their friends did not take their advice. Noma and Thando did not understand the intricacies of abused women and why their friends stayed in such relationships. As a result of their young age they probably lacked insight of the cycle of abuse which involved forgiveness and re-enactment of violence (Walker, 1984).

Although Thando and Noma's advice and support came from a good place and with good intentions, however, Thando and Noma's lack of insight of the relationship dynamics might potentially have made their friends lose their support. Two scenarios are possible here, 1) Friends might have ceased to provide the support and advice because they felt ignored. 2) Their friends might have avoided telling them about any of their violent experiences to avoid hearing advice that they should leave their boyfriends. Noma and Thando's friends did not leave their boyfriends and kept going back to them.

Justifications of certain violent behaviour were observed in this section. Thando explained how her friend's boyfriend had "*...short temper and got angry easily...*" and thus

excused the partner's inappropriate behaviour. The justification of Thando's friend's boyfriend's behaviour was troubling because through modelling societal norms, young women might adopt the same behaviour that has been passed on by parents. Young women should be educated about power and violence so that they do not normalise IPV. This study indicated that stakes might be high for young women as they need to find and keep a partner. This was similar to literature where women were reported to be under pressure to find and keep a man (Boonzaier, 2008). At the same time women need to find meaning in their relationships, determine (un)acceptable partner behaviour and find a voice to articulate it.

4.1.3 Intervention or lack thereof during IPV

Intervention or lack thereof during IPV had been presented in this section through young women's stories. Intervention during an incident of IPV had been reported as dependent on who the victim was, the age of the victim and the victim's relationship with the onlookers. In one of the interventions the friend said she intervened because she knew the victim, in another case the neighbour intervened because she knew the perpetrator and the teacher intervened because she knew the perpetrator and the victim. The above scenario revealed that people might have found it easier to intervene in intimate partner conflicts because they either knew the victim or the perpetrator or both. Onlookers managed to diffuse the situations. The violent incidents that were being talked about happened either at the school premises or in the street. The violent incidents were suggested by Matshidiso and Thando's narratives where Matshidiso (17) went on to say, during the interview,

...and then when she went to tell the boyfriend he just became aggressive. He beat her and she fell down on her knees. Yoh it was bad and we were just watching her. We had to go with her to the boyfriend because we knew that the boyfriend is

someone who like to beat her...he was pulling her by the hair and making her roll on the ground...and that is when we started making some calls and then others were saying we must go next door...

In this incident, Matshidiso's friend boyfriend might have beaten his girlfriend severely as the behaviour attracted attention and intervention. Matshidiso's extract confirmed the extent of her friend's beating as Matshidiso went on to say that "...he was pulling her by the hair and making her roll on the ground ...". This data proposed that Matshidiso's friend knew that their friend was exposed to physical violence in her relationship hence they accompanied her when Matshidiso's friend went to confront her boyfriend. Another example of exposure to violence among school-going young people came from Thando (15) who said,

...yah there was this boy and this girl at our school, I do not know what they were fighting for there was violence and he really beat her badly. And some teacher came to stop the fight because they were fighting...

Young people adopted different ways to deal with their problems and violence seemed to be readily used. The above extracts indicated the severity of physical violence in young people's relationships. These young men, the boyfriends mentioned here, might have resorted to violence as they did not know how to amicably resolve their problems. In these instances, the outburst of aggressive behaviour from these young men might be as a result of women's behaviour. Matshidiso's quote reported young men's aggression towards their partners' pregnancies. Society judged women quickly in instances where men were expected to take responsibility for their behaviour. Thando's stories also suggested that young women received help from people they knew such as the teacher at school and the neighbour who knew about the perpetrator's

violent behaviour. There might be a concern regarding people who find themselves being the victims of IPV and unknown to onlookers; as they might not get help.

Intervention seemed to be a challenge in circumstances where people view IPV as a private matter. Matshidiso friend's story implied that people in authority were also resistant to intervene in IPV situation. The behaviour might be seen in Matshidiso account as she described that she and her friends tried to get help for their friend who was beaten by her boyfriend on the street. Matshidiso and her friends approached the neighbours and the police for help. Matshidiso (17) went on to say,

...and that's when we started making some calls and then others were saying we must go next door, let us go to the police station because it's just nearby. Well I am the one who went to the police station and when I arrived there I tried to explain to the police what was happening and the police just looked at me as if I was joking. They took me cool and I was panicking because she might die...

Matshidiso and her friends might have panicked when they saw how their friend was being beaten. Matshidiso and her friends negotiated about where and how to get help. Ultimately Matshidiso visited the police station for help but the police did not want to get involved in her friend's violent situation and dismissed her. Matshidiso stated with frustration that,

...the police mentioned that they do not want to get involved because they are used to these children who comes in and open restraining orders for one day and the next day when they are all lovey dovey with their partners they will come and cancel...that is why policeman do not take us serious because we are not serious ourselves. And the police cannot work like that and they end up thinking that we enjoy being beaten and that is why they do not take us serious...

Police's dismissive attitudes and complaints about complainants were not uncommon. When young people made this complaint the Police demonstrated irritation on their side that was fuelled by a lack of understanding of the sociological context of IPV. IPV was experienced by women in a gendered context where women's sexuality was closely tied to having and keeping a man and failure to do so (as when a relationship ends) puts pressure and stigma on women as having failed (Boonzaier, 2008). It might also be possible that after reporting an assault case, the victim might be subjected to intimidation, threats and coercion from their partners to withdraw the case (Morris et al., 2014).

Instead of finding the behaviours irritating, police should instinctively treat such withdrawals with caution. Maybe the complainant should be diverted to a counselling programme and the accused be directed to an anger management program as a condition for the case to be withdrawn. There is an English saying that, 'where there is smoke there is fire'; the fact that a case was opened in the first place should be serious enough to warrant some kind of an intervention. However, South Africa's responses to IPV have not yet matured and hence no thought of these diversion programmes from the police. Young men's perspectives on IPV were addressed below.

4.2. Young men's discourse of IPV

The following section focused on young men's discourses of IPV which were the following: Masculinity, discourse of chastisement and suspicions or discovery of infidelity. This was an interesting finding on its own because almost all participants reported having observed some form of violence happening either in their homes, parks or streets. In this study about five young men did not report their own IPV perpetration or victimisation except one participant who talked

about his partner's perpetration. Participants' accounts were of IPV that was observed through other people's behaviour in their community. Young men reported women and children as victims and men as perpetrators of IPV.

Infidelity during relationships dominated the narratives of young men. The fights that young men remembered and talked about in the interviews were fights that happened amongst young people or other people. The fights were over suspicion or discovery of infidelity. In most cases IPV happened privately and in the presence of children. Witnessing violence during childhood had some implications as young people might either be perpetrators or victims in their relationships (Abrahams & Rachel Jewkes, 2005). These were the situations with Rendani and Mpho who were exposed to family members' abuse at home. Rendani and Mpho spoke about how family members reacted when they saw one of them being abused. Mpho and Rendani's excerpts showed how their loved ones were physically beaten by their intimate partners. Clear evidence follows,

Rendani (16) said he did not have a personal experience of the study topic, "*...but I have seen a fight next door between a mother and a father*". He went on to say, "*...It used to hurt me because the person that was being abused was my uncle. It did not sit well with me...*"

Mpho (15) who stayed with his abusive father said of his experience "*...I could have fought for my mom I could have done whatever it takes because it was not good to see my mother being beaten. It used to hurt me...I would have tried everything to help her...*"

The data suggested how easily exposed to violence young people were in their private homes. The data further implied that sometimes men's masculinity were challenged by their partners. This happened with Rendani's uncle who was beaten by his partner. Society tends to shame men

who are unable to control their partner's behaviour (Steinmetz, 1977). Mpho felt a need to protect his mother and blamed himself for not being able to have protected his mother from his abusive father. Sometimes young people used different strategies to protect their loved ones if they were not physically capable. Mpho reported that, "...*I used to cry a lot because I am the only child at home...*" This reflected how terrified and hurt young people might be when parents fight. Young people relied on their parents for support and protection. The feelings of loneliness and terror surfaced when love and protection was not shown. Mpho's father terrified him in such a way that Mpho did not fall asleep until his father came home late at night, as he did not know how his father would behave. Mpho shared that "...*where we are staying it is a backroom and we are renting, when he comes back home and enters the house he will open the door roughly. We used to be scared that one day he will come back with a gun...*" Mpho and his mother lived in fear in their rented backyard home. The fact that Mpho thought that his father might kill him and his mother represented the extent of violent behaviour that Mpho witnessed from his father making him live anticipation of more. The data also suggested the backroom as a vulnerable place for Mpho and his mother.

The gender roles of men who get beaten by their partners might be questioned by either their family or society because men are expected to have control over their partners (Rachel Jewkes, 2002; Steinmetz, 1977). The fact that it did not sit well with Rendani seeing his uncle being beaten by his partner might mean that for Rendani it was not normal. The uncle's family might have expected the uncle to have disciplined his wife for her behaviour. In this case the masculinity of Rendani's uncle had been challenged by his partner. If the same situation were to have happened in the same neighbourhood but to an unrelated person his response might have been different because of IPV being normalised as a private matter and as such no one interfered.

4.2.1 Infidelity: Men fighting over a girlfriend

In this section young men talked about two men who dated the same partner simultaneously without their knowledge and ended up fighting over the girl. Three participants narrated stories of infidelity that sometimes led to a fight between two men who declared themselves rivalries for dating the same girlfriend. In these young men's stories it was not clear where the fights took place but that the fights happened between school-going young people. The following are snippets from these interviews:

Mpho (15) saw a fight at school between two young men as,

...a girl accepted proposal from one boy and the next week he accepted another boy's proposal; the first boyfriend found out about the other boyfriend through message chatting. Then that is what made the first boy to go and beat the other boy...the girl was also beaten...

It was not clear from Mpho's extract which of the partners beat the girl first.

A similar incident was observed by Rendani (16) in another interview. In his story he said, "*...at school...this girl was dating two boys. They did not know until one of them find out. They end up beating each other over her...both of them left her and moved on with their lives...*"

Thabo (18), though he confessed that he would not use violence to resolve a 'clash', still believed that people, "*...fight because of cheating...like the girls I have seen they are choosey and they brag about what they have so that is why they cheat...mostly is about how one dress and having money...*"

This data might be interpreted that women in concurrent relationship did not covertly maintain relationships as they ended up being exposed. Similarly, young women were blamed for causing

what the participants saw as unnecessary fights between two young men, which might have been avoided, if according to the participants, the women were not amateurs in the double dating game. These stories presented by young men were about social constructions of gender roles and sometimes of men and women when it came to dating. Young men fought to show off their masculinity and probably the main partner might have started the fight to protect his partner or protect his terrain. Young men's violent behaviours might have been justified by the participants' blaming women as having caused the fights. Although, a girl's cheating was confirmed as one of the reasons why couples fought. However, one participant mentioned that he would rather break up with the girlfriend if she cheated on him. This suggested that some young men did not believe in beating their girlfriends for cheating. The fact that these young women were viewed as choosy regarding their dating partners was also linked to being driven by material gains. Participants argued that, "...mostly is about how one dress and having money..." Young women cannot be entirely blamed for their choices that were biased towards men who can provide for them, because modern society and for these young women the media portrayed what beautiful women looked like. For these young women to have met the standard of what it meant to be beautiful, they had to become consumers (Mojola, 2014).

The above quotations proposed that the young men fought because they felt challenged and disrespected as another man proposed to their girlfriends. The discourse of masculinity reflected men as an initiator of the relationship (O'Sullivan, Harrison, Morrell, Monroe-Wise, & Kubeka, 2006). Young women then accepted young men's propositions. When young women behaved in a manner that was not socially desirable, such as double dating, such behaviours were regarded as unacceptable. In these cases young women broke the stereotypical sexual script that

maintained that young women should portray a modest behaviour at all times and wait to be courted.

Additionally, the data suggested that it seemed socially acceptable for young men to have multiple partners. Young men's behaviour further implied that their practices of dating two friends simultaneously were successful, as they might fool young women (friends) into dating one man concurrently without their knowledge. As Rendani (16) boasted that, "*...with boys they will date two girls without them knowing what is happening. In most cases these two girls are friends and they do not know about it...*" It seemed socially acceptable for men to have a *makhwapheni*; the main partner might not know or may know about the other relationship. Young men viewed having multiple partners as a style because young women were desirable, as Thabo (18) went on to explain, "*...it is just today's fashion. They (young men) think that you have a style when you have lots of girlfriends...*" This quote confirmed that it seemed socially acceptable for men to have multiple partners and young men viewed the behaviour as having style or what young men might say *u s'khokho* or similarly, *ngakara,inja and nkalakatha* in the local black townships slang in South Africa. The word *s'khokho* might be understood as *you are the boss, you are un-touchable* or *you are the man* (Anecdotal). The behaviour had been modelled for these young men by other men before them and the behaviour had been deemed acceptable by society.

1. **Infidelity: Privacy invasion by the girlfriend**

In this section the researcher presents findings on how infidelity and privacy were manipulated by young men in their favour and enforced through use of violence. Thabo talked about seeing a fight between a girlfriend and the boyfriend over a message that the girlfriend saw on her boyfriend's phone. Although the girlfriend gave her boyfriend a slap she also got beaten by her boyfriend and ultimately apologised for invading the boyfriend's privacy. Thabo (18) overheard the boyfriend and girlfriend having a confrontational moment about a cell phone message. Thabo said,

...there is one boy who likes to check his girlfriend at night but I do not know exactly where this girl stay...I just heard that they were fighting over a phone...I just saw this girl beating the boyfriend in the face and telling him I do not love you anymore and you know what I found in your phone...he then beat her with a clap and then she was the one who asked for forgiveness...

The physical violent behaviour towards women was also reported by other young people within the study. Young people however send each other messages when it is late, even when they are in same vicinity. This might have been the situation between the couple that Thabo overheard fighting about the message. In this instance it was the boyfriend who was caught cheating by his girlfriend. In this interview, and in other studies of young people; young men find and report reasons for beating their partners (K. Wood et al., 2007, 2008). Thabo's story implied that the girlfriend was beaten for finding out her boyfriend's infidelity, the girlfriend's interference with his cell phone privacy might have been observed by her boyfriend as unacceptable behaviour. Although it was not clear whether Thabo was passing by and heard the boyfriend and girlfriend

fight or he heard the couple fighting just outside Thabo's yard. Usually it was through a message that boyfriends were caught cheating as presented throughout the study. In this and other interviews women's subordination was prime, presented as respect and enforced by use of violence. Whether the girlfriend might have cheated or found her partner cheating, she was seen to have broken the dating rules and disrespected her boyfriend either by dating someone else or confronting her boyfriend about his affairs. Both situations provoked boyfriends to be violent. The fact that the girlfriend asked for forgiveness reflected that the girlfriend might have blamed herself for snooping in her boyfriend's phone. Or the girlfriend might have apologised to stop her boyfriend from beating her again. On the other hand the boyfriend might have beaten his girlfriend to make her feel that what the girlfriend did was wrong. The boyfriend's beating might have been his way to remind his girlfriend that she was supposed to have respected his privacy and not snoop in his phone.

2. **Infidelity: Girlfriend beaten over suspicions of infidelity**

Suspicion or evidence of infidelity was a thread that ran through the data. There were two sides of the same coin to (in) fidelity in this data. Sbu told a story of his former classmate who greeted and gave him a hug not realising that his former classmate's boyfriend was watching them. Sbu and his former classmate learnt that the fact that she had given Sbu a hug was a problem for former classmate's boyfriend. The girlfriend was later beaten by her boyfriend on the street. Sbu and his former classmate learnt that her boyfriend was on his way towards them as Sbu (20) put it,

...the boyfriend was coming behind her and then she was asked why she hugs people that the boyfriend does not know. Then she got beaten for that. Maybe the boyfriend thought we are in love because she came and hug me...

The above quote highlighted the confrontation that ensued and that was followed by violence as a way to discipline Sbu's former classmate for hugging someone the boyfriend did not know. In this data, young women were beaten publicly for different reasons which were viewed by young women as invalid. With young women's experiences of physical violence by their partners in mind, the researcher observed that young men's extracts always provided certain reasons for men's violent behaviour. Sbu went on to say that his former classmate's boyfriend might have thought that Sbu and the former classmate were in love, hence the girlfriend got beaten for hugging Sbu. The researcher perceives the lack of communication within relationships of young people as contributing to the use of violence in this study. Young people might have perceived violence as a successful way of resolving conflicts. Yet, communication resolves some misunderstandings within intimate relationships. Contrary to what Sbu described happening to someone else, Sbu was confronted with a similar situation where he saw his girlfriend standing at a corner with another boy whom he did not know. Sbu said "*...I did not do anything to my girlfriend she is such a good person...*" It might be that Sbu was not a violent man and cared about his girlfriend.

Participants constantly explained how young people normalised violence in their relationships as young men had a tendency to beat their partners when they disagreed on certain things. More and more of the intentions suggested that young women were beaten for different reasons. This was the situation with Ayanda who got irritated and beat his girlfriend. Sometimes friends have been shown as playing a role in restraining their friends from beating their

girlfriends. This behaviour might have implied that young people valued their friendships and the advice that came from their friends'. The reality is that some young men in these situations might have thought that IPV was the only way to resolve the conflicts. In another case the violence came from both sides; it was clearly a fight that was started by the girl. Ayanda (19) referred to his relationship and said,

...I always tell her that I do not like physically abusing girls, so on this day it happened that she irritated me and I told her that I will beat her but because she knew that I will never beat her. She pushed me and I was angry so I beat her. Then I went back to her and apologised because it was not my intention to beat her...

In this narrative, Ayanda was trying to make the researcher believe that his girlfriend made him beat her. Ayanda is blaming his girlfriend for his violent behaviour.

An example of an intervention came from Rendani (16) who said, *"...I told him that what he is doing (beating his girlfriend) is not right. It was someone who understood and he reduced the beating..."*

Certain instances or conversations seemed to make the boyfriends angry, irritable and beat their girlfriends. These were presented by young men in the study which raised a concern as violence was essentially seen as the only way out of these confrontational events. The fact that young people seemed to have apologised after beating a partner might be interpreted that they regret their violent behaviour. Ayanda mentioned that he went back later to apologise to his girlfriend as it was not his intention to hurt her. The data also proposed that Rendani was happy that his friend listened to his advice when Rendani advised him to stop beating his girlfriend. Rendani stated *"...it was better compared to what used to happen..."* Rendani mentioned that the extent

of beating that used to happen might have lessened to either fewer incidents or less severe. This quote suggested that because the beating was not as severe as it used to be, it was acceptable for Rendani's friend to discipline his girlfriend less severely. This study reported that young people gave each other advice at some point regarding certain situation. The concern with friends giving each other advice was that many young people might be misled by friends who were not equipped with the right information or who themselves endorse the use of violence.

4.2.2 Rejection of violence against women

Young men indicated that use of violence was unacceptable behaviour which should not be condoned. The violent behaviour had been rejected by these young men in their relationships. Participants talked about different ways that motivated them not to tolerate violent behaviour in their relationships. Some participants such as Thabo (18) reasoned that, "*...I am scared to beat a girl because...of law firstly and in terms of strength girls do not have power...*" This quote highlighted that Thabo did not believe violence against a woman was appropriate. In addition, others like Sbu (20) also rejected violence and made the commitment known to his partner,

...I told her from the start when we go out that I will never beat her...like sometimes I will call her and ask her to come and she does not come. Sometimes it will be late and she has not arrived that is what makes me angry then I will tell her that do not come anymore...

For Mpho (15) it was re-living the experience that made him stay away from violence and disagree with the behaviour,

...every time when I see people like men beating women it reminds me of what used to happen years ago...I have once experienced that years ago when my father was still

alive. He used to beat my mother when he is drunk...It made me learn that things like that are not supposed to happen...

Young men's accounts resembled that of young women as they both rejected violence in their relationships. It might be that young men were aware of the implications of IPV and they did not want to further condone unacceptable behaviours. Mpho's quote implied that although he was exposed to his father's violent discipline towards his mother, Mpho chose to be different. Some participants assured their girlfriends at the beginning of their dating that they will not beat them. This might be observed in Sbu's excerpt as he told his girlfriend that he was not a violent person. The data also suggested that young men intervened in their parents' fights because they might have had a sense of responsibility to protect their mothers. This was the case with Mpho who went on to talk about his father's violent behaviour as his father beat his mother when he was drunk. This experience might have reflected to Mpho that it was not right to beat the partner when drunk. Mpho shared that just like any other human being he might get angry with his partner in future but he would not beat his partner. Unlike Ayanda (19) who felt irritated by his girlfriend, got angry and beat his girlfriend. Young men within the study also indicated that although IPV was normalised within their communities, they rejected the behaviour.

Condemnation seemed to be the dominant discourse. There were elements from the data that implied that some men saw a reason for a woman to be beaten. When the beating was not justifiable in their eyes, participants find it hard to understand the violence behaviour. In some instances participants did not understand use of violence where reasons were not given as Rendani (16) mentioned that, *"...I used to have a friend who used to beat his girlfriend for no reason"*. He went on to say, *"...It did not sit well with me because he used to beat these beautiful girls who did not do anything wrong..."* This quotation suggested that there seemed to

be incidences where violence is acceptable and not acceptable in young people's lives. This seemed to be the situation with Rendani as he did not understand why his friend beat his girlfriend for 'no reason'. Rendani might have thought that there must be a reason for the use of violence. Furthermore young women were sexualised in this extract and were not seen beyond their beauty, hence suggesting that beautiful girls did not deserve the beating unlike girls that were not beautiful. There was an understanding from the participants that when a man beat his partner there might be a reason. Only one young man reported that he has beaten his girlfriend and justified that it was because she irritated him and he got angry. Young men's quotations also suggested that beating women might be justifiable. For example: women deserve or not deserve the beating because they might be good looking or not; when women accused their partner of infidelity or she gave a hug to another man unknown to the boyfriend; when a woman invaded her partner's cell phone privacy; and being irritated by a girlfriend. Confrontation was also seen as a behaviour that resulted in retaliation with violence from the boyfriends. An example was mentioned by Thabo (18) as he saw the girlfriend beat her boyfriend in the face and told him that, "*...I do not love you anymore and you know what I found in your phone...He then beat her with a clap and then she was the one who asked for forgiveness...*" It seemed that sometimes young women provoked their partner and the partner retaliated. When the beating got worse, she might have regretted her behaviour and then asked for forgiveness. Contrary to young women's data, young men's data did not suggest much about young men apologising for their actions. This might be that young men viewed disciplining their partners as acceptable behaviour. Only one participant apologised to his girlfriend for beating her. This might be because this young man saw his action as unacceptable or he was interested in continuing with the relationship and needed to apologise in order to be able to do that. Only Ayanda (19) referred to this relationship,

...she knew that I will never beat her. She pushed me and I was angry so I beat her. Then I went back to her and apologised because it was not my intention to beat her...

Although Ayanda told his girlfriend that he would not beat her, Ayanda got irritated, angry and beat his girlfriend. Dating relationships are complicated. In this instance Ayanda's girlfriend provoked her boyfriend and Ayanda retaliated. Ayanda was the one who went back to his girlfriend and apologised for his behaviour. Ayanda's behaviour suggested how women's abusive behaviour might be overlooked at times or it could be that Ayanda used his girlfriend's "push" as an excuse to justify his inappropriate behaviour. This might be due to the alarming focus on violence against women being perpetrated by men. Overall, the data suggested that although young people have been exposed to violence, young people rejected violence in their relationships.

4.3 List of research outputs

A Published media article

1. Makongoza, M., Nduna, M., & Dietrich, J. (2015, October 20). Normalising intimate partner violence among young people. Thought leader: Psychological Society of South Africa. Retrieved from <http://thoughtleader.co.za/psyssa/2015/10/20/normalising-intimate-partner-violence-among-soweto-youth/> (Appendix8).

B Journal article submitted for publication

1. Makongoza, M., & Nduna M. Awareness and rejection accounts of intimate partner violence by young women in Soweto Johannesburg, South Africa. Manuscript submitted for publication.

C Journal articles under construction

1. Young men's perceptions and experiences of IPV from Soweto Johannesburg, South Africa.
2. Intimate partner violence among young people from Soweto Johannesburg, South Africa. Methods paper.

Conference presentations.

1. Makongoza, M., Nduna, M., & Dietrich, J. (2015, June). Experiential accounts of intimate partner violence from young people in Soweto Johannesburg, South Africa. 4th South African Students' Psychology. 22-26 June 2015 UNISA Polokwane Campus, Limpopo. <http://www.unisa.ac.za/chs/news/2015/03/22-26-june-2015-4th-southern-african-students-psychology-conference-2015/>
2. Makongoza, M., Nduna, M., & Dietrich, J. (2015, June). Perceptions and experiences of intimate partner violence (IPV) amongst young people in Soweto, South Africa. 22nd Annual SASA Congress Contours of Violence. 28 June-1 July 2015 Johannesburg South Africa. <http://www.sasaonline.org.za/2015-sasa-congress.html>
3. Makongoza, M., Nduna, M., & Dietrich, J. (2015, September). Experiential accounts of Intimate Partner Violence from Young People from Soweto, Johannesburg. 21st Annual Psychology Congress 15-18 September 2015 Emperors place, Gauteng. www.up.ac.za/.../psyssa-2015-final-congress-programme.zp66101

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter presented young women and young men's discourses of IPV. Young women's discourses were 1) Chastisement, 2) Silence, 3) Rejection of IPV, and 4) Intervention or lack thereof during IPV. Young men's discourses of 1) Infidelity, 2) Blame for IPV, 3) Rejection of violence against women, were also discussed. In this chapter, young people talked about violence against women as unacceptable behaviour, yet they excused its use if the women provoked them. Lists of research outputs was also mentioned.

Chapter 5: Discussion

Introduction

This chapter discusses the research findings reported in chapter four. The aim of this study was to explore how young people from Soweto, Johannesburg, perceive and experience intimate partner violence. The following discourses presented in the results section will be discussed. Young women's discourses were 1) Chastisement, 2) Silence of IPV, 3) Rejection of IPV, 4) Intervention or lack thereof during IPV. Young men's discourses of 1) Infidelity, 2) Blame for IPV, 3) Rejection of violence against women, are also discussed. This section discusses the findings of young women and young men separately. This study indicated that participants were exposed to violent behaviour either publicly or privately.

5.1 Young women's discourses

In this study young women reported that it was common to see boyfriends beating their girlfriends. Young women experienced physical violence that ranged from being slapped to being beaten with the belt to an extreme form of violence such as being dragged along the ground by the hair. Participants also reported women as victims of violence and men as perpetrators of violence. This is consistent with other studies conducted with young people (Flisher et al., 2007; Nduna & Rachel Jewkes, 2012; Russell et al., 2013). There is literature that suggests that use of violence in relationships could be linked to earlier witnessing of intimate partner violence during childhood (Abrahams & Rachel Jewkes, 2005; Heise & Garcia- Moreno, 2002). Young people's continued exposure to domestic violence was reported in this study; this is a concern given this link. Through exposure to violence during childhood, young people

witness and learn the same patriarchal behaviour that their fathers use in chastising their mothers. This behaviour may promote use of violence by young men and young women. It is possible that young men hold on to the violent behaviour and young women learn to tolerate violence as they transition into adulthood.

Men in this study were presented by both women and men as using violence to discipline their partners when their behaviour was deemed inappropriate. For example, when young women refused sex upon the request of their partners they reported being beaten. The findings reflected that women were beaten for challenging their partners and it was consistent with findings of other studies dated back more than a decade (Rachel Jewkes, Levin, et al., 2002; J. Wood & Rachel Jewkes, 2001). This seems to continue because recent literature also report violence in young people's relationships (Fredland et al., 2005; Nduna & Rachel Jewkes, 2012; Russell et al., 2013; Shefer & Foster, 2010). Young men disciplined their partners in instances where young women find that their partners are cheating, or when young women check their partners' phones. Men's accusations of infidelity by their partners were mostly confirmed through evidence of text messaging in this study. Similarly, young men's behaviour of being found cheating through a message was also reported in (Archambault, 2011). This behaviour of men being caught cheating through text message is likely to happen as young people use their phones to communicate with each other (Dietrich et al., 2014).

Literature suggest that South African men feel entitled to have multiple partners and demand sex whenever they desire (Varga, 1997; J. Wood & Rachel Jewkes, 2001). Men's sexual demands condoned young men as active sexual beings while young women must acquiesce to their partners' sexual desires (Varga, 2003). Men's sexual entitlement made women lack agency when it comes to sexual decision. This behaviour further perpetuated women's coercion to have

sex with their partner unwillingly. There are number of studies that report young women being coerced by their partner into having sex (Harrison, Xaba, & Kunene, 2001; Rachel Jewkes et al., 2010; K. Wood & Rachel Jewkes, 1997) without the women's consent. Literature further report that some women find it hard to say no to their boyfriends and as such women do not regard sexual coercion as a rape (Rachel Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Morrel, & Dunkle, 2014). Men's sexual coercion is not about satisfying their sexual desire, rather it is about men's domination over their partners (Brownmiller, 1976; Rachel Jewkes, Penn-Kekana, & Rose-Junius, 2005).

In this study, young men viewed women who dated two men simultaneously as amateurs in double dating games as they are unable to covertly maintain the relationship as they caused unnecessary fights between the two men. This view from young men shows young women's restriction in what they can and cannot do and this is due to the social construction of gender roles (O'Sullivan, Harrison, Morrell, Monroe-Wise, & Kubeka, 2006). There seem to be too many restrictions on how women should and should not behave (Wiederman, 2005a) as women are expected to wait for men's propositions (Stokoe, 2006; K. Wood & Rachel Jewkes, 1998). Literature also report that women who behave in a manner that the society does not condone are called names (Hamilton & Armstrong, 2009). In this study young women were beaten and dumped for having multiple partners. The fight between young men dating the same girl at the same time was likely to have happened as they dated in the same area. Studies report that men fight to keep their women (Anderson, 2005) and in most cases when young men fight it is likely to be about their masculinity (J. Wood & Rachel Jewkes, 2001). In these violent situations the man who thought of himself as the main partner was the one who seemed to react first as he wanted to protect his partner. Literature reports that men feel a need to protect their partner (Anderson, 2005; Boonzaier, 2008).

Patriarchy condones the behaviour that young women are expected to be modest and wait for men to court them (Lambert & Wood, 2005). Patriarchal practices put men under pressure of being the ones to proposition their women. When men act violently, it is possible that men too express behaviour that demonstrate that they are victims of patriarchy; an ideology, which positions men as dominant and with authority. For instance, if a woman is found cheating, the boyfriend has the power to discipline her without asking any questions (Shefer et al., 2008). This behaviour further restricted women not to have a choice to propose men that they like. When young women go against this behaviour and court men, the behaviour is seemed inappropriate and women deserved to be disciplined (K. Wood & Rachel Jewkes, 1998) as young men could have believed that the women were not serious about their relationships. This behaviour further allows men to think that it is appropriate to discipline their partners.

The idea that women should give their partners privacy by not scrolling through their partner's phone was supported by women themselves. Women's behaviour such as refusing sex, scrolling through a partner's phone and confronting their partner of cheating were used in this study to legitimise the use of violence against women in relationships. The violent behaviour is precipitated by the construction of hegemonic masculinity. By this the researcher means that it is beliefs about the positions and power that men hold in a relationship. These dictate that women should "know their places" (Rachel Jewkes, Levin, et al., 2002). Hegemonic masculinity dictated how men behave: socialisation has taught the men a particular way of "being" and this being includes a sense of power and control, especially over their partners. Numerous literature report this dominant behaviour by men over women (Morrell, 2001; Morrell, Rachel Jewkes, & Lindegger, 2012; Ratele, 2006). In order to eliminate intimate partner violence among young

people there is a need to challenge the construction of masculinity that feeds into this hegemonic masculinity.

In South Africa and elsewhere, violence has been seen as a way to assert power and control towards those who are deemed weak (K. Wood et al., 1998). The participant(s) whose narratives were about their own personal experiences also seemed to believe that their experience was private, even though they too were beaten in public. It is possible that young women had challenges with disclosure of such experiences as some disclosed and some did not. This study reported that sometimes young women feared being judged by their friends and being told to leave their partners. This finding is similar to a study conducted among young people in Adelaide, South Australia, that report young women's reluctance to report or speak about intimate partner violence (Chung, 2007). Shame and pressure to prove a successful relationship is reported here and elsewhere as being behind non-disclosure (Boonzaier, 2008). There is a body of literature that supports the preferences to keep painful experiences private (Kim & Motsei, 2002; Penn-Kekana, Levin, Ratsaka, & Schrieber, 1999; Rachel Jewkes, Levin, et al., 2002; Rachel Jewkes & Morrell Robert, 2012). This literatures supports this and other studies on non-disclosure of violence in relationships (Towns & Adams, 2005). In their study Nduna and Rachel Jewkes (2012) report this from interviewing young women. This situation is challenging for younger women due to lack of services that help. Young women felt comfortable to disclose their violent relationships to their friends rather than their family (Henton, Cate, Koval, Lloyd, & Christopher, 1983). Young women's narratives reported that young women shared their experiences of violence with their friends, unlike young men. This findings is similar to a study conducted with young men (Henton et al., 1983).

However, in another study young women report that when boyfriends beat their girlfriends it shows that their boyfriends loves them (K. Wood & Rachel Jewkes, 1997). These young women will go to an extent of provoking their partners until they get beaten and their boyfriend will apologise as it is the attention that they seek (K. Wood et al., 2008); however, visible scars were taken seriously by young women in this study and another study (K. Wood et al., 2008). In this study, young women contradicted themselves when they advised their friends to leave their relationships while they themselves stayed in violent relationships and never told anyone. This could be that they did not see their boyfriends' violent behaviour as serious because they did not have bruises. A slap on the face was perceived as less serious by young women. It would seem that young women take violence seriously when they are bruised compared to non-evident violent behaviour.

Silence about sexuality between parents and their children is common in black South African communities (Delius & Glaser, 2002; Soon et al., 2013). It is reported that people's beliefs, attitudes and what the culture expects from both the parent and child, that contribute to lack of communication (Jerman & Constantine, 2010). This is seen in Vilancoulos and Nduna (2015) study that report culture and religious background to contribute to lack of parent-child communication in black communities. The study also reported that not all black parents seemed to have problems to talk to their children about sexuality (Vilancoulos & Nduna, 2015). In this study some young women went to an extent of using their loved one's illness as the reason for not telling their parents about their boyfriend's violent behaviour. This is similar to the study of Nduna and Rachel Jewkes (2012) that report that sometimes young women find it difficult to express themselves for a variety of reasons. Although, some young women were reluctant to disclose the violent incidents of their beatings to their friends. It was not until their friends saw

their bruises that they probably tried to conceal for some time, that they felt pressured to share their experiences. Literature reported that at times young people feel pressure to share information with their friends due to peer pressure (Dietrich et al., 2011).

Young women also suggested that gender matching of parent-child communication was essential as young people did not find it normal for fathers to talk to their daughters about daughter's intimate lives. Similarly another study reported preferences for gender matching of parent-child communication (Vilancoulos & Nduna, 2015). Parent-child communication has been reported to have positive results as young people became aware of sexual reproductive health rights (Bastien, Kajula, & Muhwezi, 2011). Parents need to be educated and encouraged to communicate with their children regarding sexual reproductive health rights topics. This idea was also recommended (Njoroge, Olsson, Pertet, & Ahlberg, 2010). The parent-child communication will guide young people in the right direction as young people are not yet equipped with correct information to advise their friends. This behaviour is possible between parents and children who share good relationships (Jackson, 2002).

People witnessing violence happening in public failed to intervene at times because they too seemed to believe in the idea that violence between lovers was a private matter. Literature report that violence in relationships is a private matter as it was seen as a way of men to discipline their wives (Rachel Jewkes & Morrell Robert, 2012). This behaviour was acceptable. This was even extended to protection services, such as the police, who were sometimes reported to be reluctant to open a case of violence against women because they believed that it was a private matter. This tension over whether violence against women in relationships is a private or public matter influenced the kind of responses from both formal and informal sources of assistance. For instance, for police not to take violence in relationships seriously was further

contributed by lack of training to handle the domestic violence cases well (Gibbs, L., & Mpani, 2015). In a report by Rachel Jewkes et al. (2009), prosecuted cases of violence against women were successful in cases where there was availability of medico-legal documents that report the injuries of survivors. In South Africa, for prosecution services of violence against women to be successful, prosecutors rely on medico-lab evidence of bruising and trauma of survivors (Gibbs et al., 2015). So, police needs to be trained to take cases of violence against women seriously. Coovadia, Jewkes, Barron, Sanders, and McIntyre (2009) went on to report that there is a crisis of formal services in general in South Africa.

Young women's accounts also revealed that intimate partner violence was not only a private matter; young women's stories indicated that violence also took place in public. Ironically this private-public discourse is disputed by the same findings. However where the community does not know, the victim is affirmed by that situation; so it is a sense of 'safety' from the public knowing that reinforces intimate partner violence. It is infrequent and less often that there are reports about women's use of violence. However in this study it was reported. Swart et al. (2002) report that girls and boys in high school have fights that are started by the girl. Girls, too, find using violence to settle disputes as the easier solution. This is more so if they grew up with violence (Morris et al., 2014). Here too, the researcher's literature (Dietrich et al., 2013; Dunkle et al., 2004; Otwombe et al., 2015), together with data, agree that young women in Soweto grew up with violence. Going back to the social learning theory, their use of violence can be explained through their observation and having learned to be violent from their family and community.

Violence against women in townships has been reported for years (Mokwena, 1991). Men's dominant behaviour of ownership over their partners date back, as women were seen to

belong to their partners (K. Wood & Rachel Jewkes, 1997). This behaviour of men's ownership over their partners years ago has perpetuated violence against women to be considered a private matter, which, even in the 20th century women still face (Boonzaier, 2008; Nduna & Rachel Jewkes, 2012; Rachel Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Morrell, & Dunkle, 2011) In this study violence against women were reported by young men as they disciplined their partner for refusing to go to their boyfriend's house or for walking with a man unknown to the boyfriend. This behaviour of violence is rooted in the dominant construction of masculinity where men prove their strength through overpowering their partners. The sense of ownership between two people who are in a dating relationship seem to emerge automatically (Daly, Wilson, & Weghorst, 1982). This form of jealousy is not only portrayed by men in the dating relationship as young women also showed the same behaviour towards their partners. In reference to the study, some young men reported that their girlfriend asked them to un-friend young women on social networks as she did not approve.

Literature show some women like it when their partners shows possession of ownership towards them as they feel that their partner loves them (K. Wood & Rachel Jewkes, 1998). The behaviour of partners' ownership is a concern as recent studies continued to report this behaviour among young people (K. Wood et al., 2008; K. Wood & Rachel Jewkes, 2009) as it perpetuated young men being superior towards their partners. In some instances the extreme form of a partner's possession of ownership lead to killing of their partners (Abrahams et al., 2013; Mathews, 2010; Vetten, 1996). Wilson and Daly (1992) defined men's ownership of their partners as "a tendency to think of women as sexual and reproductive 'property' that they can own and exchange". Intimate partner violence is tolerated in South Africa (Rachel Jewkes, Levin, et al., 2002), hence the normativity of violence.

Young women who stay in violent relationships have reasons for doing so. In this study, staying in violent relationships was speculated by being in love, to make ends meet and bravery. Young women's love, in this study, resembled the fairy tale kind of perfect love (Towns & Adams, 2005) hence they could not leave their partners. Literature report women's reasons for staying in violent relationships as an excuse for their partner's behaviour, hence they find leaving the violent relationship difficult (Baly, 2010; Boonzaier, 2008; Towns & Adams, 2005). Reporting violence in one's relationships might expose the partner, and women in violent relationships do not always want to leave their partners, as they just want the violent incident to stop (J. Wood, 2001). Young women were puzzled by their friends' endurance of violent relationships as their friends kept on going back to their partners. This behaviour affirms the perpetrator's behaviour as acceptable in the social learning theory, hence the continuation of the cycle of violence (Walker, 1984). Society could find it difficult to understand why these young women remain in violent relationships as young women were not solely dependent on their boyfriend. Society might further think that young women at their age were supposed to be focusing on their school work and not relationships. Society may not have realised that young people are sexual beings and dating at their age is part of their developmental stage (Collins, 2003).

Young women experience a plethora of sexual and reproductive health related outcomes such as pregnancy. In South Africa, unplanned teenage pregnancy is at 97.4% (Vundule, Maforah, Rachel Jewkes, & Jordaan, 2001) and young women are given the responsibility to prevent possibilities of pregnancy. Additionally the genitor's response to pregnancy can go either way: he might accept or deny responsibility. Although reasons for pregnancy denial in this study was not communicated by participants, they communicated the actions that came with the

reporting of pregnancy by young women to their boyfriends which resulted in young women being beaten and termination of pregnancy. In another study, Bujela (2014) reports young men's reasons for denying their girlfriends' pregnancy. Young women also revealed that by mentioning possibilities of being pregnant to their boyfriends caused anger, hence resulted in IPV (Rachel Jewkes, 2002; Vundule et al., 2001). The violent behaviour might be due to young people not being equipped with negotiating skills to handle disputes in their relationships (Helm, Baker, Berlin, & Kimura, 2015) hence intimate partner violence. Literature report violence against pregnant women as likely to result in miscarriage and stillbirth (Silverman et al., 2007). Some young women may elect termination of pregnancy without necessarily having obtained their parent's permission (Choice on Termination of Pregnancy Amendment Act, 2008). Young women were confronted with the decision to terminate pregnancy if there were possibilities of them being pregnant or already being pregnant as their boyfriends did not support them. Young men's aggression after being told about pregnancy by their girlfriend suggested that young men did not use a condom. The burden placed on women to prevent pregnancy might be due to programmes implemented in South Africa and elsewhere that focus their education on young women's sexual reproductive health (World Health Organization, United Nations Population Fund, & Key Centre for Women's Health in Society, 2009) and neglecting to implement same responsibilities towards men.

Intervention is an important form of support for victims of intimate partner violence. The findings also suggested that onlookers were likely to intervene if they knew the victims or the perpetrators. Further there was an indication that people might intervene in violent situations because they knew someone or felt obliged because they were in certain positions that forced

them to intervene. An example here was the educator who intervened when a boyfriend and girlfriend were fighting.

It appeared from these findings that the social norm amongst young women in Soweto rejected violence in relationships and some saw opting out of violent relationships as an option. This was evident through young women's stories as they advised their friends to leave their violent relationships and young women's need to intervene in their friends' experiences of violence. This was a shift from views expressed by young women in research 15 years ago (J. Wood, 2001; Wood., Maforah, & Jewkes, 1998). This shift came with an expectation that the victim could leave an abusive relationship; however, others may not have been ready to leave their partner. This was reported in other literature (Towns & Adams, 2005). Perhaps a victim might seek help only when required by the severe extent of the physical abuse. This also delays seeking help. These were consistent with settings where women wait until the gravity of the problem threatens their lives (Morris et al., 2014). Young men, below, reported women as victims of violent relationships.

5.1.2 Young men's discussion

Results from this section indicate the following discourses: construction of masculinity, discourse of chastisement and infidelity. Young men's findings were interesting as one participant talked about his perpetration of violence towards his girlfriend, while five participants' reported intimate partner violence perpetration and victimisation that they observed from other people in their communities. This was similar to women where participants chose to speak about observed intimate partner violence rather than their own involvement. Staying away from disclosing own involvement could have been due to the recruitment through a youth

organisation. Participants may have been motivated to present a good image of the Centre's values of no-violence.

Young men suggested women were mainly victims of intimate partner violence as they have been exposed to boyfriends beating their girlfriends publicly. With reference to the findings of participants who witnessed violence at home, studies report that children exposed to violence situations might experience violence differently depending on their age. In this study young men who witnessed violence at home were under the age of 17 years making this an important fact. As such, an older child might experience the abuse and be aware of what transpired within their household; the child might understand what happened and sense the surrounding as not being secure (Bensley et al., 2003; Mullender et al., 2002). This is possible as young men reported their exposure to domestic violence as a problem. In terms of perpetration, effects of exposure to violence during childhood further increases the risk of young people to perpetrate violence against women in their relationships (Abrahams & Rachel Jewkes, 2005).

Young people's exposure to violence may have some consequences. It is unfortunate that society does not realise the impact of violent behaviour on their children until a child internalises or externalises their behaviour. Examples of internalising behaviour include depression, suicide, anxiety, social withdrawal, fear of separation and sleep disturbances while examples of externalising behaviour could include violence, substance use, aggression, bullying and cruelty (Pepler, Catallo, & Moore, 2000). Violence has both physical and psychological implications on the well-being of a child (Roman & Frantz, 2013). Additionally, lack of education sometimes might contribute to parents not being aware that the child has a problem and they might think the child was being rebellious or naughty and yet they have copied the use of violence. Literature report that young people exposed to a violent environment are likely to be bullied or bully others

(Cluver, Bowes, & Gardner, 2010) as they have learnt violence as being a socially acceptable behaviour. It is in this context that some participants in this study justified use of violence.

Some participants related that violence taught young men to respect and never hurt women as they have seen the consequences of violence while growing up. This is contrary to other literature that report perpetration of violence or victimisation of young people when exposed to a violent environment (Abrahams & Rachel Jewkes, 2005; Bensley et al., 2003; Cluver et al., 2010). Although some young men viewed violence against women as unacceptable, in this context they had selfish reasons for their rejection of violence against women because young men were more concerned about women not being able to perform duties within the household should women be injured. Young men referred to women not being able to cook if they were injured. This idea promotes that it is acceptable to discipline women but not to an extent of them getting injured. This shows how, from early on, young men model gender role behaviour that have been practiced within their surroundings. Literature went on to suggest that there are gender role expectations in relationships (Gevers, Rachel Jewkes, Mathews, & Flisher, 2012) as young men and young women grew up in an environment that promote the behaviour. So in this study, this finding about “reasonable” punishment that is not disabling to allow the woman to carry on with her chores is supported by literature.

The findings indicated gender positions in the society as being practised allowing men to exert power against women. These relationships leave women vulnerable to partner violence (Rachel Jewkes, 2002). With reference to this study, where young men beat their partners for being pregnant, unmet expectations of preventing pregnancy by women caused frustrations for their partners resulting in violent behaviour (Rachel Jewkes, Levin, et al., 2002). In this situation where the perpetrators become violent towards their partners, the perpetrators feel good about

themselves (Bandura, 1977a) as they have fulfilled their intentions. There is literature that report that young women are likely to be beaten by their partners when pregnant (Devries et al., 2010; Groves, Kagee, Maman, Moodley, & Rouse, 2011; Wiemann, Agurcia, Berenson, Volk, & Rickert, 2000). Young men's narratives insinuated pregnancy as the responsibility of young women. Similarly, some literature report women as being responsible for preventing pregnancy (Hanson et al., 2014; Pleck et al., 1993) while other literature report that pregnancy prevention is for both men and women in relationships (Dodge, Jeffries IV, & Sandfort, 2008). Communicating and sharing responsibilities to prevent possibilities of pregnancy might minimise blaming between boyfriend and girlfriend in relationships. Empowerment of society through education on sexual reproductive health rights by South African Health facilities and researchers may reduce the pressure that women find themselves under to prevent the pregnancy. In addition, young men should further be made aware of implications of beating their partners when pregnant, such as injury, vaginal bleeding, kidney infections etc. (Groves et al., 2011).

In this study young men had the perception that there were women with certain beauty that deserved or did not deserve the beating in relationships. There was a sense that beauty represented something adorable that did not deserve to be violated. In another study young men reported beating their partners regardless of their looks (K. Wood et al., 2008) as their concern was about partners' behaviour having deserved the discipline. Jealousy caused young women to be disciplined by their partners as this was represented through young men's narratives. Literature report that jealousy contributed to men being violent towards their partners (Daly et al., 1982; Hofeller, 1982) further justifying the use of violence in relationships. This could be due to speculation and not knowing the truth before they disciplined their partners. This just showed that young men viewed situations that needed to be disciplined or not differently, as this

was the case throughout their narratives. Additionally, young men sexualised women and did not see women as a complete human being that had dignity and deserved respect. Young women were being treated as vessels for young men's pleasure. Some young men did not understand how their friends could beat their girlfriends without any explanation. Young men's discourses seemed to imply that there should be a reason for being violent towards the partners. Hence, recent literature reports on young people's perpetration and victimisation in relationships (De Koker et al., 2014; Flisher et al., 2007; Mathews. et al., 2009; Russell et al., 2013)

This finding reported women's beating were due to women behaving in a way that their partner did not approve of. In this study, respecting men's privacy was viewed as important for young men as women were beaten for suspecting infidelities. This behaviour of beating their partners could have been influenced by young men feeling threatened by their partners. Having multiple partners have been reported as socially acceptable in this data and young men viewed the behaviour as a privilege because society embraced the behaviour. Similarly, a study conducted with young people report 84% of men having concurrent sexual relationships (O'Sullivan et al., 2006). This could be how men show their masculinity amongst each other. There was a sense from this findings that double dating games were meant for men as they were able to date two friends at the same time without the other partner knowing about it. Young men reported being entitled to have multiple partners, this behaviour was also supported by literature (J. Wood & Rachel Jewkes, 2001). In this study, young men boosted about their behaviour of being able to date two women simultaneously. Literature report that having a new sexual partner is likely to boost men's self-esteem (Wiederman, 2005b). This hegemonic masculine behaviour is due to socialisation that permits men to date more than one partner without being ashamed. This is contrary to how women is expected to behave, as women who dated two men

simultaneously were seen as portraying unacceptable behaviour in this study. Literature report women were called names such “sluts” (Hamilton & Armstrong, 2009; Hanson et al., 2014) for behaving unacceptably by society. In another study young women were beaten by their boyfriends for dating two men concurrently (K. Wood et al., 2008) and this was also reported in this study through young men and young women’s narratives.

In some instances young men intervened in situations where their friends beat their girlfriends. This was described in this study where young men saw their friend beat his girlfriend and intervened; although their friend only lessened the beating. Similarly, young men reported that their friends left them to discipline their partner and only intervened after some time (K. Wood et al., 2008). There seemed to be an indication that women need to be disciplined at some point, hence some young men would let their friends beat their girlfriend and only intervene later. This behaviour of chastising their partners promotes masculinity and women continue to be victims of violence (Rachel Jewkes, 2002), perpetuating tolerance of violence in relationships.

Participants highlighted violence to be influenced by alcohol. It is true that alcohol abuse contributes to violent activities (Peltzer, 2010; Shisana et al., 2009). This could be a concern as young men might think that getting drunk meant not being responsible as they can argue that they were under the influence of alcohol. Literature report that when men are drunk their violent behaviours are extreme (Rachel Jewkes, 2002). With reference to this study, men terrorised women and children who did not know what to expect as they lived in fear. In this environment young men are likely to model perpetration behaviour or young women become victims in relationships (Abrahams & Rachel Jewkes, 2005; Pepler et al., 2000). The cycle of violence continue (Walker, 1984).

This study suggested that some young men had different views when it came to intimate partner violence; as young men seemed to be against women being subjected to any form of violence in relationships. In this study and another study, young men's rejection of violence towards women was influenced by their fear of legal consequences (Fredland et al., 2005). This study's findings and other literature report shifts in how young men treat their partners as young people endorse equality in relationships (Morrell, 2003; Sideris, 2004) although gender positioning continued to be practised in the society.

Intimate partner violence is a serious challenge that young people face in relationships. Society needs to understand the difference between the terms IPV and interpersonal violence (IV), so that the reluctance for support will be minimised. Society must understand that IPV is a fight happening between intimate partners who love one another and that emotions are therefore attached. For example some couples fight today and tomorrow they are happy. So when victims of violence seek support they need help *at that point*, they are not saying they want to be separated from their partners, because they are in love. Interpersonal violence, on the other hand, is when violent behaviour happens between people who do not relate to each other and emotions are not attached. When people fight and people intervene they might go on with their lives and not fight again. Intimate partner violence could be ended if interpersonal violence is addressed.

5.2 Similarities and differences of young people regarding IPV discourses

There were differences and similarities of IPV discourses reported by young men and young women.

Young people reported the following similarities:

1. Discourse of chastisement.
2. Infidelity.

3. Rejection of IPV.
4. Intervention or lack thereof during IPV

Young people also shared their differences: young women's silence on intimate partner violence and young men's masculinity were challenged by their partners.

5.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, the research findings were discussed. The perceptions and experiences of IPV among young people were discussed and literature was used in the discussion to support or argue against the perceptions and experiences of IPV. The findings indicated young people being aware of intimate partner violence in relationships and suggested intimate partner violence as not acceptable. The findings suggested that compared to 15 years ago, IPV perceptions among young people have shifted.

5.4 Recommendations for interventions

Young people should be educated on reproductive health and gender-based violence and intimate partner violence. Implementation of youth friendly facilities that assist young people in violent relationships by empowering them with education about violence. Encouragement of young people to speak about their violent experiences to eliminate perceptions of IPV as a private matter. Modelling of culture and traditions beliefs by parents and society that promote gender equality and awareness of violence through school curriculums. Young people should be educated about implications of substance use such as contracting HIV and sexually transmitted infections and related diseases, unplanned pregnancy and gender-based violence. Implementation of police empowerment programmes that deals with intimate partner violence.

5.5 Direction for future research

Firstly, during the literature review the researcher realised that IPV studies among young people in South Africa were either conducted in Western Cape or Gauteng provinces. More intimate partner violence qualitative studies with young people from other provinces are needed. Secondly, researchers should explore the views of victims and perpetrators of IPV on interventions by onlookers. Lastly, research is needed on IPV within same sex relationships among young people in South Africa.

Chapter 6: Conclusions

In conclusion, the aim of the study was to explore how young people in Soweto Johannesburg perceived and experienced intimate partner violence. The discussion was guided by a semi-structured interview guide. The guide asked about young people's responses and views towards the use of violence or fights to resolve relationship conflicts. Participants were asked to share their views on ways to resolve conflict in relationships. They were further asked to share their views on the motivation for conflicts in relationships between boyfriends and girlfriends. Participants' responses gave the researcher a sense of the impact of IPV on the young black population that resided in Soweto townships and in addition, how young people navigated power dynamics in their intimate relationships. This study contributes to the awareness for researchers and policy makers to not overlook IPV among young people in black townships. Some participants mentioned that they will not practice violent behaviour in their relationships as they regard violence towards women as unacceptable. This shift of violence rejection brings hope to the future generation as young people could live free of violence. The rejection of violence could be as a results of the awareness of Domestic violence Act 116 of 1998. However, victim blaming and relegating violence within relationships to the private realm still exist.

This study indicated that young people engaged in intimate relationships. Parent-child communications should be encouraged as it will elevate some of the problems that young people face in their relationships. Literature report that in South Africa parents do not communicate with their children regarding sexual reproductive health rights topics (Coetzee et al., 2014). Lack of parent-child communication resulted in young people finding trust and advice and comfort from their peers. Young people's empowerment regarding gender-based violence, intimate partner

violence and sexual reproductive health is vital as this will assist young people to advice their friends appropriately when a situation presented itself.

Intervention of onlookers during IPV was dependent on the relationships between the victims and onlookers or onlookers' obligations to act because they were in a certain position. Reporting IPV to the police station was reported as a challenge for young people as police did not take the reporting seriously. This could be due to police not understanding the context of IPV and the emergency thereof as Police also regard IPV as a private matter that need not to be interfered with.

In this study gender analysis was conducted separately to understand social construction of IPV from young women and young men's perspectives. The study suggests gender roles ascribed to men and women to perpetuate violence as young women are expected to behave in a certain manner and if their behaviour is viewed as inappropriate by their partner, discipline is imposed. Young men were reported as not being policed and are allowed to have multiple partner relationships as it is socially acceptable. There are many restrictions when it comes to women. For example, young women are beaten for cheating and for suspecting their partners of infidelities. Young people's narratives also suggested that young men were not held responsible for their actions as reasons were always given for their actions. Alcohol was also mentioned as fuelling violence in young peoples' relationships. This study contributed towards an understanding on how young black people from Soweto townships perceived and experienced IPV.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Participants Interview Guide

1. Participants will be asked about their interest in this topic. This is hoped to initiate a discussion about their understanding of violence, GBV, VAW, DV and IPV in particular.
2. Participants will be asked about their responses and views towards the use of violence or fights to resolve relationship conflicts. They will be encouraged to use examples from recent experiences or witnessing of such.
3. Potential participants will be asked to share their views on the motivation for conflicts in relationships between boyfriend/girlfriend.
4. Young people will be asked to share their views on ways to resolve conflict in relationships.



PSYCHOLOGY
THE SCHOOL OF HUMAN AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT (SHCD)



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Appendix 2: Participant Information Sheet

Good day

Introduction

My name is Matamela F.B Makongoza. I am currently conducting a research study in partial fulfillment of a Master of Art degree in Psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand. The aim of this study is to investigate how young people from Soweto, Johannesburg, perceive and experience relationship conflicts.

Who can volunteer?

You are invited to participate in an interview in which I will ask you some questions on the topic of violence, which will take approximately 45 minutes. Take time to read the information carefully. You have been asked to participate because you are between the ages of 15-20 years and stays in Soweto. For you to participate in this study you should be willing. Participants younger than 18 years and willing to take part in the study will have to provide a signed parental/legal-guardian consent sheet. Should you choose to take part in this research study, you will be given a copy of the signed consent sheet for you to keep. Permission will be requested from you for the interviews to be audio-recorded. The audio-recording will be kept for 2 years if the results are published and for 6 years if there is no publication. The interviews will take place at the participants' respective private homes or a private room at the youth organisation. All the

information that the researcher collects from you might at times be shared with other people such as disclosing your personal information if required by the law.

Confidentiality

No information identifying you will be included in the research report. Pseudonyms will be used instead of your real names. All signed consent sheets will be kept in a locked cabinet. Should you wish to withdraw from the research study, you are welcomed to do so without any consequences.

Risks and Benefits

If you choose to participate there are no direct benefits for you, however the researcher will be able to learn more about your experiences. There might be some feelings of discomfort (distress, feeling worthless and guilt) during and after the interview and you might need to talk to a professional after the interview. If that is the case you will be referred for counselling.

Participants Reimbursement

The study participants will be reimbursed with R50.00 for their time to take part in the research study. Your answers will be kept in a password protected computer and will be processed only by myself or my supervisors. Once the study has been completed and written up, your answers and the questions that were asked will be included in the research report.

Contact information

Your participation will be highly appreciated. Should you require any further information or have any queries, please don't hesitate to contact me at 082 091 0826 or makongozam@gmail.com or my supervisors at 011 717 4168 or mzikazi.nduna@wits.ac.za and [011 989 9752](tel:0119899752) or dietrichj@phru.co.za. A free counselling referral details: Chris Hani Baragwanath hospital, Perinatal HIV Research Unit (PHRU), ZAZI clinic ground floor. Tel: 011 989 9840.

Yours sincerely

Matamela F.B. Makongoza



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Appendix 3: Parental/Legal Guardian Information Sheet

Good day

Introduction

My name is Matamela F.B Makongoza. I am currently conducting a research study in partial fulfillment of a Masters of Art degree in Psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand. The aim of this study is to investigate how young people from Soweto, Johannesburg, perceive and experience relationship conflicts.

Who can volunteer?

Your child is invited to participate in an interview in which I will ask him/her some questions on the topic of violence which will take approximately 45 minutes. Take time to read the information carefully. Your child has been asked to participate because he/she is between the ages of 15-20 years and stays in Soweto. For your child to participate in this study your child should be willing. If your child is younger than 18 years and willing to take part in the study, your child will have to provide a signed parental/legal-guardian consent sheet. Should your child choose to take part in this research study, your child will be given a copy of the signed consent sheet for him/her to keep. Permission will be requested from your child for the interviews to be audio-recorded. The audio-recording will be kept for 2 years if the results are published and for

6 years if there is no publication. The interviews will take place at the participants' respective private homes or a private room at the youth organisation. All the information that the researcher collects from your child might at times be shared with other people such as disclosing your child personal information if required by the law.

Confidentiality

No information identifying your child will be included in the research report. Pseudonyms will be used instead of your child's real names. All signed consent sheet will be kept in a locked cabinet. Should your child wish to withdraw from the research study, he/she is welcome to do so without any consequences.

Risks and Benefits

If your child chooses to participate there are no direct benefits for your child, however the researcher will be able to learn more about your child's experiences. There might be some feelings of discomfort (distress, feeling worthless and guilt) during and after the interview and your child might need to talk to a professional after the interview. If that is the case your child will be referred for counselling.

Participants Reimbursement

The study participants will be reimbursed with R50.00 for their time to take part in the research study. Your child's answers will be kept in a password protected computer and will be processed only by myself or my supervisors. Once the study has been completed and written up, your child's answers and the questions that were asked will be included in the research report.

Contact information

Your child's participation will be highly appreciated. Should your child require any further information or have any queries, please don't hesitate to contact me at 082 091 0826 or

makongozam@gmail.com or my supervisors at 011 717 4168 or mzikazi.nduna@wits.ac.za and [011 989 9752](tel:0119899752) or dietrichj@phru.co.za. A free counselling referral details: Chris Hani Baragwanath hospital, Perinatal HIV Research Unit (PHRU), ZAZI clinic ground floor. Tel: 011 989 9840.

Yours sincerely

Matamela F. B. Makongoza

Appendix 4: Participant Consent Sheet

I _____ consent to be interviewed by _____ as part of the researcher's study titled: *Intimate partner violence (IPV) among young people from Soweto, Johannesburg.*

I understand that:

1. Information shared in the research interview will be kept confidential
2. Information (quotations) will be used by the researcher as part of publications or other forms of reporting the data
3. The researcher will ensure that all appropriate measures and precautions are taken to protect me and my personal information
4. I have the right not to answer any questions that I feel uncomfortable with
5. I have the right to withdraw from the research study at any time
6. I agree that the interview with me may be digitally recorded and subsequently transcribed for analysis.
7. I have been informed that the audio-recording will be kept for 2 years if the results are published and for 6 years if there is no publication. Following the applicable time, the digital recordings will be destroyed. The recordings will be stored on a password protected computer and only study staff will have access to it.

Participant's Name and Surname

Signature

Date

Time

Researcher's Name and Surname	Signature	Date	Time
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Witness Name and Surname	Signature	Date	Time
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Appendix 5: Participant Assent Sheet

I _____ consent to be interviewed by _____ as part of the researcher's study titled: *Intimate partner violence (IPV) among young people from Soweto, Johannesburg.*

I understand that:

1. Information shared in the research interview will be kept confidential
2. Information (quotations) will be used by the researcher as part of publications or other forms of reporting the data
3. The researcher will ensure that all appropriate measures and precautions are taken to protect me and my personal information
4. I have the right not to answer any questions that I feel uncomfortable with
5. I have the right to withdraw from the research study at any time
6. I agree that the interview with me may be digitally recorded and subsequently transcribed for analysis.
7. I have been informed that the audio-recording will be kept for 2 years if the results are published and for 6 years if there is no publication. Following the applicable time, the digital recordings will be destroyed. The recordings will be stored on a password protected computer and only study staff will have access to it.

Participant's Name and Surname	Signature	Date	Time
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Researcher's Name and Surname	Signature	Date	Time
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Witness Name and Surname	Signature	Date	Time
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Appendix 6: Parent/Legal Guardian Consent Sheet

I _____ consent for my child to be interviewed by _____ as part of the researcher's study titled: *Intimate partner violence (IPV) among young people from Soweto, Johannesburg.*

I understand that:

1. Information shared in the research interview about my child will be kept confidential
2. Information (quotations) about my child will be used by the researcher as part of publications or other forms of reporting the data
3. The researcher will ensure that all appropriate measures and precautions are taken to protect my child's personal information
4. My child has the right not to answer any questions that he/she feels uncomfortable with
5. My child has the right to withdraw from the research study at any time

Parent/Legal Guardian Name and Surname	Signature	Date	Time
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Researcher's Name and Surname	Signature	Date	Time
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Witness Name and Surname	Signature	Date	Time
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Appendix 7: Ethics clearance certificate



Research Office

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL)

R14/49 Makongoza

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

PROTOCOL NUMBER: H15/05/22

PROJECT TITLE

Experiential accounts of intimate partner violence (IPV) from young people from Soweto, Johannesburg, South Africa

INVESTIGATOR(S)

Ms M Makongoza

SCHOOL/DEPARTMENT

Psychology/

DATE CONSIDERED

22 May 2015

DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE

Approved unconditionally

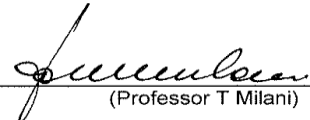
EXPIRY DATE

14 June 2017

DATE

15 June 2015

CHAIRPERSON


 (Professor T Milani)

cc: Supervisor : Professor M Nduna

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR(S)

To be completed in duplicate and **ONE COPY** returned to the Secretary at Room 10005, 10th Floor, Senate House, University.

I/We fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee. **I agree to completion of a yearly progress report.**

 Signature

_____/_____/_____
 Date

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER ON ALL ENQUIRIES

Appendix 8: Published article



Posted by: [Psychological Society of South Africa](#)
 Posted on: October 20, 2015
 Posted in: [Equality](#), [Gender violence](#), [Health](#), [Lifestyle](#)
 Comments: [1 Comment](#)
 Views: 1298

Normalising intimate partner violence among Soweto youth

By **Matamela Makongoza**, Mzikazi Nduna and Janan Dietrich

One of the greatest challenges facing young people today is intimate partner violence. This is usually perpetrated by young men against their female partners. For instance, three out of 10 adolescent males in the Eastern Cape reported beating or raping their partners, and this type of intimate partner violence is experienced by up to 50% of young people¹.

Research^{2 3}, suggests that young people are exposed to domestic violence at an early age and they normalise violence as a way of resolving conflict later in adulthood (e.g. Thaler, 2012). In addition, harsh discipline, lack of emotional support and poor parenting throughout childhood affects young people's social and emotional functioning resulting in violent behaviour². The government also lacks psychologists at schools despite young people being faced with bullying, violence and suicide. A study by Liang et al. (2007) conducted among 5 074 school children in 72 government schools in Cape Town and Durban reveals that bullying is rife.

These numbers speak for themselves. And while statistics are important to help us understand the magnitude of the problem, they do not give us a deeper analysis about why this problem persists. We need to deepen the conversation and widen our understanding from young people's

perspectives. But due to sanctioning of sexual relationships during adolescence, studies of adolescents' negative experiences in their relationships are few. It is near impossible to find studies that asked young people about their own experiences of violence in sexual relationships. I therefore conducted a study aimed to contribute to this knowledge gap.

Study

Twelve young females and males aged 15 to 20 years old were recruited for the study. Soweto was chosen as a location of interest because of the high incidents of intimate partner violence among adolescents, as evidenced by data collected by Dunkle et al. (2004) in 2001-2002 among 16 to 44 year olds attending antenatal clinics in Soweto.

Young people in this study expressed that their communities are affected by violence and it is very common to see people fight in the streets, taverns, parks and at home.

Lebo* (age 17) mentioned that her boyfriend beat her up and she managed to leave from the abusive situation:

“I have experienced that [smiling, tone of voice little bit down] ... with my boyfriend. He was forcing me to have sex with him while I don't want to, he beat me slapped me ... on my face [laughing] ... I just put my head down and then I cried a little and then I get off ... when I got home is then that he started calling apologizing about what he did.”

Matshidiso (age 17)* confirmed that young people have no support when they seek for help as authorities don't take their problems seriously:

“When we went to the police station for help, the police mentioned that they don’t want to get involved because they are used to these children who come in and open restraining orders for one day and the next day when they are all lovey-dovey with their partners they will come and cancel it.”

It is not easy for young people to leave their abusive relationships because emotions play a big role in their partnership. When they don’t have support they take drastic measures that turn into tragedy. Participants also spoke about drugs and alcohol as problems affecting young people. They reflected on gender power as they talked about abuse and the community’s reluctance to support the victims. Young people with direct and indirect experiences of intimate partner violence then tend to silence their ordeal. I wonder, by not intervening, what are we as a society teaching young people about violence?

Movingforward

Society must understand the difference between the terms intimate partner violence and interpersonal violence, so that the reluctance for support will be minimized. Interpersonal violence is between people who are not intimately involved and those stronger emotions are not attached. When they fight and people intervene they might go on with their lives and not fight again. On the other hand, we must understand that intimate partner violence is a fight happening between intimate partners who love one another; emotions are therefore attached. Neighbors’ might see them fighting today and looking happy tomorrow. So when they seek support they need help at that point, they are not saying they want to be separated from their partner, because they love him/her.

¹This study unfortunately shows that intimate partner violence among young people is a problem because young people construct violence to be normal.

Matamela Fulufhelo Beatrice Makongoza is currently completing her master's in psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand. She is also part of WITSIE (Women Intellectuals Transforming Scholarship in Education) and Fact (Father Connection Research Team), established 2011 to conduct research on absent fathers in South Africa.

Endnotes:

1. Dunkle, K., Jewkes, R., Brown, H., Yoshihama, M., Gray, G., McIntyre, J., & Harlow, S. (2004). Prevalence and Patterns of Gender-based Violence and Re-victimization among Women Attending Antenatal Clinics in Soweto, South Africa. *American Journal of Epidemiology*, 160(3), 230-239. doi: 10.1093/aje/kwh194.
2. Abrahams, N., & Jewkes, R. (2005). Effects of South African Men's having witnessed abuse of their mothers during childhood on their levels of violence in Adult. *American Journal of Public Health*, 95(10).
3. Boonzaier, F. (2008). "If the man says you must sit, then you must sit": The relational construction of woman abuse: Gender, Subjective and Violence. *Feminism psychology*, 18, 183.
4. Thaler, K. (2012). Norms about intimate partner violence among urban South Africans: A quantitative and qualitative vignette analysis. *CSSR Working Paper No. 302*.
5. Liang, H., Flisher, A. J., & Lombard, C. J. (2007). Bullying, violence, and risk behavior in South African school students. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 31, 161-171.

Tags: gender equality, intimate partner violence, mental health, Soweto youth

Appendix 9: Transcribing Conventions

- ... Ellipses indicate talk omitted from the data segment
- (()) The transcriber's comments
- (14:45 e.g.)** parentheses with minutes indicate some talk was not audible or interpretable at all
- (.) A dot enclosed in parenthesis indicate a short silence
- [] Square brackets indicating beginning and the end of overlapping speech
- Long pause
- * The star indicates a name

Appendix 10: Conference Presentations**Experiential accounts of Intimate Partner Violence from Young People from Soweto, Johannesburg****M.F. B. Makongoza¹, M. Nduna¹ and J. Dietrich²**¹ University of the Witwatersrand² Perinatal HIV Research Unit

Date: 15-18 September 2015

Conference: 21st Annual Psychology Congress
Emperors place, Gauteng.DST-NRF Centre of Excellence
in Human Development

Individual and Society



Background

- Research report IPV as a challenge facing young people (Sikweyiya & Jewkes, 2012; Jina, Jewkes, Hoffman, Dunkle, Nduna & Shai, 2012).
- A study conducted in South Africa among young people aged 13-23 years, estimated 42% experienced physical violence from their intimate partners (Swart, Seedat, Stevens, & Ricardo, 2002; WHO, 2012b).

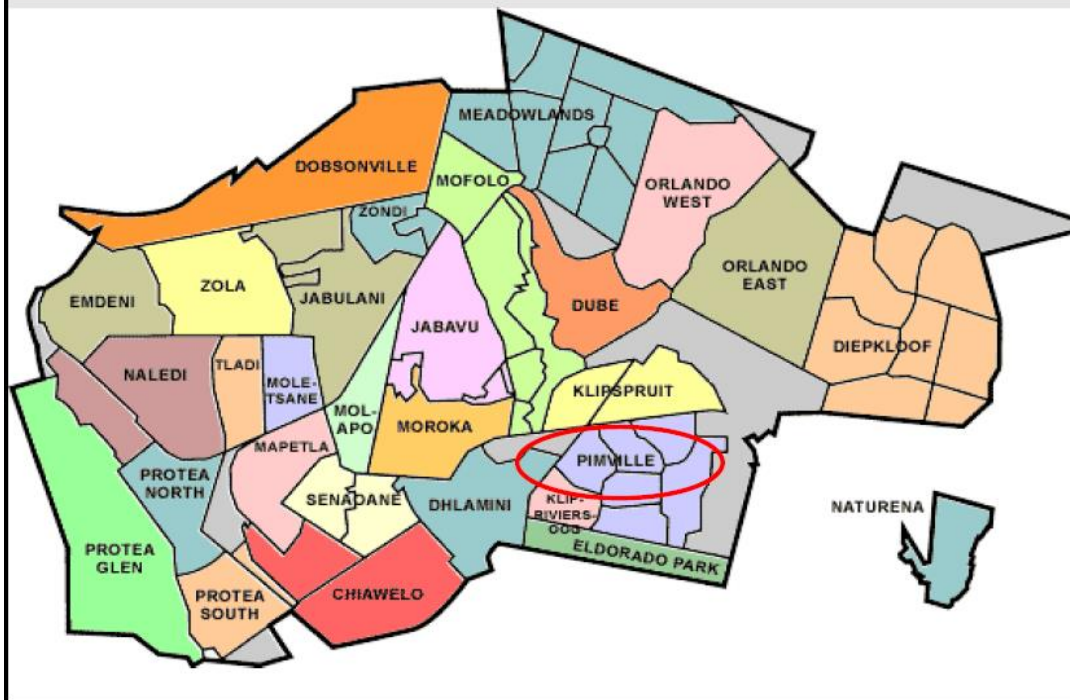
Aim and Objectives

- To explore how young people (15-20 years) from Soweto, Johannesburg, perceive and experience IPV.
- To obtain young people's views on their understanding of IPV.
- To explore young people's perceptions and understanding of their experiences of IPV.
- To apply discourse analysis to interpret young people's social constructions of IPV.

Methodology

- Qualitative non-probability study.
- Convenience sampling.
- Unstructured interviews.
- 06 participants either experienced or witnessed.
- Ethical clearance was granted.

Soweto



Data management & analysis

- Data stored in password protected folder.
- Data transcription and translation.
- Discourse analysis approach`
 - Two analysts
- Summary of participants.

Pseudonym	Age	Gender	School grade	Relationship status	Parity
Lebo	17yrs	F	11	Boyfriend	Yes
Noma	18yrs	F	10	Boyfriend	No
Tshidi	17yrs	F	12	Boyfriend	No
Lebo	16yrs	F	06	Boyfriend	No
Candy	19yrs	F	12	Boyfriend	No
Vanessa	20yrs	F	12	Boyfriend	No

Preliminary findings

1. Young people's experience with IPV

➤ Direct and indirect

➤ Direct – in own relationships

- Lebo (17 year female) *"I have experienced that [smiling, tone of voice little bit down]...with my boyfriend. He was forcing me to have sex with him while I don't want to, he beat me slapped me... then I went off (left) and I went back home."*

➤ Indirect- friend's, parents and strangers

- Noma (18 year female) *"Sometimes I will pass by and people will be beating each other. The boy will be beating a girl or boys will be fighting and girls will be fighting..."*

2. Discourse of IPV that is used by young people

- Silence.
- Normalization.
- Justification

Discourses of Silence

- Lebo (17 year female) *"I don't have a best friend...no one, I am a secretive person...yes, what happened in Vegas stays in Vegas [Laughing]"*
- Tshidi (17 year female) *"Yoh she couldn't have told her granny as she is sick, she even have the pacemaker. **I think if she could have told her, her heart was going to stop...**she only told us her friends only*
 - *Tshidi convinces herself and the researcher that this was in the best interests of all: her friend and her granny*
 - *Tshidi also seeks to evoke the researcher's sympathy towards her friend's silence and*
 - *this discourse legitimizes this silences*

Youth strategize about who to tell, when and why when they experience IPV

Discourse of normalizing violence

- Lebo (17 year female) “...and **maybe** I smoke drugs, **I am making an example**...and I am with my friends and we start talking about something and we end up not understanding each other...and that is something that is very common within the community where **they** beat each other”
- *Lebo uses a discourse that instrumentally casts doubt on the researcher about reality – ‘maybe’, and serves to tone it down as potentially unreal or as hypothetical when she says she is making ‘an example’ and she distances herself from the experience ‘they’*
- **Distanciation** is a discourse aimed at freeing ones participation in the social ill

- Tshidi (17 year female) “...When we arrived and greeted her, she cheeked us and asking us what we want in her place...his dad he **just hit** his mother in front of us and we didn’t understand what the problem was. **They were both drunk** and he **just hit her all of sudden**...”
- *Rhetoric discourse that suggest that as onlookers Tshidi and her friends knew this was wrong and unjust as he ‘just hit’ ...all of a sudden*
- *They also use a discourse that potentially justifies the context because they were ‘drunk’ ‘both’*

➤ Mpho (15 year male) *“He used to beat my mother when drunk at night, he will tell her about cooking”*

➤ Mpho echoed Tshidi as *“when drunk”* justifies father’s behaviour

➤ Social construction role instigated on a woman *“about cooking”* reflecting gender domination.

Gender power is instigated towards young people at an early age.

Discussion

➤ This study explored how young people (15-20 years) from Soweto, Johannesburg, perceive and experience IPV.

➤ Most significant findings were:

➤ Young people reflected on direct and indirect experiences.

➤ Their perceptions and experiences were socially constructed.

➤ This is consistent with the social learning theory about behaviour learned from social surroundings

➤ Young people are reluctant to report or speak about IPV (Chung, 2007).

Recommendations

- **For research**-ethics committees should give ethics approval to researcher to want to conduct research with young people especially minor.
- **For interventions**-Young males should be educated on reproductive health and gender-based violence as this could prevent unwanted pregnancies and IPV.
- **For future research**-addressing IPV with young people early on in their lives will be important as this young people are dating at an early age.

Conclusions

- Young people experience IPV at an early age.
- They normalize violence behaviour as a way of resolving conflicts.
- Reflect perceptions and experiences of IPV as socially constructed
- They silence IPV as they perceive it as a private matter.

Acknowledgement

- Prof Mzikazi Nduna: University of the Witwatersrand, Psychology department.
- Dr Janan Dietrich: Perinatal HIV Research Unit, Bio-behavioural department.
- Participants from Soweto



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Appendix 11: Conference presentation

Experiential Accounts of Intimate Partner Violence from Young People in Soweto, Johannesburg.


Name: Matamela F. B. Makongoza
Degree of qualification: MA (Research)

Supervisor: Prof Mzikazi Nduna
Co-supervisor: Dr Janan Dietrich




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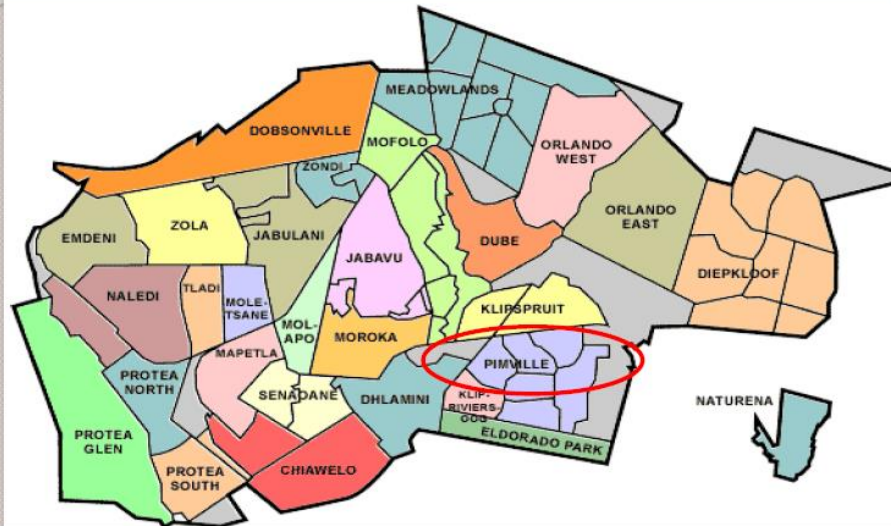
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JOHANNESBURG



Soweto




Background

- Prevalence of IPV in South Africa is estimated between 10% -50.5% (Dunkle et al., 2004; Kaminer, Grimsrud, Myer, Stein & Williams, 2008).
- 42% experienced physical violence from their intimate partners (Swart, Seedat, Stevens, & Ricardo, 2002; WHO, 2012b).

Aim of the study

- To explore how young people (15-20 years) from Soweto, Johannesburg, perceive and experience IPV.

Objectives

- To obtain young people's views on their understanding of IPV. A red target icon with three arrows hitting the bullseye, symbolizing focus or achievement.
- To explore young people's perceptions and understanding of their experiences of IPV.
- To apply discourse analysis for language use to interpret young people's social constructions of IPV.

Methodology

- Qualitative study, aged 15-20 years.
- Snowball sampling process.
- Participants either experienced or witnessed IPV.
- Mo-Afrikaithlokomele youth organization works with young people

Pilot



Discourses of gender based violence.

- Two young men fighting over a girl.
 “The boyfriend didn’t want to report being beaten up by his peers because a girl they are fighting over is the mother of his child”
- Accusations of infidelity
 “Boyfriend is always drinking, fighting with his girlfriend accusing her of cheating”

Pilot cont.’



Discourses of self blame

- Participant feels guilty and reluctant to report IPV.
 “She didn’t want to report the fight to the police because her boyfriend will be expelled from the residence and the school”

Discourses of IPV

- “They are not married, I don’t understand why she wont leave him”
- Participant justify being beaten up in marriage to be acceptable.
- How do young people understand violence to

Pilot cont.'



Discourses of disclosure

- Participant is uncomfortable to talk openly about IPV
 - “I have no idea. She goes on to say “you know mos”. [Smiling] something interesting happen. After all the fighting and staying up so late the following morning they were happy”.
- Participant account reflect young woman unacknowledgement of the incident.
- Participant smiling does that mean she approve or disapprove what happened?

Conclusion

- This pilot findings reflects some accounts that might come up during the study.
- The study is hoping to show how young people in Soweto talk about their perceptions and experiences of IPV.